

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN AND COLOURED  
EMPLOYMENT IN THE CAPE PENINSULA, WITH SPECIFIC  
REFERENCE TO TRENDS IN EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE  
REACTIONS TO THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENT

by

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requirements for the Degree of Masters of  
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## Introduction

This dissertation examines African and Coloured employment in the Cape Peninsula from a variety of perspectives. A descriptive analysis is given of the existing Cape employment situation which serves as a factual basis from which the reader can obtain an objective overview. Exploratory case studies probe certain aspects of the descriptive analysis to enable a more sensitive in-depth understanding of employment practices and current attitudes of employers and employees as they exist in the actual work environment.

This dissertation seeks to make a contribution not only to the general discussion on employment, but more specifically by exploring certain important elements in the field of employment which have remained underexplored. It is hoped that investigative reports of this nature will generally contribute to a greater awareness and understanding on the part of management, decision makers and the public at large of the many problems in this field, and that in consequence more positive, systematic and comprehensive attempts can be made towards change.

It must be noted at the outset that the situation in the Cape Peninsula is dissimilar in many respects from that in other parts of the country, and that the reader should not assume that this analysis describes a prototypical microcosm of the country.

### MOTIVATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Every individual is subject to a number of driving forces, both positive and negative. The positive forces such as wants, needs and desires impel him towards certain objects and conditions whereas his fears and aversions repel him from other conditions and objects. These forces initiate and sustain behaviour in the individual and, as such, can be termed the motives or needs of the individual (Krech, 1962). The individual's behaviour will be directed towards the satisfaction of his needs.

The form and type of needs and the behaviour displayed to satisfy these needs will vary from individual to individual. The variances can be attributed to the differences in physiological make-up, personality, and learning experience between individuals.

Krech et al contends that "man acquires a host of wants as a result of learning" (Krech, 1962:74). As no two individuals are constantly exposed to exactly the same conditions, there will be a difference in the experience between individuals which will influence their wants. Conversely, an individual's needs will also influence his general perception and he prefers to acknowledge that which is helpful to his needs, while he tends to ignore threats and disturbances until they persist and increase. Furthermore his past experiences influence his future expectations and attitudes which in turn alter his perceptions (Leavitt, 1964).

#### Influence of Groups

Numerous studies have indicated the important role that group membership plays in the performance of the individual. Some theorists argue that there are many individuals who are primarily motivated by their need for affiliation. The kind of attitudes that are developed in the process of satisfying wants and needs, they argue, is dependent on the information that the individual receives.

This information is to a large extent coming from the social groups in which he moves or belongs. It is from these groups that he most often chooses the people who will form what is known as his 'reference group', or the group with whom he feels he belongs (Vos, 1974). The individual often accepts and adopts

the norms and values of this group referring to it for guidance. A person may belong to various groups, depending on his interests; however research has shown that the number of reference groups is usually small (Vos, 1974).

Elton Mayo argues that the formation of groups within the work environment can, to a certain extent, effect the level of productivity. Through his numerous studies he found that "despite the formal organisation of companies, workers will form informal groups whose norms and values can have a substantial effect on the productivity of the individual members. When the informal groups associate themselves with management it can have a beneficial effect on productivity. However, if the group sees itself as being in opposition to management, productivity will drop or stay relatively low, despite any attempts management may make to raise it with incentive systems" (Walsh, 1977). Although this may be an over-simplification, the fact that informal work groups may emerge and may influence the workers' attitudes and productivity is still valid.

#### Maslow's Hierachy of Needs

A.H. Maslow views man's needs as existing in a hierarchical pattern with higher order needs only becoming operative when other lower order needs have been satisfied (Maslow, 1954). These needs or desires are, he felt, directed towards attainable objectives. He believed that the individual does not yearn for things or objectives which are not within the realms of possibility for that individual, and that this would account for the difference in motivation between various classes and cultures.

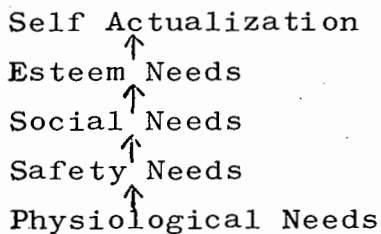
The lowest level of needs relate to the so-called physiological drives, such as the need for food, sleep and sex. If the physiological needs are relatively well gratified, a new level of needs will emerge which Maslow defines as safety needs, e.g. security against deprivation and danger. Once each series of needs are satisfied they no longer motivate the individual.

The next level of needs are the social needs, the need for love and affection. The individual will be motivated by a desire for group affiliation, and Maslow feels that hindering

these needs is the most common cause of maladjustment of individuals in society (Maslow, 1954: 89).

Gratification of the social needs lead to motivation of the individual by his esteem needs, both self esteem and the esteem of others. The individual is motivated firstly by his desire for achievement and competence, and secondly by the desire for recognition of his competence and achievement by others within society. Hindering these needs produces feelings of inferiority, of weakness and of helplessness. These feelings in turn give rise to either basic discouragement or else compensatory or neurotic trends (Maslow 1954 : 91).

The ultimate need is for self actualization which Maslow defines as the need for self fulfilment or the realization of one's potential.



These needs are overlapping and inter-dependent.

Complete satisfaction of a lower order need is not necessary before a higher order need becomes operative. Maslow contends that people who have had these basic needs satisfied throughout their lives will be able to withstand their hindrance at a later stage with a lesser degree of frustration than those who have not.

#### The Motivation - Hygiene Theory

Frederick Herzberg has put forward a similar theory as to the nature of man's needs. He contends that man has two categories of needs. One category which he calls the hygiene needs relate to the individual's "animal disposition", (Herzberg, 1971, pg. 56). It is involved with the satisfaction of his physical needs such as hunger and the fear of physical deprivation.

Relating these needs to the work situation means that they would be affected by such factors as company policy and administration, working conditions, job security, salary and interpersonal relations with peers, superiors and subordinates. These factors describe the situation or environment in which the individual does his job rather than what he actually does.

A comparison with Maslow's needs hierarchy would equate the hygiene needs with the lower order needs such as the physiological, security and love needs.

Herzberg contends that non-satisfaction of these hygiene needs will lead to dissatisfaction because of the individual's need to avoid unpleasant or threatening situations (Herzberg,1971:95). Satisfaction of these needs however does not lead to job satisfaction, conversely it leads to increased hygiene needs.

The second category of needs is centred around man's drive to realise his own potential by continuous psychological growth (Herzberg,1971:56). These needs can be equated with the higher order needs of Maslow's hierarchy such as the need for esteem and self actualisation.

This category is catered for in the work situation by such factors as achievement, recognition, the nature of the work itself, responsibility, and advancement. These factors are implicit in the actual task performed by the individual. Herzberg terms these factors 'motivators' as they appear to encourage positive attitudes to the work amongst individuals and are responsible for job satisfaction and a desire for superior performance and effort. Control of the work, rather than tangible rewards of the work, is the motivator. Non-satisfaction of these "growth" needs does not lead to dissatisfaction but rather a preoccupation with hygiene needs, as it is Herzberg's contention that a lack of "motivators" increases the individual's sensitivity to real or imagined negative job hygiene. This means that the organisation would have to pay continuous attention to the hygiene factors.

Herzberg contends that there are basically two groups of individuals, those who are "motivator" or achievement orientated and those that are hygiene orientated. The former he feels are motivated by the nature of the task performed, and the latter by the nature of the work environment.

Numerous criticisms have been raised regarding aspects of Herzberg's theory, however many people have at the same time accepted it as a generally sound theory of human motivation.

## The Self Concept

Gellerman (1963) has introduced a theory of motivation of the individual which has special implications as far as Coloured and African employees are concerned. His theory consists of three basic concepts.

### 1. Self Concept

The first of these concepts is that the individual has fairly firm ideas of what kind of person he is. This self concept will influence his behaviour in that he will try to behave as much like the kind of person he thinks he is as his environment permits. He will feel frustrated when he is restricted from behaving in ways which he considers appropriate to his self concept.

This self concept evolves as a result of the influences to which the individual is exposed from early childhood. The child's perception of how others see him will influence his perception of what kind of person he is and he will be motivated by the desire to behave consistently within the role he has accepted as himself.

Gellerman believes the way other people react to this role will have a reinforcing effect. As the individual grows older, he will discover what kinds of activity he can excel in and in what kinds he cannot do well. Increasing competence, Gellerman states, will lead to confidence. The degree of perceived competence which the individual attains in terms of his environment will determine the level of self assurance with which the individual goes through life, the type of activities he will undertake and his degree of determination.

The individual will equate his concept of his own competence with a sense of what he is worth. He will therefore have a fairly fixed idea of what rewards he should gain from any given level of activity.

### 2. The Environment

Gellerman contends that each individual has his own concept or perception of the environment which does not necessarily equate with the way others perceive it. This concept develops through experience gained during the individual's childhood. The

most important experience is probably the example set by the child's parents and other adults. As the child grows older, his environment will increase but his perception of it will still be heavily influenced by a fairly uniform set of impressions (e.g. the people he comes into contact with will have similar attitudes and values to those of his family).

The individual will gradually acquire a concept of what events or things can effect him and what factors he has influence over. The degree to which he can successfully control these events or things will influence his attitude to his environment.

### 3. Psychological Advantage

Each individual will have his own perception of what he considers advantageous to himself and the extent to which he is able to influence this advantage. The individual will first establish what the benefit or disadvantage is likely to be for himself in any situation or event. He will then establish what influence he can have on the event, given his concept of his own competence. The way the individual reacts may vary considerably depending on how he sees his ability to take advantage of the situation and what he will have to "pay" to obtain the advantage, thus a compromise between what he wants to be and what the world will "permit" him to be.

### Conclusion

Numerous writers have made assumptions about the motivation of the individual and have gone on to establish guidelines for the structuring of the work environment. Based on these assumptions Herzberg has, for example, assumed that the need for achievement and psychological growth takes precedence over the individuals other needs. He assumes that the elementary needs are already well catered for in the modern society. However as will be seen in the case studies, this is not necessarily so for all in South Africa.

Gellerman's theory has important implications for the divergent population groups in the South African context. Differentiation is based on ethnic, cultural and economic factors which could influence the individuals self-concept.

C

RELATION BETWEEN ATTITUDES AND ENVIRONMENTAL  
CONDITIONS : BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE LIVING CONDITIONS  
OF AFRICANS AND COLOUREDS IN THE CAPE

Introduction

The cultural background and upbringing of the individual plays an important formative role in the development of attitudes. "An attitude is in fact a residuum of experience which conditions and controls activity " (De Ridder, 1961).

Attitudes and behaviour within the work environment are an important aspect of this whole experience. "The productive capacity of a worker, his morale, his attitude towards management and the firm is determined not only by his position and treatment in the work situation but also by his position in the community," (Cilliers, 1975). His position in the community is influenced by many factors, including age, sex, ethnic origin, religion, class, background and other aspects of social life, all of which affect his interpretation and outlook.

Thus the social conditions and living environment of the worker must be taken into account to facilitate a better understanding of the workers' attitudes and capabilities within his work situation. The following is a brief analysis of the living conditions of Africans and Coloureds in the Cape.

Africans

Africans form approximately 20% of the Cape Peninsula's population. It is, however, very difficult to determine the number of Africans accurately because many are in the area illegally. Informed estimates of the 'illegals' made by officials of the Administration Board range from 60 000 to 100 000 (Weichel, 1977).

Although the African in Cape Town today is largely urban in orientation, the influence and continuing strength of the deeply rooted African cultural traditions and attitudes cannot be underestimated.

Traditional African society had specific values, social attitudes, moral standards and ways of life which existed and predominated for hundreds of years. As Africans have

gradually had to move to the urban areas primarily to seek work, the traditional cultural norms have had to adjust to those of Western European society. The urban environment, with its social peculiarities, its economic emphasis, and its environmental pressures in terms of laws, regulations and various restrictions, is a type of living which is in many ways very different from traditional African society.

The urban African has had to adjust not only to the demands of the complex European society but also to the requirements of urban African culture. He has evolved ways of living and thinking which are compatible with some of the beliefs of his tribal past and the demands of his urban present. His social adjustment has in fact required a compromise between three societies : the tribal society, the urban township society, and the European society.

Because the Western Cape is considered a 'Coloured Preferential area', the influx of Africans is greatly restricted. Their varying legal status in the Peninsula affects their residential rights, which in turn affects their right to seek work. To clarify these differences a summary of the pass laws and influx control regulations is given in the following paragraphs. (Weichel, 1977).

Section 10 of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 as amended governs the right of an African to be in the Peninsula and lays down the conditions under which s/he may remain.

Those who were born in the Peninsula and have remained there continuously since birth, qualify as permanent residents and are free to change jobs within the area.

Those who have worked continuously for one employer at one address for ten years or have resided lawfully in the Peninsula for 15 years, also qualify as permanent residents and can change jobs within the area.

All other Africans who wish to work in the Peninsula are permitted in only through the system of annual contract work, i.e. migrant labour. Regulations passed in 1968 stipulate that Africans outside the urban areas may obtain employment in such urban areas only through a District or Tribal Labour Bureau in his/her area. A service contract is granted to successful applicants for a maximum period of one year, after which period the contract is terminated and the worker must return to his/her place of origin.

All Africans in the Peninsula without residential rights or a contract are in the area illegally and are guilty of an offence.

Because officials view the presence of Africans in the Western Cape as only temporary, little future planning has occurred in the townships. This over-riding policy has had numerous implications. Townships have become highly overcrowded; in October, 1976 there were some 10 092 family dwellings in the townships officially sheltering approximately 69 000 people (Ellis, 1977).

In addition, there was an estimated shortage in 1975 of at least 1 400 houses for African families legally resident in Cape Town (Ellis, 1977). Today there are an estimated 20 000 African squatters in the Cape Peninsula.

Houses are very small built in terraced rows of up to eight units long. They are not provided with electricity, ceilings, flooring or internal doors and the walls are unplastered. There is a small outbuilding at the end of the plot housing a toilet and bath with cold running water.

The houses are allocated by the Board and tenants pay a monthly lease of between R14,70 and R20,40 which includes a service charge. The Board will permit improvements to be done at the tenant's expense which become the property of the Board from whom no compensation can be claimed if the house is vacated (Selvan 1976).

Most migrants are accommodated in the townships. Their housing conditions vary from appalling to reasonable. The majority of migrants live in overcrowded rooms with up to 40 occupants. They are often poorly constructed, damp and drafty and are unsatisfactorily provided with electricity, cooking, toilet and washing facilities. The newer migrants' quarters are generally better.

Besides poor housing conditions, government policy restricting Africans in the Western Cape has had many other implications. There are very few schools in the townships, and all existing schools are overcrowded, understaffed, and lacking in electricity, equipment, books and other essentials. Most high school students are forced to attend schools in the Homelands.

There are no permanent training institutions specifically for Africans in the Cape, and few others which allow Africans to attend. They must either be trained within their company or outside of the Cape.

Few other types of facilities exist for Africans. There are virtually no creches, nursery schools, welfare facilities (e.g. old age homes, schools for the handicapped), few police/fire stations, clinics, theatres, community centres, etc.

Thus the urban township life has offered the African little stability, either personally, financially, materially or politically.

### Coloureds

The Coloured population formed over 50% of the total population in the Cape Peninsula in 1970. Cape Town has the greatest urban concentration of Coloureds in South Africa (Theron Commission 1976).

The Coloured population group is made up of a mosaic of groups with its own pattern of stratification based on decent, colour of skin, religion, degree of mixed blood, residential area, level of development, income, social and occupational status, life style, etc. Thus they should not be considered as a homogeneous group with the same needs and the same patterns of behaviour (Theron Commission, 469).

S.P. Cilliers contends that there are approximately five social strata amongst the coloured population (Cilliers, 1971):

- 1) A small but rapidly growing professional and managerial group.
- 2) A middle class of Coloured technicians and artisans.
- 3) A newly emerging group of White-collared workers.
- 4) A 'pool' of semi-skilled operatives, industrial workers, and unskilled labourers, which is the largest group.
- 5) A rural group, though very small in the Cape Peninsula.

Although Coloureds have certain advantages over Africans regarding employment opportunities in Cape Town, they suffer many disadvantages in comparison with Whites. Certain statutory measures and conventions to a certain extent restrict where they can live, eat, drink and watch a film, as well as for whom they can vote and with whom they can marry.

Poor and inadequate housing has been viewed by the Coloured people as one of the main points of friction, as well as a breeding ground of social evils and of poor health (Theron Commission, 1976). "Between two-thirds and three-quarters of all Coloureds in the Western Cape live in overcrowded conditions " (Cilliers, 1971).

Other major social problems relate to the breakdown of family life, widespread crime, and alcoholism. "Probably the most pressing problem in many of the Coloured housing estates and townships is the omnipresence of violence, lawlessness and crime; especially of a nature directed against the person and property." (Theron Commission 1976: pg. 289).

In addition, the Theron Commission reported that the Coloureds are lagging far behind the Whites in the socio-economic sphere, where certain handicaps have hampered their development. These include the shortage of public facilities, the low standard of literacy and education, overcrowded schools, a shortage of creches and nursery schools, inadequate training facilities, etc. (Theron Commission : 206, 306).

The Group Areas Act has had far reaching implications on the Coloured community. Thousands of Coloureds were moved from their homes and placed in various areas throughout the Cape Flats. Besides breaking down a social infrastructure which has in most cases not reappeared in the new housing estates, it has affected the work environment in numerous ways. "Research has shown that the programme of resettlement has been one of the factors contributing to high labour turnover rates, loss of production due to late arrivals at work and absenteeism" (Cilliers, 1975, pg. 11).

"All people have certain elementary needs which must be fulfilled to be a productive worker and citizen in a modern

urban setting. Of these, a physical setting in which a meaningful existence can be obtained is of primary importance. The task of providing such a setting in terms of urban layout and design, services, dwellings and the like, is indeed colossal. Yet without this, effective performance in the work situation can hardly be attained, and insofar as it may be attained, can only again increase the strains in the wider structure". (Cilliers, 1975).

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Measures of Constraint on African Employment

The Western Cape was declared a virtual preserve for Coloured persons in 1955. In terms of this 'Coloured Labour Preference Policy', Coloured people are given preference over Africans for all jobs. A system was introduced whereby employers have to obtain a certificate from the Department of Labour stating that no suitable Coloured labour is available before they are permitted to employ an African in any job.

The African labour complement of all industrial and commercial firms in the Western Cape was frozen at the number employed on August 31, 1966. This number became their quota. The Minister of Native Affairs then stated that the number of African workers was to be reduced by 5% per annum. The provision of the Environment Planning Act (No. 88 of 1967) supplement the above provisions.

The number of Africans employed in the area has in fact risen substantially, especially those employed in Government departments. Discussions with senior Administration officials have revealed that current policy, although never officially articulated, is in practise more flexible than that outlined above. The number of migrants permitted to work in Cape Town is now determined more by the needs of industry and commerce than the previous ideological policy of strict reduction.

Further legislation protects White and Coloured workers from the competition of Africans. Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act empowers an Industrial Tribunal to reserve defined types of work for members of certain racial groups. Approximately five job reservation determinations still apply in the Western Cape. Conditional exemptions have been granted but only for limited periods and subject to certain provisions, such as no person shall be allowed to work under the supervision of a Black person, that any White person who becomes available shall be engaged and that every effort shall be made to recruit and train White workers (Weichel, 1977). The Minister of Labour stated in 1976 that job reservation potentially affects approximately 2,3% of the total labour force.

However, a far more significant factor restricting the employment opportunities of Africans is the provisions of Industrial Council Agreements which become statutory when gazetted. An Industrial Council consists of representatives of both the employers, (i.e. employers' organisations) and employees, (i.e. trade unions) of an industry. However, Africans are excluded from the definition of employee in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act and have no effective representation on the Industrial Council. Therefore, the employers' organisations and White and/or Coloured/Asian trade unions are able to make decisions in Industrial Council meetings which protect and enhance their own interests and have the force of law within the industry concerned. The trade unions thus often operate a form of racial closed shop.

African trade unions are not prohibited but the Government refuses to recognize them and give them a place in the Industrial Councils. However, in terms of the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act, the Central Black Labour Board may designate an officer to attend any meeting of an Industrial Council where the proceedings may affect the interests of African workers in that industry. This person may take part in the proceedings but does not have the right to vote.

In addition to these statutory restrictions, employers often discriminate against African employees, intentionally or unintentionally, because of factors such as an ignorance of the law, racial prejudice, fear of the reactions of customers, clients and White employees, and expenses related to the provision of separate amenities when required by law (Weichel 1977).

Measures of Constraint Affecting the Working  
Conditions of both Africans and Coloureds

Working conditions of all races such as hours of work, women's work, children's employment, overtime, public holidays, leave, toilets, canteens, health and safety are regulated by various Acts.

The Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act (No. 22 of 1941) provides for the registration and control of factories, the regulation of hours of work, the payment of overtime and the regulation of other conditions of employment. Employers are compelled to provide separate toilets, rest-rooms and canteen facilities for males and females and persons of different population groups.

The Shops and Offices Act (No. 75 of 1964) also stipulates the provision of separate toilets, restrooms and canteen facilities for males and females and persons of different population groups.

The Mines and Works Act (No. 27 of 1956), the Black Labour Act (No. 67 of 1964) and the Electrical Wiremen and Contractors Act (No. 20 of 1939) are also concerned with the safety and working conditions of the workers.

"The legal requirements of separate places of work and separate facilities make promotion of individuals more difficult. They mean that a whole section of a shop or factory may have to "go Coloured", for example, at once. In practice this has already occurred in many factories, and is taking place in shops " (Van der Horst, 1976).

An Overview of the Existing Employment  
Situation in the Cape Peninsula

The labour force in the Cape Peninsula has largely remained segregated in the occupational hierarchy especially between Africans and Whites, while Coloureds and Asians are gradually entering certain occupations formerly dominated by Whites.

African workers have been displacing Coloured workers in many of the unskilled occupations involving heavy labour ever since the Second World War. The vast majority of Africans are employed at the unskilled and semi-skilled level, and there are few opportunities for advancement beyond these limits.

Despite the general upward mobility of the Coloured, the movement of Coloured people into the higher professions is still slow (Beinart, 1976). Whites have traditionally monopolized these 'higher' professions, claiming 73% of the professional occupations, 96% of the administrative positions, 71% of the clerical posts, and 61% of the sales jobs in the Peninsula (Hendrie & Horner, 1976). The principal that Whites should not be displaced at any occupational level by Blacks has ensured protected employment for them.

The upward mobility of Coloureds has been, and still is, hindered by inadequate training, educational, and health services and facilities, as well as by attitudes on the part of the White employers and by restrictive measures such as the Shops and Offices Act.

The majority of Coloured people today at the higher end of the occupational ladder are employed in segregated institutions, i.e. The Department of Coloured Affairs (Hendrie and Horner; 1976).

Although it is still rare for Coloured workers to be promoted to managerial levels in White controlled firms, there is an increasing tendency to employ Coloured people in supervisory positions in commerce and industry. This is occurring on a large scale within the Coloured areas.

Because of the prevailing 'closed shop' system and because of the lack of training facilities for Africans, apprenticeships have only been open to Coloureds and Whites in the Western Cape. In those trades in which the strength of White trade unions is limited, Coloured artisans are dominant in Cape Town. At present over 90% of skilled workers in the building and furniture industries are Coloured. However in other trades skilled work remains largely closed to Coloured workers because they have been unable to get a foothold in the industry (e.g. the metal and engineering industry). Some skilled trades which were closed to Coloured workers have become open in recent years because of pressure from employers. (Hendrie and Horner:101).

The growth of Coloured entrepreneurship has aided upward mobility amongst the Coloureds. The nature and size of undertakings under Coloured ownership has increased, and the access to entrepreneurial involvement has become easier. This, however, is not the case with Africans. Regulations restricting African entrepreneurship in nature, size, and location are still in force.

There has been a rapid growth in the percentage of Coloured women in production work, the majority of whom are semi-skilled operatives. They are the dominant group of workers in the lower semi-skilled categories in the clothing, textile and food industries in Cape Town. The majority of working African women are employed in domestic service (Beinart, 1976).

Chapter 2

Descriptive Analysis of African and Coloured Employment

METHODOLOGY

Every research project consists of a research problem, which is then explored, investigated and analysed. Because every problem is unique, it must be investigated and analysed in a way most suitable to its particular nature. This often involves a variety of research techniques which are used in conjunction with each other.

My particular research issue, "Employment patterns in the Cape Peninsula", was narrowed down into a research problem. The problem, generally stated, is "What is the overall employment situation of Africans and Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula, and what are prevailing employment practices and attitudes of employers and employees?"

Because the problem was divided into two very different types of questions, different methods were employed to collect and process the data.

This section aims to explore, investigate, and describe a wholistic picture of African and Coloured employment. The research relies primarily on a secondary analysis of published reports and statistics. A wide spectrum of resources was used, including library and archival research, the use of current books, theses, surveys and pamphlets, and interviews with both Peninsula Administration Board and other government officials. The following section concentrates on specific employment practices and attitudes of employers and employees, and relies primarily on case studies.

The problems involved with descriptive analysis essentially revolve around the validity of the material contained in the various sources and literature used. However a thorough review of all available sources of information and a continual collection of all the material published on the topic should help to overcome the question of validity.

Although these methods were employed in this case, particular difficulty was experienced in collecting data on

African employment because of the fact that the Peninsula Administration Board makes little of its information available to the public. In some cases the Board responded to written requests for information, but in other cases alternate sources had to be found because information was not released. It became a time-consuming task to have to locate organisations or individuals who either had the required information, or who knew where such information could be found. This was to a lesser extent also applicable to the data needed on Coloured employment.

WHERE AFRICANS AND COLOUREDS ARE EMPLOYED

Employment by Economic Sector:

Table 1 : Sectoral Distribution of Coloured & African Employment in 1970 in the Cape Peninsula

Sector	<u>Coloured</u>		<u>African</u>	
	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture	5 140	2,3	3 031	5,0
Mining	240	0,1	444	0,7
Manufacturing	82 310	37,6	12 475	20,7
Electricity	1 700	0,8	645	1,1
Construction	25 770	11,8	14 598	24,2
Commerce	33 690	15,4	7 463	12,4
Transport	10 870	5,0	7 489	12,4
Finance	4 270	2,0	1 228	2,0
Services	54 870	25,1	13 022	21,6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>218 860</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>60 395</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Source : Department of Statistics Report # 02-01-04

This table shows that the largest sectors of Coloured employment are firstly manufacturing; secondly services; thirdly commerce and fourthly construction; while the largest sectors of African employment are firstly construction; secondly services; thirdly manufacturing; and fourthly transport/commerce.

Table 2 : Major Occupational Categories of the Coloured and African Labour Force in 1970 in the Cape Peninsula

Category	<u>Coloured</u>		<u>African</u>	
	Number	%	Number	%
Professional	9 260	4,3	690	1,1
Administrative	310	0,1	6	0,0
Clerical	20 410	9,4	787	1,3
Sales	11 530	5,3	1 286	2,1
Services	43 950	20,2	12 288	20,2
Production/ Transport	124 930	57,5	42 050	69,3
Farm/Forestry	6 840	3,1	3 582	5,9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>217 230</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>60 689</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Source : Department of Statistics, Report # 02-01-04

This table indicates that the majority of Coloured and African workers are employed primarily in production and transport and secondly in services. A much higher proportion of Coloureds

are employed in professional, administrative, clerical and sales positions than are their African counterparts. However the combined percentage of Coloureds and Africans in these 'higher' positions is approximately 20%, which indicates that Whites fill about 80% of these posts.

Table 3 : Employment Structure in Major Sectors in Cape Town in 1970/1976 :

<u>Manufacturing</u>	<u>Coloured</u>	<u>African</u>	<u>White</u>
1970 Census	66,3%	10,3%	23,4%
ISD 1976	68,2	16,2	15,6
<u>Construction</u>			
1970 Census	54,1	29,8	16,1
ISD 1976	43,4	40,9	15,7
<u>Commerce</u>			
1970 Census	44,0	10,2	45,8
ISD 1976	47,8	4,2	48,0
<u>Services</u>			
1970 Census	49,9	12,0	38,1
ISD 1976	53,5	10,6	35,9

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Source : Employment trends in Greater Cape Town, 1976

This table shows an increase in the relative share of African labour in the manufacturing, and most particularly, in the construction sector, while there has been a decline in commerce and services.

The table also indicates some changes in the relative shares of Coloured and White labour. Coloured labour increased slightly in manufacturing, commerce and services, but declined markedly in construction. This is perhaps because in the construction sector unskilled Coloured labour has been replaced by African labour, while in the manufacturing sector semi-skilled White labour has been replaced by Coloured labour.

In 1977 in the Cape Peninsula there was a total of 52 175 registered African male workers of which 23 796 were contract workers, and a total of 7 174 registered African females. However many workers are in employment without registration at the Labour Bureau, i.e. they are illegally employed. There may be as many illegal as legal workers in the Peninsula.

The major areas of African employment in 1977 correlated with those in 1970 : i.e. construction, manufacturing, services, and the public sector. In the manufacturing sector a large number of Africans are employed in engineering and food industries. In the public sector the majority work in South African Railways and Harbours, and in the services sector the majority of men work as garage petrol pump attendants and the majority of women work in domestic service. (Maree & Graaff, 1977).

The Process of Job Application and Job Recruitment :

Africans : The local Black Labour Bureaux are situated both at Langa and Nyanga. They register both employers and the local African workseekers and aim to regulate the supply of labour.

Residents : Once the employer is in possession of a valid certificate from the Department of Labour authorising him to employ Africans, he is required to approach the local Black Labour Bureau in his area to secure the appointment of African employees.

Vacancies are announced at the Labour Bureau and interested resident work seekers are sent to the employer for an interview. When the employer accepts a particular applicant, a form must be completed and returned to the Black Labour Bureau for registration. The applicant's reference is then endorsed by the Board.

Migrants : When resident Africans are unavailable, employers may either send their recruiting officer to the Homelands or contact the Labour Bureau in the Peninsula to employ contract workers. All contract workers wanting to work in the Peninsula must be given permission by the respective District or Tribal Bureau. Applications cannot be made for a specific African unless he has previously worked for the prospective employer.

The duration of a contract is either six months or one year. Some employers arrange buses to transport the workers to and from their home areas.

Coloureds : The process of job application and job recruitment is the same as for Whites. An employee can either approach an

employer individually for employment, or he can register at the Department of Labour for assistance in finding a job. However, if he becomes unemployed, he must register at the Department of Labour to receive unemployment benefits.

