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COMMENT 1: CAPE TOWN'S WORKERS

This edition of the *Bulletin* deals mainly with labour in the Western Cape - more particularly the Peninsula - and gives cause for considerable concern to those whose sympathies lie with the labour movement. It shows, too, that the structure of the labour force in the region is different from that which obtains in the other major industrialised areas of our country.

The principle difference is that in the Peninsula African workers, who predominate in other metropolitan areas, are a small minority and constitute less than one-seventh of the region's work force. The Peninsula is the only economic region in the Republic where Africans are numerically marginal, although the docks, the breweries, building, agriculture and fragments of transport, both public and private, depend rather heavily upon Africans to supply certain of their labour requirements.

Industrially the Peninsula is notable because certain low-wage industries - clothing, food and textiles, for example - provide employment on a larger scale than they do elsewhere in the Republic's principal urban areas. Moreover, in these industries women are a significant fraction, in some instances the majority, of the labour force. In South Africa sexual discrimination in employment is as pronounced as racial discrimination (sometimes more pronounced) and low wages are entrenched. Where sexual *and* racial discrimination combine very low wages result.

However, it is in the field of labour organisation that the picture is really depressing. White trade unions, as Altman shows, are facing severe leadership crises and their membership is on the decline as white workers move up the occupational hierarchy into white-collar, supervisory, and managerial jobs. While about a third of the 'coloured' workers are unionised, Lewis indicates that these are, in the main, skilled workers, the artisans and craftsmen. The mass of unskilled and many semi-skilled 'coloured' workers are completely unorganised. It is true that some unions like the Textile Workers' Union and the Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province incorporate both skilled and unskilled workers. However, the latter - the largest 'mixed' union in the country - is enduring a stormy

struggle at the moment. An Action Committee is accusing the leadership, especially the general secretary, of not adequately representing the interests of rank and file members. As a result, it is challenging the entrenched leadership in a bid to wrest power from them.

As far as African workers are concerned, Horner shows that only about 8% of the African workforce in the Peninsula belong to the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau. This is a very small proportion and therefore makes the Advice Bureau very vulnerable even though its organisational structure shows many pleasing characteristics: it is a democratic organisation, independent of management and state control and it seeks to provide training for members.

Not only is worker organisation in the Cape Peninsula in a very unsatisfactory state, but there are also divisions within the working class as Lewis and Graaff both indicate. While these cleavages run along racial lines it is not sufficient to try and find explanations for this purely in terms of racism. Political, institutional and ideological factors along with the different roles workers play in the production process as a result of occupational stratification, all contribute to the divisions within the working class.

Finally, the review by Simkins indicates that a large number of the Cape Peninsula's workers are either homeless or very inadequately housed. To add to their discomfort the local authorities are unsympathetic to squatters while the Bantu Affairs Administration Board subjects African squatters to severe harassment because they do not have the right stamp in their reference books. This prevents many husbands and wives from living together in peace.

Historically, the situation in the Cape Peninsula shows that worker organisation has made very little progress Cape Town is the cradle of the first trade union founded in South Africa and the Industrial and Commercial Union also saw its birth in Cape Town. In spite of this long tradition some workers are still faced with inefficient and undemocratic leadership while many are not unionised at all. Much remains to be done.

COMMENT 2: DETENTION OF WESTERN PROVINCE WORKERS' ADVICE BUREAU MEMBERS

On Thursday morning, 2nd September, 1976, police and Special Branch detained 5 members of the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau under the General Law Amendment Act. According to a report in *Die Burger* the following morning, one of the detainees, Mr Luke (Storey) Mazwembe, was found dead in his cell by the police during a routine cell-visit a few hours after his detention. According to the police, he had torn the blankets in his cell into strips with which he hanged himself.

Elsewhere in the *Bulletin* we publish a press release by the Board of Trustees of the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau and we extend our heartfelt condolences to the next of kin of Storey Mazwembe.

These detentions and death call for further comment: in the first place, it is vitally important that the cause of death must be established beyond any shadow of doubt. This is the 25th death in detention while people have been under the direct supervision of the police! Secondly, we condemn these actions against a worker organisation that, ironically, encouraged workers to form registered works committees which are entirely government instituted bodies. Once again the state appears to be seeking to destroy African worker organisation in the country. But such and other worker organisations are indispensable if we are to institutionalise conflict in our torn and divided society and wish to avoid a violent and bloody conflict in the future. By these actions we believe the state is itself provoking future unrest and violent conflict.

THE PEOPLE AND WORKERS OF THE CAPE PENINSULA: A SKETCH

by Delia Hendrie
and
Dudley Horner

INTRODUCTION

Our intention in this article is to provide a brief, descriptive outline of the population of the Cape Peninsula with special emphasis on the working population. The Peninsula, or Economic Region 01 in statistical terminology, consists of the four magisterial districts of Bellville, The Cape, Simonstown and Wynberg. It falls within the winter rainfall area and is one of the principal metropolitan areas of the Republic. It has rather special demographic characteristics which distinguish it from other economic regions and, indeed, from the other principal urban areas.

The ethnocentric approach of the present government, embodied mainly in the Population Registration Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, dictates that we present our material according to rigid racial categories. In some respects this sort of presentation reflects certain historical realities of population distribution: unpleasant realities which have been re-inforced and even exacerbated by the relentless prosecution of a particular population policy over many years.

We have employed data from the 1970 population census throughout, amplifying it where we could from other sources. It is true that the population census has been subjected to valid criticism but it is reliable enough for the broad- brush sketch which we are providing here.

