RESIDENTIAL AND MIGRANT AFRICAN WORKERS
IN CAPE TOWN

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CONTENTS

Appendices, Abbreviations and Acknowledgements ii
List of Tables iii

0.1 Introduction 1
0.2 Outline of this paper 2
0.3 The African Population of the Cape Peninsula 3
0.4 Legal Status, Age and Education of the Sample 5

1.0 Employment of Workers 8
1.1 Level of Skill: Definition and Analysis 8
1.2 Length of Service 11
1.3 Wages 13
1.4 Workers' Grievances 16
1.5 The Ineffectiveness of Liaison and Works Committees 19
1.6 Workers' Suggestions for Improving their Work Situation 20
1.7 Attitudes Towards 'Coloured' Workers 22
1.8 Summary and Conclusions on Employment Situation 27

2.0 Rural Situation - Outline 29
2.1 General Information 29
2.2 Land Availability 30
2.3 Factors Influencing Size of Land Cultivated 31
2.4 Factors Influencing Proportion of Land Cultivated 35
2.5 Maize Harvest 36
2.6 Factors Influencing Maize Yield 37
2.7 Cattle 39
2.8 Sheep 41
2.9 Factors Influencing the Number of Cattle and Sheep Owned 41
2.10 Goats, Pigs and Chickens 42
2.11 Relationship between Livestock and Landholding 44
2.12 Subsistence Income 47
2.13 Recruitment and Job Finding of Migrant Labourers 48
2.14 Factors Influencing Recruitment and Job Finding 51
2.15 Periodic Returns to Rural Areas 53
2.16 Homeland Economic Situation and Wages 57
2.17 Remittances to Homelands 62
2.18 Summary of Rural Situation 66

3.0 Policy Suggestions for Those in Authority 69
APPENDICES

1. Statistical Practices and Explanations 72
2. Division of Ciskei and Transkei into Regions, based on Climate and Veld Types 74
3. Estimation of Monthly Income Flow from Subsistence Production 76
4. Weighting of Dependents 78
5. Questionnaire used in Survey 81
References 89

ABBREVIATIONS

BAAB Bantu Affairs Administration Board
BAD Bantu Administration and Development
PAYE Pay as you earn income tax

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>African Population Residing Legally in Cape Town</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>African Employment by Industrial Sector, Cape Peninsula, 1970</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Age by Legal Status</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>School Standard by Legal Status</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Employment Category by Legal Status</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Effect of Legal Status on Length of Employment</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Average Wages (in Rands) according to Legal Status and Level of Skill</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The Effect of Skill on Wages</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Frequency of Type of Grievance</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The Ineffectiveness of Factory Committees</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Workers' Suggestions According to their Form of Worker Organisation</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Attitudes towards Helping 'Coloured' Workers</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Attitudes of Being Helped by 'Coloured' Workers</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Distribution of Land for Cultivation</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Distribution of Maize Harvest</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Distribution of Cattle Ownership</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Distribution of Sheep Ownership</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Distribution of Goat Ownership</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Distribution of Pig Ownership</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Distribution of Chicken Ownership</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Relationship between Landholdings and Cattle</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Relationship between Sheep and Cattle</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Distribution of Monthly Subsistence Income</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Source of Information about Available Job</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Venue and Timing of First Contract with Present Employer</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Method of Renewing Contract</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Job Search Method vs. First Contract</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Time Workers Would like to Spend in Rural Area</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Reasons for Wanting to be in Rural Area for Desired Time Period</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Time Workers Actually Spent in Rural Area</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Distribution of Monthly Remittances Sent to Homeland Dependents</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Monthly Cost of Basic Necessities of Life for Adults and Children at 1975 prices</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
0.1 Introduction

What do African workers earn? What are their grievances at work and how do they try to resolve them? How much class solidarity exists between African and 'Coloured' workers? What homeland ties do African workers have? How much land and livestock do their families own? How do these effect their wages and remittances?

These are some of the major questions we have asked African workers in Cape Town and that we try to answer in this paper. Twenty years have passed since a survey by Sheila van der Horst was last conducted dealing with employment conditions of the African labour force in the Cape Peninsula. The findings presented in this paper are from a recent survey that is similar to the previous study, but places greater emphasis on industrial relations and also consider the rural situation of urban workers.

Two hundred and eleven African men were interviewed during the period from November 1975 to February 1976. Because of the suspicions that could have arisen and the limitations that would have been imposed by interviewing workers at their place of work under management's eye, two African men were employed to conduct the interviews in the townships of Langa and Guguletu as well as in the squatter settlements of Crossroads and KTC ("Dutch Location").

An interview schedule, based on a pilot survey completed a few months earlier, was prepared and a stratified sample chosen. The stratification was based on each type of living quarters; and within each type a certain number of houses, rooms or beds, whichever applicable, was systematically selected. Most interviews were conducted in Xhosa and lasted about two hours. There were few refusals and a wide variety of reasons was given for refusing. A systematic method of replacing refusals was also

---

1. Sheila T. Van der Horst (1964); the field work was carried out over the years 1955 to 1957.

2. The living quarters were divided into the following types:
   - Guguletu: Residential area (permanent residents only); Barracks (BAD);
   - Employers' Barracks; Section 3 near Klipfontein Road (residential area for migrant labourers only); KTC ("Dutch Location", squatters).

   - Langa: Residential area (permanent residents only); Old Flats;
   - New Flats; Main Barracks; North Barracks; Zones; Special Bachelor Quarters.

3. Even though systematic sampling was employed this did not introduce a bias into the sampling because the population was not systematically distributed. See C.A. Moser and G. Kalton, Survey Methods in Social Investigation (Heinemann, 1971), p.83.
adopted. It is therefore highly unlikely that the absence of this small group affects the representivity of the sample as far as each type is concerned. The only exception is with regards to migrant labour types where the sample is biased towards those workers who have legal rights to work in Cape Town. This bias could not be avoided since those people who work and live in Cape Town illegally are adept at making themselves scarce whenever official-looking papers appear on the scene.

0.2 Outline of this paper
In the next section a general survey of the African population and labour force is provided. This is followed by a description of the legal status, age and education of the 211 workers interviewed in our survey.

The rest of the paper has been divided into two major parts. The first part deals with the urban industrial situation of the interviewees and covers a range of topics pertaining to their employment situation. Occupational levels of skill, length of service and wages form the first group of inter-related variables. The bare facts are described and then examined in depth in order to try and establish why certain results were obtained. Tentative explanations are put forward where possible and areas where more research is required are pinpointed. Worker grievances, the ineffectiveness of factory committees and workers' own desired forms of organisation form another topic. Once again analysis is carried out in order to grasp the underlying factors that could explain the results. Part one continues with an attempted assessment of the solidarity between African and 'Coloured' workers. Finally, part one ends with a summary of the major conclusions reached thus far.

The second part considers the rural situation of the workers. Many of them have families and dependants in rural areas (mostly in the Transkei and Ciskei, particularly the Transkei); As a result, many workers and their families have land to cultivate or own livestock. The distribution of land and livestock is carefully analysed and attempts are made to find factors that influence these distributions. The ways in which migrant workers obtain work are analysed as are their periodic returns to the rural areas. Finally, factors in the rural areas that could influence the wage levels and remittances of migrant labourers are investigated.
3.

A summary of the major findings on the rural situation and some policy suggestions that can be drawn from the survey complete the body of the paper.

A number of appendices at the end contain technical aspects of the paper. They are referred to at the appropriate places in the text.

0.3 The African Population of the Cape Peninsula

It is impossible to determine accurately the size of the African population residing in the Cape Peninsula because many are residing illegally in the area and therefore hard to enumerate. Nonetheless it is possible to say that, unlike other metropolitan centres, the African population are a minority group in the Peninsula constituting up to about 200 000 or 17% of the total Cape Peninsula population in 1970. By contrast the 'Coloured' people are in a majority forming just over 50% of the total population.

At the end of 1974 the official estimation of the African population residing legally in Cape Town was distributed between the different areas as indicated in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1</th>
<th>African Population Residing Legally in Cape Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Langa 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>24 977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2 350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>3 705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31 032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men in Single Quarters</td>
<td>23 622</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: see footnote 5.

(2) "Other" includes the S.A. Railways and Harbours compounds in the docks and bordering on Langa and other licenced premises such as the Hout Bay compound and building sites. The figures in this column are for 1976.
(3) Children are below 16 years of age.

4. This estimation is based on a table derived from official statistics derived by D. Hendrie and D. Horner (1976), p. 5 (Table 1), but allowing for an estimated 90 000 Africans residing illegally in the area. (A high estimate see page 4).

Of the 36,332 men living in single quarters in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu, some 8,983 qualified to remain in Cape Town in terms of section 10(1)a or 10(1)b of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. The rest of the men in these townships, 27,349, were therefore migrant workers on contract.

In addition to the above table, a large number of African men and women are residing illegally in Cape Town. It is impossible to obtain an accurate measure of the Africans residing illegally, but informed estimates by officials of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board have ranged from 60,000 to 100,000. Mr. Punt Janson, a former Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, has estimated that 90,000 Africans resided illegally in Cape Town.6

It is hard to say where all these people are living. Many of them are squatting. The Crossroads squatter community has an estimated population of 7,000 to 10,000, while the Modderdam African population is almost 5,000. However, by no means all the squatters are residing illegally in the Cape Peninsula. In Modderdam about 71% of the households had one member of the family, usually a male, residing legally in the area.7 Other squatter settlements with Africans also include Werkgenot and Hout Bay. In addition, couples also reside illegally with residents as tenants in the townships and many African women who are domestic workers reside illegally on their employers' premises.

The industrial sectors in which African workers are employed are indicated in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>14,590</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14,598</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>4,621</td>
<td>8,401</td>
<td>13,022</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>12,327</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>12,475</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>7,482</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7,489</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>7,047</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>7,460</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3,031</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>1,208</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,228</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>51,362</td>
<td>9,030</td>
<td>60,392</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See footnote 8.

7. W.H. Thomas (1977), Tables 1 and 5.
It is clear that the major sectors are construction, services, manufacturing, transport and commerce. In the manufacturing sector a large number of Africans are employed in engineering (particularly marine engineering) and food industries. In the commerce sector a large number work for the dairies, in the transport sector many work for the South African Railways and Harbours and stevedoring companies, and in the services sector the majority are women in domestic service while many men are garage petrol pump attendants. The City and Divisional Councils and Bantu Affairs Administration Board are also large employers of African men.8

These are the general details of Cape Town's African population and labour force. We now consider specific details of the workers interviewed in our survey.

0.4 Legal Status, Age and Education of the Sample

Respondents were asked to explain their legal status in Cape Town. In order to explain the differences between legal statuses and the terminology used by us; a summary of the second chapter of the Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Influx Control is given below.9

Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 as amended governs the right of an African to be in Cape Town (as in all other prescribed areas) and lays down the conditions under which he may remain.

Those who were born in Cape Town and have remained there continuously since birth, qualify as permanent residents and are free to change jobs within the area. They are referred to as "borners" in this paper.

Those who have worked continually for one employer at one address for 10 years or have resided lawfully in Cape Town for 15 years, also qualify as permanent residents and can also change jobs within the area. They are referred to as the "10(1)b's".

When, in this paper, the borners and 10(1)b's are considered together as one group, they are referred to as permanent residents, or simply residents.

The remaining men, with few exceptions, are forced into the system of annual contract work under 1968 regulations which stipulate that every such African may obtain work only through the Tribal Labour Bureau in his area and that a service contract be granted for a maximum period of 1 year (or 360 shifts), after which period the employment must be terminated and the worker must return to his place of origin. These men are referred to as the "migrants".

Since there are significant numbers of men working or at least residing in Cape Town without either residence rights or a contract, for some purposes it will be useful to distinguish "migrants with contract" or "contract workers" from "migrants without contract" or "illegal workers", otherwise the two groups are collectively referred to as the "migrants".

The 10(1)b's are people in an unenviable situation. Although they, like the borners, have permanent residence rights, they originally come from the homelands or other rural areas. However, they are not allowed to let their wives live with them unless their wives qualify by themselves to reside legally in the area. For this reason many 10(1)b men live in the bachelor quarters and their situation is similar to that of contract workers. Another aspect they share in common with migrant workers is that they also originate from the rural areas. Nonetheless, we classify them as residents with the borners because they do qualify to reside permanently in the area.

Twenty five per cent of the 211 respondents said they were borners and a further 25% said they were 10(1)b's. Thus 50% of the sample are permanent residents in Cape Town. A further 40% said they were working on a yearly contract and the remaining 10% said they were working illegally i.e. without a contract. Thus the other 50% of the sample can be regarded as migrant workers.  

Ages of the workers interviewed ranged from 18 to 68 years. The average age was 41 (±13) years, and 50% of the men were over 40. A high proportion of men were aged 50 years or more, largely due to the peculiar conditions of Section 10(1)b described above under which a substantial number of men had gained residence rights in Cape Town by prolonged periods of employment and kept these rights only for as long as they continued to remain in Cape Town. (See Table 3).

10. Because of the way in which the sample was drawn, these proportions do not reflect the proportion of the different legal status groups in Cape Town.

All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number. E.g. 24.4% becomes 24%, as does 23.9% and 23.5%, but 23.4% becomes 23%.

11. See Appendix 1 for an explanation of the statistical practices employed in this paper.
### Table 3: Age by Legal Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Categories</th>
<th>Borners</th>
<th>Legal Status Categories</th>
<th>Migrants</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 to 29 years</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 to 68</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100(1)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100(1)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=52 N=55 N=101 N=208

(1) Total does not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

School standard reached ranged from no schooling to Std. 10. The median value was Std. 4, i.e. 50% of the workers had Std. 4 education or higher. However, this figure hides the variation associated with legal status, which was as follows:

- 50% of the borners had Std. 6 or higher education
- 50% of the 10(1)b's had Std. 4
- 50% of the migrants had Std. 2

Table 4 gives a breakdown of education according to legal status.

### Table 4: School Standard by Legal Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Categories</th>
<th>Borners</th>
<th>Legal Status Categories</th>
<th>Migrants</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub.A to Std.2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.3 to Std.5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.6 to Std.8</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.9 and 10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100(1)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Total does not add up to 100 because of rounding error.
It bears out that the borners were better educated than the 10(1)b's while both these groups had received considerably more schooling than migrants. For instance 34% of residents had reached Std. 6 to 8 level while only 15% of migrants had done so. Furthermore, 16% of borners had Std. 9 or Std. 10 while only 2% of the migrants were as highly qualified. With this background in mind we can now consider the employment situation of African workers.

1.0 Employment of Workers
This part of the paper deals with the urban industrial employment of the African workers interviewed.

We consider the following aspects of their lives:

**Conditions of Employment:** wages, occupational and skill levels; their inter-relationships and factors accounting for these results.

**Industrial Relations:** workers' grievances and the ability of their factory committees in solving their problems; the desired forms of organisations of the interviewees.

**Class Solidarity:** African workers' levels of communication with 'Coloured' workers, their attitudes towards helping 'Coloured' workers or of being helped by them to improve their work situation.

We commence by examining the level of skill of the African workers interviewed.

1.1 Level of Skill: Definition and Analysis
Two levels of skill have been distinguished: the unskilled level and the operative level. After consultation with personnel managers and labour experts, a set of generalised job categories was defined to provide a meaningful classification for all industries.

At the unskilled level, a distinction has been made between menial labour, and heavy labour or labour done in an unpleasant or dangerous environment. Examples of the former are office cleaning and cleaning milk bottles; examples of the latter are stevedoring and milk delivery. The latter job has unpleasant hours and involves risks from over-zealous domestic watchdogs.
At the operative level, two sublevels have been distinguished on the basis of (a) the length of time required to learn the job, (b) the amount of responsibility involved, and (c) the level of education required. In classifying specific job description as given by the respondents, we were guided by the criteria given by the personnel managers we consulted and by the workers' responses to the question "How long does it take to learn your job?".