Employment by Geographical Area

Table 4 : African Employment by Geographical Area

<u>Zone</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Number</u> (1)
1	Sea Point, Greenpoint, Bakoven	1 884
2	Central Cape Town	10 777
3	Newlands, Claremont, Lansdowne, Athlone	9 472
4	Kennilworth, Heathfield	3 010
5	Retreat, Kalk Bay	539
6	Salt River, Paarden Eiland, Epping Industria	10 447
7	Fish Hoek Municipality area	164
8	Milnerton Municipality area	527
9	Pinelands	674
10	Simonstown Municipality area	405
11	Thornton	89
12	Bergvliet	152
13	Bishops Court	93
14	Constantia	35
15	Kirstenhof	3
16	Ottery	57
17	Divisional Council areas (northern suburbs)	8 421
18	Railways	5 825
19	Farmers	2 003

Source : Administration Board, 1978

(1) These figures include discharges as at the end of June, 1978.

Coloured Employment by Geographical Areas

Table 5 : Suburb of Employment of a Sample of Mitchell's Plain Residents (Coloured)

Suburb	No.	%
Green Point to Bakoven	24	1,0
Central City	436	18,4
Woodstock, Salt River	226	9,5
Observatory to Rondebosch	109	4,6
Newlands to Wynberg	119	5,0
Retreat to Lakeside	79	3,3
Muizenberg to Simonstown	19	0,8
Lansdowne, Wetton, Ottery	115	4,8
Athlone, Cape Flats	170	7,2
Philippi	14	0,6
Mitchell's Plain	96	4,0
Kensington, Maitland, Ndabeni	193	8,1
Paarden Eiland, Milnerton	135	5,7
Epping	217	9,1
Elsies River, Parow, Goodwood	157	6,6
Bellville, Kuilsriver	91	3,8
Other	31	1,3
Outside Metropolitan area	142	6,0
	<u>2 373</u>	<u>100,0</u>

Source : Technical Management Services, City Engineers  
 Department : Mitchell's Plain Population Survey, 1977.

The following table illustrates both the type and extent of African and Coloured employment in the city centre in 1977 :

Table 6 : Cape Town City Centre Employment Survey,  
January 1977

<u>Work Type</u>	<u>Coloureds</u>	<u>Africans</u>
Hotels	220	117
Canning & Preserving of Seafoods	15	-
Meat Products - Manufacturing	98	17
Baker Products - Manufacturing	21	9
Textile Mill Products - Manufacturing	190	2
Knit Goods - Manufacturing	27	-
Yarns & Threads - Manufacturing	28	1
Apparel & Other Finished Products made from fabrics, leather and similar materials	2 203	4
Lumber & Wood Products - Manufacturing	24	-
Furniture & Fixtures-Manufacturing	99	-
Printing, Publishing & Allied Industries	1 582	66
Professional Scientific and Controlling Instruments Photographic & Optical Goods, Watches & Clocks - Manufacturing	140	4
Jewellery , Silverware - Manufact- uring	127	2
Transportation, Communication & Utilities Services	483	41
Wholesale Trade & Indent Agents	1 645	206
Retail Trade - Building Materials & Hardware	233	20
Retail Trade - General Merchandise	1 455	163
Retail Trade - Food	136	16
Retail Trade - Automotive , marine craft, aircraft and accessories	401	140
Retail Trade Apparel & Accessories	962	63
Retail Trade Furniture-Home Furnishing Equipment	489	19

Table 6 : Cape Town City Centre Employment Survey  
January 1977 (Cont.)

<u>Work Type</u>	<u>Coloureds</u>	<u>Africans</u>
Retail Trade , Eating & Drinking	538	96
Other Retail Trade	605	41
Services -		
Government, Provincial Admin- istration, Divisional Council, Local Authority	2 065	40
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	2 390	278
Personal Services	336	18
Business Services	501	501
Repair Services	255	54
Professional Services	1 191	115
Contract Construction Services	405	47
Government Services	860	29
Educational Services	224	45
Miscellaneous Services	564	54
Cultural Entertainment & Recreation		
Cultural Activities & Nature Exhibitions	94	7
Public Assembly	67	33

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Source : Technical Management Services Department 1977.

WAGES

Major differences between average Coloured and African wages exist primarily because of the different job categories occupied by each group. Because the Cape is a 'Coloured Preferential' area and because of existing 'closed shop' agreements between employers organisations and Trade Unions, Africans are virtually limited to the lesser skilled types of positions.

The minimum wage for various categories of African labour differs between industries. This minima is set either by the Industrial Council, if one exists, for the industry concerned or by the Wage Board. An employer may pay more but not less than the stated minimum.

The actual wage a worker receives depends not only on the basic rate s/he is paid but also on the number of hours worked. These usually vary between 40 and 46 hours per week, though watchmen work up to 72 hours per week. Overtime worked during the week is paid at either at 1,33 or 1½ times the normal rate; that worked on Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays is either 1, 67 or twice the normal rate.

Africans

The following table indicates the average basic wages paid to Africans in unskilled to skilled positions in Cape Town in 1978. This is compared with the national average.

Table 7 : Average African Monthly Wages

	<u>Cape Peninsula</u>		<u>South Africa</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Unskilled :	R102-145	R73-108	R129-157	R102-116
Semi-skilled:	R142-160	R129	R182-212	R120-154
Skilled:	R190-359	R164-196	R244-441	R155-255

Source : Peromnes Salary Survey, September, 1978

Thus the wages for African males in Cape Town, according to this survey, are approximately 75% of those paid to Africans nationally ; approximately 60% of African males earn between R102-R119 per month in the Cape Peninsula in comparison with

between R129 - R244 per month nationally (Peromnes, 1978). Because the number of African females employed in companies in Cape Town is very small, an accurate comparison with national figures is difficult.

In a sample of 12 different industries in Cape Town in 1977 (Weichel and Bloch), the average wage for a male labourer over 18 was approximately R20,50 per week (R88,00 per month), the average wage for a female worker was approximately R16,00 per week (R69,00 per month) and the average wage for a watchman was approximately R23,00 per week (R99,00 per month). A 1978 employment survey in Crossroads revealed that the average wage for the 1 000 male respondents was R26,00 per week, or R112 per month (Graaff and Weichel, 1978).

African domestic and agricultural workers are not covered by any minimum wage legislation. The South African Institute of Race Relations (S.A.I.R.R.) recommends a minimum wage of R84 per month for a living in worker, plus all food and lodging, and R105 per month for a living-out worker, plus transport costs and lunch. They recommend that chars receive R5,50 for an eight hour day, plus transport costs and an hour off for lunch. In practice, however, domestic workers usually earn far less than the recommended wage.

#### Africans in Higher Positions:

The numbers and types of jobs higher up in the skills hierarchy open to Africans in the Peninsula are very limited. The following summarize nearly all the significant areas open to educated and trained Africans.

#### Teachers:

The Department of Education and Training employs teachers at schools in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu. A male teacher earns between R1 404- R4 680 per annum and a female between R1 188 - R4 320 per annum depending on their qualification and length of service.

#### Lecturers and Research Workers :

Four lecturers and 4 research workers are employed by the University of Cape Town; the former earning between R4 380 - R9 180 and the latter between R2 250 - R4 560 per annum

depending on qualification and length of service.

Nurses :

African nurses can virtually only find employment in day hospitals in the African townships or in private hospitals and clinics. The day hospitals employ approximately 45 nursing staff members, who earn between R1 740 - R4 050 depending on position and length of service.

Clerks :

Africans are permitted to do clerical work only where Xhosa (or another African language) is a prerequisite. Over 100 clerks are employed by the Administration Board at R1 620 - R2 700 per annum. Site and wage clerks working for building construction and civil engineering firms appear to earn approximately R200 per month. Only one or two Africans find jobs as clerks for every 100 who work as labourers.

Personnel and Training Officers :

The building construction and civil engineering firms employ a small number of Africans whose earnings appear to be slightly above those of the clerks.

Social Welfare Workers :

The Administration Board employs five social welfare workers at R2 220 - R2 850 per annum; a handful of other social workers are employed by private welfare organisations.

Coloureds :

Because Coloureds are engaged in a much greater variety of jobs and positions than Africans, the corresponding salaries are also much more diversified. The actual wage paid would be determined by the position, educational qualification, length of service, the specific company, the personality and capacity of the employee, and the Industrial Council or Wage Board agreement for the type of industry or business.

The following table indicates average basic wages paid to Coloureds in unskilled to skilled positions in the Cape Peninsula in 1978. This is compared to those paid nationally.

Table 8 : Average Coloured Monthly Wages

	<u>Cape Peninsula</u>		<u>South Africa</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Unskilled :	R129-174	R111-137	R160-178	R111-154
Semi-skilled:	R180-232	R146-221	R192-242	R166-217
Skilled :	R265-436	R191-273	R279-481	R197-287

Source : Peromnes Salary Survey, September, 1978

Approximately 40% of Coloured males in South Africa earn R160 per month, and the majority of Coloured females earn between R117-R166 per month. In the Cape Peninsula, the majority of Coloured males earn between R129-R180 per month and females earn between R111-R148 per month (Peromnes, 1978).

Wage and Salary Surveys in the Cape Peninsula over the past several years reveal two main patterns :

1) Where the work is regarded by employers as requiring above average efficiency and responsibility, the commencing rates are usually between R150 and R180 per month, rising to R250 or more after four years experience, with opportunities of promotion to R350 per month and over.

2) Occupations regarded by the employer as not requiring the same degree of responsibility, the starting salary would be between R90 and R125 per month, rising after four years to between R150 and R225, and in some cases to R290 and over (Cape Employers Association, 1975).

The following are examples of average monthly wages paid in Commerce in common categories of Coloured labour in 1977 in the Cape Peninsula.

Table 9 : Average Coloured Wages Paid in Commerce

<u>Position</u>	<u>Qualification</u>	<u>Wage</u>	<u>3 yrs experience</u>
Clerks : Male	Std. 8	R169	R218
Female	Std. 8	148	197
Male	Std.10	190	259
Female	Std.10	190	243
Typists: Female	Std. 8	150	224
Female	Std.10	201	249
Reception-ists : Female	Std. 8	182	234
Female	Std.10	208	257
Messenger: Male	Std. 7	108	181
Male	Std. 8	138	185
Drivers: Male		190	241
Labourers: Male		99	129

Source : Cape Town Chamber of Commerce Salary Sheets

Outside of the 'common' categories, Coloureds are found in much higher positions of skill and pay throughout Cape Town. Because these positions are so varied they are difficult to quantify. Artisans, for example, can earn between approximately R2,00 to R4,00 per hour, depending on the trade. Administrative and managerial positions command salaries in a much higher income bracket.

On the whole wages are the same for Africans and Coloureds in the same position. However a comparison of the range of average wages paid to both groups in the Cape Peninsula indicates a marked distinction.

Table 10 : Comparison of African and Coloured Wages

	<u>African</u>		<u>Coloured</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Unskilled :	R102-145	R73-108	R129-174	R111-137
Semi-skilled:	R142-160	R129	R180-232	R146-221
Skilled:	R190-359	R164-196	R265-436	R191-273

Source : Peromnes Salary Survey, September, 1978

The average salaries for both Coloured males and females is well above those of their African counterpart in the same level of skill. This is most likely due to the fact that Coloureds usually occupy the 'higher' types of posts within each category.

Earnings Related to the Household Subsistence Level

The following table indicates the Household Subsistence Level (H.S.L.) for a hypothetical family of six in Cape Town in 1978:

Table 11 : Household Subsistence Level : Cape Town Components

	<u>Primary H.S.L.</u>	<u>Rent</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>H.S.L.</u>
Africans	R129,39	R14,59	R6,63	R150,61
Coloureds	R127,36	R19,60	R8,89	R155,85

Source : Institute for Planning Research, University of Port Elizabeth

An examination of the figures in this section shows that only a small proportion of the hypothetical average African families in the Peninsula will be living safely above the subsistence level. A recent Market Research Africa survey in major centres in South Africa showed that an average African income of R106 per month is divided amongst an average of six household members, allowing only R18,00 to be spent on each per month, and that 58% of Coloured households make do with a monthly income of less than R250, allowing about R42,00 per month to be spent on each member.

## BENEFITS

Benefits offered to the African and Coloured employee (or condition of employment for the European employee) such as Unemployment Insurance, Medical Aid, Pensions and Sick Leave vary from company to company. Of course illegal African workers are not eligible for the above.

### Unemployment Insurance

In terms of the Unemployment Insurance Act (No. 30 of 1966) (U.I.F.), an Unemployment Insurance Fund was established, which is administered by the Department of Labour.

The bottom level at which workers qualify as contributors to the Fund is R10,50 per week or R564 per year. Domestic servants, farm labourers, contract workers and mine workers, and those who earn below R10,50 per week or more than R6 760 per year are excluded from the Fund.

In terms of the U.I.F. employees who are out of work cannot receive benefits from the Fund if they fail to take up "suitable" alternative employment offered to them. "Suitable" work is divided into two categories according to the workseeker's wage level. For those whose earnings did not exceed R780 per annum, it means any work including agriculture and domestic service; for those whose earnings were more than R780 per annum, the claims officer has the power to decide what constitutes "suitable" work, providing that the remuneration is not less than 75% of the contributor's normal salary. Because there are no statutory minimum wages for farm and domestic workers, the Act can thus be used to direct Africans to take jobs in these sectors irrespective of how poor the pay or working conditions.

Every employer must keep a record showing the name of every contributor, when s/he started working and contributing, the weekly or monthly rate of earnings, the date upon which the employer received the contributor's U.I.F. record card and when the work and contributions terminated.

However, Mr. Grobbelaar, Secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, explained "Employers are not registering Black workers under the Unemployment Insurance Act because it would reveal their excessive labour complements". It is common knowledge that employers quite often fail to apply for the U.I.F. cards.

The Second Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act (No. 108 of 1976) states that as from October 26 1976, (the date Transkei became independent) Transkei citizens working in South Africa ceased to be contributors to the Fund with the proviso that those who had been contributors are still eligible to claim from the Fund for a period of three years. After 1979 they will no longer be able to claim benefits (with the exception of death benefits) in South Africa.

However, it is not known whether Transkei will set up its own fund. It does not have the power to levy a weekly or monthly contribution on South African employees or to compel those employers to deduct contributions from Transkei citizens' pay packets.

An amendment passed in July 1977 states that the unemployed will be entitled to claim 45% of their previous earnings. The rates, for example, would be :-

Table 12: Unemployment Insurance Fund Contributions and Benefits

<u>Weekly Earnings</u>	<u>Contribution</u>	<u>Benefit</u>
R20,00	10c	R 9,00
R22,00	11c	R 9,90
R24,00	12c	R10,80
R26,00	13c	R11,70
R28,00	14c	R12,60
R30,00	15c	R13,50

Source : U.I.F. Act.

Note: An examination of the 1977 Amendment shows that many workers, particularly those in the lower half of each earnings bracket, will in fact receive a smaller benefit than under the old Act despite having to pay higher contributions than previously.

Benefits are not paid to a contributor for more than 26 weeks in any period of 52 consecutive weeks. There is often a minimum period of 8 months which varies from employer to employer before the first deductions are made. This effectively excludes seasonal workers.

#### Medical Aid

Many companies still offer Medical Aid facilities as a benefit to White or White and Coloured employees only. The Cape Employer's Association 1975 Wage and Salary Survey covering 80 firms in Cape Town found that :

- 1) 29% of the firms had a scheme which included ALL employees.
- 2) 22% of the firms had a scheme for Whites only.
- 3) 49% of the firms had a scheme for all monthly paid staff (many of the Coloured and African workers are paid weekly or bi-weekly).

The firms in the survey belonged to a wide range of schemes :

- 1) 24% ran their own scheme
- 2) 22% came under Industrial Council Schemes
- 3) 54% belonged to private run projects

Where Medical Aid schemes for Africans are operative, the monthly contributions are often small so that only limited medical costs can be covered. For example, the Food and Canning Workers Union has a Medical Scheme towards which African labourers pay 13c per week and employers pay 6c which increases proportionately with the salary earned. The small contributions prohibit any real accumulation of Medical Aid funds.

Several companies interviewed stated that although Medical Aid Schemes are offered by their company, the majority of African and Coloured workers chose not to join. Deductions vary according to the company, and are often perceived as too high in comparison with what they would spend at a Provincial Hospital in a time of crisis. Because the Provincial Hospitals are subsidized, the cost of one visit may be less than the monthly deduction. For example, if the gross income of the individual's family is R100 or less, the cost of one visit is R1,00, which includes all medicine and X-rays needed; if the

income is R101-R200, the charge is R4,00 per visit.

### Tuberculosis

Over half the employers covered by the survey arranged an annual screening for tuberculosis ; others stated they would do so if mobile clinics visited their factories.

### Pensions

Again, many companies still offer Pension and Provident Fund facilities to White and White and Coloured employees only, though there has been a substantial change since 1972 when the majority of non-White personnel were not included in pension schemes. The Cape Employers Association (C.E.A.) survey showed that in 1975 98% of the firms interviewed made provision for some or all of their employees. A number of these firms are subject to Industrial Councils which make it compulsory for certain personnel (e.g. artisans) to be covered by the Council Pension Fund.

For those companies not belonging to Industrial Council Funds, there are several group Pension/Provident schemes available : (1)

- 1) Cape Chamber of Industries Group Pension Plan
- 2) Insurance Company Pension Schemes (Some are structured around the employee irrespective of how many times s/he changes jobs.) Pensions are available to both migrant and domestic workers.
- 3) Cape Employers Association Group Provident Fund (this includes White or Coloured personnel not eligible for pension cover, and coloured and African personnel below artisan status).
- 4) The Midland Chamber of Industries Group Pension Fund.
- 5) The State Old Age Pension

The State Old Age Pension theoretically covers all employees not covered by any other Fund. The maximum pension allowed for Africans is R27,16 per month, plus a full income allowance of R6,66, and R63,50 per month for Coloureds.

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- (1) A Pension Fund can only be drawn in one lump sum at retirement. A Provident Fund can be drawn at different times under various circumstances. Most Provident Funds cover a wider range of benefits than a Pension Fund, e.g. death benefits for the spouse, disability benefits and individual housing loans; thus there is usually a higher contribution required.

### Workmen's Compensation

The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1941 established an Accident Fund under the control of the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner. Most employers, with the exception of the State and large municipalities, contribute to this Fund. The State and larger municipalities carry their own compensatory risks. The provisions of this Act do not differentiate in terms of race, class or sex. Prior to 1967 the method of calculating compensation differed as between African workers and employees of other population groups but these differences have been largely eliminated. The Workmen's Compensation Act (No. 15 of 1971) increased the benefits payable to all eligible persons irrespective of class or origin (Leistner & Breytenbach 1975). The Act applies to any person working in a factory, workshop, or office whose average earnings do not exceed R7 260 per annum.

Every employer must annually fill out a Wage Return form for all wages paid to employees (Casual employees are excluded). This is sent to the Labour Bureau where an assessment is made of the amount which should be paid towards workmen's compensation by the employer. This is a percentage of the total wage bill.

When a worker has an accident, Workmen's Compensation pays for all medical expenses, plus 75% of his normal wage, (up to R400 per month) while he is away from work. If he is away under 14 days the first three days are not paid; if over 14 days, the worker would receive funds for all days missed.

If the worker is killed, a pension is paid to the wife (or relatives) and all children under 18 over a period of time. R75 is paid towards the burial costs.

One firm stated that in the past they had advanced money to seriously injured workers because of the red tape involved with official payment.

### Sick Leave

Sick leave pay is mandatory in some industries. It is usually accumulated at the rate of one day per month worked. Thus the normal 10 day sick leave pay would not apply to seasonal workers. It appears that the days not worked are often deducted from the worker's salary.

Some workers are covered by a stipulated minimum duration of sick leave. The Factories Act and Shops and Offices Act stipulate a minimum of two weeks sick leave per year, with a pro rata share during the first 12 months of employment.

Under each Act the pro rata provision is :

- 1) Five day week establishments : One day's paid sick leave for each completed five weeks of employment.
- 2) Six day week establishments : One day's paid sick leave per completed month of employment.

For personnel not covered by Industrial Council Sick Funds, the results of the C.E.A. survey indicated that both weekly and monthly paid personnel in most cases receive a minimum of two weeks sick leave per year. In some cases extra sick leave is earned with a longer service.

One firm interviewed stated that they no longer offered sick leave pay because of 'unscrupulous' doctors who signed medical certificates for a small fee. This resulted in many workers taking off their full sick leave allotment, particularly towards the end of the year.

Another firm said it was up to the discretion of the foreman to decide whether the man ought to be paid or not.

#### Annual Leave

Both the Factories Act and the Shops and Offices Act prescribe a minimum of two consecutive weeks leave per year. Wage Determinations seldom exceed the two weeks minimum. A number of Industrial Councils make provision for up to three weeks leave per year.

54% of the firms covered in the C.E.A. survey give three weeks annual leave to all employees and a number of others do so for monthly paid administrative and office personnel only.

#### Long Service Leave

Approximately half of the firms interviewed made some provision for leave extension after five to ten years of service. In some cases this is limited to higher paid personnel but in others it extends to all categories of workers.

### Paid Public Holidays

The Public Holidays Act merely designates certain holidays as public holidays but does not stipulate that they are to be paid holidays.

The Factories Act lists six holidays as paid public holidays : 1) Christmas Day, 2) New Year's Day, 3) Day of the Covenant, 4) Good Friday, 5) Ascension Day, 6) Republic Day. The remainder are ordinary working days as far as the Factories Act is concerned. Industrial Councils and Wage Board Determinations can add others to this list.

The Shops and Offices Act makes all statutory public holidays as paid holidays. January 2nd in the Cape Province is a compulsory closing day for shops under the relevant Provincial Ordinance.

### Leave Bonus

Leave bonus has become standard practise for officials in the engineering, electrical and printing industries, and is spreading throughout other industries as well. The latest engineering agreement, for example, has a graduated scale depending on the salary and the length of service of personnel from unskilled labourers upwards. The lower paid employees initially receive R32 holiday bonus rising to R47 over a period of time with the same employer.

Confusion regarding a holiday bonus has arisen in some industries that close over the Christmas period, e.g. the building industry. The end of year "holiday fund" is often the employees leave pay and not an extra payment.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

The Need for Training

The question of the shortage of skilled persons in the South African economy has become increasingly prominent in recent years. It has been estimated (Wyndham & Parsons 1974) that by 1980 approximately 3,8 million skilled workers will be needed; at least 2 million of these will have to be Black since there will be only approximately 1,8 million economically active Whites available. Figures have been projected which show that the Republic is educating Blacks in insufficient numbers; by 1980 there will be only 0,775 million skilled Blacks if the rate of training is not increased, whereas 2 million are needed.

The work 'training' is multi-faceted and it is useful to look at a formal definition:- "Traditionally training was viewed as the acquisition of skills pertaining to a particular job, while education was viewed as the general intellectual development of the individual which was mostly accomplished by educational institutions. Today a different view applies to training ..... training refers to all those activities ranging from the acquisition of simple skills to the development and change of complex socio-emotional attitudes." Thus training is seen to be part of a whole development process and the words 'training' and 'development' are often found linked.

Training is a tool to achieve objectives. From the macro perspective, it can be a means of increasing productivity and total national output by developing the nation's finite supply of human resources.

To a firm, training can help increase profits by contributing towards :-

- a) increased productivity
- b) reduced labour turnover
- c) improved employee climate
- d) savings on costs of materials and machines
- e) better quality output
- f) improved safety

To the individual workers, training can lead to increased productivity at work and hence the possibility of commanding a higher wage.

Industrial training can be divided into several types, e.g. induction, operative, safety, supervisory, and personal development, (e.g. literacy training). Training can also be of various kinds, e.g. by co-workers on the job, by supervisors on the job and formal courses within a firm or outside institutions.

It is a growing feeling among training and personnel managers that all new employees must be given some form of training, no matter how basic their job. However, on-the-job training has been criticised as less effective than more formalised, institutional training. Professor Arndt Spandau wrote in 1974 that "even enlightened firms hardly provide any institutionalised training at all. In the factories, most training is done under the instruction of the foreman rather than under the auspices of a centralised training centre. Foremen and journeymen, however, are preoccupied with production rather than with the instruction of their charges. On the job training is, therefore, generally less effective than institutionalised training " (Federated Chamber of Industries 1974).

The training of a labour force to its maximum potential skill level is a necessary condition for it to be efficient. The existence of an efficient rather than inefficient labour force implies the possibility of a higher potential standard of living for everyone.

#### Training for Africans in the Peninsula

The Cape Peninsula has very few training facilities open to Africans. In other parts of the country training facilities include Technical Secondary Schools and Colleges, Trade Schools, Vocational Training Schools for girls, Industrial Training Centres and Colleges for Advanced Technical Education.

There is one temporary basic industrial training school for African boys of high school age, which was opened in January 1978 in Guguletu. The courses presently offered include

woodworking, welding, electricity and bricklaying. There are plans for a more permanent and larger training centre catering for all age groups, which will be built in 1979 in Guguletu.

The Urban Foundation has established a construction training team to train black artisans in the Western Cape, who are presently training at the Building Industry Training Centre.

#### Training Funds and Boards

Various training funds and schemes have been established in terms of Section 48 of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Usually an Industrial Council arranges that levies be paid by each company into a training fund based on the number of employees. Grants are made to employers who undertake the training of their workers themselves. Occasionally a Training Board is set up by the Industrial Council and financed from the training fund. The Board runs training courses open to employers in its respective industry and offers advice to individual firms with their own training programme. For example, the Civil Engineering Training Board has organised courses in basic skills for Africans within the industry.

Tax concessions in respect of costs of approved training schemes are regulated by the Income Tax Act (No. 85 of 1974) and are currently only open to training schemes for Africans. Generally the employer can recover 92 cents of every R1.00 spent on training (People and Profits, April, 1977).

Approximately twelve firms, including the larger building construction and civil engineering firms run such private in-service industrial training schemes registered with the Department of Education and Training. Six more schemes are currently awaiting registration (Smith, 1977).

The Peninsula Administration Board employs over 100 African workers registered in terms of the Black Building Workers Act.

## Training for Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula

There are a variety of training institutions and centres open to Coloureds in the Peninsula. Some are administered and financed by the State, and others are administered privately :

### State institutions

- 1) University of the Western Cape
- 2) University of Cape Town
- 3) Hewat Training College
- 4) Bellville Training College
- 5) The Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education
- 6) Roggebaai Training School
- 7) Wesley Training School
- 8) The Athlone Technical College
- 9) Zonnebloem Training School
- 10) The Training Centre for Seamen
- 11) The Landdrost Hotel School
- 12) Bon Esperance Catering School
- 13) The Training Centre for Motor Mechanics

Many of the private schools and centres in Cape Town are open to Coloured enrolment. Some of the centres are predominantly Coloured because of the nature of the work involved. These would include the Cape Clothing Industry Training Centre and the Building Industry Training Centre for apprentices in the skilled trades and for operative block layers.

In addition there are numerous specific courses offered by various organisations in Cape Town. For example :-

- 1) The Coloured Development Corporation offers courses for managers and businessmen :  
The courses include a) Retail management, b) Hairdressing management, c) Customer relations, and d) Communication and in-service training.
- 2) The Cape Employers Association run courses on : a) Industrial Relations b) Production management c) Supervisory management, d) Basic accounting, e) Merit assessment, f) Inventory control, g) Work study, and h) Xhosa.

- 3) The National Development and Management Foundation offers a) Supervisory courses, b) Communication courses, c) Time management, d) Store keeping and stock control, e) Work study, f) Basic accounting, g) Report writing, and h) Correct use of the telephone in business.
- 4) The Commerce and Industry Training Committee, consisting of various organisations and concerned individuals, organises training courses in conjunction with the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education.
- 5) Some non-profit institutions and firms in the private sector offer different types of business courses. In addition, training has been undertaken by certain bulk-buying organisations, such as the Spar Group. Courses cover a wide range of subjects and are offered to all levels of businessmen.

There is thus a striking difference between the type and the number of facilities open to Coloureds and Africans in the Peninsula.

TRANSPORT

The majority of African and Coloured workers travel by bus, train, or a combination of both to their place of work. Employers of both African and Coloured employees pay a levy of 20c per individual per week which subsidizes the weekly return fares.

The following costs have been calculated for both bus and train fares from the various places of African and Coloured residence :

Table 13 : African Bus Fares - Regular Routes

<u>Route</u>	<u>Single Journey</u>	<u>10 Journeys (3)</u>	<u>Time</u>
	<u>Face Value</u>	<u>Subsidized Price (4)</u>	
Nyanga - Claremont	25c	R1,50	48 min.
Nyanga - Bellville	16c	1,50	30
Nyanga - Parow	16c	1,50	30
Escom - Parow (1)	25c	1,50	30
Guguletu - Athlone	16c	.80	25
Guguletu - Claremont	25c	1,50	30
Heideveld St. - Claremont (2)	25c	1,50	50
Langa - Mutual	25c	1,50	20
Langa - Mowbray	25c	1,50	30
Langa - N'dabeni	25c	1,50	22
Langa - Athlone	25c	1,50	20
Heideveld via Mowbray - Cape Town	40c	2,60	50
Heideveld - Mowbray	20c	1,50	40
Heideveld freeway to - Cape Town	40c	3,00	50
Heideveld - Claremont	25c	1,50	48
Nyanga - Mowbray	25c	2,00	45

Source : City Tramways 1978

(1) Escom houses many of its workers, the majority of whom work in Parow.

- (2) Heideveld Street serves section 3 of Guguletu.
- (3) City Tramways have a 'Clip card' system offering subsidised prices on weekly tickets.
- (4) Subsidies are received from the Department of Transport subsidy fund.

Table 14: Coloured Bus Fares - Regular Routes

<u>Station</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Weekly Rate</u>
Cape Town	Mowbray	R1,10
	Schotsche Kloof	R1,50
	Walmer Estate	R1,50
	Claremont	R2,00
Cape Town/Mowbray	Bonteheuwel	R2,60
	Bridgetown	R2,60
	Hanover Park	R2,60
	Heideveld	R2,60
	Manenberg	R2,60
Claremont	Hanover Park	R1,50
	Manenberg	R1,50
	Heideveld	R1,50
Wynberg	Hanover Park	R1,50
Mowbray	Bonteheuwel	R1,50
	Bridgetown	R1,50
	Manenberg	R1,50
	Heideveld	R1,50
	Crawford	R1,50
	Hanover Park	R1,50
	Epping Industria	Hanover Park
	Mowbray	R2,50
Parow Industria	Hanover Park	R2,50
Bellville	Bellville South	R1,10
	Glenhaven	
	University of Western Cape	R1,10
Paarden Eiland	Factreton	R2,00
	Mowbray	R2,00

Source : City Tramways, 1978

Table 15: Return African Train Fares - Townships to Cape Town

<u>Station</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Daily</u>	<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>
Langa St.	1st	55c	R2,40	R8,80
	3rd	21c	,81	3,51
Heideveld St.	1st	73c	3,20	11,70
	3rd	27c	1,00	4,34
Nyanga St.	1st	82c	3,60	13,10
	3rd	31c	1,08	4,70

Source : S.A.R. 1978

The travelling time for all of the above is about 30 minutes. Allowing for  $\pm$  15 minutes to walk to the train from home and  $\pm$  15 minutes to walk from the station to work, the total travelling time could be estimated at approximately two hours per day. The trains run about every 15 minutes.