THE POPULATION OF THE PENINSULA

Table No. 1 compares the population of the Peninsula with that of the Republic. It shows that in 1970, one person in 20, or five percent of the population of the Republic, were living in the Peninsula. However, a

TABLE NO. 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF THE PENINSULA AND SOUTH AFRICA BY RACE AND SEX

Race	Region	Sex	Age Groups			
			0 - 14	15 - 64	65 +	Total
African	Peninsula[1]	Male	13 847	56 602	918	71 367
		Female	13 913	21 864	734	36 511
		TOTAL	27 760	78 466	1 652	107 878
	Republic	Male	3 182 660	3 970 200	234 480	7 387 340
		Female	3 225 660	4 109 280	314 080	7 649 020
		TOTAL	6 408 320	8 079 480	548 560	15 036 360
Asian	Peninsula	Male	2 280	3 510	170	5 960
		Female	2 080	3 200	100	5 380
		TOTAL	4 360	6 710	270	11 340
	Republic	Male	124 790	177 480	5 860	308 130
		Female	123 940	180 650	5 420	310 010
		TOTAL	248 730	358 130	11 280	618 140
Coloured	Peninsula	Male	125 740	154 510	6 130	286 380
		Female	127 330	174 450	9 460	311 240
		TOTAL	253 070	328 960	15 590	597 620
	Republic	Male	457 390	509 260	27 800	994 450
		Female	461 370	532 050	33 560	1 026 980
		TOTAL	918 760	1 041 310	61 360	2 021 430
White	Peninsula	Male	51 740	119 520	12 530	183 790
		Female	50 280	124 720	19 080	194 080
		TOTAL	102 020	244 240	31 610	377 870
	Republic	Male	584 980	1 168 200	103 000	1 856 180
		Female	564 770	1 159 690	145 900	1 870 360
		TOTAL	1 149 750	2 327 890	248 900	3 726 540

Sources: 1) Department of Statistics. Population Census 1970. Bantu-Age, Occupation, Industry, School and Standard. Report No. 02-02-02.

2) Department of Statistics. Population Census 1970. Ages - Coloureds and Asians. Report No. 02-01-02.

3) Department of Statistics. Population Census 1970. Ages - Whites. Report No. 02-01-01.

Footnote: 1. The age distribution of all Africans in the Cape Peninsula was not given in the census results; only the distribution for Xhosas was presented. To obtain the age distribution for all Africans, the percentage distribution for Xhosa males and females was applied to the male and female non-Xhosa population in the Peninsula, and then added to the Xhosa age distribution.

closer examination of this information reveals how skewed is the distribution of the Peninsula's population: only 0,7 percent, or about one in every 140, of the African population were living there; only 1,8 percent, or about one in every 55, of the Asians were living there; while on the other hand, 29,6 percent of the 'coloured' people, or nearly one of every three; and 10,1 percent of the white people, or over one of every ten, were resident there. This gives the Peninsula its own particular flavour as well as its own peculiar problems.

The Peninsula's African labour complement was 'frozen' in 1966, a policy decision which seriously and adversely affected the situation of the area's African population. This remains true whatever the doubts about the *de facto* African population of Cape Town. In summary: in other metropolitan areas, on the Witwatersrand for example, the urban African assumes a numberical significance which is not the case in the Peninsula where 'coloured' people constitute over half and white people over a third of the population.

THE POTENTIAL LABOUR FORCE

Table No. 1 also compares the Peninsula's potential labour force - conventionally the 15-64 year age group - with that of the Republic. Obviously, some people under 15 and others over 64 still work. It is also true that many in this category would be scholars, students, housewives and the permanently disabled as well as the unemployed. Nevertheless, some useful general observations hold true.

The potential labour force of the Peninsula numbers some 658 376 people, or 5,6 percent (1 in 18) of the national labour force, compared with 10,1 percent of the country's inhabitants. There are a number of explanations. In the Peninsula, children aged 0-14 years account for 25,7 percent of the African, 38,4 percent of the Asian, 42,4 percent of the 'coloured' and 27 percent of the white population. Child-dependancy ratios are therefore high among Asian and 'coloured' people. On the other hand, people of 65 years of age and older account for 8,4 percent of white people compared with 2,6 percent of 'coloured'

people, 2,4 percent of Asians and 1,5 percent of Asians and 1,5 percent of Africans. While this mirrors life expectancy rates, there is some distortion in the case of Africans where the pattern of migrant labour is indisputably an important factor and also in the case of white people, where the elderly with the means to enjoy the Peninsula's amenities are probably attracted to retire there.

What this means is that potentially 72,8 percent of the Africans and 64,6 percent of white people, compared with 59,2 percent of Asians and 55 percent of 'coloured' people in the Peninsula constitute the labour resources of the region.

We turn next to consideration of *male/female ratios in the 15-64 age group* where the effects of the skewed distribution mentioned earlier are rather striking. Whereas on the national level in this age group African women outnumber men by 139 080 giving a male/female ratio of 1:1,04, in the Peninsula, on the other hand, the position is grotesquely reversed with African men outnumbering women by 34 738, giving a male/female ratio of 1:0,39 - an undoubted consequence of the policy of influx control and the 'coloured labour preference area' policy. While the government demands stabilisation of a particularly discriminatory nature, the economy of the Peninsula requires workers to fullfil certain functions. Hence this horrifying imbalance.

In the 15-64 age group in the Republic, Asian women outnumber men by 3 170 giving a male/female ratio of 1:1,02. In the Peninsula, conversely, Asian men outnumber women by 310 giving a male/female ratio of 1:0,91. The explanation is not immediately apparent. It is possible that Asian men are attracted by job opportunities in the area and migrate there from other areas of the Republic.

Among 'coloured' people in the age group 15-64 years in the Republic, women exceed the number of men by 22 790 giving a male/female ratio of 1:1,04 in the Peninsula they outnumber men by 19 940 giving a male/female ratio of 1:1,13. It is a fact that the life expectancy rates for 'coloured' people are considerably

lower than our upper limit of 64 years and 'coloured' men can expect to live for a shorter period than women. A possible explanation for the variation from the national norm is that the urban areas of the Peninsula, in which a larger proportion of 'coloured' people reside than in any other economic region, put the lives of men at greater hazard than those of women.

White men aged 15-64 years in the Republic outnumber white women by 8 510 giving a male/female ratio of 1:0,99. It is likely that white immigration accounts for this phenomenon. In other words, young white men from other countries are attracted to the Republic in numbers sufficient to outweigh normal male/female ratios. In the Peninsula the situation is reversed and women exceed the number of men by 5 200 giving a male/female ratio of 1:1,04.

To recap: In the Peninsula the potential labour force is 11,9 percent African, 1,0 percent Asian, 50,0 percent 'coloured' and 37,1 percent white. This presents a completely different picture from the Republic as a whole where the proportions are:- African 68,43 percent; Asian 3,03 percent; 'coloured' 8,82 percent; and white 19,72 percent.

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

The pattern of employment in the Peninsula shows considerable variation from the national norm as Tables No. 2, 3 and 4 show.