Jobs taking between one and six months to learn with no specific educational requirements, beyond the ability to read and write, and requiring some degree of responsibility, have been classified as lower operative. Examples are dough mixing, terrazo mixing and polishing, scaffold building, hospital cooking, and light vehicle driving.

Jobs taking longer to learn with greater responsibility and/or higher educational requirements fall into the higher operative category. Examples are heavy duty driving, time-keeping, supervising and clerical work.

Unfortunately some job descriptions did not fall easily into our system of categories, mainly due to lack of information. For example, a man who reported that he was an artisan's assistant could have been doing either unskilled or operative work; and a man who reported only that he was a labourer without describing the type of work, could have been classified in either of the two categories at the unskilled level.

The four job categories described above are thus:

- Unskilled, menial
- Unskilled, heavy
- Lower operative
- Higher operative

Table 5 shows job category cross tabulated with legal status. This table indicates a strong association between legal status and job category.

---

12. See Appendix 1 for an explanation of the statistical test employed in cross tabulations (contingency tables).
### TABLE 5 Employment Category by Legal Status (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th></th>
<th>Migrants</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Borners</td>
<td>10(1)b's</td>
<td>With</td>
<td>Without</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Contract</td>
<td>Contract</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled (menial)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled (heavy)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operative (lower)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operative (higher)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The Chi square statistic is significant at the 0.01 level.

Fifty per cent of the contract workers were doing heavy labour work whereas only about one-fifth of the residents were. Fifty per cent of the 10(1)b's were in menial labour jobs whereas only about one-fourth of the borners and migrants were. Thus, 71% of the migrants and 68% of the 10(1)b's were "unskilled", whereas only 55% of the borners were. It appears that the borners were more likely than others to do operative work, and in particular, the more responsible "higher operative" work which was done by 25% of them. In contrast only 5% of the workers without contracts were in the higher operative category.

Age had a small but interesting association with job category. Concerning age, 60% of the heavy unskilled labourers were found to be under 40 years of age, 60% of the lower operative workers were found to be between 40 and 49 years old, while in the menial and higher operative categories, the age distributions were similar to that of the sample as a whole.

Comparing the distribution of school standard reached for one job category with another, certain patterns become evident. Whereas 56% of the higher operative group have had some high school education, only 33% of the unskilled menial group, 30% of the unskilled heavy labour group and 18% of the lower operative workers had been to secondary school. Furthermore, as many as 64% of those men with a Std. 9 or Std. 10 education were very possibly "underemployed" since they were doing only unskilled or lower operative jobs. 13

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At the other end of the educational scale 78% of those workers with no education at all were bunched together in the two unskilled categories. There is therefore definitely some relationship between the level of skill of the worker and his educational level. This link is however not very direct because it tends to disappear when looking at workers with a particular legal status. For example, there is no statistically significant relationship between the skill and educational level of contract workers. It is therefore more the legal status of the worker that determines both his educational attainment and level of skill.

In summary, it appears that 10(1)b's tended to do menial jobs, why this is so we do not know. Contract workers, due to their status, tended to be contracted into heavy or unpleasant jobs. Borners had the best chance of getting the highest operative jobs provided they were suitably qualified.

1.2 Length of Service
We endeavoured to establish what factors determined the length of service of workers. Length of service refers to the job currently held by the worker at the time of being interviewed, or if unemployed, the job he last held.

There was no association between length of service and job category. In particular, there was no indication that borners in the higher operative category held their jobs, on average, for any longer than migrants doing the same type of work or that either group had a longer average record of service than their counterparts in the unskilled heavy labour category. Indeed, those with the longest service were most often to be found in the unskilled menial labour category. This was partially due to the fact that 10(1)b's predominated this labour category. Out of the nature of their legal status they tended to remain with the same employer for longer periods than other workers (see Table 6).

There were almost as many workers (48%) with more than 4 years of service as there were with 4 or less years. Despite this overriding tendency towards long service, the actual length of service was influenced by legal status. Table 6 illustrates the effect legal status had on the length of time a man was likely to remain in his job,
The results are highly significant, but by no means surprising. 10(1)b workers who qualified for permanent residence by either 15 years continuous employment (and hence residence) in the same area or 10 years continuous employment at the same firm had the longest service records with no less than 67% of them having been employed by the same firm for more than 4 years. The borners had the next longest service records with 54% having worked at the same firm for more than 4 years. Migrants had the shortest lengths of service, but a large difference existed between migrants with contracts and those without contracts. Amongst contract workers no less than 40% had worked at the same firm for more than 4 years, but only 11% of illegal workers had done so.

The implications of these results are important. In spite of the call-in card system that facilitates the re-employment of contract workers, they still had a higher turnover than residential workers. As a result, managers probably still have an ambivalent attitude towards training and employing them in more skilled jobs. Only 30% of contract workers were doing operative jobs (Table 5). This effect was more pronounced for illegal workers where only 26% were classified as operatives.

However, length of service alone certainly does not explain the lack of training and skilled work of migrants. This becomes very apparent when considering the 10(1)b workers. Although they had the longest service records (Table 6) only a slightly larger percentage (32%) than the contract workers (30%) were classified as operatives. No less than 45% of the borners on the other hand were operative workers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal Status</th>
<th>Employed for more than</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10(1)b's</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borners</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants (with contract)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants (without contract)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average for all workers</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The chi square statistic is significant at the 0.02 confidence level.
What is more, the lower educational standard of the migrant workers cannot explain why such a high proportion of them are unskilled labourers. This is because the $10(1)b$'s who are considerably better educated than the migrant workers have almost the same proportion of unskilled labourers (Tables 4 and 5).

Thus neither the migrant status, nor the shorter employment periods nor the lower educational standards of contract workers adequately explains their low occupational standing. What then does explain their predominance in unskilled occupations? The most important reason is probably because Cape Town is a 'Coloured' employment preference area which means that Africans can only be employed in occupations that 'Coloured' workers do not want. Furthermore, contract workers can only fill posts for which local African labour is not available. Therefore the least desirable jobs are the ones most easily accessible to contract workers. A further contributing factor which also keeps other African workers out of skilled jobs is the industrial colour bar especially as it is practised on Industrial Councils by employers' associations and registered trade unions. They often concur on closed shop agreements that keep non-union members out of the skilled occupations.

1.3 Wages

All the earnings provided below were provided by the respondents themselves. Sometimes the interviewers were allowed to see the respondents' pay slips. Weekly earnings ranged from R10 to R72 with an average of R26 (+ R9). A wage of R72 was exceptionally high because:

- 95% of the sample earned less than R45 a week
- 75% " " less than R30 " "
- 50% " " less than R25 " "

These amounts refer to the total net weekly earnings. That is, attendance bonus and overtime bonus and overtime earnings have been included while income tax and U.I.F. (Unemployment Insurance Fund) have been deducted.

The wages paid by the dairy industry and the night watch and security firms were particularly low: the averages were R17 (+ R1) and R20 (+ R3) respectively. State, Provincial and Municipal workers did not earn better wages: with the exception of a few very highly paid workers in State employ, the average for all three institutions was about R23 (+ R4). Averages for the building industry, iron and steel manufacturing, and baking and confectionary were the same, namely R27 (+ R9). The workers in commercial
and distributive trade, and possibly also the stevedores, appear to have earned the highest wages - R32 (+R10) and R36 (+R16) respectively - however, there was too much variation, as the standard deviation figures reflect, and the number of respondents was too few for absolute certainty.

Regression analysis on the sample as a whole suggested that earnings were significantly related to length of service and education but that these factors accounted for very little (5%) of the variation in earnings. The age of workers and number of hours worked weekly had no effect on earnings. On the whole, earnings were lower for migrants than for residents. For migrants, wages ranged from an average of R17 in the dairy industry to R26 in the building industry while the overall average was R24 (+R7). For residents, wages ranged from an average of R21 for those in municipal and state employ to R38 in commerce with an overall average of R29 (+R11).

The differences in earnings between migrants and residents were in part due to the fact that for migrants there was little difference in average earnings between the unskilled categories and the lower operative category, whereas for residents there was a difference i.e. the average earnings in the lower operative category was substantially higher than in the unskilled categories. In addition, the resident workers doing unskilled heavy labour earned higher wages than migrants in the same occupational category. This is indicated in Table 7. The differential between heavy unskilled and lower operative wages was an average R2 for migrants while it was R5 for residents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill Level</th>
<th>Legal Status</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Operative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Menial</td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Higher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borners</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10(1)b's</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Groups</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is entirely due to the fact that 10(1)b's in the lower operative category earned R14 more on average than did 10(1)b's in the heavy unskilled category. In the heavy unskilled labour category the residents earned R5 more on average than migrants did. In this case the difference can mainly be attributed to the relative high wage (R30) that borners were earning in comparison to the average earned by migrants in this category (R21).

Wages were significantly related to the level of skill of the workers as table 8 indicates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill Weekly Wage</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Operative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Menial</td>
<td>Heavy</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R20 and less</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R20+ to R25</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R25+ to R30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R30+ to R35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R35+ to R40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R40+ to R60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100(2)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The Chi Square statistic is significant at the 0.00 level.

(2) Total does not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

Seventy four per cent of the unskilled labourers earned R25 or less per week while only 35% of the operatives fall into the same category. The biggest difference lay between heavy unskilled and higher operative labourers. Eighty two per cent of the former and only 23% of the latter earned R25 or less per week. At the other end of the total weekly earnings scale only 9% of the unskilled workers, but 54% of the operatives received more than R30 per week. Seventy per cent of the higher operative but only 6% of the heavy unskilled labourers earned more than R30 per week.

The effect of skill on wages holds regardless of the legal status of the workers in almost all cases. For residents there was a statistically significant relationship between earnings and skill level. For migrants this relationship
also held. It was only when each of the four legal status groups were looked at individually that the strength of the relationship broke down. In the case of contract workers the relationship was statistically significant (Chi Square statistic significant at 0.03 level), but for 10(1)b's there was no significance. For borners and illegal workers the results were inconclusive.

In the case of wages it was therefore both the level of skill and the legal status of the workers that determined their wages. Differentials in average wage levels existed for workers in different skill categories, but differentials also existed for workers with different legal statuses.

A word of caution needs to be sounded here. Although these results are highly indicative they are unfortunately not conclusive. This is because we have not controlled other variables that also seem to have an influence on wage levels. These variables are related to the rural economic situation of those workers with rural ties. In some cases they do have a bearing on the workers urban wages (see section 2.16).

1.4 Workers' Grievances
Sections 1.4 to 1.6 deal with aspects of industrial relations. We wished to establish what workers' grievances were, through which channels they tried to deal with them, how effective they were in relieving or eliminating their grievances and finally, what alternative system of negotiation they desired. We consider first the workers' grievances.

Respondents were asked what their problems were at work and were asked to mention them in order of importance. An analysis was subsequently done to establish the nature of the grievances expressed, and the way in which they could be grouped into classes or types of grievances. As 40% of the sample were found to express more than one type of grievance, allowance was made for coding up to five types per respondent.

Twenty-eight per cent of the sample said that they had no problems at work. Included in this group were men who said:
(a) "it doesn't help us to complain";
(b) "I cannot complain because I am working illegally";
(c) "I do not know because I am new in my job"; and
(d) other men who did not respond to this question but subsequently responded to the question about the foreman and management and Coloured workers, and expressed great dissatisfaction with the way in which they were being treated.
Because it was found that workers had "no problems" for such a variety of reasons, including cases where they did, in fact, have grievances, this group of workers has been excluded from the sample considered in Table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Grievance</th>
<th>% of the sample who expressed the grievance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Dissatisfaction with wage, i.e. low wages.</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Unwarranted deductions and arbitrary action by management.</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Unsatisfactory relations with foreman and/or manager; ineffective negotiating institution.</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Unsatisfactory material conditions and conditions of service.</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Inadequate or unsatisfactory living conditions. (Management seen as responsible).</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wage problems were a widespread grievance. 77% of all workers who expressed any grievance at all, complained that their wage was too low. Irrespective of industry, of job category, and of legal status, the overriding grievance concerned low wages.

Many said simply that their wage was too low to keep up with the increases in the cost of living; others specified that their wage was too low in relation to their length of service, or the level of skill or degree of risk involved in their work; still others expressed indignation at being discriminated against on racial grounds; and some complained that they were being underemployed or had been demoted to a lower paid job.

The second most common grievance concerned unwarranted deductions and non-payments and other arbitrary actions by management and occasionally, the foreman. A number of workers thought that unwarranted, sometimes excessive, deductions had been or were being made from their weekly wage to cover one or more of the following:
(a) the cost of the worker's train fare to Cape Town at the start of his contract;
(b) the replacement of a lost tool;
(c) the acquisition of overalls and boots and other protective clothing.

Particularly frustrating were the apparently arbitrary deductions. Not being paid for overtime, and not being repaid the so-called "stamp money" (i.e. the compulsory savings in the building industry) were other grievances.

Further frustration was seen to be engendered by management when an increase in wages or an improvement in conditions was promised or at least hinted at, but nothing was done.

Ineffective institutions for negotiations was a problem that workers expressed in a number of different ways:
"... a works committee is not allowed";
"... the liaison committee is ineffective ... management pays the committee members more money if they don't complain";
"... the committee has been destroyed by the manager";
"... committee members are victimized";
and,
"... this man went to the manager to complain for us and at the end of the week he was fired".

Personal relations between the worker and his foreman and manager was another area of grievance. Ten per cent of workers felt that they were insulted or treated rudely by their foreman; 5% said that they were threatened with dismissal if they complained.

With the exception of the low wage grievance which was expressed equally strongly by both migrants and residents, grievances were articulated more frequently by migrants than by residents. For example, contract workers appeared to be the victims of arbitrary action by management twice as often as the residents. This would suggest that contract workers were more vulnerable as a group and that they would be less likely to take action to eliminate their grievances.
19.

1.5 The Ineffectiveness of Liaison and Works Committees

We now examine how workers sought to deal with their grievances and how effective they have been. Respondents were asked to whom in the factory or firm they took their problems. Their replies indicated that a large proportion of workers approached management (See Table 10). The presence of a works committee decreased this proportion somewhat and the presence of a liaison committee decreased the proportion rather more.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whom Workers Approach</th>
<th>Form of worker organisation</th>
<th>Works Committee</th>
<th>Liaison Committee</th>
<th>Neither</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Works Committee</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaison Committee</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreman</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=33 N=49 N=111

The picture changes a little when particular grievances were considered individually. Among workers whose main grievance was unwarranted deductions, 83% approached management directly and only 17% approached their committee whether it was a liaison committee or a works committee. Where the main grievance was ineffective negotiating institution or dissatisfaction with foreman or arbitrary action by management, 80% - 100% of workers with a works committee approached management directly, whereas only 40% of workers with a liaison committee did. Where the problem was low wages or unsatisfactory material conditions at work, 30% - 40% of workers approached their works committee.

Respondents were asked whether they belonged to an organisation or group whose purpose it was to improve their work situation. Eighty per cent of works committee workers replied in the affirmative whereas only 50% of those with liaison committees did. It is important to note that 30% more works committee workers than liaison committee workers replied in the affirmative, despite the fact that 23% fewer workers approached the works committee than the liaison committee. This could very well be due to the fact that the entire works committee is elected by workers whereas management can appoint up to half the members of the liaison committee. Furthermore, 2 of the 3
respondents who were serving on a liaison committee at the time of being interviewed, said that their committees were "ineffective", whereas all 6 respondents who were serving on a works committee indicated that they felt that their committees could improve their work situation.

Despite the greater confidence held in works committees, there was no evidence that workers with a works committee had any fewer grievances than other workers. The major grievance, that of low wages, was expressed by over 50% of those workers with a works committee, those with a liaison committee, and those with no form of organisation. Grievances over arbitrary action by management, on the other hand, were twice as common where there was a committee. Perhaps this is because the presence of a worker organisation increases a worker's awareness of management's arbitrary use and abuse of power or a worker's confidence to articulate his work problems.