Table 16: Return Fares - Nyanga-Bellville (1)

<u>Class</u>	<u>Daily</u>	<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>
1st	85c	R3,75	R13,60
3rd	32c	R1,11	R4,81

Source : S.A.R. 1978

(1) Before the Administration Board took over, Nyanga was under the jurisdiction of the Divisional Council which specified that all workers living in Divisional Council areas had to work within the area. Although this no longer applies, many Nyanga residents have remained in their same job in Bellville.

The distance is approximately 17 kilometres; the trains must be changed once. However, many workers prefer to take the bus because they go directly to their work place.

Table 17: Train Fares - Coloured

Station	3rd Workers(1) Weekly		1st Weekly		3rd Weekly		1st Monthly		3rd Monthly	
	R	c	R	c	R	c	R	c	R	c
Woodstock	0	33	1	00	0	40	3	70	1	45
Salt River	0	43	1	30	0	52	4	65	1	88
Mowbray	0	53	1	55	0	63	5	60	2	29
Rosebank	0	57	1	65	0	68	6	10	2	48
Rondebosch	0	61	1	80	0	73	6	55	2	67
Newlands	0	66	1	95	0	78	7	05	2	85
Claremont	0	69	2	05	0	83	7	50	3	02
Harfield	0	73	2	15	0	88	7	85	3	19
Kenilworth	0	77	2	30	0	92	8	30	3	36
Wynberg	0	81	2	40	0	97	8	80	3	51
Plumstead	0	88	2	70	1	05	9	75	3	81
Dieprivier	0	91	2	80	1	09	10	25	3	95
Heathfield	0	94	2	95	1	12	10	70	4	09
Retreat	1	00	3	20	1	19	11	70	4	34
Steenberg	1	05	3	50	1	26	12	65	4	58
Muizenberg	1	15	4	00	1	38	14	55	5	01
Kalk bay	1	20	4	25	1	43	15	50	5	21
Fish Hoek	1	26	4	65	1	51	16	95	5	48
Simonstown	1	37	5	40	1	64	19	70	5	95
<u>Cape Flats</u>	R	c	R	c	R	c	R	c	R	c
Maitland	0	53	1	55	0	63	5	60	2	29
Ndabeni	0	57	1	65	0	68	6	10	2	45
Oude Molen	0	61	1	80	0	73	6	55	2	67
Pinelands	0	66	1	95	0	78	7	05	2	85
Athlone	0	77	2	30	0	92	8	30	3	36
Crawford	0	81	2	40	0	97	8	80	3	51
Lansdowne	0	84	2	55	1	01	9	30	3	67
Wetton	0	91	2	80	1	09	10	25	3	95
Ottery	0	94	2	95	1	12	10	70	4	09
Southfield	1	03	3	35	1	23	12	15	4	47

Source : S.A. Railways 1978

(1) The majority of workers travel 3rd class on the Workers Weekly ticket which is valid for 10 journeys. It means though that the workers may only travel once each way per day instead of being able to travel numerous times each way on the other ticket.

Travelling Costs for Automobiles

Table 18: Average Car Costs - Selected Coloured and African Townships to Cape Town

Suburb	Kilometres	Size of Car	Return Price	Price for 2 Passengers (2)	Price for 4 Passengers
Langa (African)	11	Small	R2,32	R1,16	R ,58
Athlone (Coloured)		Medium	2,88	1,44	,72
		Large	3,44	1,72	,86
Nyanga (African)	17	Small	3,58	1,79	,89
Hanover Park (Coloured)		Medium	4,46	2,23	1,11
		Large	5,32	2,66	1,33
Guguletu (African)	18,5	Small	3,90	1,95	,97
		Medium	4,86	2,43	1,21
		Large	5,78	2,89	1,44
Mitchell's Plain (Coloured)	26	Small	5,48	2,74	1,37
		Medium	6,82	3,41	1,70
		Large	8,14	4,07	2,03

Source : Own calculations based on A.A. figures

Note 1: The three chosen Coloured areas represent those of a close, medium, and far proximity to Cape Town.

Note 2: The "Lift Club" Law states that everyone in the club must have a car, they must take turns driving, and they must notify their 3rd Party Insurance Company.

Some car owners, because of the relatively high cost of motoring, would prefer to take public transport to work. In view of the dispersed location of jobs, however, public transport often cannot supply the service, and motor vehicles are the only alternatives.

For African workers living in Langa, Nyanga or Guguletu earning approximately R100 per month, the monthly expenditure on travel would range between R3,30 and R8,80 depending on the township and the mode of transport. This would represent 3,3%-8,8% of his/her income.

For Coloured workers living in Athlone, Hanover Park or Mitchell's Plain, the monthly expenditure on travel would range between R3,20 and R15,00 depending on the suburb and the mode of

transport. For those workers earning approximately R150 per month, this would represent 2% - 10% of his/her income.

The combined bus/train service is time consuming for most passengers who often live a long way from their places of employment and are obliged to change buses and trains several times. Speaking with numerous Africans, an average time spent on travelling from home to work ranged between an hour and one and a half hours each way.

Some employers have to provide special transport for their Coloured or African employees, either where the public transportation system is poor between the residential areas and the place of employment or where the site is out of the main circuit of public transportation.

In the Cape Employers' Association Wage and Salary Survey over half of the employers stated they were compelled to provide special transport for some of their employees, which cost them between R50 - R100 per week. Employers have to apply to the local Road Transportation Board for authority to convey their employees to and from their place of work. The Board must decide whether the public transportation is sufficient or not.

A survey of peak-hour travel modes to the Central business district showed that in 1975, 59,4% and 13,3% of non-White commuters used the train and bus respectively, while the remainder (27,3%) travelled by car. In 1978, 53% travelled by train, 12% by bus, and 35% by car (Cape Town City Council Surveys, 1975, 1978).

SELF EMPLOYMENT

In this report self-employment refers to those who work for themselves or for other Africans or Coloureds. The formal sector includes the licensed, or registered, activities; the informal sector includes those that are not licensed.

Formal Sector - Africans

African traders have been heavily restricted by numerous Government regulations. The most comprehensive restrictions were imposed in 1963 in a Government circular (A/12/1 - A/8/1) which have been in force up until 1976:

1. Africans may not operate more than one business.
2. Africans may only operate outlets which provide in the daily essential needs of the township inhabitants. New licences for dry cleaners, garages and petrol stations, for example, were not to be granted. Persons already holding such licences were allowed to operate until the 'opportunity arises to close' the concerns or to persuade the owners to move to an African Homeland.
3. Africans may not erect their own buildings.
4. Africans may not trade as peddlars, hawkers or speculators of livestock.
5. Trading rights may not be granted to Africans originating from areas outside the Republic.

Further restrictions were introduced in 1968:

1. Africans may not operate sites in more than one urban residential area.
2. Africans may not deliver or sell goods to non-Africans living outside the urban residential area.
3. No structural alterations to buildings or fittings may be affected without the written permission of the local authority.

These restrictions were slightly changed in 1976 in the Government Gazette (No. 5108 of May 7 1976) :-

1. Trading licences no longer have to be applied for annually.
2. Partnerships of Africans who meet the residential requirements and who possess a Homeland's citizenship certificate are permitted.
3. Companies in which shares are held solely by residentially qualified Africans are permitted.
4. A trader may purchase buildings erected by the Board or erect his own building with his own funds.
5. A trader may sell various types of goods within his establishment, providing he has the appropriate licences.
6. An African may run a filling station in Cape Town.

These restrictions were again changed in 1978 (Government Gazette No. 6163 of September 22nd, 1978) :

1. Traders no longer have to meet specific residential qualifications ; instead they need to be authorised by the relevant administration board.
2. Branches may be opened in any African area throughout the country, and partnerships between traders from different cities is no longer prohibited.
3. Traders can carry on more than one kind of business on more than one site and sell or deliver produce to non-Africans outside the area.

Although the list of trades, businesses and professions has been lengthened, there are still important omissions, especially that of industry.

The following are monthly rentals paid for trading sites (Government Gazette No. 5911 March 10, 1978):

Langa : Payments range from R5,50 per month for a Hairdresser's Shop to R64,00 per month for a Butcher.

Guguletu : Payments range from R12,00 for a Firewood, Coal and Scrapmetal Yard to R45,00 for a Butcher.

Nyanga : Payments range from R6,50 for a Firewood, Coal and Scrapmetal Yard to R101,00 for a General Dealer. Hawkers' stalls have a monthly rental of approximately R2,00 in all three townships.

The trading licences, standard for all three townships, are the following (Provincial Gazette No. 3696 November 9, 1972):

1. The minimum for a general dealer is R40,00 which increases proportionately with the value of stock up to a maximum of R1 000,00.
2. A hawker's licence ranges from a minimum of R3,00 to R21,00 depending on what is sold.
3. A butcher's licence ranges from R40,00 for a retail butcher to R210 for a wholesale butcher.
4. A restaurant keeper's licence is R40,00.

Table 19 : African Enterprises in the Cape Peninsula 1975

Type of Business	Langa	Guguletu	Nyanga
General Dealers	20	22	12
Handicraft Stalls	4	-	-
Hairdressers/Barbers	6	5	-
Butcheries	5	7	3
Cafes	3	1	3
Motor Spares	1	-	-
Outfitters	3	1	-
Cobblers	10	5	-
Milk Shops	1	6	7
Tailors	11	6	-
Carpenters	2	2	-
Fish Shops	1	6	1
Dressmakers	2	-	-
Greengrocers	1	1	3
Tinsmiths	-	1	3
Undertakers	-	1	1
Iron Mongers	-	1	1
Stationeries	-	2	-
Vegetable Stalls	-	-	16
Wood & Coal Merchants	-	-	1
	<u>70</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>47</u>

Source : Du Plessis 1975.

There appeared to be a variety of problems African traders encountered in setting up their own shops :-

1. A difficulty in acquiring loans or finance ; generally Africans are not able to obtain bank loans because they have no fixed property or security.
2. A lack of storage space in the African areas combined with the fact that it is illegal for Africans to hire storerooms in White areas, prohibits both the accumulation of stock and the opportunity to buy in bulk. Because they must buy in relatively small quantities the prices are proportionately higher. This automatically decreases their competitiveness with White shops.
3. Insurance is extremely difficult to obtain and when obtainable it is very expensive because of the relatively high danger of theft, fire, etc. Insurance is even more difficult, if not impossible to obtain since the 1976 riots. One firm which had been insured has not yet been paid out.
4. According to our interviews, there is a high turnover of staff. This results in generally inexperienced and untrained staff.
5. Traders had a general lack of business education and retailing experience.

The majority of traders interviewed had started their outlets because they wanted to be independent.

African traders appeared to have been particularly hard-hit by the current economic slump. Their lack of competitiveness especially counts against them when the high numbers of unemployed become increasingly price conscious.

Formal Sector - Coloureds

Coloured traders are allowed to own their own businesses within the Coloured areas, and may hold as much as 49% of the shares of any company within the White areas. City Council regulations stipulate that only one shop may be allocated per person within the City Council Housing estates ; however, in practise there are different ways of circumventing this regulation. For example an individual may have each of his shops registered in a different child's name, or he may own one shop in the City Council area and one in the Divisional Council area, or alternatively he may have various partnerships.

The Coloured trader must obtain a licence with the relevant local authority. Each building is initially inspected by the Health Department and by the City Engineer's Department to ensure that it meets basic requirements.

The monthly rental for Coloured traders ranges from R1.00 to R2.50 per square metre, depending on the housing estate and the specific location of the individual shop. The larger the shop, the less the rate per square metre.

The following are the number of Coloured Retail and Service Outlets and Manufacturing Industries in Cape Town in 1975 :

1) Table 20 : Retail and Service Outlets

A) <u>Retail</u>		B) <u>Services</u>	
Butcher	154	Hairdresser	103
Supermarket	22	Dry Cleaner	75
Other food	710	Shoe Repair	26
Clothing	148	Service Station	49
Shoes	38	Tailor	37
Furniture	60	Liquor Outlet	34
Chemist	22	Hotel	6
Other	40	Cinema	17
		Bank	25
Total	<u>1 194</u>	Undertaker	6
		Other	69
		Total	<u>1 641</u>

Source : C.D.C. Surveys No. 6 & No. 7 (1975): No. 8 & No. 9 (1976).

2) Table 21 : Manufacturing Sector

Clothing	20	Waste salvage/scrap	4
Leather products	1	Glazing	1
Furniture	19	Concrete products	2
Wood products	11	Printers	6
Metal products	12	Other	1
Transport Equip.	8		
Jewellery	3	Total	102
Beverages	8		
Paint	1		
Retreaders	4		
Silencers	1		

Source : C.D.C. Survey No. 8 (1976)

Characteristics of the Retail Sector

The retail sector is dominated by small "corner shops" or general dealers. A Coloured Development Corporation (C.D.C.) Survey (No. 10 in 1976) showed that most general dealers had a sales area of between 30 to 60 square metres and offered counter services only. Storage areas were small, indicating low turnovers and low stock holdings. The majority of general dealers (65%) rented the premises.

The survey showed that there were on average three full time and one part time employees per general dealer. A large proportion of employees were members of the owner's family, including wives, daughters-in-law, mothers and children. Approximately 34% of all respondents who were general dealers did not have any paid employees at all.

Table 22 : Turnover of Selected Outlets in Cape Town, 1976

Turnover R. per month	General Dealers	Specialised Shops	Butch-eries	Hardware Shops	Clothing Shops
Less than 1 000	12,1	6,7	-	11,1	13,3
1,001-3 000	24,3	26,7	28,6	22,2	26,7
3 001-5 000	20,6	26,7	33,3	22,2	20,0
5 001-10 000	18,7	31,1	33,3	33,3	26,7
10 001-15 000	15,9	6,7	-	11,1	13,3
Over 15 000	8,4	2,2	4,8	-	-
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source : C.D.C. Survey No. 10 (1976)

The generally low turnovers in the retail sector have been broadly attributed to "...Atomistic competition within the Coloured areas, insufficient patronage by local inhabitants because of competition in adjacent White areas, lack of a dynamic approach to retailing by Coloured businessmen and fragmentation of retailing activities. Low entry costs guarantee a steady stream of aspirant traders, and the availability of the family to work for little or no wage further adds to ease of entry " (Wilson, 1977, pg. 86).

Table 23: Commercial Activities in Selected Areas in Cape Town

<u>Area</u>	<u>Population in 1975</u>	<u>Retail Outlets</u>	<u>Service Outlet</u>
Athlone (trade area)	243 100	467	638
Elsies River	160 400	220	91
Kensington	40 100	95	126
Wynberg	12 500	55	80
Bonteheuwel	50 600	58	66
Manenberg	35 100	7	11
Bishop Lavis	30 800	8	4
Ocean View	8 800	7	2

Source : C.D.C. Survey No. 6 & No. 7 (1975) No. 8 (1976)

Characteristics of the Manufacturing Sector

The C.D.C. Survey (No.10 of 1976) showed that only a small proportion of respondents were not owners of their enterprise. Most undertakings were either partnerships or individual proprietorships, while ownership normally remained in the control of the family. In 73% of the cases, members of the owner's family were employed in the business.

The average employment per enterprise was between 40-50 persons. Most of the firms relied to a large extent on skilled or artisan labour, which is undoubtedly attributed to the nature of the firm's activities.

Investment in equipment was generally not considerable, though the value of equipment varied substantially. The range was between several thousand Rand in the case of small engineering firms to over R10 000 for furniture manufacturers to over R100 000 for larger beverage producers.

17% of respondents had achieved primary school education only, while 70% had gone no further than secondary levels. Both University attendance and participation in business courses was unusual.

Certain services by "non-Coloured" organisations were granted permits under group areas legislation to operate services in Coloured areas on the grounds that they would not otherwise be supplied. One example is financial institutions. Very few branches of banks, building societies or insurance companies actually exist in the Coloured areas at present.

The type and number of business activities located in White areas run by Coloured businessmen are difficult to identify. Services for non-Whites in White areas, such as restaurant facilities, are few in number and operated predominantly by Whites.

#### Informal Sector : Coloureds and Africans

The informal sector comprises an immensely wide range of economic activities which take place without formal licensing and without the expressed approval of the authorities. These activities are usually based on home production, whereby overheads and labour costs are low and rent is not included in the price of the final product.

The informal sector exists not only because of the existence of a pool of unemployed workers but also because it can supply goods and services more competitively than the formal sector. These goods and services would otherwise be unavailable or available only at a higher cost.

The informal sector, then, satisfies demands not satisfied by formal activities. For example, illegal lodgings are often the only accommodation for illegal migrants. Also, in buying food from a formal food seller, one pays for the sellers observation of legislated health standards.

Informal commercial activities serve important functions in terms of skilled training, capital accumulation, and employment. The C.D.C. found in their surveys that these informal or marginal activities are often the forerunners of more sophisticated ventures. They cited numerous incidences of the progression from informal

tailors to clothing manufacturers. Malay businessmen are particularly active in the manufacturing of clothing, which has evolved largely from their tailoring activities.

The predominance of the informal sector is difficult to measure, though recent surveys have shown that its role is clearly an important one. A comparative study of Nyanga and Crossroads (Weichel et al, 1978) revealed that approximately 55% of the people living in Nyanga and 50% of the people in Crossroads are involved in some form of informal activity.

The average weekly gross income in Crossroads was approximately R40. This income was comparatively higher than that earned in the formal sector; the average weekly individual income in Crossroads was R29,00 and R28,00 in Nyanga. These figures are substantiated by current research in Clermont, an African township near Durban, that suggest that as much as 55% of income may be derived from informal sector activities (Maasdorp & Humphries, 1977).

In both studies, a wide range of activities were found: Carpenters ; seamstresses; fruit, vegetable and candy sellers; car repairers; plumbers; second-hand clothes dealers; private taxi operators; home-made furniture salesmen; dry cleaning agents; travel agents; metal box makers, and many other types of activity.

A variety of reasons were given for involvement in the informal sector. The main reasons revolved around the lack of job opportunities and employment in the formal sector, plus the lack of security of formally held jobs. Some saw it as a means of assisting the community by providing for their material needs. One of the over-riding reasons was that the possibilities for success in the informal sector were seen to be far better than the potential for success in the formal sector.

The informal sector is thus an important link in the urban development chain by helping to provide opportunities for independent leadership and managerial experience.

## WORKER REPRESENTATION

Africans and Coloureds are represented by different forms of worker representation because of existing legislation and its implications. Africans are represented by works and liaison committees established in terms of the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act (No. 84 of 1977) and Coloureds are represented by trade unions.

### Africans

Three main reasons for the relatively ineffective bargaining position of African labour in the Peninsula have limited the organisation of African workers. Firstly, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 excluded Africans from the definition of employee and withdrew all legal recognition of Africans as trade union members. Secondly, Security Police harassment and the application of legislation permitting bannings, indefinite detention without trial, etc. has removed effective union organisers and discouraged others. Thirdly, the Coloured Labour Preference Policy and the migrant labour system ensure little security and continuity in the employment of workers.

The following are the types of organisations through which African workers are represented.

### Trade Unions

African trade unions are legal but not officially recognised. African unions in the Peninsula have virtually died out for the reasons given above. The only surviving union in the Peninsula is the Food and Canning Workers Union. It exists in conjunction with its registered Coloured counterpart. Together they have approximately 5 000 members. The Coloured union can act as a mouthpiece for the African workers in Industrial Council meetings.

Union meetings are held whenever specific grievances need to be discussed. Fees of 20c per week are deducted directly from the wages of the Coloured but not the African workers. The Coloured and African sections of the union each have a paid secretary whose salary is paid from the weekly dues. The secretaries organise meetings whenever matters need to be discussed and also maintain contact with the employers.

The majority of employers within the Food and Canning Industry recognise and co-operate with the African union. They take part in the medical aid scheme started by the union, contributing 6c or more per week per worker in proportion to their earnings. African workers pay 13c per week towards the scheme.

The secretary of the African union felt that it had survived because of the long history of union involvement by its members and the perceived benefits arising therefrom.

#### Western Province Workers Advice Bureau

The Bureau is a private organisation which helps workers organise themselves into factory committees and in practice performs similar functions to that of an unregistered trade union. Advice is given regarding committee formation for representatives of each committee on such aspects as leadership, group participation, etc. and encouragement is given to register each as a works committee. Each committee elects a delegate to the controlling committee which discusses broader issues affecting all African workers.

In 1976 the membership of the Bureau stood at five to six thousand workers organised in factory committees in approximately 50 different establishments. In practice, however, the active membership is about a quarter of the total membership. The less active members apparently tend to consult the Bureau only when specific problems arise at their place of work. (Horner 1976).

#### Works Committees

Works committees are elected by the workers themselves in elections held under the supervision of the employer concerned. Representation on the committee is limited to a quarter of the total number of African workers in the establishment at the time of the election. More than one works committee may exist in an establishment.

The function of a works committee is to "communicate the wishes, aspirations and requirements of the employees in the

establishment or section of an establishment in respect of which it has been elected to their employer and where no liaison committee exists in respect of such establishment or section to negotiate and enter into agreements with their employer in relation to their wages or other conditions of employment, and, where any such liaison committee exists, to make recommendations regarding such wages or other conditions of employment to such liaison committee " (B.L.R.R. Act).

Agreements entered into under the above are binding on employer and employee.

#### Liaison Committees

A liaison committee within an establishment consists of some members appointed by the employer and at least half elected by the African employees. There are usually six to ten members who often serve for a year.

The functions of a liaison committee are as follows :-  
Where no co-ordinating liaison committee exists, (see section in following pages for details of co-ordinating committees) in respect of the establishment or establishments concerned, "to negotiate and enter into agreements with the employer in relation to wages or other conditions of employment of the employers concerned and where any such co-ordinating liaison committee does exist to make recommendations regarding such wages or other conditions of employment to such co-ordinating liaison committees; and to consider other matters which are of mutual interest to the employers and such employees in accordance with rules adopted by it " (B.L.R.R. Act).

Any agreement entered into under the above is binding on the employer and employees concerned.

#### Co-ordinating Committees

Co-ordinating committees may be established when works and liaison committees have been elected in respect of two or more sections within one establishment. The co-ordinating committee consists of representatives from each subordinate committee.

### Works and Liaison Committees in Practice

Both works and liaison committees can provide a channel for direct contact between employer and employee. They can help the workers to develop negotiating and organisational skills. The topics discussed include wages, job evaluation, overtime, general working conditions and safety, output and productivity, disciplinary procedures, employee services such as accommodation, transport and medical aid, in-plant and outside training, literacy training and bursary schemes.

In June 1977 there were approximately 2,500 liaison committees, 300 works committees and only a small number of co-ordinating committees representing 733,000 African workers throughout South Africa. The preponderance of liaison committees reflects managements preference for them, mainly because the liaison committee procedure is basically consultative, whereas the works committee arrangement can bear similarities to management-union confrontation. Few managements favour any form of African unionisation. On the other hand, it appears that workers often see these liaison committee members as management puppets handing down management decisions. A liaison committee is less likely to bear this stigma if it serves only as an upwards channel of communication from worker to management and management hands its decisions down only through its hierarchy of managers, foremen and supervisors.

Interviews with various firms showed that management had widely differing views on the success or otherwise of their liaison committees. The lack of success of one committee was attributed to a lack of understanding of its function on the part of the workers. They elected their representatives on the basis of tribal seniority and, according to management, these men were far from those they considered most capable of negotiating, taking the initiative and generally functioning as effective committee members. Apparently the elected representatives were ostracised by their fellow workers for as long as they held office.

Some firms believed their liaison committees to be very successful after overcoming some initial problems. The success was attributed to the majority of the worker elected representatives having had previous committee experience, e.g. church and school committees. Management believed that the workers did take their grievances to their elected representatives and had showed their confidence in them by re-electing them over the years.

Management is empowered to lay down regulations for the election of workers to the committees. In one firm the requirements for worker elected representatives were a minimum age of 25 and five years service with the firm. The representatives were elected by secret ballot during working hours. The committee meetings, held every four to six weeks, are concerned mainly with working conditions, transport and accommodation rather than wages. The committee makes recommendations to management which may or may not accept them. A complete transcription of the minutes of all meetings, in English and Xhosa, are circularised amongst the workers. The minutes are read to workers who cannot read.<sup>(1)</sup>

It is possible that in practice there may be little difference between works and liaison committees. A works committee has a meeting of its members and then usually arranges a meeting with management where often the entire works committee may be present. If the worker elected members of a liaison committee held a caucus meeting prior to their meeting with management nominated members, then they would in effect be following exactly the same procedure as the works committee did.

It appeared that the disadvantage with both the works and liaison committees as a means of worker representation was that the committees are purely factory based, composed of full-time workers. It has been documented that representatives have in the past been victimised by the employers, despite the anti-victimisation clause of the B.L.R.R. Act which leaves the representatives in a vulnerable position. However, management has generally shown a reluctance to recognise African trade unions and recent Government policy has shown a definite stance against their formation.

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(1) See Maree and Graaff (1977) for specific information on how workers feel towards both works and liaison committees.

Coloureds

Of the 66 registered trade unions represented in the Peninsula 25 are for 'coloured' members only, with an approximate membership of 54,921; 24 are for White members only, with an approximate membership of 31,774; and 16 are 'mixed' unions, with 51,803 Coloureds and 7,309 Whites. Total union membership in the Peninsula is approximately 145,000 of whom 73% are 'coloured' workers (Lewis, 1976).

Thirty of the Unions in the Cape are affiliated to TUCSA (Trade Union Council of South Africa, a co-ordinating body of trade unions unaffiliated to any political party.) Eight are affiliated to the Confederation of Labour (a White organisation), and 28 are unaffiliated. Of the 66 unions in the Peninsula, 38 are national unions with branches in the Peninsula, 11 are Western Province unions with branches or head offices in the Peninsula, and a further 17 are Peninsula-based.

In industries where the 'closed-shop' system applies, union membership is mandatory and all employees within that industry must pay weekly Union dues. In the Garment Workers Union for example, (the largest Coloured union in the Cape), dues are 20c per week per employee, which entitles them to certain benefits. Such schemes as a funeral assistance fund, death benefits for the spouse and children up to the age of 18 and a distress fund (for crisis situations in which an employee is caught in a tight financial situation) are offered. The Union also runs an employment bureau to help workseekers find available jobs within the industry.

In industries in which the 'closed-shop' system is not applicable, union membership is voluntary. In many of these industries, such as the Textile Industry, the majority of Coloureds choose to join the Union. Pamphlets are distributed to all new employees outlining the advantages of Union membership.

The following is a list of registered trade unions with Coloured membership in the Cape Peninsula in 1977 :

TABLE 24 : TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

<u>Name</u>	<u>Coloured Membership</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Coloured/ Mixed (C/M)</u>
1) Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers of S.A.	+ 1 600	Unaffiliated	M
2) Bakery Employees' Industrial Union	1 875	Unaffiliated	M
3) Brewery Employees Union (Cape Peninsula)	126	TUCSA	M
4) Cape Stevedoring and Dock Workers' Union	235	Unaffiliated	C
5) C.T. Gas Workers Union	36	Unaffiliated	M
6) C.T. Municipal Workers' Assoc.	9 476	Unaffiliated	C
7) Chemical and Allied Workers' Union	367	Unaffiliated	C
8) Cinematograph Projectionists' Union	48	TUCSA	C
9) Coloured Postal Employees' Assoc. of S.A.	933	Unaffiliated	C
10) Electrical and Allied Trade Union of S.A.	769	Unaffiliated	C
11) Engineering Industrial Workers' Union of S.A.	1 800	Unaffiliated	C
12) Food and Canning Workers' Union	8 562	Unaffiliated	C
13) Garment Workers Union of the Western Province	39 158	TUCSA	M
14) Hotel, Bar and Catering Trade Employees' Assoc.	1 977	TUCSA	C
15) Iron Moulders' Society of S.A.	51	TUCSA	M
16) Jewellers' and Goldsmiths' Union	201	TUCSA	M
17) Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union	5 000	TUCSA	C
18) National Certificated Fishing Officers Association	188	Unaffiliated	M

TABLE 24: TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP (CONT'D)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Coloured Membership</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Coloured/ Mixed (C/M)</u>
19) National Union of Bank Employees of S.A.	207	TUSCA	C
20) National Union of Commercial & Allied Workers	2 000	TUSCA	C
21) National Union of Furniture & Allied Workers of S.A.	3 019	TUSCA	C
22) National Union of Laundering, Cleaning & Dyeing Workers	906	TUSCA	C
23) National Union of Leather Workers	± 5 791	TUSCA	M
24) National Union of Operative Biscuit Makers and Packers	814	TUSCA	C
25) Radio, Television, Electronic and Allied Workers' Union	450	TUCSA	C
26) S.A. Boilermakers' Iron & Steel Workers', Shipbuilders & Welders Society	1 020	TUCSA	M
27) S.A. Canvas and Rope Workers' Union (Cape)	199	TUCSA	C
28) S.A. Hairdressers' Employees Union	450	TUCSA	M
29) S.A. Pyrotechnical Workers' Union	156	Unaffiliated	C
30) S.A.R. & H Coloured Staff Assoc. (Southern areas)	6 551	Unaffiliated	C
31) S.A. Society of Journalists	6	TUCSA	M
32) S.A. Theatre and Cinema Employees' Union	98	TUSCA	M
33) S.A. Typographical Union	4 652	TUSCA	M
34) S.A. Woodworkers' Union	1 029	TUSCA	C

TABLE 24: TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP (CONT'D)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Coloured Membership</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Coloured/Mixed (C/M)</u>
35) Textile Workers' Industrial Union	1 000	TUSCA	C
36) Tramway and Omnibus Workers' Union	2 254	TUSCA	M
37) Transport Workers' Union	159	TUSCA	C
38) Trawler and Line Fishermen's Union	710	TUSCA	M
39) Western Province Building Workers' Union	7 000	Unaffiliated	C
40) Western Province Meat Trade Employees' Union	In Formation	Unaffiliated	-
41) Western Province Motor Assembly Workers' Union	1 123	Unaffiliated	C
42) Western Province Sweet Workers' Union	440	Unaffiliated	C
	<hr/>		<hr/>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>112 436</u>		<u>25 C/16 M.</u>

## LEGISLATION

There are numerous Acts which affect the employment of Africans and Coloureds in a variety of ways. The following is a brief summary of the relevant sections of the major Acts, some of which have been previously mentioned in the text.