AGRICULTURE

Whereas agriculture, including peasant agriculture, is the nation's largest employer, in the Peninsula, unsurprisingly, it is only tenth in the hierarchy of employers, affording employment to only 2,3 percent of the labour force. Over half the workers are 'coloured' and a further 30 percent are African. The sector relies rather heavily on 'coloured' and African men for its labour.

In the region farms and smallholdings tend to be small by South African standards, average size

TABLE No. 2.

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY →

Industry	AFRICAN				ASIAN			
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%
Manufacturing	12 327	148	12 475	10,2	398	157	555	0,5
Services	4 621	8 401	13 022	11,9	177	106	283	0,3
Commerce	7 047	413	7 460	9,9	1 802	296	2 098	2,8
Construction	14 590	8	14 598	29,7	69	2	71	0,2
Transport	7 482	7	7 489	19,2	57	5	62	0,2
Finance	1 208	20	1 228	4,5	67	21	88	0,3
Agriculture	3 000	31	3 031	30,4	3	0	3	0,0
Electricity	645	0	645	17,0	2	0	2	0,0
Mining	442	2	444	33,4	1	0	1	0,1
TOTAL	51 362	9 030	60 392	13,8	2 576	587	3 163	0,7

Source: Department of Statistics. Population Census 1970.
Report No. 02-05-06. Tables A2, B2, C2 and D2.

TABLE NO. 3

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY →

Industry	AFRICAN				ASIAN			
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%
Agriculture	1 387 901	872 485	2 260 386	91,1	6 912	405	7 317	0,3
Services	334 513	754 436	1 088 949	68,2	15 980	6 362	22 342	1,4
Manufacturing	445 130	68 795	513 925	50,1	50 400	14 048	64 443	6,3
Commerce	259 030	50 895	309 925	43,8	45 175	5 658	50 833	7,2
Mining	607 630	2 193	609 823	89,6	704	16	720	0,1
Construction	286 986	2 865	289 851	61,0	9 003	139	9 142	1,9
Transport	136 882	1 577	138 459	40,9	7 101	185	7 286	2,2
Finance	32 375	4 177	36 552	19,3	2 384	480	2 864	1,5
Electricity	29 633	285	29 918	64,0	201	3	204	0,4
TOTAL	3 520 080	1757 708	5 277 788	70,0	137 860	27 296	165 156	2,2

Source: Department of Statistics. Population Census 1970.
Report No. 02-05-06. Tables A2, B2, C2 and D2.

I N T H E C A P E P E N I N S U L A I N 1 9 7 0

C O L O U R E D				W H I T E				Total Employed
Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	
39 991	40 660	80 651	66,0	21 533	6 868	28 401	23,3	122 082
20 061	34 251	54 312	49,8	24 007	17 415	41 422	38,0	109 039
22 345	9 743	32 088	42,8	18 973	14 456	33 429	44,5	75 075
26 016	524	26 540	54,0	7 052	856	7 908	16,1	49 117
10 279	424	10 703	27,4	17 992	2 744	20 736	53,2	38 990
3 084	1 029	4 113	15,1	11 949	9 869	21 818	80,1	27 247
4 518	686	5 204	52,2	1 570	168	1 738	17,4	9 976
1 536	37	1 573	41,4	1 434	148	1 582	41,6	3 302
331	40	371	27,9	451	62	513	38,6	1 329
128 161	87 394	215 555	49,4	104 961	52 586	157 547	36,1	436 657

I N T H E R E P U B L I C I N 1 9 7 0

C O L O U R E D				W H I T E				Total Employed
Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	
105 168	11 668	116 836	4,7	93 099	4 314	97 913	3,9	2 482 452
49 593	109 942	159 535	10,0	184 687	140 326	325 013	20,4	1 595 839
93 981	72 124	166 105	16,2	221 405	60 198	281 603	27,4	1 026 081
52 658	24 416	77 074	10,9	155 723	114 346	270 069	38,1	707 901
6 942	222	7 164	1,1	58 453	4 224	62 677	9,2	680 384
77 401	1 188	78 589	16,5	90 680	7 333	98 013	20,6	475 595
26 768	791	27 559	8,1	139 107	25 838	164 945	48,8	338 249
5 276	1 587	6 863	3,6	75 164	68 491	143 655	75,6	189 934
2 397	63	2 460	5,3	12 798	1 381	14 179	30,3	46 761
420 184	222 001	642 185	8,5	1 031 116	426 951	1 458 067	19,3	7 543 196

TABLE NO. 4.

PROPORTION OF WORKERS BY INDUSTRY IN THE REPUBLIC AND THE CAPE PENINSULA IN 1970

INDUSTRY	Total		African		Asian		Coloured		White	
	Rep.	C. Penin	Rep.	C. Penin	Rep.	C. Penin	Rep.	C. Penin	Rep.	C. Penin
Agriculture	32,9	2,3	42,8	5,0	4,4	0,1	18,2	2,4	6,7	1,1
Services	21,2	25,0	20,6	21,5	13,5	8,9	24,8	25,2	22,3	26,3
Manufacturing	13,6	28,0	9,7	20,8	39,0	17,7	25,9	37,4	19,3	18,0
Commerce	9,4	17,2	5,9	12,3	30,8	66,3	12,0	14,9	18,5	21,2
Mining	9,0	0,3	11,6	0,7	0,5	0,0	1,1	0,2	4,3	0,3
Construction	6,3	11,2	5,5	24,2	5,6	2,2	12,2	12,3	6,7	5,0
Transport	4,5	8,9	2,6	12,4	4,4	1,9	4,3	5,0	11,3	13,2
Finance	2,5	6,2	0,7	2,0	1,7	2,8	1,1	1,9	9,9	13,9
Electricity	0,6	0,9	0,6	1,1	0,1	0,1	0,4	0,7	1,0	1,0

Source: Department of Statistics. Population Census 1970. Report No. 02-05-06. Tables A2, B2, C2 and D2.

being 113 hectares compared with 1 073 hectares on the national level. However the 300 farming units in the area range in size from 8 hectares to 2 207 hectares and seven are more extensive than 1 000 hectares.(1)

In 1973 agriculture (including forestry) in the region was employing 1 874 African, 1 903 'coloured', and 170 white regular workers - a total of 3 947. It was also employing 136 African, 1 161 'coloured' and 11 white casual employees - a total of 1 308. There were, too, 35 African, and 218 'coloured' domestic workers on farms - a total of 253.