A rather surprising finding was that four times as many works committee workers as others complained about the material conditions at work (lack of toilets, canteen, protective clothing, etc.), and furthermore twice as many works committee workers as others complained about the conditions of service (long hours, too much overtime, lunch and tea breaks too short, etc.). This finding could suggest that works committees are not only as ineffective as liaison committees, but possibly even a stumbling block in the processes of channelling and attending to grievances because management are frequently hostile towards works committees, favouring the formation of liaison committees. Alternatively it might be the case that works committees, being more representative and democratic than liaison committees, have created a greater awareness of grievances and instilled more confidence in workers to express their views.

1.6 Workers' Suggestions for Improving Their Work Situation

Next we consider what alternative system of industrial relations the workers envisaged for themselves. The question we asked in this connection was "what do you think workers like yourself should do to improve their work situation?". Table 11 indicates the range of responses according to the worker organisation and action conceivable to the worker.
TABLE 11 Workers' Suggestions According to their Form of Worker Organisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of worker organisation</th>
<th>Works Committee (1)</th>
<th>Liaison Committee</th>
<th>Neither</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers' suggestion</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory organisation (Africans only)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wider organisation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Action</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Of the 33 workers who had a works committee, 20 were members of the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau.

Among those who suggested that a factory-based organisation of workers might improve the workers' situation, 43% said that the workers should form works committees whereas only 6% spoke of liaison committees. The remaining 51% responded to the effect that workers should act as a unified group, approaching management as a unified group, and negotiating with management as a unified group.

Forty per cent of the workers who suggested a wider-based form of organisation, wanted a Trade Union for African workers; 20% wanted Africans to join Coloured Trade Unions; and only 6% wanted Africans to join the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau. However it was apparant that there was some confusion over the distinction between a works committee and the Advice Bureau because the Advice Bureau encourages the formation of works committees.

Individual action appears to be even less popular a form of action in Cape Town than in Durban where 28% of a similar sample of African workers indicated that they "preferred individual effort to collective action". In Cape Town a negligibly small proportion favoured individual action.

The "don't know" category included such responses as "I don't know because we have been trying for a long time ..."; "I don't know because the committee doesn't work ... it has been destroyed".

The association between workers' suggestions and legal status was statistically significant.

15. The Chi square statistic is significant at the 0.03 confidence level.
22.

It was found that 73% of the borners suggested a factory or wider-based organisation, but only 58% of the 10(1)b's and even fewer of the migrants did (47%). The percentage of borners holds irrespective of the form of worker organisation available to the group, but there is a variation for the 10(1)b's and migrants. Where there was a works committee, the proportion of both 10(1)b's and migrants in favour of worker organisation was much higher, but where there was a liaison committee, the proportion was lower. In particular, 100% of the 10(1)b's who had a works committee and were members of the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau believed in collective as opposed to individual action.

A further finding which is of considerable interest, is that works committee workers had a surprisingly coherent idea of a desired wage (whereas this was not the case with the others). These differences between workers with works committees and other workers are very likely due to the fact that two-thirds of the former group were members of the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau.

1.7 Attitudes Towards 'Coloured' Workers
Considerable debate and disagreement exists over the interaction between class and race in South Africa. At the two extreme poles, some analysts (usually Liberals) have stressed only the racial cleavage in South Africa while other analysts (usually Marxists) have stressed only the class struggle. More sophisticated evaluations have considered the interaction of race and class. The interaction between these cleavages is of vital significance to the political economy of South Africa. In particular, the question of whether a working class consciousness over-rides ethnic divisions or whether racial cleavages divide the working class consciousness is important.

In order to try and shed some light on this question we tried to examine the African workers' expressed class solidarity towards 'Coloured' workers. We are aware of the immense difficulties and limitations of undertaking such an examination because it ultimately rests on workers' attitudes and opinions held at a specific point of time under particular circumstances. Attitude surveys seem to suffer from two major weaknesses. The first is that the link between the attitude expressed about hypothetical behaviour under particular circumstances and the actual behaviour under such circumstances may not coincide although social scientists conducting attitude surveys usually assume

they do coincide. The second is that the attitudes are expressed under certain conditions, but these conditions may change overnight and, subsequently, the attitudes may also change.17

We are especially bearing in mind the fact that this survey was conducted before the unrest and stay-away of African and 'Coloured' workers in September, 1976. The stay-away demonstrated only too clearly that a change of conditions could almost overnight reverse strongly held attitudes.

An analogous case study was provided by the workers at Vauxhall Motors in Luton.18 A research project by Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Platt conducted in 1966 amongst the Vauxhall workers revealed that 79% of them had considered themselves to be on the same side as management. Only months afterwards a strike broke out in the factory with such vehemence that workers stormed the main offices and police were brought in.

Michael Mann feels the Luton events could be explained by means of a dual consciousness on the part of the workers.19 Although they expressed a harmonistic view of industry on being questioned, they were also conscious of coercion and exploitation in their work situation. When the latter started to predominate, conflict arose.

Although the concept of dual consciousness provides a useful insight, we do not believe it to be adequate to explain the outburst of collective action of African and 'Coloured' workers in Cape Town because the workers surveyed by us seemed to be only too aware of coercion and exploitation in their lives. The distribution made by Sartre between serial and group praxis as used by Fisher to explain the Durban strikes in 1973 seems more applicable. The individual worker wishing to change his situation is powerless unless he can co-operate with others, i.e. he is powerless if he operates serially. The problem is that there is no way to implement co-operation with other workers unless it already exists. Thus "the problem is to break through from this impotent serial praxis to group praxis ... It requires a situation which suddenly illuminates the possibilities of action for a large number of people. This produces a rapid and radical change in consciousness, simply because a whole range of alternatives which were previously closed off suddenly at least seem to have become available."20 We would argue that events in Cape

17. See G. Wiendeck (1975) for an incisive critique of attitude surveys.
18. See M. Mann (1973) for a brief account of this case study.
19. Ibid., p.46.
Town roused the African and 'Coloured' workers' feelings and created the awareness in them that they could act together by collectively staying away from work.

In performing an attitude analysis we are therefore very conscious of its limitations. However, we do think it is valuable because it does shed light on workers' attitudes when more usual conditions prevail. While an event like the September 1976 stay-away could permanently have shifted the consciousness of many workers, subsequent personal observations have led us to believe that many prior views had returned to workers once the unrest and police action lost their intensity. We therefore present our results believing that they do help to shed some light on the class-race debate.

Eighty-seven per cent of the sample of African workers indicated that there were 'Coloured' workers at work with them, but their replies to the question, "do you discuss things with them?", indicated that the level of contact and communication between African and 'Coloured' workers varied considerably. It is useful to isolate three levels as described below:

LEVEL 1: 44% of the workers said that they did not discuss anything with 'Coloured' workers, for such reasons as:
"we work in separate areas", and "we do not speak their language"

LEVEL 2: 35% said that they did communicate with 'Coloured' workers, but their conversations were not work-oriented,

LEVEL 3: 21% said that they "discussed their work problems, including their wage grievances, with 'Coloured' workers.

It was found that there was a very definite association between the level of communication and the attitudes that the workers express towards:
(a) helping 'Coloured' workers to improve their work situation,
(b) thinking that 'Coloured' workers would help them improve their work situation.

Tables 12 and 13 below indicate that 75% of the workers at LEVEL 3 said that they would help 'Coloured' workers, and 63% say that they think 'Coloured' workers would help them. However these percentages drop considerably as the level of communication decreases. Thus the potential level of mutual cooperation appears to be reflected in the actual level of communication. This finding does not necessarily imply a causality between communication and cooperation nor, if it does exist, can a direction be assigned by us to the
causality. It may be, for instance, that other factors account for the coincidence of communication and co-operation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 12</th>
<th>Attitudes towards Helping 'Coloured' Workers (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Would you help 'Coloured' Workers Improve their work situation?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 3</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 2</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The chi square statistic is significant at the 0.01 confidence level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 13</th>
<th>Attitudes of Being Helped by 'Coloured' Workers (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Do you think 'Coloured' workers would help you improve your work situation?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 3</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEVEL 1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The chi square statistic is significant at the 0.00 confidence level.

An analysis of the reasons the African workers advanced for wanting to help 'Coloured' workers provided the following breakdown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASON</th>
<th>% OF SAMPLE WANTING TO HELP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;They have helped us in the past&quot;</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;They give us advice; we have a friendly relationship&quot;</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;We are all workers; we work together; we earn similar wages and have the same wage complaints&quot;</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I believe we can help each other&quot;</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (not exactly 100 because of rounding error)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 61
Reasons for not wanting to help 'Coloured' workers are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASON</th>
<th>% OF SAMPLE NOT WANTING TO HELP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;They have not helped us in the past&quot;</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;There is no communication; we are separated in work&quot;</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;They earn higher wages; they do different work&quot;</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;'Coloureds' have trade unions and we can't belong to them; we have no negotiating institutions&quot;</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;'Coloureds' have no interest in our affairs; they don't care about us; we do not trust them; they are rude and contemptuous; they call us kaffir&quot;</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (not exactly 100 because of rounding error)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus 25% of the negative responses stemmed from bad personal relations with 'Coloured' workers possibly explained in terms of overt racialism; while 62% of the responses indicated the effects of the institutional and legal separations and restrictions implemented through such policies as the Industrial Colour Bar and the 'Coloured' Employment Preference Policy, through the Industrial Conciliation Act and through Regulations under the Factories Act and Shops and Offices Act.

At the time of the interviews, African workers' attitudes towards 'Coloured' workers indicated to us that racial divisions predominated slightly over a working class solidarity. In view of South Africa's labour history this is not surprising.

The extremely important finding that emerges from the survey is that the factors that are predominantly responsible for the class cleavage between African and 'Coloured' workers are all the making of the White rulers. Physical separation at work, occupational stratification due to the industrial colour bar, registered trade unions and direct representation on Industrial Councils for 'Coloured' but not African workers are all enshrined in legislation or regulations promulgated by Whites. Therefore Whites themselves are pursuing policies that actively inhibit the formation of class solidarity between African and 'Coloured' workers.
1.8 Summary and Conclusions on Employment Situation

In Cape Town it appears to be primarily an African worker's legal status (as imposed by the influx control regulations) that determined his educational attainment, occupational level and length of service. However, as far as wages are concerned, it was both the level of skill required in the worker's job and his legal status that determined his earnings. The higher wages earned by residents was therefore due to the fact that there was a greater proportion of operatives (especially higher operatives) amongst the residents than amongst the migrant workers and because residents earned higher wages than migrants in each of the four skill categories.

Workers with 10(l)b status had the longest continuous employment periods at the same firms. This is probably directly attributable to their legal status. Contract labourers had shorter continuous employment periods while those without contract (illegal workers) registered the shortest periods. Once again, this is due to their legal status. However, in spite of these differences between the length of employment between 10(l)b's and migrants, about the same large proportion of both groups were employed as unskilled workers. This is all the more remarkable since the educational level of the 10(l)b's was higher than that of migrant workers. At this stage we can only suggest that social, political and institutional factors such as the 'Coloured' Employment Preference Policy and the Industrial Colour Bar as practised by Industrial Councils might explain this finding.

Neither works committees nor liaison committees were used extensively by workers to channel their grievances. Furthermore, these two forms of worker organisation had apparently not had much success in attending to workers' problems, especially those associated with wage structures, non-payments and deductions. Works committees appear to be less effective than liaison committees. However, it appears that where there was a works committee, workers, particularly the 10(l)b's and migrants, had a greater awareness of the need for collective action. However the borners indicated a high desire for collective action irrespective of whether they had a committee or not. Furthermore it appears that workers with a works committee had a greater faith in their form of representation than did liaison committee workers.

The most common form of organisation desired by African workers for improving their work situation was at the factory level only although more than 1 in
10 desired a wider organisation. It is patently clear from the evidence that both liaison and works committees were totally inadequate as institutions for collective bargaining, but workers' awareness of the potential of trade unions as a form of organisation could either have been blunted because legislation prevented them membership of registered trade unions, or past experience with unions had made them lose faith in large-scale worker organisation.

A cleavage appears to have existed between African and 'Coloured' workers. This reflected in the attitudes of the interviewees. At the time of the interviews there were more workers who said they would not help 'Coloured' workers improve their work situation than workers who said they would. A significant finding was that the higher the level of communication between African and 'Coloured' workers the greater was the preparedness of African workers to help 'Coloured' workers. Furthermore, the factors that were found to inhibit the formation of class solidarity between 'Coloured' and African workers are predominantly factors instituted by Whites.

Up to now we have not taken into consideration the rural ties and homeland conditions of the interviewees. Clearly there is an interaction between their employment and rural situations. We now turn to examine the rural situation and the nature of the interaction.
This part of the paper dealing with the rural situation of African workers contains four major sections. The first two sections concern the economic situation of those workers with homeland ties. At first we consider the land cultivation of the homeland families by investigating the size of fields, the maize harvest and factors influencing the size and proportion of land actually cultivated and the maize yield. Then we consider the livestock owned by homeland families and the distribution of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and chickens. We also examine the factors influencing the number of sheep and cattle owned by families and the relationship between landholdings and livestock owned by families. These two sections are concluded by calculating the monthly subsistence income derived from maize cultivation and keeping livestock.

The third section considers the recruitment and job finding patterns of migrant labourers. We evaluate whether the labour bureau system as devised by the government really works as it is supposed to. We also examine the duration of periodic returns to the homelands and the reasons for staying certain lengths of time. The last section examines whether the homeland economic situation has any bearing on the wages workers earn and on the remittances they send home.

We summarise the major findings of this part of the paper, i.e. the economic situation of workers who have rural ties. Finally we make some policy recommendations based on the findings of this survey.

2.1 General Information

A large number of workers had some or other tie with one or other rural area: 154 people constituting 73% of all interviewees had some dependants, land or livestock in a rural area outside Cape Town. The overwhelming majority of these ties with the rural areas, totalling 120 cases in all, were in the Transkei. A further 8 were in the Ciskei and 16 fell in the Eastern and North Eastern Cape in districts such as Kingwilliamstown and Queenstown that all bordered on the Ciskei and Transkei. No less than 144 of the 154 ties with rural areas were thus either in or immediately adjacent to the homelands. As a matter of terminology we refer to the "rural situation" of African workers when we include districts outside the homelands and to the "homeland situation" when we refer exclusively to those districts that are in the homelands.
An important finding was that the tie with a rural area was closely linked with the legal status of the worker. As was to be expected, almost 95% of all migrant labourers, whether with or without contract, had some tie with a rural area while 78% of 10(1)b's had rural ties as well. A remarkably large proportion of borners also had rural ties: no less than 1 out of every 3 African workers born and raised in Cape Town either had some rural dependants to whom he sent money or he himself or an immediate member of his family owned livestock or had land to cultivate. A result also worth noting is that 5% of the migrant workers had broken their rural ties. Even though they were working in Cape Town with a contract or illegally they had nonetheless no dependants they remitted money to nor did they consider themselves connected to any families who had land to cultivate.

2.2 Land Availability

Each worker was asked, "does your family have any land to cultivate in the homeland?". The intention of the question was to establish whether members of the workers' family had land available that they could cultivate by either having tenure themselves or by renting it.

Table 14 contains the results, but a word of caution is needed. The figures for land sizes are not accurate because they were rough estimates made by those interviewed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Land Holding (morgens)</th>
<th>Percentage of workers with homeland tie holding land up to and including this size (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Cumulative percentages

N=145

It is clear that land available for cultivation was very limited: 39% had no land for cultivation while 79% had 3 morgens or less. On the other hand only one worker's family had more than 5 morgens available for cultivation.

21. The Chi square statistic is significant at the 0,00 confidence level. By tie with a rural area we mean that a worker or his family either has land available for cultivating or they own livestock, or the worker has dependants in the rural area to whom he sends home remittances.
Upon testing we found that no relationship existed between the size of the landholding of a worker and his legal status, i.e. the distribution patterns were similar for migrants and residents. Surprisingly though, the migrants had somewhat less land than did residents. On average 43% of the migrants had no land available for cultivation whereas only 27% of residents were in a similar position. Likewise 35% of migrants had access to more than 2 morgens of land while 42% of residents were in the same position. This could be due to the fact that migrants were, on average, younger than residents. Especially the 10(1)b's are considerably older.