### Summary of Statutory Provisions

1. The Industrial Conciliation Act authorises the Minister to make "determinations whereby any category of work is reserved for members of a particular race group(s)". These determinations now affect building, clothing, meat trade, motor assembly, liquor and catering, furniture and mining industries and motor driving in various industries and establishments.  
  
The Act also provides for the industrial council system and limits participation to trade unions consisting of White, Coloured and Asiatic members. Where closed shop clauses are negotiated in industrial council agreements these clauses effectively become statutory forms of job reservation, excluding employees, (Africans) not eligible to join recognised trade unions.
2. The Black Labour Act authorises the Minister to prohibit the performance of work by Africans in a specified area, class of employment or by a class of employer.
3. The Black Building Workers Act introduces a form of vertical job reservation, prohibiting the employment of Africans to do skilled work in the building industry outside African urban residential areas.
4. The Group Areas Act in terms of which employees may not occupy premises in a group area set aside for another race group, unless exempted. It also limits the places in which traders can operate their business.
5. The Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act enables the State President by proclamation to impose control over the establishment or extension of all factories in any defined area.

6. The Mines and Works Act authorises the State President to make regulations whereby certificates of competency required for employment in certain occupations may only be issued to White and Coloured persons. The existing regulations reserve tasks, jobs and certificates of competency for the 'scheduled' workers, (i.e. White and Coloured persons).  
The Act provides that regulations be made to separate the races within the Mines.
7. The Apprenticeship Act This Act provides for the training, regulation of wages, lengths of apprenticeship and minimum standards of education required for apprentices. While the Act does not contain any ostensible colour bar, in practice there are numerous systems which initially restricted Coloureds and which virtually completely restricted Africans from becoming apprentices in the Western Cape. These include all-White selection committees, problems in gaining access to technical colleges for the required training, 'closed shop' agreements between employers organisations and Trade Unions, the dearth of employers willing to train Blacks, etc.
8. The Factories Act also provides that regulations may be made to separate the races within a factory.
9. The Shops and Offices Act does not refer specifically to racial separation but the Regulations empower an inspector to make ad hoc rulings for specific premises instructing the owner to provide separate work stations and toilet facilities.  
Both the Factories Act and the Shops and Offices Act are detrimental to the upward mobility of Coloureds and Africans as it is often inconvenient and costly to provide separate facilities at all levels.
10. The Black Labour Relations Regulation Act provides for the regulation of conditions of employment for African employees, for the prevention and settlement of disputes between such employees and their employers and for the establishment and functions of committees consisting of such employees or their representatives.

11. The Black Transport Services Act provides for contributions by employers towards the cost of transport services for their African employees.
12. Transport Services for Coloured Persons and Indians Act, No. 27 of 1972, provides for the payment of contributions by employers towards the cost of transport services for their Coloured and Indian employees.
13. The Wage Act establishes a Wage Board, consisting of 3 members appointed by the Minister. The Minister may at any time request the Board to make an investigation into and to submit a report concerning any trade or a recommendation as to the terms and conditions of employment to be applied in respect of the employees concerned. The recommendations may include :- a minimum wage for employees or members of any class of employees, a method of calculating minimum rates of remuneration payable to any employee or class of employees, the maximum number of employees of any class who may be employed by an employer in proportion to the total number of employees, the prohibition, restriction or regulation of overtime work, etc. Agriculture and Domestic Service were specifically excluded from the operation of the Act.
14. Coloured Persons Education Act No. 47 of 1963, as amended, provides for the control of education for Coloured persons by the Department of Coloured Affairs.
15. Training Centres for Coloured Cadets Act, No. 46 of 1967 provides for the establishment or maintenance of training centres for Coloured cadets and for the compulsory training of such cadets for any kind of employment.
16. Coloured Persons Development Corporation Act, No. 4 of 1962, as amended established the C.D.C. with the objects of the encouragement and promotion of the advancement of Coloured persons in Coloured and industrial areas, in the field of industry, trade, and finance.

### SUMMARY

African workers have been displacing Coloured workers in many of the unskilled occupations involving heavy labour ever since the Second World War, while Coloureds and Asians have been gradually entering certain occupations formerly dominated by Whites. Despite the general upward mobility of the Coloured, their movement into the higher professions is still slow, hindered by inadequate training, educational, and health facilities, as well as by attitudes on the part of the White employers and by restrictive measures such as the Shops and Offices Act.

The scope of African employment in the Cape Peninsula is greatly restricted by many interlinking factors, from numerous regulatory Acts, to 'closed shop' agreements, to the attitudes of many employers. The result is that the majority of Africans are confined to the position of labourer or domestic servant.

The major sectors of African employment are construction, manufacturing (especially food and engineering), the public sector (especially South African Railways and Harbours), and services (especially women in domestic service and men as petrol pump attendants). The major sectors of Coloured employment are manufacturing, services, commerce and construction.

Approximately 60% of African males earned between R100-R119 per month in 1978 in the Cape Peninsula, in comparison with between R129-R244 per month nationally. The majority of African women are employed as domestic workers, and are entitled to few, if any, of the legislated benefits offered to other African workers.

Very few job opportunities in the upper brackets are open to the more highly educated and trained Africans. Of those that are, the categories with the largest number of Africans are teachers, nurses and clerks. Generally the earnings of Africans in these positions are lower than those of Whites in similar positions.

The majority of Coloured males in the unskilled to skilled positions earned in 1978 between R129-R180 per month in the Cape Peninsula and the majority of females earned between R111-R148 per month. This was fairly comparable to that earned nationally. Outside of the common categories of employment, Coloureds are found in much higher positions of skill and pay.

Any benefits offered to the registered employees do not apply to illegal workers. Unemployment Insurance and Workmen's Compensation are supposed by law to be paid out to all workers entitled to them but in practice they are sometimes not because of red tape or ignorance. Medical Aid Schemes, Pensions, Sick Leave Pay and a Holiday Bonus vary from industry to industry and from firm to firm.

Very little formal industrial training and education is available to Africans in Cape Town, while the Coloured has a range of training and educational institutions and centres from which to choose. In most cases the African worker has to learn on the job.

The majority of African and Coloured workers travel by public transport which is in most cases subsidized, but nevertheless can represent a significant proportion of their earnings. Some workers have to change buses and trains several times, resulting in an average travelling time of between one hour and one and a half hours each way.

African traders have been severely restricted in the past by numerous Government regulations which limited the types and numbers of businesses run; these recently have been partially eased. However, a wide range of activities exist in the informal sector. These activities provide the sole source of income for some and supplement formal sector earnings for others.

Coloured traders are allowed to own their own businesses within the Coloured areas, and may hold as much as 49% of the shares of any company within the White areas.

The bargaining position of African labour in the Cape Peninsula is relatively weak mainly because they may not join or form recognised Trade Unions. Africans are mainly represented by liaison or works committees of which the liaison committees are the most common. However, their effectiveness is limited and workers are often not very confident in them.

Coloureds are represented by a variety of Trade Unions. If a 'closed shop' exists within the industry, membership is mandatory, otherwise membership is voluntary. Many factories have established liaison committees for their Coloured workers, which are often preferred both by management and by the workers over Union membership.

In conclusion, there are many restrictive factors influencing the position of both Africans and Coloureds in the Peninsula. However, because the Cape is a 'Coloured Preference' area, Coloureds have a variety of opportunities for job diversification and advancement not open to Africans. Africans have been primarily restricted to the unskilled jobs, supported by such factors as their poor bargaining position, their low level of education, and their lack of property rights in the Western Cape.

### Chapter 3

#### CASE STUDIES - INTERVIEWS WITH ELEVEN CAPE TOWN COMPANIES AND THEIR AFRICAN AND COLOURED EMPLOYEES

##### Introduction

In this chapter some of the data presented in the previous chapter is examined in greater depth. The primary interest and focus of the research is in exploring and describing certain trends in employer and employee attitudes to their work environment as well as employment practices in both South African and overseas companies.

To investigate these trends, individual case studies were chosen as the most appropriate way to conduct exploratory research of this nature. When conducting qualitative, in-depth analyses, it is often impractical to draw a representative sample or to work with more than a few cases. Each case studied in this way adds in an example fashion to a deeper understanding of the topic. However, broad generalisations cannot be made from a small sample, though certain trends can be indicated which one hopes will offer a more in-depth understanding of the problem.

##### Aim

The aim of the case studies was to explore the following elements:

- 1) Employment policies and practices in some of the larger South African and overseas companies in Cape Town
- 2) General feelings of employers towards their African and Coloured employees, with special reference to:
  - a) Work behaviour and performance
  - b) Worker advancement
  - c) Forms of worker representation
  - d) Training

- e) Integrated facilities
- 3) Attitudes of African and Coloured employees towards:
- a) Their employer/company
  - b) Working conditions and environment
  - c) Their supervisor
  - d) Their co-employees

### Methodology

#### Choice of Companies

The initial intention was to investigate those South African and overseas companies with the largest complement of African and Coloured workers in Cape Town. Because the majority of Africans are employed in the construction industry and the majority of Coloured workers are employed in the clothing industry, it was felt that companies should be chosen from these two economic sectors.

However on closer inspection neither category was actually appropriate for a comparative study. Firstly, the construction industry is composed entirely of South African companies. Secondly, the clothing industry only employs a minimum of Africans, and in addition the majority of Coloured workers are female and their situation cannot be directly compared with that of the African male.

It was thus decided to concentrate on the manufacturing sector, because both South African and overseas firms are represented, and also because these firms are fairly large employers of male workers (the African complement is naturally small because Cape Town falls within a Coloured Labour Preference Area). A total of eleven firms were chosen.

Each of the overseas companies had to meet the following requirements:

- 1) They had to be at least 51% owned by an overseas company with their head office abroad.

2) They had to have manufacturing premises in Cape Town (i.e. not just a distribution point).

3) They had to employ both Coloured and African workers.

On this basis, the following firms were chosen (not necessarily the largest or most important of the overseas firms in Cape Town):

1) A European household products/pharmaceutical manufacturer

2) A European container manufacturer

3) A European food manufacturer

4) A European cosmetics manufacturer

5) A European oil and chemical distribution and marketing company.

(It must be noted that the European food manufacturer did not allow their employees to be interviewed. This was the only company that was not cooperative in this respect. The results thus include an analysis of eleven companies and a selection of employees from only ten firms.)

Each of the South African companies had to meet the following requirements:

1) They had to be manufacturing firms.

2) They had to employ both Coloured and African workers.

On this basis, the following firms were chosen (again not necessarily the largest or most important manufacturers in Cape Town):

1) A clothing manufacturer

2) A multi-industrial products manufacturer

3) A fruit and vegetable canner and processor

4) A fish and food processor

5) A beverage processor

6) An oats and grain manufacturer

Each was specifically chosen as a representative of a fairly large-scale employer in the manufacturing sector. Several large dairies were also approached for a case-study analysis, but they declined to participate.

### Interviews

#### A) Employers

The employers' questionnaires were conducted by the author. A structured questionnaire was used, which was initially tested on several managers of smaller manufacturing firms. (See Appendix 1).

A letter was sent to the head Personnel Officer of each of the chosen companies. This was followed by a telephone call approximately two weeks later giving time for management permission to be sought to be able to take part in the study.

Each interview lasted approximately three hours, and was followed by a tour of the factory. A job turnover rate was collected for a six month period in 1978, and details were arranged regarding the employees' interviews.

The completed questionnaires were analysed separately and then in combination with the others to discover trends in employment policies and practices.

#### B) Employees

Because it was not possible to interview all of the African and Coloured employees in the chosen companies, a sample of the employees was chosen. The total population in the study included African and Coloured employees between the levels of unskilled and skilled (in most companies this meant the weekly paid staff). The level of "skilled" (e.g. supervisor) was chosen as a cut-off point, otherwise added socio-economic variables and other elements may have complicated and ultimately detracted

from the assessment of the mainstream of workers in Cape Town on which the study was focused.

A sampling procedure best suited to the study was then chosen. Because it was important to include all categories of workers between unskilled and skilled, and because payroll lists for each company were accessible, systematic random sampling was used.

The exact approach adopted varied according to each company, depending on the company structure, the wishes of the Personnel Officer, and other factors. In most cases both the African and Coloured interviewees were chosen by initially identifying the total number of each group within the range indicated in that firm, and then dividing by whatever was applicable to find fifteen of each. This figure was then used to choose every  $n$ th employee from the payroll - e.g. if there were 150 Coloured workers and 75 Africans between the level of unskilled and skilled, every tenth Coloured and fifth African worker would be chosen after the first randomly chosen number.

In cases where the company was highly departmentalized, a stratified systematic sample of employees from each department was used to ensure a cross section of departments. This was done as proportionately to the size of the department as possible.

In companies with females employed within this range, the ratio in the sample would reflect the ratio in the company as closely as possible. There was only one company with any African females, and there were nine companies employing Coloured females.

The aim was to draw a total sample size of 300, which included fifteen African and fifteen Coloured workers from each firm. Although this represents a disproportionate sample from each firm, the analysis is not significantly effected, as firms are not directly compared.

However, because some companies did not employ fifteen Africans, and because of specific practical problems in certain companies (e.g. some of the previously chosen interviewees were ill or busy at that particular moment and a replacement could not be found), there were a total of 266 completed interviews (141 Coloured and 125 African) in ten companies.

Qualified African and Coloured researchers were employed to conduct the interviews. Both had had previous experience:

- 1) The African researcher has conducted interviews for Market Research Africa.

- 2) The Coloured researcher has worked for several community organisations as a community research worker.

The questions ranged from specific attitudes towards their job to aspects of work in general. (See Appendix 2 for exact questions asked). Each interview lasted approximately a half an hour. The questionnaires were initially tested on several African and Coloured workers from different firms as a small pilot sample.

The questionnaires were coded, computer cards were punched and the results analysed on the University of Cape Town's UNIVAC model 1106 computer.

## DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY OF COMPANIES

The information presented in this section is a brief summary of the information collected in each of the case studies, which has been analysed in relation to the other companies participating in the study. Its aim is simply to introduce the reader to the general policies and attitudes prevailing in each company.

### Overseas Companies

#### 1) Company A

The Company: The company offers relatively good benefits and pays fairly low starting salaries which increase over time. Salaries are reviewed every six months, and marginal increases are usually given annually. In each review "promotable" people are identified, and where possible these workers are specifically trained to be able to move into slightly higher positions. The sophisticated grading system facilitates promotion for the weekly paid workers, although usually on a small-scale basis. Promotions seem to take place either within the factory or within the office, but not from one to the other.

They have only recently integrated the canteens and some of the toilets, and hope to have all facilities integrated by the end of 1979. However, the facilities are still divided between weekly and monthly paid workers, as is the case with most of the other companies interviewed.

Training has been largely unstructured, although they are currently in the process of restructuring and increasing the amount of training given. A person from each department will in future be able to train all new members in that department.

The company is basically against trade unions as a form of representation for their workers, although willing to recognise them, and in favour of the liaison committee system. They have established various levels of decision making within the company: departmental committees, the Workers' Representative Council, and the Joint Consultation Committee. Each represents a larger sphere of workers and deals with issues relevant to its constituent members. The personnel officer felt the system was becoming increasingly more effective.

Plant directors of each of the branches in the country are able to institute company policies at their own rate. The respondent felt his branch had gone beyond the principles in the European Economic Community Code of Employment Practice (EEC Code - Appendix 3). He emphasised the many positive aspects of the company's policies and practices, and felt that the majority of workers were dependable and happy in the firm.

The Employees: The workers interviewed were generally happy with the policies and benefits, and were on the whole forthcoming with information.

The Coloured employees mentioned wages as the only recurring grievance; otherwise there were few complaints. Most had not heard of trade unions, though some mentioned that workers' committees had been led to believe by management that unions were ineffective.

Some of the grievances mentioned by the African employees included: 1) that more privileges and better benefits were given to Coloured workers; 2) that the dangerous tasks were given to Africans while Coloured workers were given the 'softer' jobs; and 3) that the

company laundered overalls for the Coloured but not the African workers. Otherwise they seemed to be happy with the company, and some stated that employees are encouraged to further their studies for posts that may be created.

#### Company B

The Company: The company pays relatively good salaries, though there is a marked difference between the salaries paid to males and females (it was explained that the company did not feel obliged to pay an equal salary for the job performed because the female was not the breadwinner). They offer only average benefits.

The company is currently in the process of changing some of its policies: a) a job evaluation system is being introduced; b) training is being upgraded; c) posts are being identified that could be opened to blacks, and d) the necessary training or education for such posts is being researched.

They offer very little training at present, though they are aware it needs improving and want to make better use of their training centre. They have only recently taken down their racial designations for toilets and canteens, though they have found that in practice there has been little change. They have received a few complaints from some of the White employees, but it has not been a problem.

There is no trade union in the particular industry. The company has an integrated liaison committee, but the feeling was that it was not as effective as it could be. They felt that overseas pressure has hastened their pace of change, which they admitted had been a good thing. They are in the process of implementing the principles in the EEC Employment Code, with the

exception that they do not feel unions are necessary.

The Employees: The Coloured employees generally felt that management was "enlightened", and that on the whole conditions were better in this company than elsewhere. The general interpersonal relationships between management and the employees seemed relaxed.

The Africans felt that even though many had served the company for a long time, they were not being properly treated, and that preference was still granted to Coloured workers. Some complained that they had to launder their own overalls, while others had theirs laundered by the company.

#### Company C

The Company: The company offers relatively good wages and only average benefits. They have a very unstructured training programme, in which most of the training is on-the-job. They had no specific plans for its improvement.

There appeared to be a good rapport between employers and employees, though this could be attributed to the fact that they have relatively few workers. There also appeared to be a good rapport between the company and the trade union, though the employees felt that the union was ineffective. The union is currently trying to reduce working hours from 42.5 to 40 hours per week. They have a liaison committee which also seems rather ineffective.

The canteens and toilets are racially integrated, but are divided between the monthly and weekly paid staff. The company offers no real programme for upward mobility; it takes place only where and when convenient or possible (e.g. they seem willing to promote the workers within the factory environment

only, but would prefer them not to mix with the office staff). They generally seemed concerned to improve existing conditions, but were more prepared to give way on smaller points rather than make larger or more major changes.

The Employees: There were certain complaints mentioned:

1) they are punished "if one second late" (even those who travel from Mitchell's Plain); they are reprimanded, and lose part of their salary;

2) the strict rules for toilet attendance (certain times of the day when workers can attend) do not take illness or menstruation into account;

3) they felt the liaison committee had no power; and

4) some expressed a fear of losing their jobs because of the fact that some of the staff had recently been laid off.

#### Company D

The Company: This company has particularly progressive salary scales, benefits, job evaluation and job advancement schemes, training programmes, and general company policies.

The facilities are completely integrated, and there are mixed sports and social clubs in addition to extra recreational facilities. They have a variety of extra benefits, such as a scholarship scheme both for their employees and for the public. There is no union, though there are consultative committees in each branch throughout the country which represents workers up to mid-management.

The Employees: The employees seemed happy both with the company and with the working conditions, and there were no major grievances mentioned. The employees were forthcoming with information, and the researchers felt that the atmosphere was very relaxed and pleasant. They expressed the fact that the company seemed to create opportunities for all its employees.

Company E

The Company: The company has a sophisticated job grading system which does not discriminate between sexes, or races, and they offer fairly high salaries with annual increases. Their benefits, open to all employees, are very extensive. Their training programme is quite well established. Induction training is in the form of a slide-tape show, and on-the-job training is taught by a manual and followed up by the supervisor.

Few workers belong to the union. There are two liaison committees (one each for African and Coloured workers), and all committee members are trained in communication skills. Management prefers liaison committees to unions because they feel a "third party" can often be more harmful than beneficial.

The company feels a need for African and Coloured development, and specifically promotes black workers into higher positions after appropriate training has been given. They have a good system of job evaluation; every year a fairly extensive report is written on each employee, covering all aspects of his work performance. Someone who shows potential is encouraged to move upwards.

The company only integrated its canteens in mid 1978, and has since experienced numerous complaints from some of the Coloured artisans, who boycotted the canteens.

The Employees: This is the one company that would not allow their employees to be spoken to, because management felt it might raise their level of expectations and awareness.

### South African Companies

#### Company F

The Company: The company pays a fairly low salary, especially in comparison with the long hours worked (7.30 - 5.00), and its benefits are comparatively poor. The company is at present in the midst of evaluating and possibly upgrading some of its policies, as many of their current practices are not very advanced. For example their training is very unstructured and carried out rather casually, but they plan to introduce induction training and more structured on-the-job training.

The company operates on a supply and demand basis, which means that when the seasonal products are in abundance, the workers are required to work overtime (often for days at a time), and when during off-season the workers are unable to work a full day (and thus unable to earn normal wages).

There is a union, but no Coloured workers at the branch interviewed were members. The liaison committees are racially separate, and not yet very effective. There are separate facilities for monthly and weekly paid staff but not for the different races. There are presently no real plans for upward mobility. The company's main concern seems to be to provide or improve only the basic facilities, with no apparent interest in providing a good salary or additional benefits. This is most likely because the essential elements will take some work to establish.

The Employees: One of the main grievances mentioned by all interviewees was the long and often irregular hours. Some stated they have to work twelve hours most of the time. The irregular hours were discussed in the liaison committee meetings, but management decided against a constant wage in place of production bonuses. This decision apparently did not reflect the wishes of the workers interviewed.

Other grievances mentioned: 1) that some workers receive performance bonuses and others do not; 2) that people are sometimes sent home without pay if they are late, or alternatively they lose their R2,00 attendance bonus for that week; 3) that the company ignores any academic achievements; and 4) that the company provides poor toilet and canteen facilities (eg. some of the toilets were of an outdated squatting system). Many of the workers were not aware of the benefits they received, nor the amount deducted from their wages towards their benefits.

The African researcher felt that most of his interviewees had been picked from the lower classes; the interviewees in general had the lowest standard of education of any company interviewed.

#### Company G

The Company: The company offers low to average salaries and the benefits are very divisive both between weekly and monthly paid staff and between contract workers and residents, with only minimal benefits given to the weekly paid staff.

This company was considered to be the least advanced of the eleven companies interviewed. There is no apparent overall future planning, partly because all major decisions are made in Johannesburg, with seemingly little contact between the two offices.

The training is very unstructured (if given at all), and there are no apparent plans for improving it. There have been no outward attempts at promoting the upward mobility of workers.

There are separate liaison committees, though neither seem to be very effective. The toilets are still segregated, and there is only one canteen for Whites, though there are plans to build one for black workers. At present they have to eat in the locker rooms, in which tables are provided.

The company appears to operate in a very unorganised way, primarily because of their large complement of contract workers whose contracts end at various times of the year. The contract workers return home from one to three months, and the company does not know when they will return. They thus experience extreme fluctuations in labour. The factory managers, though, were patient and seemed to know and have a good rapport with their staff. Because of so many practical problems, there is no real opportunity for the factory managers to think on a large scale; however the company itself is at fault for not making provision for such thinking.

The Employees: There were a number of grievances mentioned:

- 1) they complained about the toilets and the absence of a canteen;
- 2) they felt the committee system favoured higher paid, more articulate workers;
- 3) the workers wanted an improved works committee but said that the "boss" would not allow it;
- 4) long service was not rewarded;
- 5) the working hours were rather strenuous;
- 6) the Africans had to wash their own overalls while other workers had theirs laundered by the

company; and

7) the weekly attendance bonus of R2,00 was lost if a worker was not always strictly on time.

Both researchers felt that the workers were part of the "machinery", and generally were not well cared for.

#### Company H

The Company: The company pays relatively high wages and offers a variety of extra benefits. In general it is a progressive company in terms of the extra courses offered (eg. literacy training), their training programme, worker representation, and their advancement policies (primarily for Coloured workers). There seems to be a general concern shown for their workers. Periodical reports are written on each of the workers, and "promotable" people are looked for and identified. They try to offer opportunities for individual development as far as possible.

There is a union, to which many Coloured workers belong, as well as fairly effective liaison committees. The company feels that both types of representation are necessary as they serve to complement each other. Their facilities are racially integrated, though separated between monthly and weekly paid staff. Some of their benefits also differ according to whether the worker is monthly or weekly paid.

The Employees: The workers seemed to be genuinely happy on the whole, though wages seemed to be the only recurring grievance amongst the Coloured workers. Some workers felt that the liaison committee could have more muscle, and there was generally a high regard for the union. Benefits and recreation facilities seemed appreciated by the workers. Some of the Africans stated that the company paid for half of their travelling expenses.

Both researchers stated that the workers seemed to know what to do without anyone to instruct them, and that the internal relations seemed harmonious.

#### Company I

The Company: This company relies greatly on seasonal workers who work for the summer months only. This includes as many as 2,000 workers who earn the minimum wage and receive no benefits. The permanent staff receive only average wages and basic benefits.

The training is fairly unstructured, though different types of training are offered for different categories of workers. All permanent employees belong to the union, but there is no liaison committee for Africans. The facilities are still segregated, which management says is due largely to the costs involved in integrating them. There has been no overall plan for the advancement of workers, though they are now beginning to look into this area. They stated that they were working on the implementation of non-discriminatory pay scales, training, and job opportunities; however it could be some time before they are able to implement them. They stressed that costs were a prohibitive factor.

The Employees: The complaints of the permanent employees included:

- 1) that no canteen existed;
- 2) the toilets had no doors;
- 3) security men complained of their long hours and low pay; and

4) Africans complained of the policies which favoured Coloured employees. (No casual employees were interviewed on management's request.)

The union seems to have a lot of muscle in settling worker disputes, which apparently arise often.

Company J

The Company: The starting salaries are particularly poor for all employees. In some categories salaries rise only slightly, but other workers are able to move into a better salary scale after four to five years. The benefits are relatively extensive for Coloured workers because the employer falls under the jurisdiction of the well established Clothing Industrial Council.

All Coloured workers automatically belong to the union (which many do not realise), and in addition there is a liaison committee for all workers. The training is adequate for the different job positions, though there is a need for continual training because of the particularly high job turnover rate. The facilities are divided both between monthly and weekly paid staff and between male and female (the latter was apparently the workers' choice). The company partially subsidises transport costs.

The company adheres very closely to government rules and regulations, exemplified by their maintenance of separate entrances for whites and blacks. They have no apparent overall plan to purposely promote workers and where advancement has occurred in the past it seems to have been a matter of convenience for the company. Africans appear to have very little opportunity for any type of promotion.

The Employees: Numerous grievances were mentioned:

- 1) low wages were mentioned by most respondents (by all African respondents);
- 2) many workers seemed to be fearful of losing their job;
- 3) not all workers are on an incentive scheme, which means that some workers have no opportunity for a bonus.

The Africans interviewed generally disliked the company's policies, and specifically stated that Africans received no training. Some said that even with the necessary academic qualifications and experience they were not eligible for promotion.

Most of the Coloured respondents were not aware that they were Union members (though dues are automatically deducted from their salary by the Industrial Council). Older workers felt that the union was rigged by the company, and that it was merely a means of controlling workers.

There appeared to be great resentment of the fact that Whites are always appointed as floor managers over black workers with years of experience and capability, even though the Whites may have had little experience or knowledge in the field.

#### Company K

The Company: Salaries are reasonably high and the benefits average, though a monthly long-service allowance can increase the employee's earnings considerably over a certain length of time. The company has a fairly sophisticated training programme, including small training centres and instructors for each department. Every type of job receives some training, which increases with the level of skill. This programme facilitates upward mobility, and "promotable" people are specifically looked for and specially trained.

There are eight unions representing the Coloured workers, as well as a works council for all workers and liaison committees for Africans. The latter are part of a Central Coordinating Committee which is a national body for all African workers in the company.

Although the company seemed forward-looking in many of its policies, it tended to conveniently rely on strict government rules and regulations. Facilities

are still segregated as stipulated by the various Acts. There did not appear to be any major attempt to move away from this policy.

The company provides housing for its African employees (who are all on contract), and helps to finance and build homes for its Coloured employees. They have put both money and effort into improving existing methods and conditions.

The Employees: The major grievances were:

- 1) low wages;
- 2) some felt the union was controlled by the company (though others were not aware that either the union or the works council existed); and
- 3) that company policy, which tends towards integration, is not carried out in practice.

Some Africans felt that they had the more difficult positions in the company, while Coloured workers had the 'softer' jobs. They also complained that they had to pay too much for their hostel and said that they had little privacy in their rooms.

ANALYSIS OF THE EMPLOYERS' QUESTIONNAIRES

From the six South African and five overseas firms interviewed, the following information was collected:

1) Percentage of Racial Groups Employed

A) Overseas companies:	White:	41%
	Coloured:	52%
	African :	7%
B) South African companies:	White:	18%
	Coloured:	53%
	African:	29%

In the companies interviewed, the South African companies use black labour to a greater extent than the overseas companies. This could be partly attributed to the highly capital-intensive nature of the overseas companies as well as the traditional dependence on African labour for lower skilled positions amongst the South African firms.

2) Salaries

The following table shows the range of wages paid to workers between unskilled to skilled in the companies chosen. Sometimes wages were given as monthly figures, in which case they were divided by 4.33 to equal a weekly wage. When given as hourly rates, they were multiplied by the weekly number of hours for that industry. Some companies gave a minimum to maximum wage, which depended on the workers experience, capability, and length of service with the company.

The current salaries paid in December 1978 were then compared, where applicable, with the statutory minimum wages for that industry (as laid down by either the Industrial Council or the Wage Board), and in addition were compared with average salaries paid in

September 1978 in the Cape Peninsula (as found by the Peromnes Survey on Remuneration).

The categories adopted for this comparison followed the Peromnes Grading System, which includes a total of nineteen grades, consisting of three levels of unskilled workers, two levels of semi-skilled workers, and (for the purposes of this study) two levels of skilled workers. Not all companies had workers in each category.