Overall employment numbered 5 508. The fishing industry would presumably have been employing nearly 4 500 workers of all races. The workers in farming, i.e. excluding forestry and fishing, would have been involved mainly in rearing and tending poultry and pigs and, to a lesser extent, cattle and horses, and the planting and picking of grapes and vegetables. Other agricultural and horticultural

pursuits are of little significance in the region.(2)

Over a third of some 700 'coloured' and African women employed in the agricultural sector would be in domestic service.

The 1972/73 agricultural census gave a detailed breakdown by economic region of the wages, both cash and kind, being earned in agriculture. We shall confine ourselves to comment on the wages of *regular* 'coloured' and African workers in the sector because the wages of casual workers are fraught with statistical difficulties. Regular workers account for over 62 percent of all 'coloured' workers in the Peninsula while nearly all the African workers, 93 percent, are regulars.(3) The total monthly wage of 'coloured' farm workers in 1972/73 was R41,75 which was R3,52 higher than the national average.

On the other hand, there are twelve economic regions in the country where 'coloured' farm workers are earning a total wage which is substantially higher than the wage paid in the Cape Peninsula. These areas are located mainly in Natal but also around Alberton, Vereeniging and the Eastern Transvaal. It is true that 'coloured' people are a minority in these areas compared with the Peninsula where they constitute the majority. We deduce, nevertheless, that in the Peninsula, a significant proportion of 'coloured' workers would be employed as low-paid labourers while in the other regions which we have mentioned they would be in higher status occupations such as mechanics, foremen, supervisors and clerks.

The monthly cash component of total 'coloured' wages at R34 90 was R3 00 higher than the national average but again very much lower than the twelve economic regions to which we referred earlier.(4)

Conversely, African workers on farms in the Peninsula were receiving the highest, total, monthly average wage in the country in 1972/73: R38,64 compared with a national average of R20,82. The *cash* component of R32,45, compared with a national average of R15,26,

was the second highest in the country. Of course, the number of African women employed in this sector in the Peninsula is extremely low, particularly when compared with the number of 'coloured' women. This could account for the relatively high African wage in the region.(5)

SERVICES SECTOR

The services sector in the Peninsula, as in the Republic as a whole, is the second largest employer of labour, employing 21 percent of the economically active population nationally and 25 percent in the Peninsula. It is the numerically most important sector for white employment, as indeed, it is nationally. This applies to both men and women as services account for 23 percent of all employed white men in the Peninsula and 33 percent of the women.

It is, from the perspective of employment, the second most important sector for 'coloured' people employing 16 percent of the men and 39 percent of the women for whom it is the second largest source of employment.

The sector employs only 9 percent of the Peninsula's Asians who work mainly in commerce and manufacturing.

Services are second only to construction in the employment of Africans in the Peninsula. For African women the sector is extremely important as it employs 93 percent of them but this is not so for men of whom only 9 percent are employed in the sector.

Unfortunately detailed data on earnings are not available and we cannot give the question the sort of attentive examination to which we subjected the agricultural sector.

MANUFACTURING

Manufacturing is the largest employer in the Peninsula; 28,0 percent of the labour force are employed in this industry compared with 13,6 percent in the Republic as a whole. Of those employed in the Peninsula, 66,0

percent are 'coloured', 23,3 percent white, 10,2 percent African and 0,5 percent Asian.

The male/female ratio in the Peninsula in this industry is interesting. Whereas for white, African and Asian employees this ratio is 1:0,32, 1:0,01 and 1:0,39 respectively, for 'coloured' employees it is 1:1,02. This contrasts sharply with the picture for the Republic as a whole where these ratios for 'coloured', white, African and Asian employees are 1:0,77, 1:0,27, 1:0,15 and 1:0,28 respectively. The low number of African women employed in manufacturing in the Peninsula is attributable to the policy of influx control which we mentioned before and the 'coloured labour preference area' policy which severely distorts the 'desirable' male-female ratio in this area. The high number of 'coloured' women employed can be explained by the importance of the clothing, textile and food groups as employers in the Peninsula. Together, they employ nearly half of all those employed in manufacturing. All three are industries where women predominate. Other important employers in this area are metal products, printing and chemical products, which between them employ 19 percent of the area's manufacturing workers.

In the principal cities, average wages (employing 1970 data) in manufacturing are, unsurprisingly, highest in Johannesburg where the average monthly wage for all paid employees is R127. This is followed by Port Elizabeth (R115), Cape Town (R105), Durban (R95), and East London (R67).

Within the Cape Peninsula, the spread of wages in the various manufacturing groups varies considerably. The highest average monthly wage is R170,65 in printing; this is followed by machinery (R156,08); electrical machinery (R147,62); transport equipment (R146,54); and chemical products (R130,64). At the other end, the lowest paid groups are clothing (R73,18), leather and products (R84,96); textiles (R87,31) and food (R89,20). Coloured women predominate as workers in these industries.

COMMERCE

The commercial sector, which is fourth in the hier-

archy of employment on the national level, claiming over 9 percent of the labour force, is the third most important source of employment in the Peninsula with over 17 percent of the labour force. This is not remarkable in an economic region where one of the national capitals as well as one of the major ports is located.

While the nation employs nearly 6 percent of the African labour force in commerce, the Peninsula deploys 12,4 percent of its African labour force in this way. There is, however, another aspect to be considered: in the Republic Africans constitute 44 percent of the sector's labour but in the Peninsula the proportion is only 10 percent.

Thirty-one percent of the Republic's Asians are employed in commerce compared with 66 percent of Asians so employed in the Peninsula where the sector is their most important source of employment.

Furthermore while the nation employs 12 percent of its 'coloured' workers in commercial activities, the Peninsula employs nearly 15 percent. While 'coloured' workers contribute only 11 percent of the labour force nationally they comprise 43 percent of the labour in the Peninsula.

In the case of white workers in the Peninsula, commercial activities are the second largest source of employment (employing 21 percent) compared with the Republic as a whole where they are third in the hierarchy, employing 19 percent of the white labour force. The sector affords white women with a major source of employment.