There was also no significant difference in the distribution of landholdings of the workers with homeland links between the Ciskei and Transkei or between regions with different vegetation and rainfall. Although no statistically reliable conclusions could be drawn, it would also appear that there were no differences in the distribution of land between the districts in the homelands. It thus seems as if similar forces have been at work throughout the Ciskei and Transkei and that these are responsible for the distribution of land held by both permanent residents and migrant workers in Cape Town.

2.3 Factors Influencing Size of Land Cultivated

A distinction has to be drawn between the size of land available to a homeland family and the size of land cultivated because a family does not necessarily cultivate all the land at its disposal. In this and the next section we tried to determine the factors influencing the size and proportion of land cultivated. In order to determine which factors influenced the size of land cultivated by workers' families we performed backward stepwise regressions including, as independent variables, those factors we thought might influence the size of land cultivated. The results were unexpected as the following three equations indicate (the equations are explained in the paragraph below).

22. See Appendix 2 for a description how the division into different climatic regions was done.

23. The cell frequencies were too small in a contingency table.

24. See Appendix 1 for an explanation of this statistical technique.
LANDCULT  =  7,6 - 1,24 MORGENS
Sign. Level  (0,00)(0,00)
  \[ R^2 = 30,7\% \]
Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): TWAGE, EDUCAT, AGE.

\[ \text{LANDCULT} = 6,97 - 1,25 \text{ MORGENS} + 0,78 \text{ HUA} + 0,53 \text{ HSC} \]
Sign. Level  (0,00) (0,00) (0,04) (0,01)
  \[ R^2 = 34,2\% \]
Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): HWC, HUC, HSA, SUBSIST, HMPA, HNC, REMIT, HMFA, HNA, CATTLE, LONGDID.

\[ \text{LANDCULT} = 4,09 - 1,01 \text{ MORGENS} + 0,8 \text{ HUA} + 0,53 \text{ HSC} + 0,03 \text{ YIELD} \]
Sign. Level  (0,00) (0,00) (0,02) (0,02) (0,00)
  \[ R^2 = 45,3\% \]
Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): HWC, HSA, REMIT, HMFA, HUC, HNC, CATTLE, HWHA, HNA, LONGDID.

Where LANDCULT  =  no. of morgens actually cultivated,
MORGENS  =  no. of morgens available for cultivation,
TWAGE  =  total weekly earnings after deductions,
EDUCAT  =  educational level of worker,
AGE  =  worker's age,
HUA  =  number of unspecified adults in homeland family,25 i.e. adults who may be wage-earners or school-goers or neither. (When no indication was given whether the adult was a wage-earner, school-goer or neither, the adult was classified as "unspecified". Otherwise the adult was classified in one of the ways classified below).
HSC  =  number of school-going children in homeland family. ("Children" are classified as such when they are 15 years or younger while adults are 16 years or older)
HWC  =  number of wage-earning children in homeland family,
REMIT  =  average monthly remittances sent to homeland family,
CATTLE  =  no. of cattle owned by worker's family,
LONGDID  =  time worker spent in homeland during last visit,
YIELD  =  no. of bags of maize produced per morgen,

25. By homeland family is meant dependants of a worker resident in the homeland as opposed to dependants in Cape Town. By family is meant those members of the family who, though they may live in separate units share resources in the homeland, i.e. they share cattle for ploughing or scoffling.
HWFA = no. of wage-earning female adults in homeland family,
HNC = no. of children in homeland family who are neither at school nor wage-earners,
HSA = no. of school-going adults in homeland family,
HWMA = no. of wage-earning males in homeland family,
HNA = no. of adults in homeland family who are neither at school nor earning wages,
HUC = no. of unspecified children in homeland family, i.e. children who may be wage-earners or school-going or neither and are not classified in any of the other classifications above,
SUBSIST = monthly income of homeland family from growing maize and raising livestock.

Equation (1) indicates that the number of morgens available for cultivation to the homeland family was highly significant in explaining the size of the fields cultivated. It explained no less than 30.7% of the variation in the size of land actually cultivated. Equation (2) demonstrates that the number of unspecified adults (HUA) and the number of school-going children (HSC) were also significant, but they explained fairly little additional variation in the size of land cultivated. Equation (3) on the other hand shows that the yield explains a considerable amount of variation in the size of land cultivated and that the four variables MORGENS, HUA, HSC and YIELD together explain 45.3% of the variation in LANDCULT. The difficulty lies in trying to explain why the variables have the influence shown in the equations.26

The coefficient of HUA is positive indicating that the size of land cultivated increased as the number of unspecified adults in the homeland family rose. This would suggest that labour may act as a constraint in cultivation, but the evidence from equations (2) and (3) are not conclusive because HUA could include wage-earning and school-going adults as well as adults cultivating the fields.

26. We are indebted to Gill Westcott and William Beinart for valuable information passed on to us about homeland agriculture. However, any mistakes we make remain our own responsibility.
The positive coefficient of the number of school-going children HSC, \((0.53\) in (2) and (3)) indicates that the greater the number of children at school, the larger was the number of morgens ploughed. This could be due to two factors. Firstly, when children reached school-going age their mothers were released from looking after them and they could therefore work in the fields. Secondly, wealthier families could afford to send their children to school and could likewise afford to cultivate larger fields. The relationship found in the multiple regression does not therefore necessarily show a direction of causation nor, for that matter, the direction of dependence. Both LANDCULT and HSC could therefore be related to wealth or family income and the higher family income was, the greater would be LANDCULT and HSC. The causation might even have gone in the opposite direction because the larger the size of the land cultivated, the greater might be family income and the number of children they could afford to send to school.

The surprising result is that the number of morgens available for cultivation, MORGENS, has a negative coefficient which implies that an inverse relationship existed between land available and land cultivated by the homeland family, i.e. the larger the size of land available the smaller was the size actually cultivated. The logical expectation would be the other way round: the more land available the more would be cultivated.

Upon reflection this result could very well have a reasonable explanation. It is that families might lack the resources with which to cultivate land. The positive coefficient of the number of unspecified adults (HUA) is an indication that available manpower is a constraint in cultivation. Westcott found that there was a marked increase in the area cultivated as the number of family members increased. She also found that the average area increased with income. Lack of income would account for the fact that families could not hire tractors for ploughing. Thus a shortage of family members due to wage employment plus an insufficient supply of money which was required primarily for ploughing both acted as constraints on the size of land cultivated. Thus, ironically, land was not always the essential constraint preventing rural producers in the Transkei and Ciskei from cultivating more land. Families had to leave land untouched because of a lack of human and financial resources.

28. Ibid., p.26 and Table 6.
29. Ibid., pp.12, 13.
The sizeable increase in the coefficient of determination from 34.2% to 45.3% with the inclusion of YIELD in equation (3) requires explanation. It could be argued, prima facie, that a higher yield induced producers to cultivate more land because they obtained higher returns from their land. But it is unlikely that the direction of causation was quite so simple. It is more likely that both yield and the size of land cultivated were related to resources generally available to the homeland family. Westcott for instance found that both yield and average area cultivated increased as family income rose. She also found that both yields and acreages were very much higher in those families where an able man was permanently at home.  

Since the land available appears to be the most important factor influencing the land cultivated, the question arises as to what determines the decision to cultivate a certain proportion of land. We turn our attention to this question now.

### 2.4 Factors Influencing Proportion of Land Cultivated

The average proportion of available land that was cultivated was found to be 0.84 (t=1.16). These results differ considerably from results found in an on the spot investigation in the Tsolo district conducted by Westcott at the same time as our survey. She found that 55% of her sample failed to plough some or all of their land. and that, on average, only 0.46 of available land was cultivated. Since our measure may not be all that accurate because it is based on estimates made by our interviewees while hundreds of miles away from their fields, it would be unwise to place too much emphasis on the distinction between our and Westcott's measures.

Contingency table tests to see which factors affected the proportion of land cultivated revealed that no significant relationship existed between the proportion of land cultivated and the legal status of the worker. Furthermore, no difference in the proportion could be distinguished between the Transkei and Ciskei, or between regions with different climates and vegetation or between different districts in the homelands.

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30. Ibid., pp.26, 27 and Table 7.
31. Ibid., p.13.
32. Ibid., p. 28.
33. See Appendix 2 for a description of these regions.
A backward stepwise regression test yielded the following results:

\[
\text{PROPLAND} = 0.82 + 0.006 \text{ CATTLE}
\]

Sign. Level (0.00) (0.02)

\[
R^2 = 3\%
\]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): LONGDID, REMIT, MORGENS, where variables already used have the same meaning and PROPLAND = proportion of land cultivated.

Contrary to LANDCULT, the only significant variable explaining the proportion of land cultivated was the number of cattle owned by the family, although it explained only a very small proportion (3%) of the variation of PROPLAND. This would suggest that cattle could also at times have been a constraint in land cultivation.

2.5 Maize Harvest

A small, but significant group of respondents provided information on maize yields in good, bad and normal years. It was an unfortunate omission on our part that we did not ask directly for this information: we asked instead how long a worker thought he and his family could live off what they produced because we assumed he would have a better idea of this than of maize yields from year to year. Table 15 draws together the maize yield results. It demonstrates enormous fluctuations in production from year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of 200 lb. Bags</th>
<th>Percentage of families obtaining up to and including this number of bags (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( N^{(2)} = \)

30 20 27

(1) Cumulative Percentages.

(2) These respondents are not necessarily the same people.
to year. The number of bags harvested ranged from 3 to 50 bags in a good year, through 2 to 18 bags in a normal year right down to 0 to 10 bags in a bad year. The extent of the fluctuations are also highlighted by the fact that nobody produced less than 2 bags in a good year whereas no less than 65% produced up to a maximum of 2 bags in a bad year. Furthermore, the maximum number of bags in a bad year is 10 while only 63% produced 10 bags or less during a normal year and only 53% did so during a good year. The maximum number of bags during a normal year was 18 while 37% could produce more than than during a good year.

What these figures show is that extreme caution is needed when talking about agricultural productivity in the Transkei and Ciskei. A single year's measure could be most unreliable.

2.6 Factors Influencing Maize Yield

In spite of fluctuations in harvest from year to year we obtained a measure of yield in a "normal" year for 38 interviewees. The average yield for a normal year was 4,0 bags per morgen and 60% of the sample obtained less than or equal to this yield. Eighty-nine per cent of the sample reaped a harvest of 8 bags or less. These figures have to be treated with extreme caution because they are based on "guesstimates" on the part of workers 600 miles or so away from their homes. We also have no indication whether this did or did not include the green cobs that are picked and eaten before the harvesting commences.

We tried to determine which factors influenced yield and applied a backward stepwise regression including, as independent variables, those factors which we thought would be influential. The results are summarised by the following three equations and explained in the paragraph below:

\[
\text{YIELD} = 118,3 - 7,06 \text{ MORGEN} - 33,92 \text{ PROPLAND} - 19,7 \text{ HMFA} \\
\text{Sign.Level} (0,00) (0,00) (0,07) \\
\text{R}^2 = 11,0\% \\
\text{Variables excluded} (\text{in order of exclusion}) \text{ HNC, HSA, CATTLE, HUA, HSC, LONGDID, HNA, HNC, REMIT, HUC, HMFA.}
\]

34. In the case where an interviewee did not specify his normal harvest, but did give his harvest in a good and a bad year, we calculated a "normal" harvest as the average between a good and bad harvest.

35. 200 lb. bags.

36. See M. Lipton (1976), pp. 4-5 for the importance of including or excluding this measure.
YIELD = 90,65 + 5,64 LANDCULT - 51,23 PROPLAND - 15,4 HWMA - 5,3 HUC (6)
Sign. Level (0,00) (0,00) (0,00) (0,04) (0,09)
\[ R^2 = 29,1\% \]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion) HWC, HSA, LONGID, CATTLE, REMIT, HNC, HUA, HSC, HNA, HWFA.

\[ YIELD = 90,23 + 5,5 LANDCULT - 50,5 PROPLAND - 13,0 HWA \] (7)
Sign. Level (0,00) (0,00) (0,00) (0,02)
\[ R^2 = 29,2\% \]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion) HWC, HSA, HNUC, HSC, HNUA

Where variables already used in equations (1) to (4) have the same meaning and

\[ \text{HWMA} = \text{number of wage earning male and female adults in homeland family} \]
\[ \text{HNUC} = \text{number of children in homeland family who are neither at school nor wage earners or who are unspecified (HNUC = HNC + HUC)} \]
\[ \text{HNUA} = \text{number of adults in homeland family who are neither at school nor wage-earners or who are unspecified (HNUA = HNA + HUA)} \]

Equation (5) indicates that the number of morgens available for cultivation, the proportion of available land cultivated and the number of wage-earning female adults were significant in explaining 11% of the variation of maize yield. What is noticeable is that all their coefficients are negative indicating an inverse relationship between yield and each of the variables.

The negative coefficients of MORGENS and PROPLAND were both probably due to the limited financial and human resources available to the homeland families. Westcott found that household income and the number of able men permanently at home both strongly influenced the bags harvested per acre. Thus, with limited resources, an increase in the number of morgens available for cultivation or in the proportion of such land cultivated was bound to lower the yield obtained from the land. The negative coefficient of the number of wage-earning female adults strengthens these arguments. It shows that the absence of a wage-earning female from the fields lowered the harvest obtained from those fields.

37. Westcott (1976), Table 5 and pp. 26, 27.
The inclusion of LANDCULT instead of MORGENS greatly increased the explanatory power in the variation of yield from 11% to 29.1%. What is also interesting is that the coefficient of LANDCULT is positive indicating a direct relationship between the two. As explained earlier, these two variables (YIELD and LANDCULT) were both probably related to family income or wealth and that families with higher incomes were capable of cultivating more land, buying better seed and more fertilizer thus obtaining higher yields.

The number of unspecified children (HUC) only just becomes significant in equation (6) and has a negative coefficient. A possible explanation for this is that unspecified children may well refer to younger children and that an adult woman might/have to stay at home to look after the children. This could therefore lead to a fall in yield.

The significance of HUC falls away when the number of wage-earning females and males are combined in the composite variable HWA in equation (7). HWA becomes more significant indicating that the absence of adults from the fields because they were earning wages lowered the yield.

Thus far we have considered and analysed maize cultivation in the homelands. What emerges from the study is the complex interdependence of many of the factors: the size and proportion of land cultivated and the yield obtained from such cultivation all have an affect on each other and are all in turn probably influenced by the overall wealth of the family. We turn to another aspect of a homeland family's wealth, namely their livestock.

2.7 Cattle

Workers were asked: "Does your family own any livestock?" If they replied in the affirmative they were asked to specify the number of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, chickens that their families possessed. Table 16 specifies the distribution of cattle owned by workers' families.
It demonstrates that slightly more than half of the families or workers with rural ties had no cattle while almost two-thirds of the families owned two or less head of cattle and almost four-fifths owned six or less. The maximum number owned by any family was 25.

Looking at these results in a different way, we can say that at most 21% of the families had enough of their own cattle to make a span for ploughing. Usually 6 oxen are used for ploughing, but sometimes cows are used as well when the family does not have sufficient oxen.38 Sometimes mules and donkeys are used in combination with cattle, but this is rare. Likewise 2 oxen are usually employed for scoffling. This means that at most 34% of the families had sufficient cattle for scoffling.

Thus most families had very little wealth stored in cattle while very few families had sufficient cattle for scoffling and ploughing. Westcott also found that the lack of cattle was a bottleneck in maize production.39 The result was that the overwhelming majority of families ploughed with hired tractors.40

---

38. Personal communication from cultivator in Elujecweni village, Tsolo.
39. Westcott (op.cit.), pp. 13, 15 and Table 5.
40. Ibid., Table 2.
No satisfactory significance could be found between the legal status of the worker and his family's cattle ownership even though the borners seemed to own the lowest number of cattle. Eighty per cent of the borners with homeland ties owned no cattle whereas 46% of the migrant workers were in the same position.