Grade	Company D <sup>7)</sup>		Company E				Peromnes			
	Current Salary	Midpoint <sup>5)</sup>	Current Salary	Midpoint <sup>5)</sup>	Minimum wage	Relation to minimum wage	African	Coloured	Midpoint	Midpoint of wages in selected overseas companies
(19)			Min. 44.00 Max. 54.00	49.00	17.50	2.80	24.00	30.00	27.00	37.50
							17.00	26.00	21.50	
(18)	Min. 48.00 Max. 64.00	56.00	Min. 44.00 Max. 54.00	49.00	17.50	2.80	27.50	36.60	32.00	42.00
							22.00	26.50	24.50	
(17)	Min. 52.00 Max. 72.50	62.00	Min. 46.00 Max. 62.00	54.00	23.00	2.35	34.00	40.50	37.50	48.50
							25.00	32.00	28.50	
(16)	Min. 57.50 Max. 82.50	70.00	Min. 51.00 Max. 70.00	59.50	24.50	2.42	37.00	42.00	39.50	53.50
							30.00	34.50	32.00	
(15)	Min. 62.50 Max. 94.00	78.50	Min. 54.00 Max. 82.00	68.00	26.50	2.56	33.00	54.00	43.50	59.50
							38.00	51.50	45.00	
(14)	Min. 73.00 Max. 112.50	93.00	Min. 63.00 Max. 88.00	75.50	37.50	2.01	45.50	61.50	53.50	66.00
							-	44.50	44.50	
(13)	Min. 88.50 Max. 136.00	112.50	Min. 80.00 Max. 115.00	97.50	44.00	2.21	-	87.00	87.00	78.50

- 4) In these companies, an average salary only was given.
- 5) The figures in these columns were calculated as the midpoint between the minimum and maximum salary.
- 6) In Company A, the current salary was not a fair representation of actual salaries because of the increase with length of service and other benefits. These extra's were calculated into the midpoint salary.
- 7) In Company D the minimum wage column was deleted because there was no stipulated minimum wage.

Company I			Company J			Company K <sup>6)</sup>	Peromnes			Midpoint of wages in selected South African Companies
Current average Salary <sup>4)</sup>	Minimum wage	Relation to minimum wage	Current average Salary <sup>4)</sup>	Minimum wage	Relation to minimum wage	Current average Salary <sup>4)</sup>	African	Coloured	Midpoint	
26.00	26.00	1.00	29.00	24.00	1.20	36.00	24.00	30.00	27.00	31.00
22.50	22.50	1.00	24.50	20.00	1.22	-	17.00	26.00	21.50	23.50
26.00	26.00	1.00	14.50	14.00	1.03	42.00	27.50	36.50	32.00	31.00
22.50	22.50	1.00	14.50	14.00	1.03		22.00	26.50	24.50	
26.00	26.00	1.00	18.00	17.00	1.05	48.00	34.00	40.50	37.50	33.00
22.50	22.50	1.00	16.00	14.00	1.14	-	25.00	32.00	28.50	
30.00	28.50	1.05	28.00	24.00	1.16	54.00	37.00	42.00	39.50	39.50
			25.00	23.00	1.08	-	30.00	34.50	32.00	
35.00	31.00	1.12	34.00	28.00	1.21	62.00	33.00	54.00	43.50	47.00
			27.00	23.50	1.14		38.00	51.50	45.00	
40.00	35.00	1.14	40.00	32.50	1.23	70.50	45.50	61.50	53.50	57.00
			30.00	28.00	1.07			44.50		
58.00	42.00	1.38	54.00	50.00	1.08	91.00		87.00		72.50

- 5) The figures in these columns were calculated as the midpoint between the minimum and maximum salary.
- 6) In Company K the minimum wage column was deleted because the minimum wages were set by themselves and paid accordingly.

In summary, the following table shows the range of average wages paid in the chosen companies:

Table 27: Salary Range in Selected Companies

	Males	Midpoint	Peromnes <sup>(1)</sup>	Females	Midpoint	Peromnes <sup>(1)</sup>
Grade 19: (Unskilled)	R 24.50 R 49.00	R 32.50	R 27.00	-	-	-
Grade 18: (Unskilled)	R 14.50 R 56.00	R 34.00	R 32.00	R 14.50 R 30.00	R 22.50	R 24.50
Grade 17: (Unskilled)	R 17.50 R 62.00	R 40.00	R 37.50	R 14.50 R 34.50	R 24.50	R 28.50
Grade 16: (Semi-skilled)	R 28.00 R 70.00	R 46.00	R 39.50	R 25.00 R 37.00	R 31.00	R 32.00
Grade 15: (Semi-skilled)	R 34.00 R 78.50	R 53.00	R 43.50	R 27.00 R 39.50	R 33.50	R 45.00
Grade 14: (Skilled)	R 40.00 R 93.00	R 61.00	R 53.50	R 30.00 R 50.00	R 40.00	R 44.50
Grade 13: (Skilled)	R 50.00 R112.50	R 75.00	R 87.00	-	-	-

(1) Peromnes Survey on Remuneration in Southern Africa, September 1978.

It should be noted that one overseas and two South African companies differentiated between male and female salaries, which would be partly attributed to the fact that some companies have few women employed in these categories. The one overseas company stated because the woman was not the breadwinner in most cases, they did not feel it was necessary to pay her the same wage as the male.

Table 28: Comparative Salaries of the Selected Overseas and South African Companies

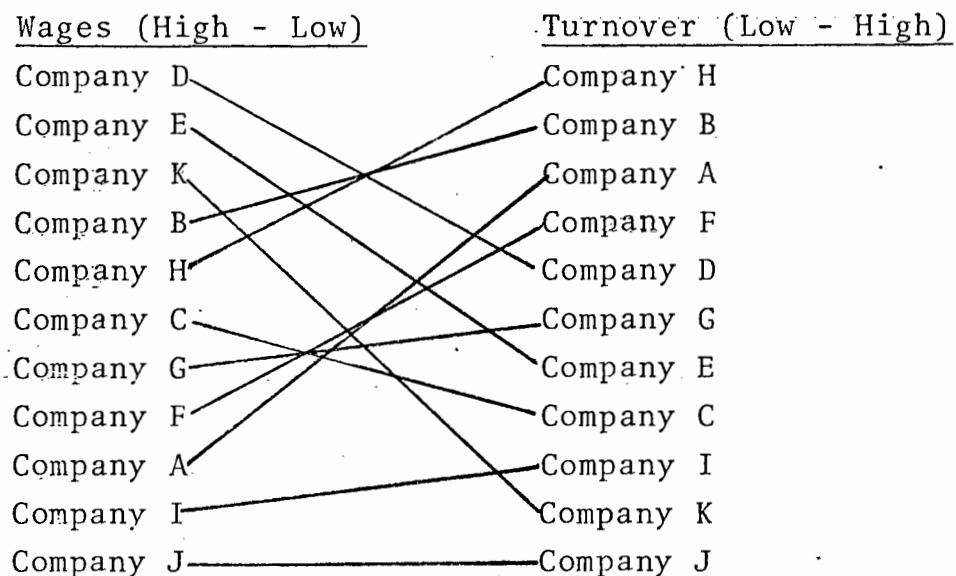
	Overseas	South African	Peromnes <sup>(1)</sup>
Grade 19:	R 37.50	R 31.00	R 27.00
Grade 18:	42.00	31.00	32.00
Grade 17:	48.50	33.00	37.50
Grade 16:	53.50	39.50	39.50
Grade 15:	59.50	47.00	43.50
Grade 14:	66.00	57.00	53.50
Grade 13:	78.50	72.50	-

(1) Peromnes Survey on Remuneration in Southern Africa, September 1978.

In general, the overseas companies surveyed paid a higher wage in each grade category than did the South African companies surveyed, and they also paid a higher wage than the average for the Cape Peninsula in September 1978. The South African companies generally paid slightly higher than this average, though in some grades they paid less than the Cape Peninsula average.

The following table compares wages with the companies' job turnover rate:

Table 29: Relation between Wages and the Job Turnover Rate



There appeared to be little correlation between the salaries paid and the job turnover rate; Spearman's  $r_s$  is equal to .236, indicating that there is not a high degree of agreement. This could suggest that numerous other factors such as benefits, working conditions, supervisor/employee relations and other factors have also influenced job turnover.

3) Benefits

A) Unemployment insurance

This was automatically deducted from the salary of all workers, except for contract and seasonal workers.

B) Medical Aid

(1) Overseas: in most companies it was compulsory for Whites and voluntary for the rest; in one company it was compulsory for all and in another it was open only to the monthly paid staff (Whites and more highly skilled Coloured employees).

(2) South African: in one company it was compulsory for all; in one company it was compulsory for White and Coloured workers, though they were different schemes; in three companies it was compulsory for White and voluntary for Coloured workers (two companies excluded Africans); and in one company it was voluntary for Whites, compulsory for Coloured employees, and not open to Africans.

The South African companies generally excluded Africans from a medical aid scheme and seemed to favour a voluntary scheme for weekly paid and a compulsory scheme for monthly paid workers. Only in one overseas company was the medical aid scheme not open to weekly paid (thus African) staff.

C) Pensions

All overseas companies offered a pension scheme, though one company differentiated between males and females. The South African companies differed as follows: one company offered a pension to all except seasonal workers, one company offered it to all except Africans (contract workers), one company offered it after five years service, one company had an Industrial Council Provident Fund, and in one company Whites joined from the start, Coloured and local African staff after two years, and contract workers were excluded.

D) Holidays

The overseas companies offered on average 2.8 weeks holiday per annum and the South African companies offered on average 2.4 weeks per annum. The South African companies tended to differentiate between White and black workers regarding the period of time given for holidays:

E) Bonuses

Two overseas firms offered one month's salary, two offered half a month's salary (in one case this increased to one month's salary after five years service) and one company offered one week's wages.

Two South African companies offered two week's wages, one offered three week's salary, two offered a bonus to Whites only (in one case Coloured workers had to earn their bonus through an incentive scheme which was not open to Africans), and in one company Whites received one month's salary while the bonus for Coloured and African workers depended on merit.

F) Other Benefits Offered

A wide range of other benefits were offered, including the ability to buy products at cost,

education assistance, housing assistance, long service bonus, and others. The overseas companies seemed to offer a wider range and greater number of extra benefits.

4) Training

A) Induction Training

Most companies offered some sort of induction training, which in many cases was very unstructured. Induction ranged from a simple introduction and tour by the supervisor to a slide/tape show or lecture on the company and its policies. In some cases pamphlets were distributed to new employees outlining the company policies.

B) On-the-Job Training

All companies offered some form of on-the-job training, though in over half the cases it was fairly unstructured. In these cases the supervisor would show the new employee what was expected of him. Other companies had a much more structured approach; some used the Learner Teacher Directive method, where employees are given a training manual in which specific questions are asked and they are expected to find the answers. This is followed up with a test by the supervisor. Five companies had a Training Centre, staffed by a full time training officer, which is used for both theoretical and practical training. However many of the Centres are not yet fully occupied.

C) Courses

Most companies offered several types of training courses, many of which were applicable to a specific category of worker, primarily the monthly paid employees, and some were given to all workers. The more general courses included hygiene training, first aid and

safety courses; more specific courses included supervisor, driver, operator, boiler attendant and laboratory assistant training. Literacy training was offered in three companies on a voluntary basis.

Only a few companies said they had plans to improve or add to their existing training programme. One company had a fairly sophisticated training programme by department, making use of video and separate training instructors for each division.

5) Worker Representation

A) Trade Unions

Of the overseas companies three had a union, though in two very few weekly paid staff were members. All three felt that the unions were ineffective.

In the South African companies five had a union, of which four were well subscribed (one had a 'closed shop'); these four felt that the union was effective for their workers.

In general most employers preferred the liaison committee structure over the unionisation of their workers, as they felt an "in house" problem-solving approach was more expedient and more beneficial than the "third-party" approach. Some were quite adamant that unions were unnecessary, and some felt that a dual union/liaison committee structure was the best balance.

B) Liaison Committee

All overseas and five South African companies had some sort of liaison committee, eight of which had separate Coloured and African committees and two had an integrated committee. Not one company had a works committee (which consists of workers only, as opposed to a liaison committee which is a combination of workers and management).

Some employers with separate committees felt that segregated committees were stipulated by the Factories Act (in actual fact there is no stipulation which prohibits integration, though in terms of the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act Africans must have their own committees to be officially recognised).

The companies generally felt the liaison committees were effective, in that the problems that arose were discussed and solved as soon as possible. Some admitted that the topics that were generally discussed were minor ones (e.g. a broken lightbulb in the canteen), and felt that the committee would have to learn and grow to a greater extent before it could really become effective.

Some companies had a relatively well developed committee system, with departmental committees electing representatives to an inter-departmental committee, who in turn elect representatives to a company/factory wide committee (called a Joint Consultative Committee). One company had a national committee composed of representatives from each branch around the country. Each level would deal with issues relevant to that category, decisions taken at the top could be filtered down through the committee system.

### C) Unionisation of Africans

Most companies would be prepared to liaise with a mixed or African trade union if they were recognised (though some stated they would only liaise with a mixed union), but felt a company liaison committee was more effective for their workers. Some felt unionisation was unnecessary.

6) Integrated Facilities

A) Canteens

All of the overseas companies and two South African companies have racially integrated their canteens (though some only recently), and four South African companies have separate canteens for the different races. However most of the companies with racially integrated canteens still divide between weekly and monthly paid staff, which in essence divides all African and most Coloured workers from the higher paid Coloured and White staff. In one case there was no canteen for the Africans, though one has been promised.

B) Toilets

All of the overseas and two South African companies have taken the signs down and integrated toilet facilities, though in some cases these are also divided between weekly and monthly paid staff. Five companies still have separated toilets.

C) Recreation Rooms

Some companies offer a recreation room for their workers, which is usually attached to the canteen, and thus divided between weekly and monthly paid staff.

D) Segregated Facilities

There were several reasons for the maintenance of segregated facilities: 1) Some of the companies adhered very closely to the Factories Act, which stipulates separate facilities for the different race groups, 2) In some of the companies the weekly and monthly paid employees worked in different areas, and thus used different facilities, and 3) In one company the canteens were divided by grades,

which in effect divided the race groups.

The result of both racially segregated facilities and the division between monthly and weekly paid workers in the workplace was that an almost permanent division between groups of workers became standard practice. If recreational facilities were offered (e.g. games or movies at lunch time, informal pub sessions after work), they would also be divided because in all cases they took place in the canteen. Company functions would seldom include all workers because of the difficulty in obtaining a multi-racial licence for the purchase of liquor. There were thus very few opportunities for all groups in one company to meet together.

E) Problems experienced with integration

Some of the companies said they had experienced some complaints from the White and monthly paid Coloured staff, but that it has not amounted to a problem. One company stated that the Coloured fitters had boycotted the canteen ever since the partition was removed between the weekly and monthly paid sections.

Many of the South Africans said they would like to move towards integrated facilities, but there was a general reluctance if a certain element of risk was involved. Two companies with segregated facilities stated that negative feelings amongst their White staff regarding integration has been an inhibitive factor towards its implementation. They stated that if complaints are lodged, the company could be liable to inspection and subsequently fined if they are found not to be complying with the Factories Act (though in practice government officials seldom strictly enforce these regulations).

7) Subsidised Transport

Only two South African companies offered some form of subsidised transport for their employees, one of which made up any cost in excess of the first R1.25 paid weekly by each employee. One overseas company offered a subsidy for nightshift workers only.

8) Black Personnel Officer

Three South African and one overseas company employed a black personnel officer, though in three cases they were actually employed as an industrial relations or training officer and also fulfilled a personnel function.

9) Upward Mobility of Workers

Three overseas and one South African company are making determined efforts to educate and train workers to move into higher positions. Such schemes include periodic assessments of all workers to identify "promotable" people, specific training programmes to enable lower skilled workers to become generally more skilled in the company, and educational assistance up to university level for those likely to benefit from it.

In the other companies, few such efforts have been made. Two overseas and two South African companies appear to advance workers only where and when convenient, and three South African companies have made little attempt to promote their workers. Most of the companies said they recruited for vacant positions first from within the company, and that it was their policy not to reserve jobs for particular race groups. However, practice showed that these jobs were in many cases only within the weekly paid structure.

10) Disappearance of Racial/Ethnic Monopolies

All companies agreed that some of the jobs that used to be performed only by Whites even up to five years ago are now performed only by Coloured workers (especially within the factory) and that there has been a fair movement of Coloured staff into higher positions. Two overseas and two South African companies stated that Coloured staff supervise Whites in some departments. However each company seemed to have its own level beyond which Coloured staff have not moved, which in all cases excluded managerial positions. In all companies Africans have moved into the lower skilled positions, primarily the lowest categories and always within the weekly paid structure, though two companies are beginning to promote a few Africans into supervisory positions.

11) Recurring Complaints

All overseas companies felt that there were no recurring complaints amongst their workers, and all South African firms admitted that there were recurring complaints. These included such items as job conditions, i.e. long irregular hours; company policies (e.g. strict rules for tardiness); security system, fair bonus schemes and (most commonly) wages.

Even though some complaints were expressed from workers of overseas companies, a higher percentage of workers and a greater number of complaints came from the workers of South African companies.

### EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDES

Employers were asked to list characteristics that would most accurately describe the performance and work behaviour of their African and Coloured staff. These characteristics were grouped into categories as well as into positive, negative and neutral attributes (see Appendix 5).

Several trends emerged out of these categories. The employers stated more positive attributes regarding the "work behaviour" of their African employees than of their Coloured employees. They gave a rather balanced assessment of the "work performance" and "attitudes towards work" of both groups, and they listed many more positive attributes of the personality characteristics of Coloured workers than Africans.

In general, the employers seemed to view the African worker as a hard working, reliable, and loyal manual worker who seemed to be content in his job and accept his position. Some employers felt that the African thought and reacted differently and had different values than other race groups, while other employers felt that the differences were largely attributed to the communication problem.

Employers viewed the Coloured worker as less able and less content to do heavy manual work, and felt they were motivated to seek self-improvement to move into higher types of jobs. They described the Coloured worker as more "Westernized" than Africans, and some stated that Coloureds "are not very different from Whites."

There was generally a much wider spectrum of opinion regarding the Coloured worker than the African worker; some responses centred around a lower skilled and less able type of worker, while more responses described a more capable type of person who is rising both in the company and in the work force generally. The African, on the other hand, was regarded primarily as a low skilled worker with little incentive to rise beyond this level.

(It must be noted that these views refer to the lower skilled workers, the topic of this survey, and do not necessarily reflect the views towards African and Coloured workers in higher positions.)

SUMMARY

In summary, numerous similarities and differences emerged between the employment practices in the selected overseas and South African companies in this survey, from which certain patterns could be seen. Some clear-cut points of difference are summarised below, followed by larger issues of similarity:

1) The South African companies had a greater concentration of black (primarily African) labour, and had a larger complement of contract and seasonal workers than did the overseas companies.

2) The South African companies paid a lower wage in each grade category on average than did the overseas companies.

3) Some South African firms excluded Africans from certain benefits (in some cases they were seasonal or contract workers), whereas all benefits in the overseas companies were open to all employees, though in some cases only on a voluntary basis.

4) The overseas companies offered on average three weeks each for holiday and bonus pay per annum in comparison with the average of two weeks each for holiday and bonus pay in the South African companies.

5) The overseas companies offered a greater number of extra benefits on average.

6) Many of the South African companies still had segregated facilities (primarily canteens), whereas all the overseas companies had integrated facilities (however some had only been integrated prior to the survey).

7) The South African companies generally had a higher degree of union involvement than did the overseas companies; a higher percentage had trade unions and a greater number of workers were members.

8) All South African companies admitted that there were recurring complaints amongst their workers, and not one overseas company felt that their workers had recurring complaints. Even though some complaints were expressed from workers of overseas companies, a higher percentage of workers and a greater number of complaints came from the South African companies.

Some of the areas of similarity which emerged are summarised as follows:

1) Most of the companies offered some form of induction training, on-the-job training, and several training courses, although in most companies the induction and on-the-job training were very unstructured and the courses were primarily for monthly paid workers. In general, the standard and extent of training programmes was low; however some of the firms were in the process of improving or increasing their existing training. Only two companies had a fairly extensive training department.

2) Most companies had liaison committees, some of which were integrated and some segregated. Most employers felt the liaison committee structure was effective and preferred it over the unionisation of their workers, as they felt the "in-house" problem solving approach was more expedient and more beneficial than the "third-party" approach. Some felt that both liaison committees and trade unions should exist in combination, as each could handle certain types of issues better than the other. Most companies said they would be prepared to liaise with a mixed or African trade union, but again felt a company liaison committee was more effective for their workers.

3) There has been a trend in all of the surveyed companies over the past decade which has enabled a fairly

extensive movement of workers. This could be seen as part of the natural change process which flows from increased industrialisation. Jobs that used to be performed solely by Whites within the factory environment even up to ten years ago are now performed predominantly by Coloured workers. In many companies Coloured workers have moved into higher grades, and in some cases Coloureds were supervising Whites, but there were still very few Coloureds in managerial positions. Africans have moved into lower skilled positions in all companies, but only in a very few cases have they been promoted into supervisory, or other, positions. This appears to be both because of the stringent regulations restricting African advancement in the Cape as well as a feeling of hesitancy amongst employers who view the African generally as a less competent worker outside of the lower skilled level.

4) Most of the companies felt they were applying the principles in the relevant Code of Employment (the overseas companies fall under the EEC Code, and the South African companies fall under the Urban Foundation/Saccola Code), though one South African company was not aware of the principles and another said they were in the process of implementing the Code.

On closer inspection, however, many of the companies are in fact not adhering to all the principles. Even though the South African Code is not as extensive as the EEC Code, many of the South African companies are nevertheless not fully enacting general guidelines. For example, most of the companies surveyed generally offer different benefit coverage to the different groups of workers, many have segregated facilities, and their training programmes are aimed at the more highly skilled workers. Average pay scales remain very low in comparison with accepted realistic living levels, and worker representation is often guided by the wishes of management. Most of the companies adhered very closely

to the numerous government rules and regulations regarding Coloured and African workers, and they seemed hesitant to deviate from them.

The overseas companies on the whole had made many more steps towards change than had the South African firms, in terms of pay scales, benefit coverage, training programmes and general company policies, but some still did not meet all the principles in the EEC Code. For example, some disagreed with the statement that African employees should be free to form or join a trade union, and they had not allowed trade union officials to enter the company. Only some companies had specifically trained and promoted Africans, while in others Africans remained only in the lower skilled jobs. Salaries of most Africans were less than accepted realistic living levels.

Some companies admitted that recent overseas pressure had increased their rate of change, though most felt that they had not been affected by overseas pressure. However many of the companies seem only recently to have made certain changes, which includes: a) integrated facilities b) making efforts to improve their training programme, c) evaluating their job advancement opportunities, and d) investigating ways to identify "promotable" people within the company, among other changes. This would point either to a growing awareness on the part of companies that changes were both necessary and inevitable, or that increased overseas pressure has in fact had some effect.

ANALYSIS OF THE EMPLOYEES' QUESTIONNAIRE

There was a total of 266 employees interviewed, of which 120 were African males, 4 were African females,<sup>1)</sup> 86 were Coloured males and 56 were Coloured females. Because there were so few African females, they will be excluded where specified from individual analysis.

I) Worker Information

Table 30 : Worker Information by Racial Group and Sex

	African Male	Coloured Male	Coloured Female
1) <u>Skill Level</u> <sup>2)</sup>			
Unskilled	68% (n=81)	24% (n=21)	39% (n=22)
Semi-skilled	24% (29)	40% (34)	36% (20)
Skilled	8% (10)	36% (31)	25% (14)
2) <u>Position in Firm</u> <sup>3)</sup>			
Labourer	61% (73)	20% (17)	21% (12)
Machinist	6% ( 7)	16% (14)	13% ( 7)
Clerk	4% ( 5)	12% (10)	7% ( 4)
Supervisor	83% ( 1)	9% ( 8)	5% ( 3)
3) Median Length of Service	10.05 years	4.02 years	4.07 years
4) Median Number of previous Jobs	2.74 jobs	1.88 jobs	1.63 jobs
5) Median Age	46	29	28
6) Median Educational Standard	Std. 4	Std. 6	Std. 5
7) African contract workers	32.5%	-	-
8) African residents	67.5%	-	-

- 1) Of the four African females, three were unskilled, and one was semi-skilled.
- 2) See Appendix 6 for a list of job categories divided into skill levels.
- 3) These are examples of the more common positions. See Appendix 6 for a complete listing of job positions.

Most African male respondents were unskilled, of whom the majority were labourers, whereas most Coloured males were semi-skilled workers whose positions varied. Coloured females were fairly evenly divided between unskilled and semi-skilled positions. (Goodman and Kruskal's  $Tau_r$  for race and level of skill equals .09, which indicates a low degree of association between the two (if females were excluded from the analysis, the association would most likely increase); for race and position in firm the  $Tau_r$  equals .133).

Although African males had a much longer average length of service than Coloured workers they were also on average much older, which could account for extended periods of service and for a greater average number of previous jobs. (These findings are similar to those in the Employment Survey of Crossroads, conducted in 1978, in which the average length of service for African males was ten years, Graaff and Weichel, 1978). In addition, Africans had on average a lower educational standard than Coloured workers, which is not surprising because of the lack of compulsory education and the few existing schools for Africans in the Cape, as well as the Coloured Labour Preference Policy which virtually forces Africans into residual positions requiring little education.

Table 31: Worker Information by Level of Skill

	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled
1) Median Length of Service	5 years	8.11 years	5 years
2) Median number of previous jobs	2.13 jobs	1.41 jobs	1.42 jobs
3) Median Age	40	33	36
4) Median Educational standard	Std. 4	Std. 6	Std. 7
5) African contract workers	72%	23%	5%
6) African residents	66%	24%	15%

Table 31 shows that the semi-skilled workers had a greater length of service than either the unskilled or skilled workers, despite their lower average age. The unskilled workers, predominantly African, generally had a greater number of previous jobs, a higher age level, and a lower educational standard than either the semi-skilled or skilled workers.

This table also indicated that African residents are on the whole more highly skilled than contract workers. This could be attributed to several factors:

1) The contract labour system fosters the employment of 'labour units' who are simply placed into any vacant unskilled position.

2) Because contract workers are only employed for one year at a time, they have little opportunity, unlike residents, of moving upwards into more skilled positions within the company. Companies are often hesitant to train contract workers because of their temporary status.

## II) Working Conditions

### A) Hours

The large majority of all respondents reported normal working hours between 45-46 hours per week, 8% worked 36½ hours per week, and 6% worked 42.5 hours per week.

### B) Risk of Accident

Of all African males 45% stated that there was a high risk of accident in their job, while only 9% of Coloured males and 7% of Coloured females felt that there was a risk of accident. Thus a relatively high proportion of Africans in this survey have to work in dangerous conditions, a complaint also mentioned by Africans in other recent reports.

C) Provision and Integration of Toilets and Canteens

i) Of all workers 91% stated that both toilets and canteens were provided, and 9% stated that only toilets were provided.

ii) Of all workers, 87% stated that facilities were not shared. (This could be attributed to the fact that most facilities are divided between weekly and monthly paid staff, though they are actually racially integrated. However some facilities are still racially segregated.)

D) Racial Mixing in Job Categories

65% of the African respondents and 40% of the Coloured respondents stated that there was more than one racial group within their job category. This indicates that many of the unskilled positions were filled by both Coloured and African workers while some of the higher positions were filled by Coloured workers only.

E) Provision of Necessary Uniforms or Outfits

Where applicable, the necessary uniforms or outfits were provided in the large majority of cases.

III) Pay

Table 32 : Regular Weekly Salaries-Take Home Pay<sup>1)</sup>

<u>Group</u>	<u>Salary(Median)</u>	<u>H.S.L.</u> <sup>2)</sup>	<u>H.E.L.</u> <sup>3)</sup>
African males	R 38.02	R 38.33	R 57.50
Coloured males	42.09	38.27	57.40
Coloured females	28.06		
Unskilled workers	31.00		
Semi-skilled workers	40.00		
Skilled workers	57.00		
Median-all workers	36.04		

- 1) Monthly salaries were divided by 4.33 to yield a weekly salary.
- 2) H.S.L. = Households Subsistence Level for a hypothetical African family of six and a Coloured family of five.
- 3) H.E.L. = Household Effective Level, or the realistic family living level. The H.E.L. is 50% higher than the H.S.L. In both cases, the income refers to that of the household head.

On average, neither the African nor Coloured respondents earned a salary approximately that of the H.E.L. for the Cape Peninsula. In addition, the African males on average earned slightly less than the calculated H.S.L. for 1978. Of all Africans, 22.5% earned between R25 - R30 per week, and 22.5% earned between R30 - R35 per week. Only 4% of all Africans earned more than the H.E.L. The Coloured male, on the other hand, earned on average slightly more than the H.S.L., and 28% earned over the H.E.L. The Coloured female earned on average considerably less than either the African or Coloured male.

A) Overtime Pay

In approximately 40% of the cases the employees did not work overtime. Of those that did approximately 18% did not know how much they earned, 11% earned R7.00 per week or less, 9% earned between R7.00 to R11.00 per week, and the other answers were unquantifiable. It thus appears that between 50 - 60% of the workers earn some overtime pay per week. Because of their low average weekly pay, some workers rely heavily on overtime work to be able to meet their basic needs.

B) Length of Service Increase

Of all workers, 80% said their pay had increased with their length of service, and 10% said that it had not increased. (The remaining 10% could be attributed to the fact that respondents had only been working with their company for a short time, or alternatively because the answers were not recorded.)

IV) Benefits

Table 33 : Benefits Received by Racial Group and Sex

<u>Benefit</u>	African male	Coloured male	Coloured female	All
1) U.I.F. <sup>1)</sup>	88%(106)	100%(86)	100%(56)	95%(248)
2) Medical Aid	33%( 39)	63%(54)	39%(22)	44%(115)
3) Pension	70%(84)	81%(70)	50%(28)	69%(182)
4) Holiday Fund	63%(76)	93%(80)	80%(45)	76%(201)
5) Do not know	11%(13)	0%( 0)	4%( 2)	6%( 16)

1) U.I.F. = Unemployment Insurance Fund.

Table 34 : Benefits Received by Level of Skill

<u>Benefit</u>	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled
1) U.I.F.	87%(110)	100%(84)	100%(55)
2) Medical Aid	24%( 30)	57%(48)	69%(38)
3) Pension	53%( 67)	83%(70)	84%(46)
4) Holiday Fund	63%( 80)	86%(72)	89%(49)
5) Do not know	13%( 16)	0%( 0)	0%( 0)

From table 33 it may be seen that the African respondents received less benefit coverage in each instance than did the Coloured males, although a higher percentage of Africans were not aware of the benefits they received. It follows that the unskilled workers, predominantly African, received less benefit coverage than either the semi-skilled or skilled worker.