Again, we have no appropriate data on earnings. However, we do know that earnings, nation-wide, tend to be relatively low in both the wholesale and retail trades. It is difficult to assess what part the colour bar and sex discrimination play in the low-wage structure in a sector where women constitute a significant proportion of the labour force.

MINING AND QUARRYING

Mining and quarrying employ 9 percent of the workers in the Republic but the majority are 'foreign' workers from neighbouring states. In the Cape Peninsula the sector is of negligible import as an employer, and quarrying employs less than one-half of one percent of the region's workers. Very few women indeed are employed and the work is rather evenly distributed among African, 'coloured' and white men. In the Republic as a whole, on the other hand, African men comprise the vast majority in this sector.

CONSTRUCTION

Building and civil engineering are important employers in the Peninsula where they are fourth in the hierarchy of sources of employment compared with sixth in the Republic. Construction employs 6 percent of the nation's work force against 11 percent in the Peninsula. The sector is of little importance to women, very few of whom are employed there.

In the Peninsula it employs 28 percent of the African men and is their single largest source of employment. However, they constitute only 30 percent of the sector's work force compared with 61 percent on the national level.

Few Asian men in the Peninsula are employed in this sector although they would presumably be a significant proportion in the greater Durban area where the majority of Indo-South Africans reside.

Construction offers 'coloured' men in the Peninsula their second most important source of employment affording 20 percent of them with work. In the region they supply 53 percent of the sector's labour compared with 17 percent on the national level.

White men provide 16 percent of the sector's labour in the Peninsula compared with 21 percent in the Republic. Construction employs 7 percent of the region's white workers.

TRANSPORT

Transport as an employer is more significant in a metropolitan area than it is elsewhere and also has interesting facets in a major port.

In the Republic the sector employs 4½ percent of the economically active population compared with nearly 9 percent in the Peninsula. It employs significant numbers of white, 'coloured' and African men and a surprisingly high number of white women.

In 1970 a census of transport and allied services in the private sector was undertaken. It was found that in the Peninsula private transport was employing 11 736 people which means that the railways, harbours and airways, which are state owned, would have been employing 27 254 people. Private passenger bus services were employing 3 173 workers in the Peninsula or 23½ percent of the national total. The Peninsula is unique in this respect for within nearly all the other cities and town of the Republic bus services are provided by local government.

Goods hauliers in the Peninsula employ 2 446 people or 21 percent of those employed nationally. There are 1 782 workers in stevedoring or 38 percent of all those so employed in the Republic.

FINANCE

Banks, building societies and insurance companies in the Peninsula employ over 27 000 people or 14 percent of the national total. White men and women predominate and the sector is the third largest source of employment for the latter.

ELECTRICITY

Electricity undertakings employ relatively few workers in both the Peninsula (1 329) and the Republic (46 761).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

There are four municipalities, one divisional council, and one Bantu affairs administration board in the Cape

Peninsula. Table No. 5 gives employment and average earnings in local government.

TABLE No. 5.

EMPLOYMENT IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODY	YEAR	EMPLOYMENT				Average monthly wage of all Employees
		African	Asian	'Coloured'	White	
Bellville Municipality	1974	37	-	571	232	R 168
Cape Town Municipality	1974	797	-	11 160	4 410	R 236
Simonstown Municipality	1974	62	-	48	40	R 176
Cape Divisional Council	30/6/74	953	-	2 196	985	R 187
Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board	30/6/75	983	-	-	204	R 190

Sources: Department of Statistics. Report No. 13-03-09 (3) and (4).
Department of Statistics. Report No. 13-04-10.
Department of Statistics. Report No. 13-13-02.

EMPLOYMENT IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS

Tables No 6 and 7 give employment in various occupations in the Peninsula and the Republic.

Africans in farming occupations, including peasant farming, constitute 40 percent of all Africans employed in the Republic. In the Peninsula farming occupations claim only 5 percent of the African labour force. Production workers and transport workers account for 63 percent of the Peninsula's African labour force compared with 31 percent nationally. A significant proportion if not the majority would be located in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations.

Professional, administrative, clerical and sales occupations account for fewer than 5 percent of the African workers either in the Peninsula or the Republic as a whole. Service occupations involve 18 percent of the African workers in both the nation and the economic region.

Among Asians in the Peninsula by far the most significant proportion (47 percent) are employed in sales

TABLE NO. 6.

EMPLOYMENT BY MAIN OCCUPATIONAL

OCCUPATION	AFRICAN				ASIAN			
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%
Professional	245	445	690	1,8	79	67	146	0,4
Administrative	5	1	6	0,1	71	6	77	0,7
Clerical	749	38	787	1,1	237	108	345	0,5
Sales	1 171	115	1 286	3,9	1 366	224	1 590	4,9
Services	4 012	8 276	12 288	18,1	358	47	405	0,6
Farm & Forestry	3 552	30	3 582	30,9	5	0	5	0,0
Production & Trans.	41 816	234	42 050	20,2	487	134	621	0,3
Not Classifiable	2 779	3 662	6 441	24,4	134	77	211	0,8
Not economically active	17 440	24 257	41 697	6,5	3 029	4 657	7 686	1,2
T O T A L	71 769	37 058	108 827	9,8	5 766	5 320	11 086	1,0

Source: Department of Statistics: Population Census 1970.
Report No. 02-05-06

TABLE NO. 7.

EMPLOYMENT BY MAIN OCCUPATIONAL →

OCCUPATION	AFRICAN				ASIAN			
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%
Professional	36 565	55 431	91 996	25,5	7 064	3 028	10 272	2,8
Administrative	2 266	40	2 306	2,7	2 099	118	2 217	2,6
Clerical	88 341	7 018	95 359	17,0	22 698	3 065	25 763	4,6
Sales	61 278	17 661	78 939	27,3	26 330	3 960	30 290	10,5
Services	285 380	730 345	1 015 725	80,5	12 288	3 544	15 832	1,3
Farm & Forestry	1 429 854	871 968	2 301 822	91,1	6 343	463	6 806	0,3
Production & Transport	1 661 493	85 340	1 746 833	68,9	62 355	13 046	75 401	3,0
Not Classifiable	150 824	218 144	368 968	75,1	8 472	7 250	15 722	3,2
Not economically active	3 826 575	5811 452	9 638 027	70,4	166 440	281 629	448 069	3,3
T O T A L	7 452 576	7797 399	15 339 975	70,4	314 089	316 283	630 372	2,9

Source: Department of Statistics: Population Census 1970.
Report. No. 02-05-06.