2.8 Sheep

The distribution of sheep ownership is shown in Table 17. It indicates that two-thirds of the workers' families owned at most 3 sheep while almost four-fifths owned at most 9 sheep. Ninety-four per cent of the families had 25 sheep or less.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 17</th>
<th>Distribution of Sheep Ownership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers of Sheep</td>
<td>Percentage Owning up to and including this number of sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 154

In addition, the maximum number of sheep a family had was found to be 105. By way of contrast, at least half of the workers with a rural tie owned no sheep at all.

2.9 Factors Influencing the Number of Cattle and Sheep Owned

We endeavoured to find factors that influenced the number of cattle and sheep owned by using backward stepwise regressions. Our results are summarised by the following equations:

\[
\text{CATTLE} = 0,086 \text{TWAGE} + 0,25 \text{EDUCAT} + 1,15 \text{HSA} + 0,71 \text{HSC}
\]

\[
\text{Sign.Level} = (0,05) \quad (0,06) \quad (0,00) \quad (0,01)
\]

\[
R^2 = 14,9\%
\]

Variables excluded (in sequence given): HNC, HMMA, HNC, AGE, HUA, PEMIT, HMF, HUC, HMA.

\[
\text{SHEEP} = 9,97 + 0,52 \text{TWAGE} + 7,0 \text{HMMA} + 2,1 \text{HSC}
\]

\[
\text{Sign.Level} = (0,00) \quad (0,00) \quad (0,01) \quad (0,01)
\]

\[
R^2 = 16,0\%
\]
Variables excluded (in sequence given): HNC, EDUCAT, HNC, REMIT,
HNA, HUA, HNFA, AGE, HUC, HSA.
Where variables have the same meanings as indicated in earlier equations.

Equations (8) and (9) provide some interesting comparisons and show the contrast in which homeland families view the possession of cattle and sheep. Equation (8) shows that almost 15% of the variation in the number of cattle owned by a worker's family is explained by the net earnings of the worker, his educational level and the number of school-going adults and children in the family. Once again it would be invidious to assign a direction of causation here because it is likely that all these variables are correlated to family wealth or income. A wealthy family is, for instance, likely to own more cattle, have more members of family at school, be better educated and, subsequently, earn higher wages.

Equation (9) shows that 16% of the variation in the number of sheep owned by a worker's homeland family was explained by the net earnings of the worker, the number of wage-earning male adults and school-going children in the family. The number of school-going children could also be an indicator of a family's wealth, but there appears to be a meaningful difference between the ownership of sheep and cattle on the part of homeland families. The coefficient of TWAGE is extremely small for CATTLE (+0.086) while it is no less than 0.52 for SHEEP. Furthermore HNFA is a significant variable for SHEEP only and not for CATTLE and has a large coefficient of 7.0. This could indicate that sheep are bought as an investment based on economic grounds. The higher the wage and the greater the number of wage-earners the more sheep are owned by the family. In contrast to this the number of cattle is influenced relatively little by the total earnings suggesting that cattle are held for many additional reasons and not only viewed as a form of economic investment. The higher price of cattle could also partly explain why the number of cattle owned is fairly impervious to the wage levels of workers.

2.10 Goats, Pigs and Chickens
The distribution of goat ownership is indicated in Table 18. It shows that workers tend to keep less goats than sheep. Sixty-four per cent of the families kept no goats at all while 97% had 20 goats or less. It appears that goats were not as important as cattle or sheep to workers with rural links.
Far less pigs were kept than other livestock as Table 19 clearly shows.

**TABLE 19**  
Distribution of Pig Ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Pigs</th>
<th>Percentage Own ing up to and including this number of Pigs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 154

Seventy-one per cent of families kept no pigs while 96% kept 3 or less. The maximum number of pigs kept was 6. This is rather low as pigs yield high economic returns compared to sheep and goats. (See Appendix 3, p.76). These figures might be misleading because pigs could be slaughtered more frequently (annually) to provide meat. As a result, stocks are never built up. The cost of keeping pigs may also rise disproportionately if large numbers are kept. A family may find it easy to feed 2 or 3 pigs from leftovers and refuse but more than that might involve costs that do not make it worthwhile.

Table 20 shows the distribution of chickens owned by families of workers. Although the accuracy of these figures can be questioned, they still serve as an indication that families kept very small numbers of chickens. At least 50% of the families had no chickens at all while two-thirds had at most four chickens. As in the case of pigs, chickens are a ready source of protein and are also cheap to feed provided their numbers do not grow too large. They could also have a high turnover so that it would not pay families to keep large numbers of chickens.
### Table 20: Distribution of Chicken Ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Chickens</th>
<th>Percentage Owning up to and including this Number of Chickens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 137

2.11 Relationship Between Livestock and Landholdings

Do families who have no land to cultivate own any cattle or sheep? Is the size of a landholding proportional to the number of cattle or sheep a family owns? Thus far we have examined the distribution of landholdings and livestock separately, but we now turn our attention to the relationship between the land and livestock owned by homeland families. Table 21 presents the relationship between distributions of landholdings and the number of cattle owned by the homeland families of all the workers with rural ties.

### Table 21: Relationship Between Landholdings and Cattle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distribution of Landholdings (Morgens)</th>
<th>No Land</th>
<th>0.6-2.4</th>
<th>2.5-3.4</th>
<th>3.5-5.4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 to 25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100(2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 52 33 23 30 138

(1) The Chi square statistic is significant at the 0.02 confidence level.
(2) Percentages do not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

It shows that 71% of the families that had no land available for cultivation
owned no cattle as well whereas only 30% of the families with 3.5 to 5.4 morgens owned no cattle. At the other extremity only 6% of the families with no land owned between 7 and 25 head of cattle while 33% of the families with 3.5 to 5.4 morgens at their disposal owned the same number of cattle. The Table also indicates that the relationship between cattle and land was fairly direct: the percentage of families owning no cattle declined steadily from 71% to 30% as the size of the landholdings of the families increased. On the other hand, the percentage of families owning between 7 and 25 head of cattle increased steadily from 6% to 33% as the size of the landholdings of the families increased. Furthermore, the percentage of families with no land decreased steadily from 71% to 6% as the number of cattle owned by families increased.

Although the above relationship existed for all workers with homeland ties regardless of legal status, we nonetheless found that the relationship between landholdings and cattle depended on the legal status of the workers. In the case of migrant workers a statistically significant relationship existed between landholdings and cattle with a fairly similar distribution to the one indicated in Table 21. An even closer look revealed that it was the contract labourers whose landholdings and cattle had a definite distributional relationship whereas no such relationship could be established for the workers without contracts. The small number of workers without contracts prevent us from drawing a very definite conclusion on this point though. In the case of residents, however, no statistically significant relationship between their landholdings and cattle could be established even though only a slightly higher percentage of residents (29%) than migrants (26%) with homeland ties owned no cattle and had no land available for cultivation. A considerably smaller proportion of residents had no land than the proportion that had no cattle: 29% of all the residents with homeland ties had no land available for cultivation while 65% of the same group owned no cattle. For migrants, on the other hand, these two proportions were almost equal at 43% and 44% respectively.

No statistically significant relationship existed between the distribution of cattle ownership and the size of land actually cultivated. This was the case regardless of the legal status of the workers. Similarly no relationship existed between the distributions of sheep ownership and either the size of land available for cultivation or the size of land actually cultivated.
On the other hand a strong relationship existed between the patterns of cattle and sheep ownership for workers with homeland ties as Table 22 indicates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distribution of sheep</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1 to 3</th>
<th>4 to 9</th>
<th>10 to 16</th>
<th>17 to 105</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of cattle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 to 25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100(2)</td>
<td>100(2)</td>
<td>100(2)</td>
<td>100(2)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N= 94 6 14 15 21 150

(1) The Chi square statistic is significant at the 0.00 confidence level.
(2) Percentages do not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

It shows that 81% of the families that had no cattle also owned no sheep whereas none of the families without any cattle owned 10 or more sheep. At the other extremity only 5% of the families owning no sheep had between 7 and 25 head of cattle while no less than 57% of the families owning between 17 and 105 sheep also possessed between 7 and 25 head of cattle. As was the case with cattle and landholdings, the relationship between cattle, and sheep was quite direct: the percentage of families owning no cattle declined steadily and rapidly from 81% to 0% as the number of sheep owned by families increased. On the other hand, the percentage of families owning between 7 and 25 head of cattle increased steadily from 5% to 57% as the number of sheep possessed by families increased. It is particularly noteworthy that the likelihood was very strong that families would have no cattle if they owned no sheep and vice versa.

The relationship between the distribution of cattle and sheep ownership holds regardless of the legal status of the workers. Both migrant labourers and residents produce statistically significant results.
Now that the relationship between landholdings and livestock have been established, we determine the income that is derived from land cultivation and stock raising for homeland families.

2.12 Subsistence Income

We calculated the subsistence monthly income of homeland families from estimations of the monthly income flow derived exclusively from maize, sheep, goats, pigs and chickens. A cumulative frequency distribution of the results is contained in Table 23.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 23</th>
<th>Distribution of Monthly Subsistence Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level of Income (Rand)</td>
<td>Percentage Producing up to and including this Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It indicates the low level of income derived from subsistence agriculture of homeland families. No less than 26% of the families produced no income at all and are therefore completely landless. They are, effectively, a rural proletariat. More than half of the families (54%) produced less than R8 per month while more than three-quarters (76%) made R24 or less. The maximum monthly subsistence income of a family in our survey was R102.

41. For details on how these estimates were done (and the assumptions they are based on) see Appendix 3. Unfortunately the value of pumpkins, beans, potatoes and other vegetables grown by homeland families are excluded from the calculation.

42. The chances of them cultivating pumpkins, beans and other vegetables, but not maize, are virtually nil.
Care needs to be taken before drawing conclusions about subsistence agriculture and the degree of proletarianisation in the Transkei and Ciskei from our results. This is because our sample is biased in that only families who had a breadwinner working in Cape Town were considered. Thus families who might be making a living from farming and who had no need for a wage earner or families who had wage-earners working in the homelands were excluded. An unbiased sample would have to include these families. Table 23 therefore shows only the distribution of subsistence incomes of families with a breadwinner working in Cape Town from whom they might be receiving remittances. Note also that other sources of income such as home-grown vegetables and pensions were also excluded from the calculation.

What the Table does indicate is that the families were unable to make an adequate living from subsistence production and the overwhelming majority of them were heavily dependent on wage-earning breadwinners.

2.13 Recruitment and Job Finding of Migrant Labourers

We attempted to establish the way in which migrant labourers obtained and retained their employment taking into account the fact that the government has constructed its own intricate legal and institutional structures culminating in labour bureaux that are supposed to match the demand for and supply of migrant labour.43

In the Cape Peninsula an employer who is in short supply of labour and who cannot obtain local Coloured or African labour, has to apply for contract labourers from the local Bantu labour bureau. Factories have been allotted quotas determining the number of Africans that can be employed by them (equal to the number in employment on 18 January, 1968). This quota can only be increased with the consent of the Department of Planning. The Bantu Affairs Administration Board warns employers that "it is a very serious violation of the law to introduce a Bantu into an urban area who is not in possession of the necessary permission from the local Bantu labour bureau".44

The Bantu Labour Regulations (Bantu Areas), 1968, proclamation No. R.74 in Government Gazette No. 2029, specify that no African may leave his homeland to seek work. Nor is an African allowed to leave his home area without obtaining the necessary document from the Tribal Labour Officer. A remarkable feature of these Regulations is that they do not apply in the Transkei (Section 1(2)(a)), but the Transkeian authorities nevertheless applied exactly the same administrative procedures as laid down in the Regulations even though they had no legal sanctions.

We had reason to believe these regulations were not being strictly adhered to in the Western Cape. We therefore asked migrant workers a set of three questions to test our hypothesis. The questions were: "How did you know that there was a job for you at your present firm?", "How did you get your first contract with your present firm?", and "If your contract with your present employer has been renewed, how was this done?". Responses to the first question are laid out in Table 24. It clearly indicates that a majority of migrant labourers had their own independent sources of information. No less than 29% came to Cape Town and paid a visit to their firms to enquire about job vacancies. A further 33% heard about a vacancy through their friends or family. Only 17% of migrants made use of labour bureaux when enquiring about vacancies. The labour bureaux therefore play a minor role as a source of information to migrant workers in that less than 1 out of 5 migrants made use of the bureaux to gain information about employment opportunities. It is not surprising that migrant labourers want to gain their own information about their prospective employment because some employers and jobs are better than others. As a result 62% obtained independent information through friends or family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 24</th>
<th>Source of Information about Available Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source</strong></td>
<td><strong>%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal visit to firm in town</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour bureau in homeland</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firm's recruiting agency in homeland</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=93

Our second question tested the system of obtaining contracts. The results are indicated in Table 25. Seen in conjunction with the previous Table,
the results are very interesting: although most of the migrant workers found their jobs independently, an overwhelming majority (70%) first fixed up their contracts in the homeland before they came to work in Cape Town. However we must not lose sight of the fact that 30% of the contract labourers obtained their contracts by somewhat irregular means. Eight per cent of the contract workers had fixed up their contracts in Cape Town which is a most unusual and irregular proceeding. Nineteen per cent of labourers with contracts obtained their contracts only after they had already worked for their firms illegally. Taking into consideration that no less than 10% of the workers interviewed in our survey were illegal workers, it is clear that many workers and employers disregard the law and Bantu Labour Regulations. From the workers' side, it is most likely the need to find gainful employment that makes them run the risk of working, and hence residing, in the area illegally. From the employers' side it is most likely the lower wages paid to migrants and the elimination of other costs such as unemployment insurance levies that make them employ workers without contracts. As far as the objectives of the state to control the movement of labour is concerned, our results demonstrate that they are, by and large, being successful. Seventy per cent of the contract labourers still adhered to the Regulations by first obtaining their contracts in the homelands. Even the illegal workers ascertained contracts. Thus, although the system is not totally efficient, the government is actually controlling the movement and employment of African workers.45.

45. The above discussion refers to men only as African women are not allowed to work as contract labourers in the Cape Peninsula. Many women from the rural areas work illegally mainly as domestic workers in the area.
Finally we tried to establish how migrant workers renewed their contracts. Our findings based on the question how their contracts were renewed were not very satisfactory. This was due to the fact that neither we nor the interviewers had a perfectly clear idea how the call-in card system operated. Furthermore, the alternative options listed in the questionnaire appear not to have been mutually exclusive and might have confused the contract workers and our interviewers. Nevertheless, the results shown in Table 26 are of some value and interest. It shows that 71% of the contract workers who renewed their contracts had done so by means of the call-in card system while a further 23% were recruited again by the firm in the homeland. Due to the uncertainty mentioned above it is possible that some of the workers who responded that they were either recruited or went to the labour bureau again were, in fact, also availing themselves of the call-in card system. We can thus conclude that a very large majority of contract labourers made use of the call-in card system when intending to renew their contracts.

2.14 Factors Influencing Recruitment and Job Finding

Since the labour bureau system does not function as a major source of information to workers, we tried to establish which factors influenced the job

---

46. According to the personnel management department of Murray & Stewart, a construction firm which employed 19 of our interviewees, the call-in card system operates as follows: a contract labourer wishing to return to the company has a call-in card specified by Schedule 46 of Gazette No. R.74, 1968, (Regulations for Labour Bureaux at Bantu Authorities), completed in duplicate before his present contract is terminated. Upon his return to the Transkei, he first goes to Umtata with his card, then to his home region. He must be recruited again at his local labour bureau on a day previously specified. This day must be within 21 days of the expiry date of the former contract if the worker wishes to make use of the call-in card system. It seems as if a recruiter from the company is present at the labour bureau on the day of recruitment.
searching and the recruitment procedures of migrant workers. This proved to be a very futile search because none of the factors we thought might be relevant were found to be significant.