This information corresponds with that from the employers; many South African companies specifically excluded Africans from a variety of benefits, either entirely or after a minimum length of service, irrespective of whether they were contract, seasonal, or resident workers.

The following "other benefits" were mentioned:

- a) attendance bonus (31 respondents)
- b) union sick and provident fund (24)
- c) long service bonus (17)
- d) beer (22 cans per month) (14)
- e) grocery hamper at Christmas (13)
- f) group life insurance (12)
- g) production bonus (7)
- h) assistance with housing (5)

Many other items were mentioned by four respondents or less, including school bursaries, profit sharing bonus, and travel allowance, amongst others.

V) Training

Table 35 : Training Received by Racial Group and Sex

	African male	Coloured male	Coloured female	All
1) Course	8%(10)	14%(12)	5%( 3)	9%( 25)
2) On-the-job	35%(42)	54%(46)	70%(39)	48%(127)
3) No training	58%(69)	30%(26)	20%(11)	40%(106)

Tau = .082

Table 36 : Training Received by Level of Skill

	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled
1) Course	-	12%(10)	27%(15)
2) On-the-job	38%(48)	63%(53)	49%(27)
3) No training	62%(79)	23%(19)	20%(11)

Tau = .113

These tables indicate that both the majority of African respondents and the unskilled workers received no training, whereas the majority of Coloured males and females, and the majority of semi-skilled and skilled workers, received on-the-job training.

Although employers are generally hesitant to train contract workers because of their temporary status, the contract workers only accounted for 32% of the African sample; thus from the sample it would appear that the majority of residents also receive little or no training.

When asked what other types of training they were given, 95% responded that it was not applicable, 3% stated they learned by observation, 1,5% said they were shown very briefly what to do, and 1,5% said they were self-taught.

Training in the Cape Peninsula has been much more sporadic and haphazard than it has been in other parts of the country, partly because of the virtual restriction of African apprentices in the Cape; however the facilities throughout the rest of the country are still very limited in comparison with training facilities for Whites.

#### B) Types of training preferred

Of all workers, 10% stated they would like to have had a specific course, 5% said they would like to have had on-the-job training, many felt that what they had was adequate, and others stated that none was necessary, either because the level of work was so low, or because they had qualified before. Because workers have had little exposure to different forms of training, it is rather difficult for them to suggest alternative forms.

#### VI) Worker Representation

Africans are represented by works and liaison committees and rarely by their own trade union; the latter are legal but they are not officially recognised. Coloured workers are represented by both liaison committees and trade unions.

##### A) Liaison Committees

i) Membership: Only 12% of all respondents belonged to a liaison committee, 71% did not belong, and in 14% of the cases it was not applicable. Of those

who did belong, the majority were African males, although this constituted only 17,5% of their total number.

It is interesting to note that ten out of eleven companies had liaison committees and not one had a works committee. Needless to say, the majority of employers prefer the former for their African workers.

ii) Membership interest: Approximately 19% of all workers who were not members stated they would like to belong to a committee. Of these, 37% were African males, and 46% were Coloured males. This indicates a very low interest rate; only 30% of all respondents were either participants or potential participants.

iii) Employee Benefit: Of all workers, 46% felt that liaison committees helped the employee. This view was taken by 48% of the African and 44% of the Coloured respondents. In effect, this means that over half of all respondents felt that workers did not benefit by liaison committees.

iv) Other forms of organisation: Of all workers, 8% felt that some other form of organisation would be more effective than works or liaison committees. This was the view of 21% of African males, 38% of Coloured males, and 22% of Coloured females.

v) African trade union: Of the 21% of African males in favour of some other organisation, 84% felt that an African trade union could be their most effective form of worker representation.

The role and potential of these unions has become a much more central issue in South African industrial relations than ever before, especially in areas where the union movement is stronger than in Cape Town.

Membership in unregistered African unions in Johannesburg and Durban is steadily growing, and considerable pressure is being put on the government to recognise them.

vi) Other suggestions: These came primarily from Coloured males, and included:

- a) a committee with more power in general
- b) a committee which has a strong representation amongst the lower income group (e.g. weekly paid)
- c) a committee in which everyone feels free to speak and where issues are better clarified to all participants
- d) a committee which has the power of making and implementing decisions immediately
- e) a non-racial trade union
- f) a committee in which communication between workers and representatives is more frequent.

These responses indicate that many workers feel the existing committees are not very powerful. In addition, several specific problems were mentioned. First, all liaison committees are conducted in English (because of management members); second, the chairman is often the factory manager. Both factors tend to detract from their potential effectiveness.

No mention was made of worker victimization, often a common problem amongst African workers in other parts of the country, undoubtedly because of the almost non-existent union recruitment of African workers in the companies interviewed.

## B) Trade Unions

i) Membership: 39% of Coloured males and 48% of Coloured females belonged to a trade union, though in approximately 34% of the cases there was no union.

ii) Employee Benefit: 35% of Coloured males and 44% of Coloured females felt that trade unions helped the employee, whereas 37% of Coloured males and 14% of Coloured females felt that there were no advantages of membership. In approximately 39% of the cases the respondents were not aware of the union or how it operated.

iii) Advantages of Membership: The advantages mentioned included:

- a) they negotiate better wages, benefits and working conditions;
- b) they settle disputes;
- c) they fight for workers rights;
- d) they can exert power in the organisation;
- e) they speak on behalf of workers and support them generally, achieving what the workers alone could not achieve.

iv) Other forms of organisation: Only 8% of the Coloured respondents felt that some other form of organisation would be more effective than the existing trade unions, though many said they were unaware of the union and how it operated. The other forms mentioned included:

- a) a works committee;
- b) a liaison committee;
- c) non-racial unions;
- d) an improved/more powerful union;
- e) an independent union.

There was generally a fairly low participation rate in both liaison committees and trade unions, and in many cases the workers were either not aware of their existence or were not interested in becoming members. Although some advantages of membership were mentioned, the respondents generally seemed uninterested in the effectiveness of their current, or other, form of worker representation.

VII) Awareness of Codes of Employment

One company requested that this question not be asked of their employees (they expressed concern that their workers might want to find out more about the codes). The total number of respondents for this question then was 237. Of these, 84% were not aware of the codes (83% of Africans, 80% of Coloured males, and 93% of Coloured females).

This indicates an extremely high lack of awareness of employment codes which were designed directly to affect the workers; however this kind of information has apparently not been made available to them. Many companies (as seen by the one instance in this survey) are in fact reticent of exposing this information to their employees, and hence often serve as a filtering device regarding what their employees may receive.

VIII) Supervisor

Table 37 : Supervisor by Racial Group

Respondent	Supervisor		
	African	Coloured	White
African	11% (14)	24% (30)	60% (75)
Coloured male	1% (1)	36% (31)	61% (52)
Coloured female	-	50% (28)	50% (28)
All workers	6% (15)	33% (89)	58% (155)

(In 3% of the cases there was no supervisor).

The majority of all workers appear to have a White supervisor. Most (74%) felt their supervisor was fair, which was fairly evenly divided between races, sexes, and level of skill (though skilled workers rated slightly higher at 80%).

Table 38 : Supervisor Preference

Respondent	Stated a preference	Prefer African	Prefer Coloured	Prefer White
African	50% (60)	32% (38)	7% ( 8)	12.5% (15)
Coloured male	20% (17)	-	15% (13)	5% ( 4)
Coloured female	25% (14)	-	20% (11)	5% ( 3)
All workers	34% (92)	14% (38)	12% (32)	8% (22)
Unskilled	46% (58)	22% (28)	14% (18)	9% (12)
Semi-skilled	26% (22)	8% ( 7)	11% ( 9)	7% ( 6)
Skilled	22% (12)	5% ( 3)	9% ( 5)	7% ( 4)

The majority of Africans and unskilled workers stated a specific preference, which could indicate that they not only have greater contact with their supervisor, but also that some supervisors are more understanding to their needs than are others. The majority of African respondents preferred African supervisors, and the majority of Coloured workers preferred Coloured supervisors, although the majority of both actually have White supervisors. However both groups would prefer their current White supervisor over someone from the other racial group.

Many reasons were given for stating a supervisor preference, which are listed in Appendix 7. A summarised account is as follows:

Table 39 : Summary of Supervisor Preference Responses

Supervisor	Responses	African	Coloured
African	41 positive	38	3
	27 negative	13	14
Coloured	21 positive	3	18
	17 negative	15	2
White	22 positive	15	7
	10 negative	6	4

White supervisors had the highest proportion of positive responses in relation to the negative comments mentioned.

(IX) Social Affiliations

The following table indicates the racial associations the respondents have at work and in their leisure time:

Table 40 : Social Affiliations

Respondent	African at work/home	Coloured at work/home	Both at work/home	Both at work Coloured at home	Both at work Sometimes both at home
African male	42% (50)	-	-	-	54% (65)
Coloured male	-	42% (36)	27% (23)	31% (27)	-
Coloured female	-	80% (45)	9% ( 5)	11% ( 6)	-

Of those who stated a specific affiliation, 52% said it was because their work partners and their neighbours were all of the same group. 20% of the African respondents said it was also because they would prefer mixing with their own people, and some mentioned that language was a problem. Some of the Coloured females stated that they disliked or were fearful of Africans, and thus preferred mixing with their own people. This could explain why such a high proportion of Coloured females preferred only to be with their own race at work and at home.

X) Work Groups

Table 41 : Association with Work Groups

Respondent	Associate with a group at work	Associate with them after work
African male	76% (91)	71% (85)
Coloured male	88% (76)	29% (25)
Coloured female	79% (44)	16% ( 9)
Unskilled	79% (100)	54% (68)
Semi-skilled	79% (66)	44% (37)
Skilled	89% (49)	31% (17)
All workers	81% (215)	46% (122)

A much higher proportion of Africans associate with their work friends after work than Coloured workers do, possibly both because of the distance between many of the Coloured areas, and because it is one of the only ways for contract workers to meet others.

XI) Employees' Attitudes

The following table indicates the range of responses amongst all workers in the survey to specific attitudinal statements, and the tables on the following pages divide the responses first by racial group and sex, and second by the level of skill.

Table 42A : Employees' Attitudes - All Respondents

Question	Agree	Disagree
1) I think my job is important	84% (223)	15% ( 41)
2) The hours of work here are okay	82% (217)	18% ( 49)
3) I have to force myself to go to work most of the time	40% (107)	59% (158)
4) In my opinion, the pay here is lower than similar work in other companies	44% (117)	43% (115)
5) If I have a complaint to make, I feel comfortable to talk to someone up-the-line	78% (207)	21% ( 56)
6) My boss sees that employees are properly trained for their jobs	71% (188)	28% ( 75)
7) I would advise a friend to do the same work as I do for the same company	55% (146)	45% (120)
8) They expect too much work from us here	49% (130)	47% (125)
9) The management is really interested in the welfare of employees	68% (180)	30% ( 79)
10) Poor work conditions keep me from doing my best in my work	27% ( 72)	72% (192)
11) I have a great deal of interest in this company and its future	80% (214)	17% ( 46)
12) They encourage us to make suggestions for improvements	68% (180)	32% ( 85)
13) I feel that my job is seen as unimportant in this organisation	38% (100)	60% (160)
14) I can be sure of my job as long as I do good work	86% (228)	14% ( 38)
15) My job is often dull and monotonous	35% ( 94)	64% (171)
16) Long service and hard work are rewarded in this organisation	63% (168)	32% ( 86)
17) I have plenty of freedom on the job to use my own judgement	70% (187)	29% ( 77)
18) My pay is enough to live on comfortably	35% (92)	65% (172)
19) The people I work with are very friendly	92% (244)	7% ( 18)
20) My boss lives up to his promises	61% (161)	34% ( 89)
21) I am very much underpaid for the work that I do	58% (154)	41% (110)
22) I am proud to work for this company	79% (211)	20% ( 54)

1) Percentages do not always add up to 100 because of in-different replies and non-response.

Grouping these statements into categories, the following results emerged:

Table 42B : Respondents' Attitudes by Category

	<u>Category</u>		<u>Response</u>
1)	Assess their job positively	-	66%
2)	Happy with aspects of their working conditions	-	72%
3)	Feel pay is adequate	-	40%
4)	Happy with company/employer	-	72%
5)	Happy with people worked with	-	92%

Table 43A : Employees' Attitudes by Racial Group and Sex

	African male		Coloured male		Coloured female	
	<u>Agree</u> n = 120	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u> n = 86	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u> n = 56	<u>Disagree</u>
1)	68%	32%	98%	1%	100%	0%
2)	70	30	90	10	96	4
3)	41	59	35	64	45	55
4)	63	33	29	47	20	66
5)	72	27	90	10	75	24
6)	52	48	88	11	89	9
7)	29	71	73	27	82	18
8)	60	39	34	58	48	48
9)	48	50	85	12	88	12
10)	39	61	16	81	14	86
11)	72	28	91	6	86	9
12)	46	53	91	9	80	20
13)	47	53	28	69	29	66
14)	78	22	97	3	91	9
15)	32	68	36	63	43	57
16)	46	52	77	17	79	14
17)	60	40	81	18	75	24
18)	14	86	41	57	71	29
19)	94	6	92	5	86	13
20)	53	44	67	23	70	21
21)	76	24	50	48	29	71
22)	65	35	92	7	89	11

1) Percentages do not always add up to 100 because of indifferent replies and non-response.

Grouping these statements into categories, the following results emerged:

Table 43B : Respondents' Attitudes by Categories

Category	African male	Coloured male	Coloured female
Assess their job positively	57%	75%	72%
Happy with aspects of working conditions	59	83	87
Feel pay is adequate	24	45	69
Happy with company/ employer	58	86	82
Happy with people worked with	94	92	86

Table 44A : Employees' Attitudes by Level of Skill

	Unskilled		Semi-skilled		Skilled	
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
	n = 127		n = 84		n = 55	
1)	70%	30%	98%	2%	96%	2%
2)	74	26	89	11	89	11
3)	47	53	43	57	18	80
4)	59	35	35	42	22	65
5)	74	24	77	23	89	9
6)	52	48	86	13	93	4
7)	39	61	62	38	80	20
8)	55	43	50	43	31	64
9)	56	42	74	23	85	13
10)	36	64	20	79	16	82
11)	75	24	83	12	91	7
12)	50	50	77	23	95	5
13)	50	49	31	63	16	84
14)	80	20	89	11	96	4
15)	46	54	31	68	18	82
16)	53	43	69	26	76	18
17)	58	41	80	20	85	13
18)	26	74	32	65	58	42
19)	91	9	94	5	91	4
20)	55	40	63	31	71	20
21)	70	30	60	38	27	73
22)	67	33	87	13	95	4

1) Percentages do not always add up to 100 because of indifferent replies and non-response.

Grouping these statements into categories, the following results emerged:

Table 44B : Respondents' Attitudes by Category

Category	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled
Assess their job positively	56%	70%	83%
Happy with aspects of their working conditions	64	79	82
Feel pay is adequate	30	37	65
Happy with company/employer	61	78	88
Happy with people worked with	91	94	91

These tables generally indicate, as expected, that Africans are less satisfied with their pay, working conditions, and company/employer, and generally assess their job less positively than do Coloured males or females. Likewise, unskilled workers appear to be less happy with their pay, working conditions, company/employer, and assess their job less positively than do semi-skilled or skilled workers.

XII) Major Satisfaction/Dissatisfactions with their Job

To assess specific items of satisfaction or dissatisfaction within the work place the following items were asked:

Table 45 : Major Satisfaction/Dissatisfactions - All Respondents

Item	Dissatis- fied (n = 266)		Indifferent
	Satisfied		
1) Pay	28%	58%	14%
2) Hours of work	58	21	22
3) Benefits	45	31	24
4) Training	32	17	51
5) Worker representation	43	22	35
6) Transport	21	28	51
7) Supervisor	49	18	33
8) Company Policies	45	27	27
9) Facilities	65	14	21
10) People worked with	65	4	31

Table 46 : Major Satisfaction/Dissatisfactions by Racial Group and Sex

	African male (n = 120)		Coloured male (n = 86)		Coloured female (n = 56)	
	Satisfied	Dissatis- fied	Satisfied	Dissatis- fied	Satisfied	Dissatis- fied
1)	18%	82%	28%	42%	52%	30%
2)	72	28	51	14	38	13
3)	49	50	50	19	30	4
4)	38	33	30	5	22	4
5)	58	30	30	20	30	9
6)	33	30	12	28	9	20
7)	74	21	33	14	21	18
8)	48	45	49	11	38	13
9)	88	12	47	21	43	9
10)	96	2	44	4	27	11

1) Percentages do not always add up to 100 because of indifferent replies and non-response.

Table 47 : Major Satisfaction/Dissatisfactions with their Job by Level of Skill

	Unskilled		Semi-skilled		Skilled	
	<u>Satisfied</u> (n = 127)	<u>Dissatis- fied</u>	<u>Satisfied</u> (n = 84)	<u>Dissatis- fied</u>	<u>Satisfied</u> (n = 55)	<u>Dissatis- fied</u>
1)	21%	73%	31%	51%	40%	35%
2)	54	30	60	14	64	9
3)	39	43	42	26	64	11
4)	14	30	44	8	53	2
5)	48	24	33	21	46	16
6)	23	26	20	30	16	30
7)	54	20	39	23	53	7
8)	42	35	39	24	64	16
9)	69	12	58	15	67	16
10)	72	6	64	5	47	0

- 1) Percentages do not always add up to 100 because of indifferent replies and non-response.

Not surprisingly, the major item of dissatisfaction amongst all groups was inadequate pay, and the major item of satisfaction was the people worked with. Both Coloured males and females expressed a higher degree of indifference to most items mentioned than did the African males. (See Appendix 8 for a list of numerous other satisfactions and dissatisfactions mentioned).

### XIII) Job Aspirations

Workers were asked several questions about the type of job that they would like to do, why, and whether they felt this job was attainable, as well as the types of jobs they would like to see their children take.

#### A) Respondents' Job Preferences

Sixty-four different types of jobs were mentioned (see Appendix 9), over half of which were higher types of

positions than the respondent was presently employed in. Of all workers, 39% stated a professional or technical position, 26% stated a tradesman or foreman position, 19% stated a clerical or sales position, and 10.5% stated a position within business management or public service.

The occupations most often stated were, in the following order:

Table 48 : Respondents' Job Preferences

Occupation	Responses	African	Coloured
Teacher	25	12	13
Clerk	21	16	5
Nurse	19	3	16
Mechanic	14	8	6
Doctor	12	7	5
Carpenter	11	6	5

This table indicates that the position of clerk was the most desired position amongst the African respondents, and the positions of nurse and teacher were most desired amongst the Coloured female and male respondents respectively.

B) Job Attainment

There was a wide range of response towards the individual's perception of his ability to achieve his stated preference. 19% of African males, 58% of Coloured males, and 29% of Coloured females felt it was possible to attain their preferred occupation.

These figures indicate that Coloured males, who are given first preference for vacant jobs in the Western Cape, feel more secure in their ability to attain their desired job than Africans who are heavily restricted by numerous government regulations. It would appear that approximately 80% of the Africans interviewed have accepted

the fact that they will not be able to pursue the job they would like to do.

C) Reasons for Respondents' Job Preference

Sixty different reasons were given explaining why they were interested in a particular job (see Appendix 10), which were grouped into the following categories:

- 1) general interest in the job/enjoys the type of work (14 African, 71 Coloured)
- 2) good working conditions/better pay (35 African, 13 Coloured)
- 3) job value (21 African, 18 Coloured)
- 4) limited scope for individual (7 African, 15 Coloured)
- 5) job suitability (1 African, 10 Coloured)
- 6) other benefits offered (4 African)

Thus the majority of Coloured respondents preferred a particular type of job because they enjoyed the type of work, whereas many African respondents were primarily interested in the better working conditions or pay.

D) Job Aspirations for their Children

The respondents' job preferences for their children (see Appendix 11) were similar to their own job preferences:

- 1) nurse (47 African, 35 Coloured)
- 2) teacher (42 African, 36 Coloured)
- 3) doctor (18 African, 27 Coloured)
- 4) job with a high educational standard (14 African, 19 Coloured)
- 5) office work, clerical (14 African, 18 Coloured)
- 6) tradesman (7 African, 12 Coloured)

In general, the unskilled worker in both the case of the African and the Coloured respondents stated proportionately more job occupations for their children

than either the semi-skilled or skilled worker. In the large majority of cases, the occupations suggested were well above the present position of the respondent.

Both African and Coloured respondents stated far fewer job aspirations for themselves than they did for their children, and Africans stated fewer job preferences for themselves than did the Coloured respondents. This could be attributed to the fact that Africans have limited access to diverse job positions and their own aspirations have been limited accordingly, although they hope their children might be able to attain these positions.

#### XIV) Summary

From this survey certain trends emerged concerning the working conditions and attitudes of African and Coloured respondents. These trends are similar to both the information presented in Chapter 2, as well as findings of other recent reports (c.f. Graaff and Weichel, 1978; Graaff and Maree, 1977).

The African male respondents were predominantly unskilled workers who had worked an average of ten years with their company and had on average standard 4 education. They earned an average of R38.00 per week, which is slightly less than the Household Subsistence Level for a hypothetical African family of six in the Cape Peninsula, and only 4% earned more than the calculated realistic living level for an African family.

The majority of Africans were members of a Pension, Unemployment and Holiday Fund through their work, but only a small percentage belonged to a Medical Aid Scheme. Regarding training, only a very few had been given a course, the majority had received no training, and only a third had received on-the-job training, despite the fact that the majority of respondents were not contract workers.

Because of a general lack of exposure to different types of training, few alternative suggestions were mentioned.

Africans showed a low participation rate in liaison committees. In many cases the workers were either not aware of their existence, or they were not interested in becoming a member. Several specific problems were mentioned: first liaison meetings were conducted in English, and second, the chairman was often the factory manager. Both factors tended to detract greatly from their potential effectiveness. Few suggestions were made for alternative forms of representation, although of those mentioned the most common was an African trade union. Very few workers had ever approached management directly with a grievance.

The African respondents were generally less happy with their pay, working conditions, and their company/ employer than were the Coloured respondents, although they expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the people they worked with. Many were bitter about the fact that in most instances preference was granted to Coloured workers, which they interpreted as the fault of the company. Examples cited were that more privileges and better benefits were given to Coloured workers, that Africans were not given the same training, their overalls were not laundered by the company, and that in general they were not treated as well as Coloured workers.

The majority of Africans associated with a group or circle of friends both at work and at home, which in approximately half of the cases were only Africans. For some, work groups and a social life around the job provided substitute satisfactions for those lacking in the job itself, an important aspect for many lower skilled workers. Most preferred an African supervisor, primarily because they felt the African supervisor could speak their language and better understand their problems. However

most actually had a White supervisor.

Although numerous job aspirations were mentioned, many of which were professional or clerical posts, the majority felt they would not be able to achieve their desired job. The main reasons given for their particular preference were first the better working conditions or pay, and second the value of the job and enjoyable type of work. However many of the workers seemed to have accepted their current position knowing there was little they could do to better it, although a certain degree of bitterness was expressed. They stated many more job aspirations for their children than they did for themselves, the majority of which were professional positions.

Most Coloured male respondents, on the other hand, were semi-skilled workers who had worked an average of four years with their company and had on average standard 6 education. They were on the whole much younger than the African males. The Coloured females were equally divided between unskilled and semi-skilled positions, who had worked an average of four years with their company and had on average standard 5 education.

Coloured males earned on average R42.00 per week, which was slightly higher than the Household Subsistence Level, and Coloured females averaged R28.00 per week. The latter figure is particularly low, and indicates that women earn considerably less than all other lower skilled workers. Some firms differentiated between male and female salaries for the same position; the stated reason being that females were usually not the breadwinners. Discrimination against women in the labour force appears still to be operative.

Most Coloured males belonged to an Unemployment Insurance, Pension, and Holiday Fund as well as a

Medical Aid Scheme; most Coloured females also received these benefits, with the exception that few belonged to a Medical Aid Scheme. Regarding training, the majority of all Coloured respondents received on-the-job training, very few were given a course, and approximately 25% received no training.

Less than half of all Coloured respondents belonged to a trade union, though in a third of the cases there was no union. Many respondents were simply not aware of the union or how it operated. Members' responses were fairly equally divided between advantages and no advantages of membership, though very few could suggest some other more effective form of organisation. Some members felt that unions should exist in addition to liaison committees, because some issues could best be dealt with by each. In general, they expressed a low interest towards worker representation.

The majority of Coloured respondents assessed their job positively, and they were happy with a) the aspects of working conditions asked, b) their company/employer, and c) the people they worked with. Most respondents associated with a specific group or circle of friends at work, but not at home. This could be attributed to the great distances between many of the Coloured townships. The majority of Coloured females only associated with Coloureds (many stated they disliked or were fearful of Africans), and most Coloured males associated with both Coloureds and Africans.

Few Coloured respondents stated a specific supervisor preference, unlike their African counterparts. Of those that did, most preferred a Coloured supervisor, some preferred a White supervisor, and not one chose an African supervisor. Most, in fact, had a White supervisor.

Many job aspirations were mentioned for themselves, which the majority of males, unlike the females, felt it was possible to achieve. This could be attributed to the fact that Coloured females are still subjected to various forms of discrimination that are not applicable to the males. Many respondents stated specific job aspirations for their children, the majority of which were professional posts.

In general, the respondents in this survey indicated a fairly typical picture of lower skilled workers in the Cape. Salaries are low in comparison with effective living levels, benefits are usually minimal, though in some cases extra benefits are given, training is often minimal and usually reliant on the initiative of the individual (though this picture is gradually changing, and some companies now offer extensive training), forms of worker representation are small scale and often not very effective, and supervisors are still predominantly White. Within this context, one can understand why the African, who is restricted to these positions, often expresses dissatisfaction towards his job and his working environment, and why the Coloured worker, who has the opportunity of job diversification and advancements into more skilled positions, generally expresses a greater degree of satisfaction towards his working environment.

## Chapter 4

### APPLICATION OF MOTIVATION THEORIES TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Various theories were examined in an earlier chapter relating to the needs and motivation of the individual in the work environment and how they affect his attitudes to work. A common criticism heard in South Africa about many of these theories, especially Herzberg's motivation hygiene theory, is that they are based on research undertaken amongst workers in industrialised nations such as the United States and countries of Western Europe.

Many feel that the needs and therefore motivation of these workers are influenced by the economic conditions experienced in these countries and that they would not necessarily equate with the needs and motivation of the black worker in South Africa. W. Backer (1973) in commenting on Herzberg's motivation hygiene theory, stated that due to the low level of needs-satisfaction experienced by black workers in industry, many of these individuals are motivated by factors which Herzberg considers as hygiene factors only.

The case study material presented in this report substantiates this argument. The major areas of satisfaction and dissatisfaction of both the African and Coloured respondents were hygiene factors; in fact only 3 respondents out of 266 mentioned a motivator ('the work itself') as a factor with which they were satisfied. Thus the large majority of respondents were motivated by hygiene factors only.

Herzberg's theory can only be meaningfully applied where workers are not restricted to certain types of jobs or categories of work, and where there are possibilities for upward mobility.

Where workers are restricted, as in South Africa and especially the case of the Africans in the Western Cape, their jobs usually do not contain many motivating factors, and there is a certain ceiling on their potential for growth. Lower skilled jobs lack any real possibilities for achievement, for responsibility, for recognition or for psychological growth, all of which are important variables for the motivation of employees in higher positions.

In addition, the average salaries paid to unskilled and semi-skilled workers are relatively low when compared with the Household Subsistence Level for a family of five or six in Cape Town. This only aggravates the awareness of hygiene factors, which is compounded by the fact that their security within the firm is often tenuous. Rarely would they have contact with management, and their relationship with their supervisor is often a very authoritarian one. As indicated in the survey, many African and Coloured workers are relatively uninformed about the company liaison committee, which indicates that they have little involvement in the formulation of company policies. Thus their frame of reference would be within the hygiene sphere.

These findings are similar to other studies conducted amongst Coloured and African employees in South Africa, where the majority of respondents were predominantly influenced by hygiene factors. If this were not the case Herzberg's model would be presenting a potentially explosive situation for this country. Non-satisfaction of hygiene needs, he claims, leads to dissatisfaction, and satisfaction leads to increased hygiene needs - a continually frustrating and vicious circle.

Motivation theories, to be applicable to all workers, must also take into account factors extraneous to the work situation. S. Gellerman has demonstrated that the influences to which the individual is exposed outside the work environment can and do play an extremely important role in how he adapts to conditions at work.

These outside influences are particularly important when dealing with lower income workers. A poor physical environment, overcrowded housing conditions and numerous social problems and pressures to which he is continually exposed outside working hours affect the individual's motivation and performance in the work situation.

Relating this to Herzberg's theory, the individual level of education and awareness affect his priorities, his values, and the types of factors which motivate him. If he has had little opportunity for achievement in any sphere, his drive for achievement at work will be far less than someone who was brought up in an achievement-oriented society. Because his expectations are low and he knows that his opportunities are limited, he may be more easily satisfied by hygiene factors than others with a different background.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion and Recommendations

#### CONCLUSION

Critical to the growth and development of South Africa's industrialised economy has been the availability of a vast supply of black labour, on which the prosperity of the country has been greatly dependent.

Unfortunately many of these workers have enjoyed little of this prosperity. The vast majority are still low or semi-skilled workers who, throughout many aspects of their life, are kept from participating in decisions which directly affect them. The government, through legislation, regulation and exemption has formulated its policies around management's objective profit interests and the White residents' material and status aims. As a consequence, the coherence of the White group as a ruling elite in all spheres has been maintained.

The labour force throughout South Africa has thus remained largely segregated in the occupational hierarchy, especially between Africans and Whites. While Africans dominate the lower levels of skill, Coloureds and Asians are gradually entering certain occupations formerly held by Whites, and the skilled, managerial and executive positions remain predominantly in the hands of the Whites. Thus race groups have tended to conform by and large to skill groups.

The position of the African in the Western Cape is perhaps the most adverse. He is restricted by many interlinking factors, from numerous regulatory Acts, to 'closed shop' agreements, to the prevailing Coloured Labour Preference Policy, to the attitudes of many employers. The result is that the majority of Africans are confined to the position of labourer or domestic servant.

Although wages were higher in the surveyed overseas companies than in the comparable South African companies, the combined average was slightly less than the household subsistence level for an African family of six in the Cape Peninsula. Only several respondents were earning a wage equal to the effective living level for an African family. In addition, this average was higher than the overall average for Africans in September 1978 (Peromnes, 1978). This indicates that many Africans are earning well below the subsistence level. It would appear that employers abide by minimum wage stipulations for unskilled positions, irrespective of the productivity of the worker, which suggests that these positions are rarely judged individually on merit.