GROUP IN THE CAPE PENINSULA IN 1970

COLOURED				WHITE				TOTAL EMPLOYED
Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	
3 448	6 177	9 625	24,8	17 716	10 579	28 295	73,0	38 756
372	35	407	3,7	9 662	879	10 541	95,6	11 031
13 486	6 006	19 492	27,5	20 838	29 378	50 216	70,9	70 340
6 328	3 497	9 825	30,0	12 832	7 250	20 082	61,3	32 783
9 645	31 846	41 491	61,1	10 694	3 084	13 778	20,3	67 962
6 021	468	6 489	55,9	1 433	94	1 527	13,2	11 603
91 195	39 781	130 976	63,1	32 253	1 755	34 008	16,4	207 655
8 724	5 838	14 562	55,2	3 150	1 997	5 147	19,5	26 361
150 547	222 661	373 208	58,2	77 872	140 309	218 181	34,0	640 772
289 766	316 309	606 075	54,7	186 450	195 325	381 775	34,5	1 107 763

GROUP IN THE REPUBLIC IN 1970

COLOURED				WHITE				TOTAL EMPLOYED
Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	
10 426	15 307	25 733	7,1	152 407	80 116	232 523	64,5	360 524
968	65	1 033	1,2	75 697	4 981	80 678	93,6	86 234
25 912	10 176	36 088	6,4	159 987	242 487	402 474	71,9	559 684
14 237	9 236	23 473	8,1	99 494	56 650	156 144	54,1	288 846
22 654	104 904	127 558	10,1	77 273	25 540	102 813	8,1	1 261 928
110 841	10 206	121 047	4,8	92,031	3 831	95 912	3,8	2 525 587
245 017	74 200	319 217	12,6	376 966	16 850	393 816	15,5	2 535 267
33 785	28 318	62 103	12,6	27 014	17 528	44 542	9,1	491 335
543 770	790 677	1 334 447	9,8	820 894	1 443 486	2 264 380	16,5	13 684 923
1 007 610	1 043 089	2 050 699	9,4	1 881 813	1891 469	3 773 282	17,3	21 794 328

occupations compared with only 17 percent in the Republic as a whole. Production and transport workers account for 18 percent of Asian workers in the Peninsula compared with 41 percent in the Republic. Clerical workers and service workers are the other numerically significant employment categories accounting for 22 percent of the Asian workers in the Peninsula compared with 23 percent in the Republic. Professional and administrative workers account for less than 7 percent of the Asian workers in the Peninsula and in the Republic as a whole.

Production and transport workers in the Peninsula account for 56 percent of the 'coloured' workers, compared with 45 percent in the Republic. While significant numbers would be employed as artisans or other skilled workers (sewing machinists, for example) a substantial proportion would be in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. 'Coloured' women contribute nearly 19 percent of all production and transport workers in the Peninsula and are a vital segment of its economy. Workers providing services are the second most important category of 'coloured' labour in both the region and the Republic.

Farming occupations which claim nearly 17 percent of the 'coloured' work force in the Republic are, of course, of less import in the Peninsula where less than three percent of the 'coloured' labour is so employed. Clerical jobs, on the other hand, account for eight percent of 'coloured' workers in the Peninsula compared with only five percent in the Republic.

About four percent of the 'coloured' workers are in professional occupations in both the region and the Republic. What is more surprising is that in the Peninsula, where so many 'coloured' people live, very few workers were filling administrative positions, in 1970 when census data were collected - less than one percent in fact. It is probably true that numbers of professional people as well as production workers fill administrative posts and some service workers, too, but the proportion is negligible.

The working white population of the Peninsula mirrors the national pattern in all but the two categories of

farm and forestry workers, and production and transport workers, except for the fact that the Peninsula has a substantially higher proportion of workers in the white-collar occupations. The share of each occupational category in the Peninsula, with the national proportion in parentheses is: professional 17,3 (15,4); administrative 6,4 (5,4); clerical 30,7 (26,7); sales 12,3 (10,4); services 8,4 (6,8); farm and forestry occupations 0,9 (6,4); production and transport workers 20,8 (26,1). The pattern is not in itself a remarkable phenomenon.

Very few white workers, with the exceptions of those working in transport and telecommunications, are employed in occupations which are classified as unskilled. They enjoy better educational facilities than do other South Africans, and education is compulsory for white children; they have better access to training both professional and vocational; some occupations have been reserved for them alone to hold over many years; they have, in the main, been more extensively urbanised for a longer period than their black compatriots; they have not been subjected to 'influx control' or to that magnitude of 'resettlement' which black South Africans have endured; and they live in better houses, etc., etc; all of which, not least the political power which they have exercised with considerable tenacity and enthusiasm, has ensured a very privileged position.

We have described the particularly disadvantageous position of Africans in the Peninsula, a position which has effectively impaired their upward occupational mobility. 'Coloured' people in the region have a numerical superiority which they do not possess elsewhere in the Republic's main industrialised regions. It is true that their occupational structure here is more diversified than that of African labour, but the 'coloured labour preference area' policy appears to have had *significant* benefits for an elite fragment of their population group, rather than the broad masses, or even a substantial minority. White workers still claim 73 percent of the professional occupations, 96 percent of the administrative positions, 71 percent of the clerical posts, and 61 percent of the jobs in sales, in the Peninsula. The valid criticism that could be advanced against this argument is that the

position might have shown dramatic changes between 1970 and 1975. However, the findings of the Theron Commission were sombre and give no cause for any optimism on this score.

ORGANISED LABOUR IN THE PENINSULA

Regular readers of this journal will be conversant with the government's stance on African trade unions and the alternative instruments - inadequate in our opinion - provided to communicate these workers' desires, needs, grievances and demands to their employers. We shall not develop any arguments on this question here. The role of the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau is described elsewhere in this *Bulletin*. As far as we are aware there is only one unregistered African union, the African Food and Canning Union, with about 500 members in the Western Province. Its main constituency lies outside the Peninsula.

We turn to description of those unions which are legally registered in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. These are listed in the Appendix.