As regards the way in which a migrant worker came to know there was a vacancy at his firm, none of the following factors were found to be significant in two-way contingency tables: the legal status of the worker (although none of the illegal workers had either been to the labour bureau or been recruited by the firm in the homeland), the age of worker, the length of employment at the present firm, the level of skill, or educational level of the worker, the district, climatic region, or homeland of worker, the firm or industrial council classification or the type of industry in which the worker was employed.

The only significant relationship that was established existed between the methods of acquiring information and obtaining a contract. Table 27 provides the relevant information. It shows that all the workers who were recruited

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 27</th>
<th>Job Search Method</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>First Contract(1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venue and timing of first contract</td>
<td>In Homeland</td>
<td>In Town</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source of information</td>
<td>Before Starting Work</td>
<td>After Starting Work</td>
<td>Before Starting Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firm in town</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour bureau in homeland</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruited in homeland</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Chi-squared significant at the 0.00 level
by their firms in the homelands had their contracts fixed up before coming to Cape Town. Likewise a very high percentage (94%) of the migrants who approached a labour bureau obtained their contracts in the homeland before coming to Cape Town. At the other extreme only 21% of the migrant workers
who approached their firms for jobs obtained contracts in the homeland before starting to work while 53% first worked for the firms before returning to the homeland to get their contracts fixed up. It is thus when workers deal directly with their employers without the presence of any intermediaries that most of the employment without contracts takes place.

2.15 Periodic Returns to Rural Areas

We wished to establish the duration of the periods that migrant labourers returned to the homeland and the factors that influence their duration. We also phrased our questions in such a way that we could detect any possible signs of a backward sloping supply curve on the part of any of the migrants. More particularly we wanted to test whether migrant workers were in any sense target workers with fairly low income expectations. Some White social scientists 47 sketch the migrant labourers as "primitive", "traditional" with low occupational and wage aspirations. Moreover, many Whites hold the view that migrant labourers come to work in the cities in order to build up a certain level of savings that will enable them subsequently to while away their time in the sun for months on end watching their wives scoffing and hoeing the fields and repairing the huts while providing the menfolk with ample food and beer. 48

In order to try and test these hypotheses we first tried to establish the time period that workers wished to spend between their contracts in the country. We asked: "When you go on leave, or when your contract expires, how long would you like to stay in your home in the country?" Their responses are presented in Table 28. It indicates that most of the workers with rural ties wished to spend a rather short period at their homes. Almost half wanted to stay for only up to two months while more than two-thirds wished to spend only 3 months or less in the country.

47. e.g. D.H. Houghton (1973): "At home they (migrant labourers) are primitive agriculturalists or pastoralists conforming to the traditional economic pattern and dwelling in the social environment of their tribe". (p.85). Also see C. Orpen (1976), ch.6, "Western and Tribal Black Workers".

48. "This view is epitomized by the story of the African who, when shown by a demonstrator how to double the yields from his field, far from applying them the next season, was discovered sitting by his hut enjoying a sabbatical year''. Westcott (1976), p.3. For a slight variation on this White stereotyping of Africans, see Peter Becker, Tribe to Township, (Panther, 1974), "Five Bags of Maize", pp.129-30.
To see whether this desired period could be attributed to some income targets on the part of the migrant workers, we asked them why they wanted to stay away for the desired period in the country. It was an open ended question and no reasons were suggested to them. Some workers gave up to three reasons for wishing to stay for the desired time period. The frequency with which these reasons were given is contained in Table 29. It shows that a desire to be with their family and see to family affairs

### TABLE 28 Time Workers Would Like to Spend in Rural Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Percentage who would like to spend up to and including this length of time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 months</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=151

### TABLE 29 Reasons for Wanting to be in Rural Area for Desired Time Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Life</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrange family affairs</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to be with family</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensure wife is pregnant</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Work in Rural Area</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair huts, kraals, fences, etc.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Till the soil, plant, sow, etc.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependence on Cash Wage</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot stay longer because money is needed for dependants and self</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot stay longer because fear of loss of job</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have a rest</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=216 reasons

(1) Percentages do not add up because of rounding error.
was advanced in 37% of the cases. An equally important reason was their wish to improve the quality of their rural life by working on their fields and homesteads. A highly significant reason was that they could not stay in the rural area for any greater length of time because of their dependence on a cash wage. This was expressed in 18% of the cases. In only 9% of the cases did workers express a desire to rest in the rural area. It is worth noting that the reasons advanced for wishing to stay a particular period of time in the rural area do not all have the same effect on the desired time period. While most of them presumably are reasons that would induce the migrant worker to stay longer in the country, the dependence on a cash wage has the opposite effect and puts strain on the worker to cut short his stay in the country.

The average period that migrant workers actually did spend in the country further rules out the possibility that they had spent their target income at leisure in the countryside. The actual time spent in the rural areas was even shorter than the desired time as indicated in Table 30.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 30</th>
<th>Time Workers Actually Spent in Rural Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 152

No less than 70% of the workers with rural ties spent less than 1 month in the country during their last leave or after the termination of their last contract. The median time period was three weeks. This short period of absence from work could be due to the extensive use of the call-in card system which, as in the case of Murray and Stewart, required the contract worker to return within three weeks.

We tried to establish whether there were any objective factors that determined the time that workers would have liked to spend in the country when their contract or employment was terminated. A backward stepwise regression was therefore performed.
The final equation in the multiple regression was:

\[ \text{LONGLIKE} = 3.15 + 0.17 \text{SHEEP} + 0.13 \text{AGE} + 2.95 \text{LANDCULT} \]  

(10)

Sign. Level \( (0.30) \) \( (0.01) \) \( (0.06) \) \( (0.00) \)

\[ R^2 = 16.5\% \]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): PIGS, EDUCAT, GOATS, TWAGE, CATTLE.

The variables used in prior equations have the same meaning and

\[ \text{LONGLIKE} = \text{time worker would like to stay in country (weeks)}, \]
\[ \text{PIGS} = \text{no. of pigs owned by family of worker}, \]
\[ \text{GOATS} = \text{no. of goats owned by family of worker}, \]
\[ \text{TWAGE} = \text{total net weekly earnings}. \]

Thus the older a worker was the longer the time he would have preferred to
spend in the country between contracts. Also the larger were the number of
sheep and the size of land cultivated, the greater was the desired period.

The size of the landholding cultivated was of particular significance
(Sign. Level = 0.00) and indicated that for every extra morgen cultivated the
worker desired to spend an additional 3 weeks in the rural area. This
bears out one of the expressed reasons on the part of the workers for
desiring to stay a particular time in the country, namely that they wished
to work on the land. The inclusion of number of sheep in the equation means
that they also wanted to perform some tasks on the sheep.

We can shed some light on factors determining the length of the migrant
workers' visits to the country because some of them explained the reasons
why they actually remained for a specific time period. In most cases they
explained why they had been in the country for an unusually long period.

Two migrant workers had been ill, while four said they could not get a job.
The average length of time (if we exclude an outlier of 4 years) in the
country was 6 months for the job-seekers. Another 7 workers said they had
to wait an average period of 5 months to get their contracts fixed up again.

We thus have direct evidence of unemployment and bureaucratic delays that
kept migrant workers out of jobs.

49. This directly contradicts Orpen's argument that the migratory labour
system encourages the idea "that it is the 'right' of every worker
to have an extended rest-period in his rural home every now and then".
(p.62).
The time period that workers actually spent in the country during their leave or between contracts was unrelated to their legal status. No statistically significant difference could be found between migrant workers and residents. Furthermore, the time workers actually spent in the rural area bore no significant relationship with the time they desired to spend there. The correlation coefficient between the two variables is only 0.163. This shows that there were external constraints operating on the workers which overrode their desired periods in the country. They thus had very little say over this aspect of their lives.

We can therefore conclude that there is no evidence whatsoever to be found for the target worker hypothesis. Far from engaging in cash employment in order to achieve a target income which then enabled them to idle away their time in the country, migrant workers considered wage employment as essential for their own and their dependants' survival. Their return to the country constituted a dual desire to be with their families whom most of them are cut off from for at least 49 weeks in the year and to engage in agricultural production which is the other vital source of their income. Most migrant workers are thus men who are never on leave: they switch from industrial jobs to agricultural work and back to industrial jobs again for the whole of their working lifetime. It is more apt to describe their wage employment as part of a struggle for survival than a means of achieving a target income that enables them to while away their time in the country.

2.16 Homeland Economic Situation and Wages

Does the homeland economic situation influence the wages of workers with homeland ties? There exists a widespread belief that it does, but there is no agreement on how it influences wages. Wolpe maintains that wages can be kept down when migrant workers subsidise their income by means of subsistence production: "When the migrant-labourer has access to means of subsistence, outside the capitalist sector, as he does in South Africa, then the relationship between wages and the cost of the production and reproduction of labour-power is changed. That is to say, capital is able to pay the worker below the cost of his reproduction. In the first place, since in determining the level of wages necessary for the subsistence of the migrant worker and his family, account is taken of the fact that the family is supported, to some extent, from the product of agricultural production in the Reserves, it becomes possible to fix wages at the level of subsistence of the individual worker." 50

The implication of Wolpe's argument is thus clearly that, in the case where the worker's family is engaged in agricultural production, his wage will be set lower than would be the case if his family did not produce any agricultural output.

Lipton disagrees with Wolpe and maintains that the wage level depends upon the bargaining power of the workers: "Wages are not determined by what people 'need' (itself a controversial concept). Wages are determined by the size of the product and the relative strength of workers and employers in securing their share. The disadvantage for blacks is not that they have some land, but that they do not have enough, and that they have not been able to develop it. The possession of this land has strengthened the bargaining power of S.A. blacks ... If they had more land, or its productivity was increased, their bargaining power would be greater. If they had less land (or have a bad harvest) the converse must apply." 51

It was in order to try and shed some light on this controversial question that we performed tests to establish whether rural economic factors influenced the total cash earnings of workers and, if so, how they influenced earnings. The results obtained by us can, of course, not be taken as confirmation or rejection of the historical arguments put forward by Wolpe or Lipton. In order to prove or refute their assertions historical evidence would be required. Our results do however serve as an indication whether Wolpe, Lipton or neither were on the right tracks.

Before presenting the results in detail, we shall give a general impression of our findings by examining briefly the signs of the coefficients of the variables that were found to be significant. A positive coefficient indicates a direct relationship and a negative coefficient an inverse relationship. All the homeland economic factors that were found significant in explaining some of the variation in wages had positive coefficients indicating a direct relationship. Thus the more sheep or goats the family owned or the more bags of maize they cultivated, the higher their wages were likely to be. This suggests that Wolpe's line of reasoning was wrong. Subsistence production does not depress a worker's wages. Instead, it enables him to earn a higher wage. The greater the subsistence income the higher is the wage likely to be. The higher wage is, in our opinion, not due to the fact that the individual worker is subsequently able to bargain for a

higher wage. The inequality of power between an employer and African worker is such that the worker can either accept a going wage or not. Rather, an individual worker is able to hold out for longer in search of a higher wage if he has a higher subsistence income or otherwise he is likely to have had a better education as a result of greater family wealth. This argument holds for individual workers as well as a group of workers. For instance, in a homeland the average wages of workers from an area yielding high subsistence incomes on average are likely to be higher than the wages in an area with poor yields and little livestock, but to speak of bargaining for wages would be wrong because workers are not organised in the homelands and are approached individually by employers.

Let us now consider the results in detail in order to provide some evidence in support of the arguments. The results of backward stepwise regression are summarised by the following equations.

All workers with a homeland tie (155 workers):

\[
\text{TWAGE} = 21,55 + 0,17 \text{SHEEP} + 0,42 \text{EDUCAT} + 0,21 \text{LENGTH}
\]

Sign. level (0,00) (0,00) (0,07) (0,08)

\[R^2 = 10,7%\]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): NORMBAGS, LANDCULT, GOATS, CATTLE, CHICKS, HOURS, AGE, PIGS.

Contract workers with a homeland tie (77 workers):

\[
\text{TWAGE} = 22,18 + 0,39 \text{LENGTH}
\]

Sign. level (0,00) (0,02)

\[R^2 = 5,3%\]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): AGE, GOATS, EDUCAT, NORMBAGS, PIGS, CATTLE (in one model);

SUBSIST, AGE, EDUCAT (in another model).

Illegal workers with a homeland tie (18 workers):

\[
\text{TWAGE} = 14,91 + 0,2 \text{AGE}
\]

Sign. level (0,00) (0,07)

\[R^2 = 13%\]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): LENGTH, GOATS, EDUCAT, PIGS, CATTLE (in one model);

SUBSIST, LENGTH, EDUCAT (in another model).
Borners with a homeland tie (15 workers):

No results.

None of the variables could be retained in the models.

Variables excluded: GOATS, CATTLEQ, PIGS, NORMBAGS, EDUCAT, AGE, LENGTH (in one model);

SUBSIST, EDUCAT, AGE, LENGTH (in another model).

\[ \text{TWAGE} = 0.58 \text{GOATS} + 3.0 \text{NORMBAGS} \] (14)

Sign. level: (0.03) (0.00)

\[ R^2 = 28.9\% \]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): PIGS, CATTLEQ, AGE,

LENGTH, EDUCAT.

\[ \text{TWAGE} = 25.06 + 0.08 \text{SUBSIST} \] (15)

Sign. level: (0.00) (0.09)

\[ R^2 = 4.7\% \]

\[ \text{TWAGE} = 22.9 + 1.15 \text{EDUCAT} \] (16)

Sign. level: (0.00) (0.04)

\[ R^2 = 7.1\% \]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): AGE, LENGTH, SUBSIST.

Variables used in prior equations have the same meaning here and:

NORMBAGS = no. of bags of maize harvested in a normal year,

CHICKS = no. of fowls owned by worker's family,

HOURS = basic no. of hours worked per week,

LENGTH = length of employment at present firm,

CATTLEQ = no. of cattle and sheep (expressed in values equivalent to
cattle) owned by worker's family. On the basis of income
earned from cattle and sheep one head of cattle was calculated
to provide 8.7 times the income derived from a sheep (see
Appendix 3). Therefore CATTLEQ = CATTLE + SHEEP / 8.7.

\[ \text{TWAGE} = \text{total net weekly earnings of worker, TWAGE} = \text{basic weekly wage} + \text{attendance and production bonuses + overtime pay} - \text{Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF)} - \text{compulsory savings} - \text{Industrial Council Administration charge} - \text{PAYE.} \]
Remarkably different results were obtained when workers were separated according to their legal status. When all workers with homeland ties were considered, the number of sheep owned by the worker and his family, the education of the worker and the length of employment at the worker's present firm were all significant in explaining 10.7% of the variation of these workers' net earnings. However, care needs to be taken with the variable SHEEP when deciding the direction of causation. It is likely that workers with a higher wage were able to buy more sheep as an economic investment. It is to be expected that the education level and the length of employment at a firm should determine the wage level, but as can be seen the explanatory power of these variables was extremely low.

Factors influencing the total net earnings of migrant labourers with homeland connections differed according to whether the migrant had a contract or not. The contract labourers' earnings were influenced by their length of employment only, and to a very limited extent ($R^2 = 5.3\%$), while illegal workers' earnings were explained by their age only to a greater but still limited extent ($R^2 = 13\%$). The nature of illegal work is such that it is not surprising that the length of employment had no influence on these workers' earnings.

An important result obtained with both contract and illegal workers was that the subsistence incomes of the workers' families had no bearing whatsoever on their total net earnings (at the 10% significance level). Nor did any of the individual items making up the subsistence income have any significant influence.

No homeland economic variables or any other factors could be found to influence the wage levels of borners with homeland ties. Even when all the borners were considered (52 workers) none of the variables listed in the summary above could explain the wage levels at a 10% significance level. This demonstrates the existence of institutional and political factors that disturb the labour market and override the influence of the usual forces, such as education and length of service, that determine wages.