Not surprisingly, the African respondents generally expressed a degree of dissatisfaction in their job and their working environment, specifically in terms of such factors as low wages, lack of job security, limited promotional opportunities, and arbitrary company policies. Until these most basic aspects are at least partially satisfied, the question of challenging work, job variety, or job responsibility can only be of secondary importance; White workers, on the other hand, may view these characteristics as most important because the other pre-conditions have largely been met. Most respondents stated that if the pay structure and benefit scheme were improved towards a more equalised basis, they could be more content in their job and feel more positively about their company.

A certain degree of bitterness was expressed by many Africans interviewed. Not only must they accept generally poor working conditions and limited job opportunities, but a poor physical living environment and inherent social ills plague their daily existence. These external factors tended to adversely affect their

level of work performance and work involvement, as well as influence their job expectations and aspirations. In addition, most Africans interviewed felt bitter because preference was granted to Coloured workers, which they interpreted as the fault of the company.

Although numerous job aspirations were mentioned, many of which were professional or clerical posts, the majority of Africans felt they would not be able to achieve their desired job because of the maze of external parameters. This would indicate that many workers have had to accept their current position, knowing there was little they could do to better it. The fact that many more job aspirations were mentioned for their children than for themselves may indicate that they at least have some hope for the future. Interestingly enough, all aspirations mentioned were typical higher socio-economic goals parallel to White parental aspirations, and not one of the responses had militant or political overtones. This would suggest that their aspirations, as found by this research, fit within the 'white collar' ethic.

Despite the general upward mobility of Coloured males, their movement into the higher professions is still slow, hindered also by a multitude of factors. The majority remain between the semi-skilled to skilled positions, while the majority of Coloured females hold unskilled or semi-skilled positions.

Although average wages of Coloured males in both this research and the Cape generally were found to be above the household subsistence level for a Coloured family of five in the Cape Peninsula, only a minority of respondents earned above the effective living level. Coloured females, on the other hand, earn considerably less than all other lower skilled workers. Both Coloured and African females are subjected to various additional

forms of discrimination, which place them in a subordinate position.

Coloured workers generally expressed a greater degree of satisfaction in their job, working environment and company than did their African counterparts, reflecting the preference and greater promotional opportunities open to them in the Cape. Many job aspirations were mentioned, many of which were well above the present position of the respondent. Most males, and few females, felt their preference was possible for them to achieve.

The research exposed a certain antagonism and lack of cohesion between Coloured and African workers in certain cases. Coloured females stated a general dislike or fear of Africans, and chose only to associate with other Coloured workers. The responses of males in both cases were equally divided between associating at work with a) their own racial group, or b) both groups, and most males only associated with their own group at home. This could be partly attributed to the fact that residential areas, and sometimes working environments, are physically separated. In addition, of those who stated a supervisor preference, the large majority preferred their own racial group and secondly that of a White supervisor; no Coloureds chose an African supervisor and only a few Africans preferred a Coloured supervisor.

The research also expressed certain stereotyped images that employers in the survey had of their African and Coloured workers. The African worker was generally described as a steady and loyal manual worker who is often not suited to jobs requiring precision or judgement, and whose values do not equate with those of other race groups. This vision was applicable where they were only occupying low skilled positions; in cases where they had been promoted this view did not hold true.

Thus the view appeared to be firstly one of skill and secondly one of race.

Employers felt the Coloured worker had higher aspirations and generally greater capabilities than the African, although they felt he usually did not want to accept responsibility and still needed supervision. They felt Coloured workers were not really suited to unskilled work, unlike the African. Some stated the Coloured worker is more "Westernized" and "not very much different from Whites". This view tends to see Coloured workers occupying the middle positions between the manual labourer and higher decision-making posts, which also corresponds with skill. Both views tend to reinforce and/or emanate from the existing hierarchy, which could indicate that existing regulations have an influence on the attitudes and perceptions of employers.

The plight of the lower skilled worker was certainly better in the surveyed overseas companies than in those locally. The overseas companies on the whole had made many more steps towards change than had the South African firms, in terms of payscales (though many workers were earning less than the effective living level), greater and more extensive benefit coverage, integrated facilities, and generally more sophisticated company policies. Some also had relatively well developed training and job promotional programmes. In these instances, the overseas companies were to a large extent applying the principles of the overseas Codes of Employment.

The same could not be said of many of the South African companies interviewed. Some offered different benefit coverage to the different groups of workers (e.g. monthly/weekly paid, African/Coloured, low/middle skilled), maintained segregated facilities (usually canteens), paid low average wages, aimed their

training programme primarily at higher skilled workers, and had limited promotional opportunities within the firm. However, some of the companies are currently in the process of introducing and/or improving many of these neglected areas, and several have already made certain advances.

One of the most striking areas of difference with the Code, and with most other industrialised countries throughout the world, is the underdeveloped labour movement. The research indicated that there is generally a lack of union participation and union consciousness in the Cape amongst both Coloured and African workers, and a general hesitancy amongst employers to encourage the union movement. Many of the surveyed employers felt the liaison committee structure was effective and preferred it over the unionisation of their workers, primarily because they felt the "in-house" problem-solving approach was more expedient and more beneficial than the "third party" approach. Some felt that both in combination could be most effective. Certainly an element of fear of mass movements could be part of their rationale. The fact that the labour movement has not yet developed into an influential self-determined entity in South Africa has been a major factor in impeding the advancement of the lower skilled workers.

Another impeding factor, as well as an area of difference with the Codes and other developed countries, is the general lack of training amongst lower skilled workers. As industry in South Africa inevitably becomes more highly capital-intensive, and increased productivity becomes an integral corporate objective, the labour force will have to become more efficiently trained. South Africa will not be able to continue its present inadequate system of training any longer if it hopes to have a productive and resilient labour force to rely on

in the future.

South African society is unique in the wide range of formal restrictions it places on black occupational advancement. The maze of laws and regulations within the workplace, compounded by those in the political and social arena, can be seen as the closest a modern industrial state can come to achieving controlled 'sponsored' mobility. The access of blacks to higher positions in general, and to key positions in particular, is carefully observed and controlled. However, as the needs for adaptation and development become increasingly important, the process of job advancement of blacks will probably play the most critical role in the economy's future development.

These and other changes within the workplace are inevitable; they must come. It is essential, though, for the future stability and prosperity of all workers and for the increased productivity of the economy that these changes are an integral part of more extensive and far reaching changes in the wider environment.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The following is a series a series of recommendations, some of which are based on the findings of this research, and some are based on studies that others have conducted.

### 1) African Personnel Department

Every large employer of Africans should have a department within their personnel branch that is specifically able to attend to African personnel relations and problems. This should be staffed by an African personnel officer who would not only serve as an outlet and interpreter of African problems, but could also:

(a) offer a personal counselling service by listening to particular work problems and helping to mediate between the supervisor and employee and the employer and employee;

(b) investigate the most appropriate type of training programme specifically for the lower skilled workers within his company, and outline how it could be introduced or improved;

(c) investigate how the works or liaison committees could become more effective within his company, exploring other types of options which would involve Africans in more of the issues which directly affect them;

(d) organise and distribute pamphlets as a part of an induction training for new employees, which would clearly and simply explain: i) what is expected by the employer for each type of job category occupied by Africans; ii) what constitutes 'effective' performance

in the employers' eyes; iii) briefly how each job fits into the whole company process and contributes to the final outcome; iv) what rewards are offered for what standard of performance, etc. Included in the literature should be an explanation of all types of benefits offered by the firm (eg. Medical Aid), what it will cost the employee per month, and what the advantages are. In addition, information on the works or liaison committee should be included, explaining what the aims are, how one becomes a member, etc. The pamphlets should be printed in the appropriate languages.

Companies with only a few Africans in their employ may find it impractical to employ an African personnel officer, in which case their existing personnel officer should ideally have had training in both anthropology and in African languages to be able to cope adequately with the problems of his African workers.

## 2) Attitude Surveys

A periodic monitoring of workers' attitudes is vital if the company wants to keep an up to date record of the major job satisfactions and dissatisfactions which in the long run could effect productivity. A regular survey is important in informing management about potential causes of dissatisfaction and unrest before it reaches serious proportions.

The attitude survey is also crucial for the establishment of an effective reward system. Not every group has the same set of goals or priorities, and if rewards are offered they must be appropriate to that specific group - otherwise they may not be seen as a reward. If the company offers any type of incentive scheme for increased productivity, it must periodically test that the incentives offered are still valid for the individuals concerned.

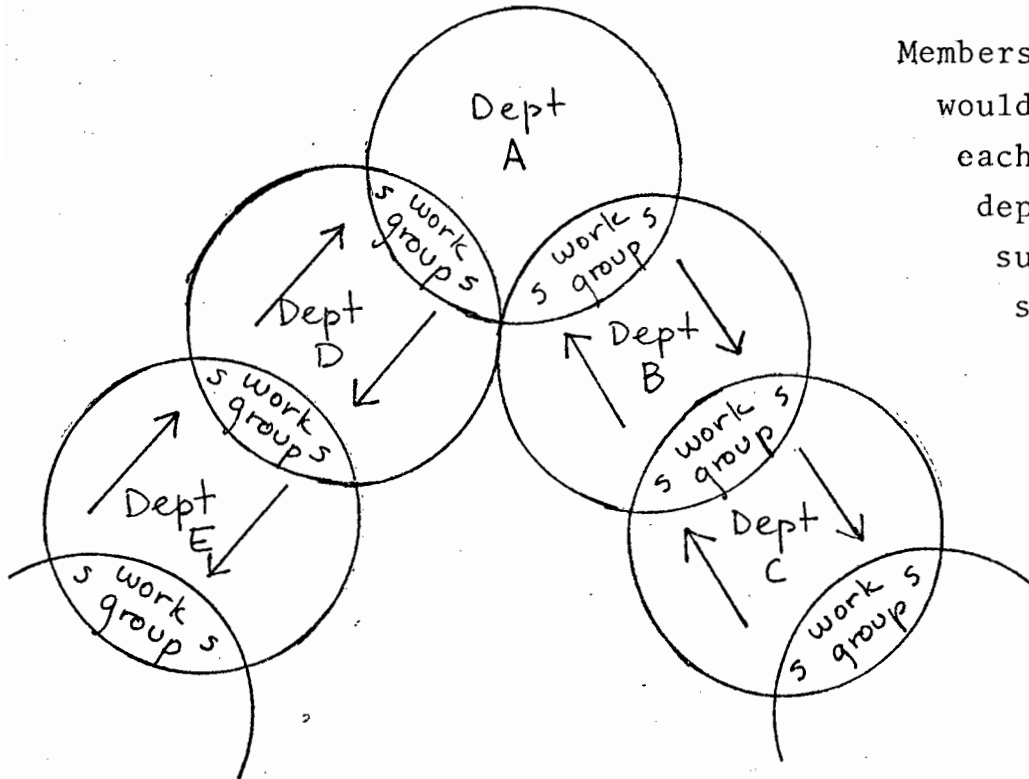
These surveys should be carried out in a systematic and objective manner. They should ideally be a carefully constructed written questionnaire which is filled in anonymously by the workers themselves (for the illiterate workers, a list of standard questions could be put to them verbally, the answers marked on voting slips which are then placed in ballot boxes). The workers must be carefully chosen to represent a cross-section of the organisation's total labour force so that the employer can be fairly certain that the opinions reflect those of the entire work force. The analysis could be done by the personnel officers.

3) More Effective Industrial Relations: The 'Linking-Pin' Structure

Research by Likert (1961) suggests that the participation of black workers may be increased if the company is structured more along overlapping group lines rather than the traditional hierarchical structure. In this type of system subordinates at each level are involved in the making and implementing of decisions that affect their own work or department.

Supervisors usually serve as the link between various work groups, as they are the medium of communication through which the opinions and beliefs of each of the groups are co-ordinated with each other. The employees involved in the work groups would need to be carefully selected and trained, as they are the key people in ensuring adequate communication throughout the organisation. This process is depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1 : Linking-Pin Structure of Worker Communication



Members of the work group would be selected from each of the overlapping departments, where supervisors would serve as the links between them.

The apparent advantage which this structure has over the traditional structure is that it allows management to canvas the opinions of all workers indirectly through the 'linking' person, and encourages workers to speak openly on a regular basis.

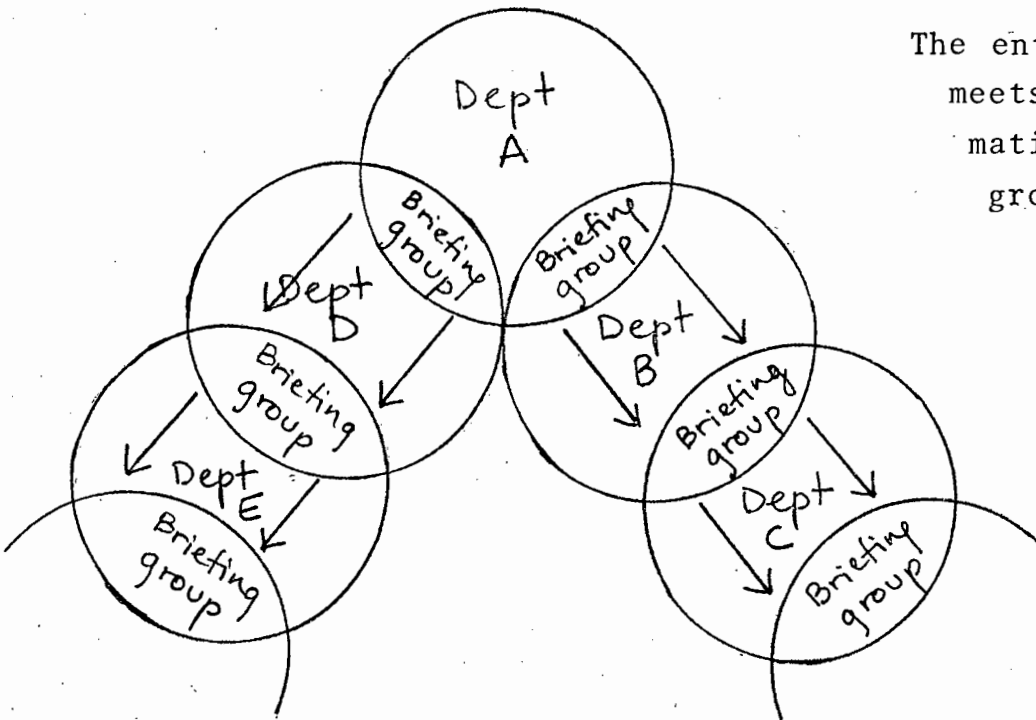
#### 4) Briefing Groups

Garnett (1973) proposes the creation of 'briefing groups' within each company, which is similar to the 'Linking-Pin' system except that the function is different and the contact between employees is much broader.

He describes the 'briefing groups' as specially created groups made up of persons from different levels who meet frequently to discuss any new decisions or policies adopted by the company. Members from one level meet with members from the level immediately above them, and subsequently with individuals drawn from

the level below them, and so on down the line. A leader is chosen for each briefing group. An example of Briefing Groups is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2 : Briefing Groups



The entire briefing group meets and shares information with the next group.

This system has advantages over the more traditional methods, in that decisions are shared and explained to a greater extent than they are presently, largely avoiding unnecessary confusion and misunderstanding.

It enables employees of different levels to be brought together for discussions.

#### 5) Task Force

It may be useful at different times for the company to establish special multiracial 'task-forces' to study a given problem and make a series of recommendations to management. The 'force' could be made up of persons selected from different departments and categories of work, and could be called on to investigate

a problem as and when it arises. The recommendations and decisions should be made public.

6) Provision for more effective supervisors

The supervisor performs a vital set of functions in the South African work situation in his role as an 'intermediary' between white employers and black employees. For instance he is often responsible for inducting the new employee into the work group, encouraging observance of certain work rules, handling grievances, encouraging efficient job behaviour, and making performance ratings of the worker he supervises. In addition, he is usually called upon not only to present the views of management to his subordinates but also to effectively communicate their needs back to management.

Thus the careful selection and effective training of supervisors is particularly important. Orpen's research (Orpen, 1976) shows that many white employers fail to select and train the right workers for supervisory positions and thus have been unable to create conditions for the exercise of effective leadership.

He suggests the emergence of the 'informal' group leader (as distinct from the appointed supervisor) who could work integrally with the workers, exerting interpersonal influence to gain their cooperation, participation and respect. It has been shown in numerous studies that the objectives of the organisation are most significantly advanced if the face-to-face social groups within it are highly cohesive and have norms representing high standards of performance.

"The supervisor or 'leader' of the group plays a crucial role in achieving this combination. In the first place, it is mainly supervisors who are able to build subordinates into cohesive work groups. In the second, it is superiors more than other group members who are able to create positive rather than negative work climates in face-to-face groups. The supervisor exerts the most direct influence upon the activities of the individual employer and is also the key figure in implementing decisions originating from management." (Orpen, 1976 : 192)

Thus the careful selection and effective training of supervisors, or leaders, is particularly important, both to the morale of the workers and to the productivity of the company.

Orpen (1976 : 201) feels that the careful selection of supervisors, as well as all workers, is enhanced by the development of a personnel selection programme, which includes:

(a) Job Description: A systematic study of the duties and requirements of a particular job aimed at developing a comprehensive description of the various critical job duties;

(b) Performance Measurement: The accurate and reliable assessment of the effectiveness of each worker in his particular job, as well as his degree of satisfaction;

(c) Worker Requirements: The influence from the job description of those worker requirements, traits, abilities and skills which are necessary for effective performance;

(d) Measuring Instruments: The selection and development of accurate measures of these particular worker requirements by means of tests, interviews, ratings, and other measures. They would be administered to applicants and the results would be compared with a certain established standard for each job;

(e) Follow-up Studies: The results of the programme should be checked from time to time in order to test its applicability and effectiveness for the company, and if necessary, revisions should be made.

Orpen feels that careful selection goes hand-in-hand with effective training. He goes on to cite points that he feels should be included in the development of a more effective training programme:

(a) Training should include not only the necessary skills and knowledge for the job, but also an understanding of the total organisation, its particular ways of operation, the various paths of advancement open to them, etc.

(b) Teachers or instructors must be trained in how to impart their skills and knowledge to the inexperienced employees.

(c) Short and long term goals (rewards) for efficient work performance should be included in the programme.

(d) Training has proven to be more effective if continuous and quick feed-back is supplied to the trainees.

(e) Training itself should be ongoing and continuous.

(f) Appropriate opportunities for self-development outside the training programme should be provided to aid promotion with the company.

Orpen's suggestions point towards the increasingly important role that both job selection and evaluation schemes and effective training programmes should be playing within companies today. The need for skilled workers has considerably increased, and will only continue to increase in the future.

#### 7) Job Enrichment Programmes

There has been a movement over the past several decades in favour of redesigning jobs to make them more interesting and challenging, and to provide workers with opportunities to gain recognition and to experience responsibility. This process of altering jobs has been called 'job enrichment', and it breaks away from the previous emphasis on mass production techniques and increasing job fragmentation.

Herzberg (1971) has listed several principles which he feels should guide managers in their attempts to enrich jobs in their firm or enterprise:

- (a) remove some controls, while retaining accountability;
- (b) increase the accountability of persons for their own work;
- (c) grant additional authority to an employee;
- (d) introduce new and more difficult tasks not previously handled.

Numerous companies have established 'job enrichment' programmes, either throughout the company as a whole or within a particular section. One example was that of Greatermans. They were able to enhance the productivity of their black shelf-packers by allowing each shelf-packer to adjust the pace of his job to suit his own routine, and to decide for himself how much space should be allocated for displaying each product line.

In this and other examples, the black worker has a chance to prove his competency:

"Since persons tend to see themselves as others do, the black workers at the receiving end of this 'enrichment' are likely to develop stronger feelings of expectancy than before, to believe more than previously that they can perform well, if they make the required effort. This belief tends to raise their potential for effective performance.

"Black workers must be enlisted in the purposes of the organisation if the current situation is to improve, which requires that they perceive their psychological needs to be satisfied if they act in such a way as to achieve the organisation's goals.... Hence the greater participation of black workers in decision-making should not be regarded as some kind of luxury or fancy scheme that may work, but instead as a necessary condition for greater black productivity." (Orpen, 1976 : 171 - 172)

8) Periodical Monitoring Device

Each company should establish its own periodical monitoring device, perhaps twice annually, to enable:

1) salaries to be compared with cost of living increases and current effective minimum level gauges (the Household Effective Level is calculated quarterly by the Institute for Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth);

2) training and job advancement programmes to be evaluated both in terms of recent developments in the field and in terms of their effectiveness within the company;

3) existing forms of worker representation also to be evaluated in terms of recent developments in the field (e.g. Wiehahn Commission recommendations), of moves made by other companies, and its effectiveness within the company;

4) results of attitude surveys (see Recommendation #2) to be analysed specifically in terms of major areas of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and adjustments made around the areas of dissatisfaction where possible.

### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Although this research was able to investigate certain aspects of employment practices as well as trends in employer and employee attitudes towards their work environment, many other aspects were left unexplored and could be topics for future research. These could include:

1) A more in-depth investigation into each topic covered in the employees' interviews; for example an extensive analysis of attitudes towards all forms of worker representation, and how existing forms could be specifically improved or alternative organisations be introduced.

2) Investigative research over a period of time on job turnover rates in various companies, including an analysis of the reasons why workers left their jobs. Certain patterns may emerge that may help the individual companies concerned, as well as employers in general, to work towards reducing their turnover rate.

3) A comparative analysis of the Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town African (and Coloured) employment situation, specifically investigating aspects covered in this research project (i.e. employment practices and employers' and employees' attitudes towards their work environment in both South African and overseas companies), including a background of the different regulations and population groups predominant in each area. This type of study could highlight, amongst other things, certain regional differences in employer/employee relationships that may be beneficial to policy formulation, as well as highlight the interplay of factors which add to a more satisfied work force.

EMPLOYERS QUESTIONNAIRE

CONFIDENTIAL

- 1) Name of firm : \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) Business address: \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Nature of business: \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) How long has this firm been in existence? \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) Total Employment in the Firm (this branch only) : \_\_\_\_\_

Whites		Coloureds		Asians		Africans		Total	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

- 6) Specific areas in which Coloureds, Asians, & Africans are employed, including salaries, benefits, and training given :  
(On each line indicate the category and the major group occupying this category - Tick where appropriate).

No. employed	Category & Group	Salary		Benefits				Training			
		Weekly (w)	Monthly (m)	U.I.F.	Med. Aid	Pen-sion	Holi-day	Other*	Course	On the job	Other
1.	e.g. Labourer (African)										
2.											
3.											
4.											
5.											
6.											
7.											
8.											
9.											
10.											
11.											
12.											

\* Please specify if other benefits are offered : \_\_\_\_\_

7) A) Occupational Training:

	Course	Duration	Applicable Categories of Workers	How often
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				

B) If training is given on the job, how structured is it?

How long would it last? \_\_\_\_\_

C) If other types of training are offered besides occupational or on-the-job training, please specify \_\_\_\_\_

D) Please specify for which groups and reasons training is given:

	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled
Increase Productivity			
Necessary for type of work			
To increase individual productivity			
Other			

8) A) Is there a Trade Union in your industry in which Coloureds can participate? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, which one? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you know how many of your Coloured employees are members?

Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Have you found this/these Unions to improve communication with your employees? \_\_\_\_\_

B) Is there a works or liaison committee for your African employees?

If so, do you feel it has been effective for the workers -

8) B) Do you have any possible explanations for its relative success or failure? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Do you feel the workers are satisfied with the committee?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Do you feel the Unionization of your African workers would be more beneficial for them? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, would your company be willing to liaise with a Union if they were recognised? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9) A) Do all race groups in your employ share the same canteen facilities? \_\_\_\_\_  
rest-room facilities? \_\_\_\_\_

1) If so, have you experienced any problems or complaints with integration? \_\_\_\_\_

2) If not, do you feel integrated facilities are a help or a hindrance to a good working relationship? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you intend to implement integrated facilities in the near future? \_\_\_\_\_

10) A) Do you subsidize transport costs for your employees?  
\_\_\_\_\_

a) If so, for all employees? \_\_\_\_\_

b) If not, do you plan to introduce a subsidy?  
\_\_\_\_\_

11) Do you have a Black personnel officer? \_\_\_\_\_

If not, do you feel one is necessary? \_\_\_\_\_

12) Do you use the "calling-card" system? \_\_\_\_\_

What specific advantages or disadvantages have you experienced using this system? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

EMPLOYER'S ATTITUDES :

1) Which 5 words would you use to most accurately describe the performance and work behaviour of your African & Coloured staff:

Coloured

African

- 1) \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) \_\_\_\_\_

- 1) \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) \_\_\_\_\_

2) Job Advancement

Do you have plans for the upward mobility of your non-white staff?

A) If so, what specifically are they, and how long will they take to enforce? Will this involve increased training and thus expenditure? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

B) , If not, is this because :

- i) You don't feel it is necessary \_\_\_\_\_
- ii) It may threaten your White employees \_\_\_\_\_
- iii) That non-Europeans would not be suited to higher positions in your organisation because of the nature of your business \_\_\_\_\_
- iv) Because there are legal barriers - if so, which ones: \_\_\_\_\_
- v) Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3) Worker Satisfaction

A) Have there been any complaints emanating from the workers or their representatives towards job conditions, wages, or any other aspects over the past several months? If so, what were the complaints? How were the complaints dealt with? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3) Was an agreement reached? \_\_\_\_\_  
B) Besides this/these complaints, do you feel your African and Coloured employees are generally satisfied with their job and their working conditions? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4) Would you agree that there has been a trend over the past decade for a disappearance of ethnic or racial monopolies in job categories moving towards an upgrading of Black and Coloured workers to more skilled jobs? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, has this been the case with your company? \_\_\_\_\_

To what extent? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5) If the presence of Africans in the Cape were to be entirely prohibited, would you have difficulty replacing them? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Would your company suffer financially? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6) Do you feel African workers should be allowed to live with their families near their place of employment? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If so are you willing to help provide housing? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

7) How do you react to the Sullivan Manifesto : \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

EEC Code \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Chamber of Commerce Manifesto \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Urban Foundation Code \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



APPENDIX 2

EMPLOYEES QUESTIONNAIRE

- (1-3) I.D. \_\_\_\_\_
- (4) Unskilled \_\_\_\_\_ Semi-skilled \_\_\_\_\_ Skilled \_\_\_\_\_
- (5) African \_\_\_\_\_ Coloured \_\_\_\_\_
- (6-7) Name of Firm \_\_\_\_\_
- (8-9) Position in Firm \_\_\_\_\_
- (10-11) Length of Service \_\_\_\_\_
- (12) Number of previous jobs \_\_\_\_\_
- (13-14) Age \_\_\_\_\_
- (15-16) Educational Standard \_\_\_\_\_
- (17) African: (1) Contract worker \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Resident \_\_\_\_\_

Agree Dis-  
agree

- |  |       |       |
|--|-------|-------|
| (18) I think my job is important   | _____ | _____ |
| (19) The hours of work here are okay   | _____ | _____ |
| (20) I have to force myself to go to work most of the time                     | _____ | _____ |
| (21) In my opinion, the pay here is lower than similar work in other companies | _____ | _____ |
| (22) If I have a complaint to make, I feel free to talk to someone up-the-line | _____ | _____ |
| (23) My boss sees that employees are properly trained for their jobs           | _____ | _____ |
| (24) I would advise a friend to do the same work as I do for the same company  | _____ | _____ |
| (25) They expect too much work from us here                                    | _____ | _____ |
| (26) The management is really interested in the welfare of employees           | _____ | _____ |
| (27) Poor work conditions keep me from doing my best in my work                | _____ | _____ |
| (28) I have a great deal of interest in this company and its future            | _____ | _____ |

- |   | Agree | Dis-<br>agree |
|---|-------|---------------|
| (29) They encourage us to make suggestions for improvements   | ___   | ___           |
| (30) I feel that my job is seen as unimportant in this organization   | ___   | ___           |
| (31) I can be sure of my job as long as I do good work  | ___   | ___           |
| (32) My job is often dull and monotonous  | ___   | ___           |
| (33) Long service and hard work are rewarded in this organization   | ___   | ___           |
| (34) I have plenty of freedom on the job to use my own judgement  | ___   | ___           |
| (35) My pay is enough to live on comfortably  | ___   | ___           |
| (36) The people I work with are very friendly   | ___   | ___           |
| (37) My boss lives up to his promises   | ___   | ___           |
| (38) I am very much underpaid for the work that I do  | ___   | ___           |
| (39) I am proud to work for this company  | ___   | ___           |
| (40) I think my supervisor is fair  | ___   | ___           |
| (41) Is your supervisor: (1) African ___ (2) Coloured ___   |       |               |
| (42) Would you have a preference for one or the other? (1) Yes ___ (2) No ___   |       |               |
| (43) Which? (1) African ___ (2) Coloured ___  |       |               |
| (44-45) Why? _____  |       |               |
| _____   |       |               |
| _____   |       |               |
| (46) With which group (Coloured or African, or both) do you normally associate at work in your leisure time? (1) Afr ___ (2) Col ___ (3) Both ___ |       |               |
| (47) Is this because:   |       |               |
| (1) Your work partners are all of the same group?   | ___   |               |
| (2) Your neighbours are all of the same group?  | ___   |               |
| (3) You would prefer mixing with your 'own' people?   | ___   |               |
| (4) You dislike the other group?  | ___   |               |

- (5) Language is a problem? \_\_\_\_\_
- (6) You are fearful of the other group? \_\_\_\_\_
- (7) Other (state) \_\_\_\_\_

(1) (2)  
Yes No

- (48) I have a group or circle of friends at work with whom I normally associate \_\_\_\_\_
- (49) I am often with them after work \_\_\_\_\_
- (A) For Africans:
- (50) Are you a member of the works or liaison committee? \_\_\_\_\_
- (51) If not, would you like to be? \_\_\_\_\_
- (52) Does it help you as the employee? \_\_\_\_\_
- (53) Do you feel any other type of organization would be more effective? \_\_\_\_\_
- (54) If yes, an African Trade Union? \_\_\_\_\_
- (55) If other, specify \_\_\_\_\_
- (B) For Coloureds:
- (56) Are you a member of the Trade Union? \_\_\_\_\_
- (57) Does it help you as the employee? \_\_\_\_\_
- (58-59) What are the advantages of membership? \_\_\_\_\_

- (60) Do you feel any other form of organisation would be more effective? \_\_\_\_\_
- (61) If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_

What are your major satisfactions and dissatisfactions with your job?