Of the 66 registered trade unions represented in the Peninsula, 25 with 54 921 members have 'coloured' members only, 24 with 31 774 members have white members only, and 16 with 51 803 'coloured' and 7 309 white members are 'mixed' unions. One union is in the process of being formed. Total union membership is in the region of 145 000 of whom 73 percent are 'coloured' workers.

Thirty of the 62 Tucsa unions (or branches of those unions) are located in the Peninsula and their 78 526 members constitute 54 percent of the unionised workers in the area. The region also accounts for roughly 36 percent of all the individual members of trade unions affiliated to Tucsa nationally. Ten of these unions have individual membership of 2 000 workers or more and, of these, five, namely the Garment Workers' Union, of the W.P. (among the top three, nationally, in terms of numbers), the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union, the National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers of S.A., the National Union of Leather Workers and the S.A. Typographical Union, are large by South African standards.

Eight of the 25 unions affiliated to the Confederation of Labour are represented in the Peninsula and their 12 855 members constitute 9 percent of the region's unionised workers. However, the Confederation's unions limit membership to white workers only, and they, therefore, account for 33 percent of unionised white workers in the Peninsula. On the other hand, the Confederation is not, in terms of numbers, particularly strongly based in the Peninsula for individual members here constitute only about 7 percent of total membership in the Republic. Nevertheless, the S.A. Association of Municipal Employees, the S.A.R.&H. Employees' Union, and the Salaried Staff Association, are large unions.

There are 28 unions in the Peninsula which are not affiliated either to Tucsa or the Confederation. Their 54 426 individual members constitute 37 percent of all unionised workers in the region. Nine of these unions have 2 000 members or more, of which three, namely, the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, the Food and Canning Workers' Union (whose members are located mainly outside the Peninsula) and the Western Province Building Workers' Union are very large unions.

Of the 66 unions in the economic region, 38 are national unions with branches in the Peninsula, 11 are Western Province unions with branches or head offices in the Peninsula, and a further 17 are Peninsula-based.

UNIONISATION BY ECONOMIC SECTOR

MANUFACTURING

The manufacturing sector, as we have noted, is the most important source of employment in the Peninsula. The clothing segment - on average the worst-paid industry - is a vital component of the region's economy, employing 28 percent of all workers in manufacturing industries. The Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province is an old, well established union, including probably the vast majority of the 'coloured' and white workers in the Peninsula. Only a small number of workers, presumably Africans, would not fall under its wing.

Textile industries constitute the second largest employer of labour in manufacturing - employing 11 percent of the sector's total labour force - and wages in this segment are also very low indeed. It appears that rather a small proportion of the workers are covered by the Textile Workers' Industrial Union.

Food industries follow - employing 10 percent of manufacturing's labour and again wages are low. Some fragments of the food industry are, apart from African workers, well-organised but others are hardly covered at all.

The iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industries, taken as a whole, employ, of course, the second largest contingent of labour (17 percent). However, this segment is very diverse and activities include repairing as well as manufacturing. The fragments include: basic metal industries; metal products; machinery; electrical machinery; and transport equipment. In the Peninsula, metal products and the manufacture of transport equipment are more important than any of the other activities. This is not particularly surprising in one of the nation's major ports. The seven trade unions active in this segment of industry are: Amalgamated Engineering Union of S.A. (3 500 members); Engineering Industrial Workers' Union of S.A. (1 800 members); Iron Moulders' Society of S.A. (125 members); Jewellers' and Goldsmiths' Union (331 members); Radio, Television, Electronic & Allied Workers' Union (455 members); S.A. Boilermakers', Iron and Steel Workers', Shipbuilders' and Welders' Society (1 488 members); and S.A. Iron, Steel and Allied Industries Union (561 members). It is true that probably only a little over one-third of the workers in this segment are organised, but in spite of low membership figures some of these unions are among the most powerful in the Republic.

Printing and publishing are the next most important employers of labour (employing 7 percent of the sector's labour force) in the manufacturing sector in the Peninsula and average wages are the highest in the sector. The S.A. Typographical Union is a large well-organised union with 8 074 members in

the Cape Province.

Chemicals and products employs 5 percent of manufacturing's labour. There is a small union - the Chemical and Allied Workers' Union - located in the region and average wages are relatively high.

The National Union of Furniture & Allied Workers has over 3 000 members in the Western Province. The furniture industry employs 4 percent of manufacturing's labour in the Peninsula and wages are relatively low.

All other manufacturing industries together employ less than 12 percent of manufacturing's labour force. There are two small unions, the South African Canvas and Rope Workers' Union and the South African Pyrotechnical Workers' Union and one large union, the National Union of Leatherworkers who have organised workers in the industries.

SERVICES

The services sector claims the second largest share of the Peninsula's labour force.

There are ten small unions which have organised some workers in this sector, namely:

1) Association of Cinematograph Projectionists;
2) Cape Musicians' Association;
3) Cinematograph Projectionists' Union;
4) Escom (Cape Western) Salaried Staff Association;
5) National Union of Laundering, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers (Cape);
6) S.A. Association of Dental Mechanician Employees;
7) S.A. Hairdressers' Employees' Union;
8) S.A. Society of Journalists';
9) S.A. Theatre and Cinema Employees' Union; and the
10) S.A. Theatre Union.

To these unions should be added those which have organised workers in local government. Both the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association and the local branch of the S.A. Association of Municipal Employees are large unions probably incorporating the majority of the 'coloured' and white municipal workers. There are a number of African employees who would not be covered.

COMMERCE

Commerce is the third largest employer of labour in the Peninsula and the sister unions - the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers and the National Union of Distributive Workers - have organised workers in the sector. However, many workers would not be covered.

CONSTRUCTION

Construction is the fourth largest employer of the Peninsula's labour and the following seven unions are represented in the region:

1) Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers;
2) Electrical and Allied Trade Union of S.A.;
3) S.A. Electrical Workers' Association;
4) S.A. Operative Masons' Society;
5) S.A. Woodworkers' Union;
6) W.P. Building and Allied Trades Union;
7) W.P. Building Workers' Union.

The majority of skilled workers appear to be unionised but unskilled 'coloured' and, of course, African workers would not be covered.

TRANSPORT

There are eight railway unions all well-represented in Cape Town and probably incorporating a fair number of the white and 'coloured' workers in the public sector.