The 10(1)b workers provided a complete contrast. Although they are also permanent residents of Cape Town the number of goats owned by their families and the normal number of bags of maize harvested together explained 28.9% of the variation in their wages. It is not clear why goats rather than sheep or cattle should be a significant variable. What is more, they
were the only workers for whom the subsistence income was found to be a significant variable in explaining wages, but only 4.7% of the variation of wages could be explained (Equation (15)). Its explanatory power was so low that it was excluded in a model where AGE, LENGTH and EDUCAT were included (Equation (16)). EDUCAT was retained in that model, but also with such a low explanatory power ($R^2 = 7.1\%$) that it was excluded again when GOATS and NORMBAGS were included in another model (Equation (14)).

In conclusion it appears that there were no variables either amongst the economic factors of the homeland or the usual factors of industrial employment that influenced the total net earnings of all the workers with homeland ties regardless of their legal status. Instead, different variables were found to be influential with workers of different legal statuses. On the few instances that homeland economic variables were found to be significant, they had a positive influence on the wage levels. This would suggest that Wolpe's reasoning is wrong in that individual workers with more resources in the homelands were able to obtain jobs with higher wages. But we do not agree entirely with Lipton either that bargaining power enters into the picture. Workers with homeland economic resources do not bargain for higher wages with their employers. Instead, the 10(1)b workers who have permanent residence rights in the urban area are at an advantage over the contract and illegal workers. Their legal advantage gives them the opportunity to wait and search out better paid jobs. The more capable their homeland dependants are to provide for themselves, the greater is the worker's opportunity to carry out the search. In addition, continued residence of a considerable period in the Cape Town area could mean that the 10(1)b workers become better informed about jobs and have better connections to obtain these jobs. It is thus likely that a set of interrelated legal and institutional factors account for the positive influence of homeland economic resources on the wages of 10(1)b workers in Cape Town.

2.17 Remittances to Homelands

Remittances sent by workers' in Cape Town to dependants in homelands are of vital importance to the dependants. Often the presence or absence of this remittance makes the difference between whether a child is suffering from malnutrition or not.\(^{52}\) We therefore examined the pattern of

\(^{52}\) Trudi Thomas (1973), p.11.
remittances in order to establish which factors determined the size of remittances sent to homeland dependants.

We enquired from workers with homeland ties how much money they sent home and how frequently they did so. We received 140 clear responses which indicated that the average monthly remittance was R15.27 (± R14.13). Table 31 provides a cumulative percentage of distribution of remittances. At least 5% of workers sent home no remittances whatsoever. 34% sent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Remittance</th>
<th>Percentage sending up to and including this Remittance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 2.67</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 5.33</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 8.00</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R10.67</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R16.00</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R24.00</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R32.00</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R48.00</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 140

home R8.00 or less monthly. More than half (54%) sent no more than R10.67 per month while only 11% remitted more than R32.00 each month.

The accuracy of this table is not high because many workers did not send home regular monthly sums. Rather, they sent home money in case of emergencies or special occasions. Table 31 therefore shows approximate estimates of monthly remittances rather than completely accurate figures.

In spite of the lack of accuracy, we believe that the figures are of the right order and we tried to determine the factors that influenced the amount remitted monthly by means of backward stepwise regression. The results are summarised below:
All workers with a homeland tie (155 workers):

\[ \text{REMIT} = 7.36 + 2.41 \text{ HOMEDEP} \]  
Sign. level (0.00) (0.00)  
\[ R^2 = 14\% \]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): \text{CAPERAT, TWAGE, HOMERAT, CAPEDEP, SUBSIST} (in one model);  
\text{CAPERAT, SUBUNIT, HOMERAT, CAPEDEP} (in another model).

Contract workers with a homeland tie (77 workers):

\[ \text{REMIT} = 11.0 + 2.16 \text{ HOMERAT} \]  
Sign. level (0.00) (0.01)  
\[ R^2 = 6.7\% \]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion) \text{CAPERAT, HOMEDEP, CAPEDEP, SUBSIST, TWAGE} (in one model);  
\text{HOMEDEP, CAPERAT, SUBUNIT, CAPEDEP} (in another model).

Illegal workers with a homeland tie (18 workers):

\[ \text{REMIT} = 1.58 \text{ HOMERAT} \]  
Sign. level (0.09)  
\[ R^2 = 11.9\% \]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): \text{HOMEDEP, TWAGE, CAPEDEP, CAPERAT SUBSIST} (in one model);  
\text{HOMEDEP, SUBUNIT, CAPEDEP, CAPERAT} (in another model).

BornerS with a homeland tie (15 workers):

No results.

None of the variables could be retained in the model.

10(1)b workers with a homeland tie (42 workers):

\[ \text{REMIT} = 5.76 + 1.8 \text{ HOMEDEP} \]  
Sign. level (0.01) (0.00)  
\[ R^2 = 17.2\% \]

Variables excluded (in order of exclusion): \text{SUBSIST, CAPEDEP, HOMERAT, TWAGE, CAPERAT} (in one model);  
\text{CAPEDEP, SUBUNIT, HOMERAT, CAPERAT} (in another model).
Variables defined before have the same meaning and

\[ \text{REMIT} = \text{average monthly remittance}, \]

\[ \text{HOMEDEP} = \text{number of homeland dependents of worker with each dependent weighted according to his or her relative cost to maintain.}^{53} \]

Relative weights

- Adult (not school-going) = 1
- Adult (school-going) = 1.2
- Child (not school-going) = 0.4
- Child (school-going) = 0.5

\[ \text{HOMERAT} = \frac{\text{HOMEDEP}}{\text{no. of homeland workers in family}} \]

\[ \text{CAPEDEP} = \text{no. of Cape Town dependents of worker with each dependent weighted according to his or her relative cost to maintain.} \]

\[ \text{CAPERAT} = \frac{\text{CAPEDEP}}{\text{no. of Cape Town workers in family}} \]

\[ \text{SUBUNIT} = \text{subsistence income per unit homeland dependent.} \]

The most striking feature of these equations is that the monthly remittance sent home was either a function of the number of homeland dependents or of the ratio of homeland dependents to the number of workers in the homeland family. This clearly shows that the size of the remittances depend upon the need of the workers' homeland dependents.

Only when the migrant workers, whether with or without contracts, were considered separately did the remittance depend upon the ratio of dependents to workers (Equations (18) and (19)). This might reflect a closer contact of the migrants with the homeland situation in that they were not only aware of how many dependents there were, but also how many other breadwinners were also providing an income. On the other hand, the 10(1)b workers, having been away from the homeland for many years, were only aware of the number of dependents without realising how much money was flowing in from the other breadwinners in the family (Equation (20)). At the other extreme, no significant variables could be found to explain the size of the remittances sent by the borers with homeland ties.

\[ \text{53. See Appendix 4 for a detailed description on how this was done.} \]
It is also noteworthy that neither the wage level nor the total subsistence income nor the subsistence income per dependant had any bearing on the size of the remittances. This would suggest that the subsistence production was not meeting the economic requirements of the homeland families because the workers did not take this income into consideration when sending home remittances. Furthermore, the number of Cape Town dependants and the ratio of Cape Town dependants to workers did not affect the size of the remittances. Thus even though workers had Cape Town dependants, they did not lessen his awareness of the requirements of homeland dependants.

2.18 Summary of Rural Situation

We have already summarised our findings on the employment situation in section 1.8 (see pp.27-8). In this section we therefore only summarise the results of the homeland situation. The policy implications we suggest in the next section however pertain to the complete survey.

It is clear that workers and their homeland families have very little land available for cultivation and own small quantities of livestock. Four-fifths of all the workers with homeland ties either had 3 morgens or less to cultivate, or owned at most 6 head of cattle or 9 sheep. The lack of agricultural resources also tended to coincide: 71% of the families that had no land to cultivate also owned no cattle while 81% of the families without any sheep did not own any cattle either. This is reflected in their subsistence income derived from maize cultivation and keeping livestock: 90% derived less than R48 per month from their subsistence income. Furthermore, no less than a quarter of the homeland families had no subsistence income at all. This distribution indicates why the homeland families in our survey were dependent on the workers' wages.

Factors influencing the size and proportion of land cultivated, the maize yield, the number of cattle and sheep owned and the wages of workers with homeland ties were all found to be closely interrelated. It was therefore difficult to sort out causes and effects from each other because variables might have had a mutual effect on each other or they might have been correlated to yet another variable that influenced all of them simultaneously.

Certain variables tended to cluster together and were directly related to each other. We found that the size of land cultivated, maize yield, number
of school-going children, number of cattle and sheep, the educational level of the worker and his wage were all positively related to each other. A worker cultivating much land, obtaining a high yield, owning a lot of sheep and cattle would also earn a relatively high wage, be more educated and have more children at school. Likewise, a worker cultivating little land obtained a low maize yield, would own few sheep and cattle and also earn a relatively low wage and have few children at school. These interrelated variables can be considered to represent the wealth of a homeland family. A family with relatively more wealth would have an advantage over a poorer family and be in a position to maintain the differential between them.

Therefore either a virtuous or vicious circle appears to be in operation. A relatively better off family is fortunate enough to have the resources to reproduce its wealth whereas a poor family lacks the wherewithall to get out of the vicious cycle of poverty.

Whether this situation would continue is an open question because we also found that the absence of adult males and females from the land adversely affected the maize yield. The greater the number of wage-earning adults who were not working in the fields, the lower was the maize yield. Thus inadequate human resources also turned out to be a constraint on greater agricultural productivity. In this respect, our finding therefore confirms other research which has found that not only inadequate financial and capital resources, but also inadequate human resources, are all responsible for the low agricultural productivity in the Ciskei and Transkei.

A difference emerged between the factors determining the number of sheep and cattle owned by homeland families. Sheep appear to be considered an economic investment on the part of families because a very strong correlation exists between the number of sheep owned and the wage of the worker suggesting that cash earnings are invested more readily in sheep than in cattle. On the other hand the importance of cattle in the culture of the people appears to be so strong that it over-shadows the purely economic role of cattle.

The role of the labour bureaux in the homelands as a source of information about employment opportunities in Cape Town was very small with only 17% of migrant labourers relying on the labour bureaux to place them in their jobs. Instead, they relied on their own sources of information, such as family or friends, or they visited the firms themselves. Nonetheless 70% of the migrant workers in our survey first obtained their contracts in the homelands
which indicates that the contract labour system is reasonably effectively controlling the movement of migrant labourers. That the system is not working completely efficiently is indicated by the fact that 19% of the contract workers only obtained their contracts after they had already worked illegally for their firms. The necessities of life often drive migrant labourers to be law breakers in order to provide for their family dependants.

The average period that migrants returned to the homelands was found to be of short duration. Fifty per cent returned for three weeks while almost 80% spent no more than two months on their previous return to the homeland. While most of them expressed a desire to be with their family or to work on the fields and homesteads, many also stated that they could not stay longer for fear of losing their jobs or because they needed the earnings derived from wage employment. We found no evidence of the target worker who worked until he had achieved a certain savings target. Instead, a picture emerged of people intensively working in wage employment and subsistence production in order to ensure their own and their families' survival.

To bear this out further we found that remittances sent to the rural areas were proportional to the number of dependants in the rural areas. The greater the number of dependants, the more money was sent home on average, regardless of the wage level of the worker.

The overall picture to emerge from our survey is thus of people adapting as best they could to the economic problems, legal limitations and institutional barriers confronting them. Can anything be done by those in authority to help African workers overcome their heavy burden? This is what we consider in the following section.
3.0 Policy Suggestions for Those in Authority

In order to enable African workers to lead lives in which they can ultimately develop their full human potential, certain policy changes by those in authority would be of great assistance to them. We therefore make some suggestions of policy changes that would help to eliminate the problems of African workers that our survey revealed.

Low wages, occupations clustered in the unskilled categories and extensive unresolved grievances of workers indicate the complete inadequacy of the present industrial system for African workers. Liaison and works committees have both been found to be inadequate in solving workers' grievances and increasing their wages. In addition they play an incongruous role when it comes to fixing wages since many wages are regulated by Industrial Councils and the Wage Board. The exclusion of Africans from direct representation on the Industrial Councils also means that they are discriminated against occupationally because many jobs are reserved exclusively for trade union members. We therefore suggest that African workers should be granted the same negotiating rights accorded to White, 'Coloured' and Asian workers, i.e. Africans should be allowed to have registered trade unions. The crucial aspect of granting Africans trade union rights is that their bargaining power would increase commensurate with that of other registered unions which would enable them to represent African workers' interests adequately.

We do not think that collective bargaining rights alone would be adequate in solving African workers' low wages and unskilled occupations. Given the existence of high African unemployment we can expect low wages to result even if they were granted registered unions. The unemployment appears to be structured rather than just cyclical and the result of the present recession. This is because African unemployment was very high even during recent booms in the South African economy and because it has been rising in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the total labour force since the Second World War. It is therefore of immense importance that the authorities should conduct an intensive investigation to determine what the structural factors are that are generating the ever growing African unemployment.

54. Estimates of current African unemployment range from about 1 to 1½ million. See J. Knight (1976), Table 15; P.J. van der Merwe (1976), p.55.
55. J. Knight (1976), Table 14 p.37 and p.38.
Once the causes of African unemployment have been pinpointed the authorities should then seriously embark on a policy of dismantling those legal, institutional and political factors that are responsible for structural unemployment. For instance, we suspect that the industrial colour bar which has effectively retained skilled occupations in the hands of Whites and some privileged 'Coloured' and Asian workers has, at times, acted as a restraint on economic growth. Thereby the occupational advancement of African workers and their increased employment resulting from faster economic growth had been prevented. Even before such an investigation is completed, local and national authorities could devise employment strategies for African workers such as labour-intensive housing programmes and investment in the infra-structural requirements of African townships and rural areas.56

Grossly inadequate subsistence incomes for migrant workers' families in the homelands, the ineffectiveness of the labour bureaux as sources of information about employment opportunities, and the substantial proportion of workers who, either singly or with their wives and children, come to work illegally in Cape Town at the risk of being caught and fined or imprisoned, all serve to indicate that the government must seriously rethink their residential policies for Africans in the area. With growing populations in the Ciskei and Transkei it is most likely that the per capita subsistence income of homeland families will fall even further. This falling trend could be partially offset by raising agricultural productivity, but there are limits to which this could be done.

The only logical solution to the problem is to allow African labourers from the rural areas to settle permanently at their place of work and to allow them to bring their families with them. Such a change in policy will put even more pressure on the housing requirements especially family housing needs. However, this is not an unbridgeable problem as the housing need can be supplied with careful planning and co-ordination. One plan suggests that African workers should be granted family accommodation by stages starting with those Africans who are most qualified in legal terms to reside permanently in Cape Town and ending with those who are least qualified.57

A change in attitude to squatter housing on the part of both local and national authorities to see squatter accommodation as part of a solution rather than part of a problem will also help to alleviate the pressure on family housing.58

58. Ibid., pp.62-70, 73-77.
Such changes in policy cannot be brought about without changing the influx control regulations and laws as well. We are well aware of this and also of the fact that this would imply a fundamental change in the government's policy towards migrant labour. In the Western Cape where the Coloured employment preference policy exists, this is an even more fundamental change. In spite of this we stand by our policy suggestions. We have not come to them lightly and we believe that they are essential if we hope to eventually have a just and peaceful society free from potential or actual deep-seated conflict.
APPENDIX I

Statistical Practices and Explanations

Averages and Standard Deviations

"Average" is used to indicate the arithmetic mean. The standard deviation of the mean, when provided, is given in rounded brackets after each average: thus 41(+ 13) years mean the arithmetic mean is 41 and the standard deviation is 13 years. The standard deviation indicates the dispersion of values about the mean: 68% of the sample values lie within one standard deviation on either side of the mean when the distribution is normal. When the distribution is not normal at least 75% of the sample values lie within 2 standard deviations on either side of the mean.


Contingency Tables

A Chi square ($X^2$) test was used throughout to test the significance of the influence of the variables on each other in the two-way tables. A confidence level of 0.01 implies that there is a 99% probability that the influence is significant. The percentage is calculated as follows:

\[(1,0 - 0,01) \times 100 = 0,99 \times 100 = 99\%
\]

Thus a confidence level of 0.05 gives a 95% probability that the influence is significant.