Items	Things I am happy with	Things I am not happy with
(62) Pay	_____	_____
(63) Hours of work	_____	_____
(64) Benefits	_____	_____
(65) Training	_____	_____

Items	Things I am happy with	Things I am not happy with
(66) Worker representation	_____	_____
(67) Transport	_____	_____
(68) Supervisor	_____	_____
(69) Company policies	_____	_____
(70) Facilities (canteen, toilets)	_____	_____
(71) People I work with	_____	_____
(72) Other (specify):		
(1) _____	_____	_____
(2) _____	_____	_____
(3) _____	_____	_____
(4) _____	_____	_____
(73-74) Assuming you had the necessary qualifications, what type of job would you like to do?		
_____		
_____		
(75-76) Why? _____		
_____		
_____		
(77) Do you feel it is possible to achieve this goal? (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____		
(78-79) What types of jobs would you like to see your children take?		
_____		
_____		
_____		
_____		

Job Description

- (80-81) Job title \_\_\_\_\_
- (82-83) Job summary \_\_\_\_\_
- (84) Skill requirements \_\_\_\_\_
- (85) Mental requirements \_\_\_\_\_
- (86) Responsibility \_\_\_\_\_
- (87) Physical effort \_\_\_\_\_

Working conditions:

- |  | (1)<br>Yes | (2)<br>No |
|--|------------|-----------|
| (88-89) Hours _____  |            |           |
| (90) Is there a fairly high risk of accident?  | _____      | _____     |
| (91) Are toilets and canteens provided?  | _____      | _____     |
| (92) Do all race groups share the same facilities?   | _____      | _____     |
| (93) Are necessary uniforms or outfits provided?<br>(3) N/A _____  | _____      | _____     |
| (94) <u>Racial Group:</u> Are there <u>only</u> Africans or <u>only</u> Coloureds working in this category in the company? | _____      | _____     |

Pay Scale:

- (95) How much do you earn after deductions?  
(1) Weekly \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Monthly \_\_\_\_\_ (3) Fortnightly \_\_\_\_\_
- (96) How much do you earn as overtime pay?  
(1) Weekly \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Monthly \_\_\_\_\_ (3) Fortnightly \_\_\_\_\_
- (97) Has this increased overtime? (1) Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_\_

Benefits: What benefits do you receive?

- (98) Unemployment Insurance \_\_\_\_\_
- (99) Medical Aid \_\_\_\_\_
- (100) Pension \_\_\_\_\_
- (101) Holiday Fund \_\_\_\_\_
- (102) Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- (103) Don't know \_\_\_\_\_

What training were you given?

(104) Course \_\_\_\_\_

(105) On-the-job \_\_\_\_\_

(106) Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

(107) None \_\_\_\_\_

(108) What type of training would you like to have had?

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(109) Codes: Are you aware of the various Codes of Employment (i.e. Sullivan Manifesto, Urban Foundation Code) (1) Yes \_\_\_\_ (2) No \_\_\_\_

APPENDIX 3

EEC CODE OF EMPLOYMENT

Relations within the Undertaking

Companies should ensure that all their employees irrespective of racial or other distinction are allowed to choose freely and without any hindrance the type of organisation to represent them.

Employers should regularly and unequivocally inform their employees that consultations and collective bargaining with organisations which are freely elected and representative of employees are part of company policy.

Should Black African employees decide that their representative body should be in the form of a trade union, the company should accept this decision. Trade unions for Black Africans are not illegal, and companies are free to recognise them, and to negotiate and conclude agreements with them.

Consequently, the companies should allow collective bargaining with organisations freely chosen by the workers to develop in accordance with internationally accepted principles.

Employers should do everything possible to ensure that Black African employees are free to form or to join a trade union. Steps should be taken in particular to permit trade union officials to explain to employees the aims of trade unions and the advantages of membership, to distribute trade union documentation and display trade union notices on the company's premises, to have reasonable time off to carry out their union duties without loss of pay and to organise meetings.

Where works or liaison committees already operate, trade union officials should have representative status on these bodies if employees so wish.

However, the existence of these types of committees should not prejudice the development or status of trade unions or of their representatives.

#### Migrant Labour

The system of migrant labour is, in South Africa, an instrument of the policy of apartheid which has the effect of preventing the individual from seeking and obtaining a job of his choice: it also causes grave social and family problems.

Employers have the social responsibility to contribute towards ensuring freedom of movement for Black African workers and their families.

In the meantime employers should make it their concern to alleviate as much as possible the effects of the existing system.

#### Pay

Companies should assume a special responsibility as regards the pay and conditions of employment of their Black African employees. They should formulate specific policies aimed at improving their terms of employment. Pay based on the absolute minimum necessary for a family to survive cannot be considered as being sufficient. The minimum wage should initially exceed by at least 50% the minimum level required to satisfy the basic needs of an employee and his family.

#### Wage Structure and Black African Advancement

The principle of "equal pay for equal work" means that all jobs should be open to any worker who possesses suitable qualifications irrespective of racial or other distinction, and that wages should be based on a qualitative job evaluation. The same pay scales should be applied to the same work. The adoption of the principle of equal pay would however, be meaningless if Black African employees

were kept in inferior jobs. Employers should therefore draw up an appropriate range of training for their Black African employees, and should reduce their dependance on immigrant White labour.

### Fringe Benefits

In view of their social responsibilities, undertakings should concern themselves with the living conditions of their employees and families.

For this purpose company funds could be set aside for use

- In the housing of Black African personnel and their families.
- in transport from place of residence to place of work and back.
- in providing leisure and health service facilities.
- in providing their employees with assistance in problems they encounter with the authorities over their movement from one place to another, their choice of residence and their employment.
- in pension matters.
- in education matters.
- in improving medical services, in adopting programmes of insurance against industrial accidents and unemployment, and in other measures of social welfare.

### Desegregation at Places of Work

In so far as it lies within their own competence, employers should do everything possible to abolish any practice of segregation, notably at the workplace and in canteens, sports activities, education and training. They should also ensure equal working conditions for all their staff.

APPENDIX 4

THE SACCOLA/URBAN FOUNDATION CODE

Believing that free enterprise has a major contribution to make towards improving the quality of life of all people in South Africa, and believing that the opportunity for men and women to develop themselves to their fullest potential plays a basic role in the quality of their lives, the Urban Foundation, recognising progress already achieved in the matters dealt with below, recommends the adoption by all members of the private sector of a Code of Employment Practice whereby the subscriber is committed, within the provisions of the law

1: TO STRIKE CONSTANTLY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE OR COLOUR FROM ALL ASPECTS OF EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE :

and to apply this principle in good faith, in particular in the following aspects:

- 1.1 The selection, employment, advancement and promotion of all employees;
- 1.2 the reward of employees;
- 1.3 the provision of:
  - pensions, medical aid, leave, sick pay, employee insurance, assistance with housing, and like facilities.
  - physical working conditions and facilities related thereto.
  - training programme or facilities to improve the productivity and skills of employees to enable them to achieve advancement in technical, administrative and managerial positions.

In all these instances with due regard to different job categories, fairly determined on bases other than race or colour:

- 1.4 The recognition of the basic right of workers of freedom of association, collective negotiation of agreements on conditions of service, the lawful withholding of labour as a result of disputes, and protection against victimisation resulting from the exercise of these rights.
2. TO PROMOTE AND MAINTAIN, THROUGH CONTACT AND CONSULTATION, SOUND AND HARMONIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN ITSELF AND ITS EMPLOYEES AND BETWEEN ALL CATEGORIES OF ITS EMPLOYEES

AND

3. TO CO-OPERATE WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS AND MEMBERS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN PROMOTING:
  - 3.1 The accelerated creation of employment opportunities for the South African population at wage rates, aimed at the maintenance of viable living standards;
  - 3.2 the progressive transition to a system wherein the rates of remuneration paid and any assistance given by the employer in respect of housing and other practical needs of employees will be such as to render unnecessary any general differential subsidy based on race or colour.

APPENDIX 5

EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDES

I. WORK BEHAVIOUR: Describing actual on-the-job behaviour

Coloured

A. Positive Attributes

- 1) Reliable - in terms of absenteeism and coming to work on time.
- 2) Cheerful
- 3) Motivated.
- 4) Responsible.
- 5) Reliable and punctual
- 6) Trusting.
- 7) Willing.

B. Negative Attributes

- 1) Complacent.
- 2) Petty.
- 3) Volatile.
- 4) Less reliable than Africans in general.
- 5) Moody - easily excitable.
- 6) Erratic.
- 7) Absent more often.

C. Neutral

- 1) Social interaction important.

African

A. Positive Attributes

- 1) More independent than the Coloured.
- 2) Reliable.
- 3) Patient.
- 4) Motivated.
- 5) Responsible.
- 6) Stable.
- 7) Disciplined.
- 8) Punctual.
- 9) Hard working.
- 10) Trusting.

B. Negative Attributes

- 1) Complacent.
- 2) Willing, but lack initiative in many cases.
- 3) Insecure.
- 4) More aggressive than Coloureds.

C. Neutral

- 1) Absenteeism highest among contract workers.
- 2) Social interaction not as important as for Coloureds.

II.. ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORK: Describing feelings towards their job and towards their work in general.

Coloured

A. Positive Attributes

- 1) Loyal to company.
- 2) Content.
- 3) Loyal when employer loyalty is shown.
- 4) Feels training is advantageous.

B. Negative Attributes

- 1) Less content to do menial tasks.

C. Neutral

- 1) Seem to prefer being supervised by Whites rather than non-Whites.
- 2) Dependent on company.

African

A. Positive Attributes

- 1) Loyal to company.
- 2) Content.

B. Negative Attributes

- 1) Expects company to look after him - Parent image.
- 2) Suspicious of things they do not understand.

C. Neutral

- 1) Content in their own job but seek improvement for their children.
- 2) Afraid of being petty because of fear of losing their job.
- 3) Resigned to their lot.
- 4) Less positive than Coloureds regarding training.
- 5) Dependent on company.

III. WORK PERFORMANCE: Describing the way in which they work, and assessing their suitability for the job

Coloured

A. Positive Attributes

- 1) Faster than Africans.

African

A. Positive Attributes

- 1) More stable than Coloureds in routine manual work.

Coloured

- 2) Quick workers and quick learners.
- 3) Better than Africans with precise work - eg. hand-eye co-ordination.
- 4) Productive.

B. Negative Attributes

- 1) Sometimes less reliable.
- 2) Needs supervision.
- 3) Must be guided by a supervisor.
- 4) Will not do heavy manual labour.
- 5) Work pace fluctuates.
- 6) Avoids physically strenuous work.

African

- 2) A little slow but reliable.
- 3) Good at manual labour.
- 4) Consistent pace of working.

B. Negative Attributes

- 1) Africans are generally not suited to jobs requiring precision or judgement.
- 2) Difficult to change work patterns or habits.
- 3) Must be guided by a supervisor.

C. Neutral

- 1) Slow steady workers.
- 2) Better at unskilled work.

IV. PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS:

Coloured

A. Positive Attributes

- 1) Seek self improvement.
- 2) They think in a more 'Westernised' way than Africans - thus easier to work and communicate with them.
- 3) "Not much different from Whites".

African

A. Positive Attributes

- 1) Place high value on education, especially for their children.

Coloured

- 4) The Coloured female is generally reliable, conscientious, amiable.
- 5) High aspirations.
- 6) Higher aspirations than Africans - aspire to white-collar, more senior jobs.
- 7) Higher groups very stable and ambitious.
- 8) Ambitious, but not wanting responsibility.

B. Negative Attributes

- 1) The Coloured male is generally unreliable, unconscientious and lazy.
- 2) Coloureds have more of a drinking problem than Africans.
- 3) Sometimes has a "could not care less" attitude.
- 4) Poorly educated.

C. Neutral

- 1) Social status important.

African

B. Negative Attributes

- 1) Poorly educated.

C. Neutral

- 1) Values do not equate with other race groups.

APPENDIX 6

JOB CATEGORIES BY LEVEL OF SKILL

POSITION

Low Skilled:

Labourer  
Packer  
Cleaner  
General worker  
Assistant handyman  
Stacker  
Gardener  
Storeboy  
Drainboy  
Pulpmaker  
Delivery boy  
Driver's assistant  
Lorry helper  
Transport worker  
Tea girl  
Porter

Other Low Skilled

Stamper  
Siter  
Messenger (runner)  
Dipper  
Ammonia weigher  
Head guard  
Tank cleaner  
Watchman  
Wrapper  
Fish handler/trimmer (fish scaler,  
weigher, filleter)  
Fish cake maker  
Wiper

Semi-skilled

Assistant printer  
Slitter and setter  
Driver, chauffeur  
Cosmetics mixer  
Machine operator, machinist  
(seam operator)  
Bossboy  
Machine Loader  
Hostel Manager  
Greaser  
Laboratory assistant  
Handyman/maintenance worker  
Fuse igniter

Examiner (checker- inspection  
worker)  
Machine cleaner  
Assistant filler  
Preparation worker  
Storeman (storeman keeper,  
stores assistant)  
Forklift operator  
Cutter  
Assistant nurse  
Seamstress  
Messenger/clerk  
Production packer/despatcher

Skilled

Assistant planner

Material handler

Air Taste sampler

Skilled machine operator

Laboratory assistant/quality controller

Clerk (personnel assistant, assistant to sub-accountant,  
kardex, stock-clerk, plant clerk, accounts, admini-  
stration)

Security Officer

Pattern Grader

Marker-in

Solder attendant

Assistant setter

Receptionist/Secretary

Instructor

Computer operator

Sheet Metal works assistant

Industrial Relations and Welfare Officer

Supervisor - Driver/supervisor

Warehouse checker

APPENDIX 7

SUPERVISOR PREFERENCE

The following reasons were given for stating a Supervisor Preference:

Respondent African: Positive (41 responses)

- (A) 1) African supervisor can better understand our problems (16)
- (A) 2) A supervisor speaks my language (6)
- (A) 3) A supervisor is fair and more helpful (2)
- (A) 4) Prefers Africans because Coloureds are too bossy and Whites do not understand the African way of thinking
- (A) 5) Prefers Africans because they are more considerate than Whites (2)
- (A) 6) Africans are fair, Coloureds are rude
- (A) 7) Africans accept suggestions; Coloureds are dictatorial (2)
- (A) 8) Prefers Africans because Whites do not fulfill promises (2)
- (A) 9) Prefers Africans because they are more receptive to advice
- (A) 10) Africans have respect for older men (2)
- (A) 11) Prefers Africans because White supervisors are too aggressive
- (A) 12) Prefers Africans because Coloureds like to be worshipped (2)
- (C) 13) Prefers Coloured or African but not White (3)

Respondent African: Negative (27 responses)

- (C) 1) Prefers not to work under Africans
- (C) 2) Feels Africans do not understand the problems of the Coloured
- (C) 3) Does not get on well with Africans (4)

- (C) 4) Fears Africans
- (C) 5) Feels African and Coloured supervisors try to limit your progress
- (C) 6) Africans bear grudges
- (A) 7) Africans and Coloureds like to show off
- (A) 8) African supervisors are too rude to their subordinates (2)
- (A) 9) Africans have tribal segregation (2)
- (A)and(C) 10) Africans are not qualified to be supervisors (2)
- (A) 11) Africans and Coloureds will send worker to another department
- (A) 12) Africans are as bad as Whites; Coloureds are fair in most cases
- (A) 13) Africans and Coloureds can not take positions of authority (2)
- (A) 14) African and Coloured are not willing to accept suggestions (2)
- (C) 15) Feels African does not understand (2)
- (A) 16) Feels Africans are "cunning"
- (C) 17) Prefers Coloured because Africans will treat them unfairly (2)

Respondent    Coloured: Negative (21 responses)

- (C) 1) Coloured supervisors are more aware of our problems (10)
- (C) 2) Feels more at ease with Coloured supervisors (2)
- (A) 3) Coloureds are fair in most cases
- (C) 4) Prefers Coloured because African does not understand
- (C) 5) Prefers Coloured or African but not White (3)
- (A) 6) Coloured understands better than Whites
- (A) 7) Prefers Coloured because Africans are "cunning" and Whites are cruel
- (C) 8) Prefers Coloured because Africans will treat them unfairly (2)

Respondent Coloured: Negative (17 responses)

- (C) 1) African and Coloured supervisors try to limit your progress
- (C) 2) Whites do not bear grudges like Africans and Coloureds
- (A) 3) Feels Africans and Coloureds like to show off
- (A) 4) Feels Coloureds are racialistic (2)
- (A) 5) Feels Coloureds are too bossy
- (A) 6) Africans and Coloureds will send worker to another department
- (A) 7) Coloureds are rude
- (A) 8) Feels Coloureds work for their own needs
- (A) 9) Coloureds are dictatorial (2)
- (A) 10) Africans and Coloureds can not take position of authority (2)
- (A) 11) African and Coloured are not willing to accept suggestions (2)
- (A) 12) Coloureds like to be worshipped (2)

Respondent Whites: Positive (22 responses)

- (C) 1) Whites are not as noseay as others
- (C) 2) Prefers Whites because Coloureds are not fair
- (C) 3) Whites do not bear grudges like Africans and Coloureds
- (A) 4) Whites give straight forward instructions
- (A) 5) Prefers White because Africans have tribal segregation and Coloureds are racialistic (2)
- (A)and(C) 6) Prefers Whites because Africans are not qualified to be supervisors (2)
- (A) 7) Prefers Whites because they will not send workers to another department
- (A) 8) Prefers Whites because they are reasonable
- (A) 9) Prefers Whites because they listen to problems (2)
- (A) 10) Prefers Whites because Africans and Coloureds can not take positions of authority (2)

- X
- (A) 11) Prefers Whites because Africans and Coloureds are not willing to accept suggestions (2)
  - (c) 12) Prefers Whites because they can more easily liaise with management
  - (A)and(C) 13) Prefers Whites because no experience of others (2)
  - (A) 14) Prefers Whites because they may fight back with others
  - (A)and(C) 15) Whites are more understanding (2)

Respondent      Whites: Negative (10 responses)

- (C) 1) Prefers African and Coloured supervisors to White (4)
- (A) 2) Feels Whites do not understand
- (A) 3) Africans are as bad as Whites, while Coloureds are fair in most cases
- (A) 4) Feels Whites are cruel
- (A) 5) Whites do not fulfill promises (2)
- (A) 6) White supervisors are too aggressive

Respondent      General

- 10(C) 1) Any qualified person is okay (10)
- 10(C) 2) They will obey any person in authority (10)
- 35(C),2(A) 3) Everyone is the same; they do not discriminate (37)
- 40(C) 4) Any fair person is okay (40)
- 2(C) 5) Colour does not matter, rather the qualifications of the person (2)

APPENDIX 8

OTHER ITEMS OF SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION

1) Other item workers are happy with

Work itself (3 respondents)  
Treatment of pensioners  
Time off granted  
Entertainment at lunch time  
Provident Fund  
Help in financial problems  
School bursary offered  
Assistance in building a home

2) Other items workers are not happy with

A. Wages

Irregularity in wages; wage differentiation  
Not paid fairly for overtime (2)

B. Working Conditions

Irregular stopping time (2)  
Stopping time is too late  
Short toilet hours  
System of toilet attendance does not take health factors into account (2)  
No doors on toilet  
Canteens too far for a 40 minute lunch break  
No canteen  
Workload is too great (6)  
Hours are too long  
Heat in factory  
Dangerous aspects of working with chemicals  
Poor pension scheme (2)  
Work clothes are not supplied promptly  
Utensils and tools are not repaired promptly  
Canteen is too expensive

C. Supervisor

Favouritism by supervisors (2)  
Plant foremen are often rude (2)  
Inconsistency by supervisors  
Unfair supervisors (2)

D. Company policies and practices

Broken promises (2)  
Threat of "sack" constantly  
Whites receive better treatment and pay (4)  
Whites are paid approximately R350 more in the same job.  
Inconsistent with production bonuses (3)  
Long service not rewarded  
No interest in the individual  
People from various educational standards receive the same pay  
Attendance bonus is taken away too easily  
Arriving late is strictly punished  
Removal of pension rights (2)  
Complaints not heard fairly  
Time keeping too strict for someone who travels 1½ hours each way  
Too many laws  
Smoking regulations too restrictive - can only smoke in toilets  
Sent from department to department if there is no work  
Personnel department is too impersonal  
Promotion does not always bring an increase in wages (2)  
Monthly-paid staff receive better benefits and treatment  
Limited promotion  
Different treatment to outside image

Part-time work is granted to Coloureds but not to Africans

Suggestions are not always listened to

Actual company policies are not practiced

E. Co-employees

Lack of cooperation from fellow workers

Certain whites are rude

Certain Africans are aggressive

Lack of trust among Africans

Some whites show supremacy

F. Liaison committees

Some liaison committee members speak for themselves

Committee members are afraid to speak up

The liaison committee is not effective

APPENDIX 9

RESPONDENTS' JOB ASPIRATIONS

<u>Job</u>	<u>African respondents</u>	<u>Coloured respondents</u>
<u>A. Professional and Technical</u>		
1) Doctor	7	5
2) Nurse	3	16
3) Teacher, lecturer	13	13
4) Lawyer	8	-
5) Accountant	-	4
6) Architect	2	1
7) Computer field	-	3
8) Engineer	1	2
	<u>34</u>	<u>44</u>
<u>B. Business Managers, Officials and Proprietors</u>		
1) Minister of Religion	4	2
2) Management	1	4
3) Policeman	1	3
4) Manager of Clothing Store	-	1
5) Training Officer	-	1
6) Information Officer	1	-
7) Personnel Officer	-	1
8) Own business	-	1
9) President	-	1
	<u>7</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>C. Clerical and Salesworkers</u>		
1) Clerk	16	5
2) Office work	-	4
3) Sales Representative	1	2
4) Shop Assistant	-	2
5) Typist	-	2
6) Bookkeeper	-	2

<u>Job</u>	<u>African respondents</u>	<u>Coloured respondents</u>
7) Saleslady, salesman	-	2
8) Bank clerk	-	1
9) Time keeper	1	-
	<u>18</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>D. Tradesman, Foreman and Operatives</u>		
1) Mechanic	8	6
2) Carpenter	6	5
3) Electrician	2	3
4) Machinist	-	3
5) Welding/engineering	2	1
6) Printer	-	2
7) Painter	2	-
8) Ships engineer	-	2
9) Furniture maker	-	1
10) Dressmaker/Tailor	1	1
11) Handyman	-	1
12) Panel beater	1	2
13) Builder	-	1
14) Radio/TV technician	-	1
15) Tradesman	1	-
	<u>23</u>	<u>29</u>
<u>E. Other</u>		
1) No ambitions	9	11
2) Happy as is	12	6
3) Too old to think of that	15	1
4) A job with a wider general education	-	1
5) Could not develop ambition because of poor financial situation	-	1
6) Any "enlightened" job	1	-
7) Driver	2	2

<u>Job</u>	<u>African respondents</u>	<u>Coloured respondents</u>
8) Farming	3	-
9) Artist	-	1
10) Fisherman	-	1
11) Professional golfer	1	-
12) Do not know	1	-

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Summary

Total number of specific responses:	89	111
Total number in sample:	124	141
Average number responses per person:	,72	,79
Professional and technical positions:	38%	39%
Business Managers and Officials:	8%	13%
Clerical and Salesworkers:	20%	18%
Tradesman, Foreman and Operatives:	26%	26%
Other:	8%	4%

APPENDIX 10

REASONS FOR JOB PREFERENCES

The following reasons were given as to why the respondents were interested in their stated job:

A. Interest in Job/Enjoy Type of Work (14 Africans, 71 Coloured)

- 1) Interested in this job since youth (2A, 7C)
- 2) Enjoyable work (4A, 25C)
- 3) Worthwhile work (3A, 3C)
- 4) Working with people is enjoyable (10C)
- 5) Interested in working with children (8C)
- 6) Interested in meeting people (1C)
- 7) Interested in machinery/mechanically minded (1A, 3C)
- 8) Likes woodwork (6C)
- 9) Enjoys working with food (2C)
- 10) Enjoyed subjects at school (3C)
- 11) Likes church and to preach the gospel (3A, 1C)
- 12) Interested in typing (2C)
- 13) Likes drawing (1C)
- 14) Likes writing with figures (1A)

B. Working Conditions (35 African, 13 Coloured)

- 1) More security (2C)
- 2) Good life/improved living standards (1A, 2C)
- 3) More pay/money (15A, 6C)
- 4) To be independent - one's own boss (7A)
- 5) No one to push you around (1A)
- 6) Likes freedom (1A, 1C)
- 7) Easier (7A, 2C)
- 8) Not very strenuous (2A)
- 9) Pension offered (1A)

C. Job Suitability (1 African, 10 Coloured)

- 1) Feels they are capable of achieving this job (4C)

- 2) Feels suited to the job (1C)
- 3) Has practiced this before (1A, 5C)

D. Job Value (21 African, 18 Coloured)

- 1) Can serve my people/community (10A, 3C)
- 2) Wants everyone to learn (1A)
- 3) Would have the power to correct wrong (1C)
- 4) To share opinion and knowledge (2A)
- 5) Of more value to society (1C)
- 6) Feels committed to do it (1A, 2C)
- 7) Mentally stimulating (4C)
- 8) Help sick people to live (4A, 7C)
- 9) African patients are often neglected or not understood in white hospitals (1A)
- 10) Feels teachers today are not kind enough to pupils and thus delinquency has increased (1A)
- 11) White and Coloured attorneys do not understand African and thus misrepresent African clients (1A)

E. Other Benefits Offered (4 African)

- 1) To work near my home and family (1A)
- 2) To be able to repair your own car (2A)
- 3) It would benefit me in the ever developing homelands (2A)

F. Limited Scope (7 African, 15 Coloured)

- 1) Studied carpentry, but African cannot practice it in Cape Town (2A)
- 2) All she knows (1C)
- 3) Gave up training because of financial problems (2C)
- 4) Happy not to dream (5C)
- 5) Conditions never allowed person to aim for the unattainable (2A, 5C)
- 6) Advance on their present vocation (3A, 2C)

Other

- 1) Family was always in the trade (1A, 1C)
- 2) Friend is one and recommended it (3C)
- 3) Only wish is to be employed (1A, 1C)
- 4) Too old (1A, 2C)

APPENDIX II

RESPONDENTS' JOB ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN

<u>Job</u>	African (A)				Coloured (C)		
	Un- skilled	Semi- skilled	Skilled	Un- skilled	Semi- skilled	Skilled	
<u>A. Professional and Technical</u>							
1) Nurse (48A, 35C)	35	10	3	14	14	7	
2) Teacher (43A, 36C)	32	9	2	12	13	11	
3) Doctor (18A, 27C)	14	3	1	9	9	9	
4) Lawyer (8A, 4C)	8	-	-	1	3	-	
5) Engineer (3A, 7C)	-	2	1	2	2	3	
6) Accountant (1A, 4C)	-	-	1	-	2	2	
7) Architect (3C)	-	-	-	-	1	2	
8) Computer field (3C)	-	-	-	-	-	3	
9) Radiologist (2C)	-	-	-	-	-	2	
10) Marketing profession (2C)	-	-	-	-	-	2	
11) Chemist (1C)	-	-	-	-	1	-	
12) Medical technician (1C)	-	-	-	-	1	-	
	89	24	8	38	48	39	

Job	African (A)			Coloured (C)		
	Un-skilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Un-skilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled
<b>B. <u>Business Managers, Officials and Proprietors</u></b>						
1) Social Worker (8A, 4C)	5	1	2	-	1	3
2) Priest (4A, 2C)	3	1	-	-	2	-
3) Management (1A, 4C)	1	-	-	1	1	2
4) Business Management (2A, 1C)	1	1	-	-	1	-
5) Businessman (1A, 2C)	1	-	-	1	-	1
6) Government Official (4C)	-	-	-	1	2	1
7) Policeman (2C)	-	-	-	2	-	-
8) Magistrate (2A)	1	1	-	-	-	-
9) Air Hostess (2C)	-	-	-	1	1	-
10) Court Interpreter (1A)	1	-	-	-	-	-
11) School Inspector (1C)	-	-	-	1	-	-
12) Programme Announcer (1A)	1	-	-	-	-	-
13) Cabinet Minister (1A)	1	-	-	-	-	-
14) Banker (1C)	-	-	-	-	-	1
	15	4	2	7	8	8
<b>C. <u>Clerical and Salesworkers</u></b>						
1) Office work, clerical (14A, 18C)	12	1	1	8	5	5
2) Typist (3A, 2C)	2	1	-	1	1	-
3) Bookkeeper (2C)	-	-	-	-	-	2
4) Secretary (1C)	-	-	-	-	-	1
	14	2	1	9	6	8

Job	African (A)				Coloured (C)				
	Un- skilled	Semi- skilled	Skilled	Un- skilled	Semi- skilled	Skilled	Un- skilled	Semi- skilled	
D. <u>Tradesman, Foreman and Operatives</u>									
1) Tradesman (7A, 12C)	6	1	-	5	5	2			
2) Mechanic (5A, 6C)	5	-	-	1	1	4			
3) Carpenter (3A, 3C)	3	-	-	1	2	-			
4) Electrician (2A, 5C)	2	-	-	1	1	3			
5) Dressmaker (1A, 2C)	-	1	-	2	-	-			
6) Cabinet maker (2C)	-	-	-	-	2	-			
7) Bricklayer (2A)	2	-	-	-	-	-			
8) Machinist in factory (2C)	-	-	-	1	-	-			
9) Welder (1A)	1	-	-	-	-	-			
10) Weaver (1A)	1	-	-	-	-	-			
11) Painter (1C)	-	-	-	-	-	1			
	20	2	-	11	11	10			
E. <u>Other</u>									
1) Job with high educational standard (14A, 19C)	12	2	-	2	11	5			
2) No children (10A, 4C)	9	-	1	-	1	3			
3) Children already grown (10A)	7	2	1	-	-	-			
4) Driver (2C)	-	-	-	1	1	-			

Job	African (A)			Coloured (C)		
	Un-skilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Un-skilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled
5) Professional sportsman (1A)	1	-	-	-	-	-
6) Ship's pilot (1C)	-	-	-	1	-	-
7) Agriculture (2A)	2	-	-	-	-	-
	31	4	2	4	13	8
<u>Summary:</u>						
Total no. of specific responses:	156	36	11	71	87	71
Total no. in sample:	86	30	8	42	53	47
Average no. responses per person:	1,81	1,2	1,37	1,69	1,64	1,51

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