Backward Stepwise Regression

Backward stepwise regression is a technique employed in multiple regression to end up with a final equation containing only significant variables. It works as follows: significance levels are determined for the inclusion and the exclusion of variables. Computations then commence with all the variables included in the multiple regression. Thereupon a step by step regression is performed each time excluding that variable found to be least significant. A variable that was excluded at an earlier stage, but is found to have become significant again due to the exclusion of other variables can be included in the equation again at a later stage. The procedure is terminated when all the variables remaining in the multiple regression are significant, i.e. their significance levels lie above the significance level of the exclusion level.
In all the backward stepwise regressions performed the inclusion and exclusion significance levels were set at 0.10, i.e. the 90% significance level.

**Significance Level**

The significance level (abbreviated to sign. level) indicates the degree of certainty with which we can conclude that the estimated coefficient in the regression equation does not represent a population coefficient that is equal to zero. The notation used is similar to the one employed for representing the confidence level in contingency tables. A significance level of 0.01 thus means there is a 99% probability that the population's coefficient is not equal to zero.

The significance level is derived from the t value for the coefficient by establishing what the probability is that the particular t value with the appropriate degrees of freedom would be obtained if the distribution of the t value is symmetrical around the origin.

**The Coefficient of Determination**, $R^2$, which is the square of the coefficient of multiple correlation, indicates the proportion of variation in the dependent variable that can be explained by the independent variables in the multiple regression equation. In all cases $R^2$ is corrected for degrees of freedom.
APPENDIX 2

Division of Ciskei and Transkei into Regions based on Climate and Veld Types

This was done by consulting four geographical maps covering the Ciskei and Transkei. The maps were on temperature and rainfall, topography, economic agriculture and Veld Types (J.H.P. Acocks). We found that various characteristics often coincided for the same regions although it was impossible to make watertight divisions between districts. Nonetheless, we felt satisfied that each region had a fair number of distinct characteristics. The five groups we divided the districts into are the following:

Group 1: High subtropical summer rainfall (40 to 60 inches);
Coastal Region; Coastal Forest and Thornveld or Ngongoni Veld (Acocks).
Transkei
Bizana, Lusikisiki, Port S. John, Ngqelina, Mqanduli, Elliotdale, Willowvale, Kentani.

Group 2: Good, temperate warmer summer rainfall (25 to 40 inches);
Thornveld Regions of Transkei (and Ciskei); Valley Bushveld, Eastern Province Thornveld or False Thornveld (Acocks).
Transkei
Tabankulu, Libode, Umtata, Idutywa, Butterworth.
Ciskei
Keiskammahoek, Middledrift, Victoria East, Peddie, Alice.

Group 3: Same climatic region as Group 2, but Townships.
Ciskei
Mdantsane, Zwelitsha.

Group 4: Good, temperate colder summer rainfall (25 to 40 inches);
Diversified Farming Regions east of the mountain range;
Highveld Sourveld and Dohne Sourveld (Acocks).
Transkei
Umzimkulu (partially belongs to Group 2), Mount Ayliff, Mount Fletcher, Mataliele, Flagstaff, Mount Frere, Qumbu, Tsolo, Engcobo, Ngamakwa, Tsomo, St. Marks, Xalanga, Glen Grey (partially belongs to Group 5).
Group 5: (Slightly Uneasy Partners). Low, temperate colder summer rainfall (15 to 25 inches); Grazing Regions of the Eastern Mountain Range; Themeda-Festucæ Alpine Veld or Cymbopogon-Themeda Veld (Herschel), Dry Cymbogen-Themeda Veld or Karroid Danthonia Mountain Veld (Whittlesea), (Acocks).

Transkei
Herschel
Ciskei
Whittlesea.
APPENDIX 3

Estimation of Monthly Income Flow from Subsistence Production

Gill Westcott kindly provided us with estimations of the monthly income derived from the ownership of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and chickens. They are based on research she carried out in the Tsolo district of the Transkei at the same time we were conducting our survey. The calculation of income from maize is our own, based on 1976 prices obtained from the Cape Town Maize Board.

Cattle
The value of cattle in planting and scoffling is contained in the value of output of maize.
The value of milk was based on finding 34 out of 106 cattle were milk cows each yielding an average of 1.4 litres per day. In terms of town cash, at 20 cents a litre, and assuming milk is got for 250 days a year, the income per cow is R70 per year or R5.83 per month.
Therefore average value of milk per universal "cattle"
\[
= R \frac{5.83 \times 34}{106} = R1.87 \text{ per month}
\]
Cattle are infrequently sold or slaughtered. In normal times, annual deaths and slaughterings amount on average to about 10-14% of the stock population.
Hence average lifetime of one head of cattle is about 8 years.
Average sale value of cattle, Dec. 1975, about R120.
Therefore average value of cattle from sale or slaughter  = \( \frac{R120}{8} = R15 \text{ p.a.} 
\]
\( = R1.25 \text{ per month} \)
Total value of cattle = R1.87 + R1.25 = R3.12 per month.

Sheep
Approximately 0.2 bags of wool per sheep per year at R4.20 per bag yields 84c. Slaughter after about seven years at R25 a sheep yields approximately R3.50 per annum.
Therefore total income derived from sheep is R4.34 p.a. or 36 cents per month.

Goats
Slaughter after about 12 years at R24 equals R2.00 p.a. or 17 cents per month.
Pigs
Pigs are slaughtered once a year at R20 each less cost of feeding, R10. Therefore net value of pig is R10 p.a. or 83 cents per month.

Chickens
272 fowls were found to include 147 laying hens laying 104 eggs per day. Laying hens give 0.71 eggs per day at 3 cents each for 255 days per annum, equals R5.41 p.a. Less feed at R1,00 per annum net revenue from laying hens equals R4.41 p.a.

Fowls to eat are slaughtered at 6 months for R1.50 each, i.e. R3.00 p.a. Less feed at R1.00 p.a. net revenue from slaughtered fowls equals R2.00 p.a. Therefore income per chicken

\[ \frac{R \times (272 - 147)}{272} + \frac{R \times 4,41 \times 147}{272} \]

\[ = R(0.92 + 2.38) = R3.3 \text{ p.a.} \]

\[ = 28 \text{ cents per month.} \]

Maize
Selling price of highest grade R52.30 per ton

\[ = 5.16 \text{ per 200 lb. bag including price of bag.} \]

Assume a 20% mark-up by stores in homelands

Therefore selling price of bag

\[ = R6.20 \text{ per annum} \]

\[ = 0.52 \text{ cents per month.} \]
APPENDIX 4

Weighting of Dependents

In deciding to send money home, the size of the remittance might depend upon the most basic needs of the household and the worker is well aware of the needs of his family members. We therefore differentiated between the basic needs of school-going and non-school-going adults and children.

The method we employed in doing this, was, first to establish the monthly cost based on actual expenditure of children in different age groups and of adults. The expenditure figures were obtained from KwaZulu homeland families living under similar circumstances to the dependants of our survey. In the case of food the cost of the minimum nutritional requirements for each age group was calculated. Then from Population Census age distribution figures a weighted average was calculated for school-going and non-school-going children respectively. This enabled us to obtain the four relative weights we desired. Below, we provide details of our calculations.

Table 32 shows the monthly cost of expenditure on basic necessities in life for children in different age groups and adults. The expenditure pattern is based on a homeland situation (KwaZulu) and is therefore more applicable to homeland dependents than Cape Town dependants. It provides the total monthly costs with and without education.
TABLE 32. Monthly Cost of Basic Necessities of Life for Adults and children at 1975 prices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Age (years)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>18 upwards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food 1</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>7.71</td>
<td>9.90</td>
<td>15.18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing 3</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and light 4</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleansing and Toilet 5</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport 6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax 7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Maintenance 8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replacement of Household effects 8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rituals 9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total without education</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>11.98</td>
<td>15.76</td>
<td>32.81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education 10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total with education</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>17.48</td>
<td>22.76</td>
<td>40.48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Cost of food is based on minimum nutritional requirements as specified in Hubbard (1972), p.46, Table 3-15.
2. Male and female food requirements are different. A weighted figure was reached by assuming the ratio of female to male is 2:1.
3. Clarke and Ngobese (1975), pp.70-1. They estimated children's clothing needs as follows:
   Children 0 - 4 years need \( \frac{1}{4} \) of adult female budget,
   Children 5 - 9 years need \( \frac{1}{2} \) of adult female budget,
   Children 10 - 15 years need \( \frac{3}{4} \) of adult female budget.
4. Ibid., p.74. It was assumed that individuals' fuel requirements are needed in the same proportion as their food requirements.
5. Ibid., p.75. It was assumed that individuals' cleansing requirements are needed in the same proportion as their clothing requirements.
6. Ibid., p.82; 7. Ibid., p.80; 8. Ibid., p.77; 9. Ibid., p.91; 10. Ibid., pp.84-5.
The next step was to find the average cost per child by taking a weighted average based on age distribution figures for the Ciskei and Transkei obtained from the 1970 Population Census. 59

Weighted average cost of child \[= \frac{N_1C_1 + N_2C_2 + N_3C_3}{N_1 + N_2 + N_3} \]

where \(N_i\) = no. of children in ith age group, \(C_i\) = cost of child

Therefore average cost of child without education

\[= R\left(\frac{(332 \times 340 \times 8.26) + (348 \times 220 \times 11.98) + (331 \times 620 \times 15.76)}{332 \times 340 + 348 \times 220 + 331 \times 620}\right)\]

\[= R12,00\]

Likewise average cost of child with education

\[= R16,18\]

Finally the relative weightings of the 4 groups could be derived from the monthly cost of maintaining each group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Monthly Cost</th>
<th>Weighted Factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult (not school-going)</td>
<td>R32,81</td>
<td>1,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (school-going)</td>
<td>R40,48</td>
<td>1,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child (not school-going)</td>
<td>R12,00</td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (school-going)</td>
<td>R16,18</td>
<td>0,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59. Department of Statistics (1973), Report No. 02-02-02
APPENDIX 5
Questionnaire Used in Survey

November, 1975

Interviewer .............
Date of Interview ......
Starting time .........

REFUSALS

Place Reason

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

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

1. Are you a member of the Advice Bureau?
(1) Yes
(2) No, but have heard of it
(3) No, have not heard of it
(4) Used to be

2. Where are you working at present?
If you are not working, where was your last job?
and how did your job end?

3. Does your firm have
(1) Works Committee
(2) Liaison Committee
(3) No Committee
(4) Don't know
(5) Any other committee
(explain) .................

Do you serve on the committee?
(1) Yes
(2) No
(3) Not applicable

4. What are your problems in connection with work?
(Please list the problems starting with the most important and ending with the least important)

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5. Whom do you take your problems to? .................................................................

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6. Has the above person(s) helped to solve your problems?
   (1) Yes
   (2) No
   (3) Still waiting
   (4) Don't know
   (5) Not applicable

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

7. Please list all jobs held for a period up to 15 years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Type of Industry</th>
<th>Date of Engagement</th>
<th>Date of Leaving</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
8. Are you?  
(1) Contract worker with a contract (amajoin)  
(2) Contract worker in the area illegally  
(3) Permanent resident by birth (borner)  
(4) Permanent resident through continuous employment for 10 years or 15 years legal residence in Cape Town, (10(1)b)  
(5) Intending to qualify for permanent residence through 10 years continuous employment.

9. (Not for borners)  
For how many years have you worked away from your home in the country? ..........  

(Questions 10, 11 and 12 not for borners or men with Section 10(1)b rights)

10. How did you know that there was a job for you at your present firm?  
(1) Through friends  
(2) Through family  
(3) Came to see firm in town  
(4) Went to labour bureau in homeland  
(5) Recruited by firm in homeland  
(6) Other means  
(explain) ..............................................  
.........................................................

11. How did you get your first contract with your present firm?  
(1) At the labour bureau in homeland before starting work  
(2) At the labour bureau in homeland after starting work  
(3) In town before starting work  
(4) In town after working at the firm  
(5) Other methods  
(explain) ..............................................  
.........................................................

12. If contract at present employer has been renewed, how was this done?  
(1) Job was fixed up before returning to homeland  
(2) Contract was renewed without returning to homeland  
(3) Got the job again at the labour bureau in homeland  
(4) Was recruited again by the firm in the homeland  
(5) Other methods  
(explain) ..............................................  
.........................................................
HOMELAND SITUATION

13. When you go on leave, or when your contract expires, how long would you like to stay at your home in the country?

14. Why would you like to stay this length of time?

15. Last time you went home, how long did you stay?

16. Does your family have any land to cultivate in the homeland?
   (1) Yes
   (2) No
   (3) Don't know
   If yes: How much? .......... How much of this land is usually cultivated? ...........

17. Does your family own any livestock? ..... How many
   Chickens ...... goats ...... sheep ......
   cattle ...... pigs ...... others (specify) ......

18. If you were living in the homeland, for how long could you and your family live off what you produce?

19. Do you send money home?
   If yes: How frequently? .......... How much (average)? ............

20. Last time you sent money home, how much did you send home?
PRESENT EMPLOYMENT

21. What is your official occupation? .................................................................
What is your real job? .................................................................
Explain the work you do .................................................................

22. How long does it take to learn your job? .................................................................

23. How many hours do you work per week (total) ......................................................
How much of this is overtime? ......................................................
Why do or don't you work overtime? ......................................................

24. What is your basic weekly wage? .................................................................
What is your total weekly wage including overtime, bonus and so on? ......................................................

25. What weekly wage would you like to earn? .................................................................

26. Do you have annual leave? Yes/No/ Don't know
If yes
(1) How long is it? ......................................................
(2) Do you get paid during your annual leave .........
(3) At what rate? ......................................................

27. Does your firm provide any of the following?
(1) Accommodation Yes/No/ Don't know
(2) Medical assistance (other than compulsory Workman's Compensation) Yes/No/ Don't know
(3) Pension Scheme or Retirement Fund Yes/No/ Don't know
(4) Paid sick leave Yes/No/ Don't know
(5) Free firm transport Yes/No/ Don't know
(6) Transport subsidy (other than compulsory contributions to Worker transport Levy) Yes/No/ Don't know
(7) Free Meals Yes/No/ Don't know
(8) Any other benefits (specify) .................................................................

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTITUDES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28. Are there Coloured workers at work with you?  Yes/No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If yes: do you discuss things with them?  Yes/No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give examples</td>
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<td>29. Would you help Coloured workers to improve their work situation?  Yes/No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Why?</td>
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<td>30. Do you think Coloured workers would help you to improve your work</td>
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<tr>
<td>situation?  Yes/No/Don't know</td>
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<tr>
<td>Why?</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. How much do you think Management cares about you?</td>
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<td>(1) Very much</td>
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<td>(2) Quite a lot</td>
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<tr>
<td>(3) So-so</td>
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<td>(4) Very little</td>
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<td>(5) Not at all</td>
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<tr>
<td>What makes you say this?</td>
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<td>32. How well do you get on with your foreman?</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1) Very well</td>
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<td>(2) Quite well</td>
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<tr>
<td>(3) So-so</td>
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<tr>
<td>(4) Very badly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Not at all</td>
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<td>What makes you say this?</td>
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<td>33. What race is the foreman?</td>
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34. What do you think workers like yourself should do to improve their work situation?

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35. Do you belong to any organisation or group where the purpose is to improve your work situation?

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PERSONAL DETAILS

36. Dependents (people why rely on your income for a living)
Please write in the Relationship, Age, and Home; tick one of the others

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Working Part-time</th>
<th>Not Working</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Home</th>
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37. Have you been to school?
(1) No
(2) Yes - school standard reached?

38. Have you any special training?

39. How old are you?

If interview is during the day-time on a weekday - why is the worker not at work now?

Place of interview

Finishing time
REFERENCES

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Clarke, L. and Ngobese, J. (1975), Women Without Men (Institute for Black Research, Durban).


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