There are four unions in the private sector in the Peninsula. All except the Tramway and Omnibus Workers' Union are small.

MOTOR INDUSTRY AND MOTOR TRADE

There are four unions in this sector in the Peninsula and they seem to be fairly representative of the skilled and semi-skilled 'coloured' and white workers.

FINANCE

There are two banking unions, the National Union of Bank Employees and the S.A. Society of Bank Officials, but the sector as a whole is not well organised.

POST AND TELEGRAPHS

There is one union with 933 'coloured' members which is probably fairly representative of these workers.

LIQUOR AND CATERING TRADE

There are two unions in this sphere of activity and they are probably fairly representative of 'coloured' and white workers.

CONCLUSION

Employment in the Cape Peninsula has a structure which differs from that in the other metropolitan areas. The plight of the African workers here is particularly unenviable.

Of the gainfully employed people in the region, less than a third are organised in trade unions but, with the exception of African workers, some sectors are well organised.

APPENDIX

REGISTERED TRADE UNIONS IN THE CAPE PENINSULA [6]

	NAME	MEMBERSHIP			AFFILIATION [7]
		'Coloured'/ Asian	White	Total	
1.	Amalgamated Engineering Union of S.A	-	± 3 500	3 500	Unaffiliated; C.M.B.U.
2.	Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers of S.A.	± 1 600	± 400	2 000	Unaffiliated; C.M.B.U.
3.	Artisan Staff Association	-	2 619	2 619	Unaffiliated and F.C.C.
4.	Association of Cinematograph Projectionists	-	(C.P.) 96	96	Tucsa
5.	Bakery Employees' Industrial Union	1 875	65	(W.C)1 940	Unaffiliated
6.	Brewery Employees' Union (Cape Peninsula)	86	11	97	Tucsa
7.	Cape Musicians' Association	-	30	30	Unaffiliated
8.	Cape Stevedoring and Dock Workers' Union	235	-	235	Unaffiliated
9.	Cape Town Gas Workers' Union	36	3	39	Unaffiliated
10.	Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association	± 11 000	-	11 000	Unaffiliated
11.	Chemical and Allied Workers' Union	450	-	450	Unaffiliated
12.	Cinematograph Projectionists' Union	26	-	26	Tucsa
13.	Coloured Postal Employees' Association of S.A.	933	-	933	Unaffiliated
14.	Electrical and Allied Trades Union of S.A.	769	-	769	Unaffiliated

APPENDIX (cont)

	NAME	MEMBERSHIP				AFFILIATION 7/
		'Coloured/ Asian		White	Total	
15.	Engineering Industrial Workers' Union of S.A.		1 800	-	1 800	Unaffiliated
16.	Escom (Cape Western Undertaking)Salaried Staff Association		-	84	84	Unaffiliated
17.	European Liquor and Catering Trades Employees' Union		-	1 161	1 161 8/	Tucsa
18.	Food and Canning Workers' Union	[illegible]	9 012		9 012 9/	Unaffiliated
19.	Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province	(W.P)	32 658	1 342	34 000	Tucsa
20.	Hotel, Bar and Catering Trade Employees' Association		2 977	-	2 977 8/	Tucsa
21.	Iron Moulders' Society of South Africa	(C.P)	51	74	125	Tucsa
22.	Jewellers' and Goldsmiths' Union		305	26	331	Tucsa
23.	Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union	(W.P)	5 000	-	C. 5 000	Tucsa
24.	Motor Industry Employees' Union of S.A.		-	(WP) 3 288	3 288	Unaffiliated
25.	Motor Industry Staff Association (W.P. Branch)		-	2 425	2 425	Unaffiliated
26.	National Certificated Fishing Officers' Association		211	43	254	Unaffiliated

APPENDIX (cont)

	NAME	MEMBERSHIP			AFFILIATION 7/
		'Coloured'/ Asian	White	Total	
27.	National Union of Bank Employees' of S.A.	207	-	207	Tucsa
28.	National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers	2 000	-	2 000	Tucsa
29.	National Union of Distributive Workers	-	± 1 100	1 100	Tucsa
30.	National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers of S.A.	(WP) 3 019	-	3 019	Tucsa
31.	National Union of Laundering, Cleaning and Dye-ing Workers (Cape)	350	-	350	Tucsa
32.	National Union of Leather Workers	± (?) 5 791	± (?) 209	C. 6 000	Tucsa
33.	National Union of Operative Biscuit Makers and Packers	1 300	-	1 300	Tucsa
34.	Radio, Television, Electronic and Allied Workers' Union	455	-	455	Tucsa;C.M.B.U.
35	Running and Operating Staff Union	-	1 246	1 246	F.C.C. Confed.of S.A.R.H. Staff Associations
36.	S.A. Assoc. of Dental Mechanician Employees	-	± 37	37	Tucsa
37.	South African Association of Municipal Employees	-	± (CT) 4 000	4 000	Confederation
38.	S.A. Boilermakers' Iron and Steel Workers', Shipbuilders' and Welders' Society	(CP) 1 020	468	1 488	Tucsa

APPENDIX (cont)

	NAME		MEMBERSHIP			AFFIL'ATION 1/
			'Coloured'/ Asian	White	Total	
39	S.A. Canvas and Rope Workers' Union (Cape)		260	-	260	Tucsa
40.	S.A. Electrical Workers' Association			764		Unaffiliated C.M.B.F
41.	S.A. Hairdressers' Employees' Union		450	650	1 100.	Tucsa
42.	S.A. Operative Masons' Society		-	80	80	Unaffiliated
43.	S.A. Pyrotechnical Workers' Union		156	-	156	Unaffiliated
44.	S.A.R. & H. Coloured Staff Association (Southern Area)					Unaffiliated
45.	S.A.R. & H. Employees' Union			(WC) 2 [illegible]	85	Confed. & F.C.C. S.A.R. & H.
46.	(S.A.R.&H.) Salaried Staff Association		-	(WC) 870	870	Confederation & F.C.C
47.	S.A. Society of Bank Officials		-	± 2 500	± 2 500	Tucsa
48	S.A. Society of Journalists	(CP)	6	230	236	Tucsa
49.	S.A. Theatre and Cinema Employees' Union		98	187	285	Tucsa
50.	S.A. Theatre Union		-	65	65	Unaffiliated
51.	S.A. Typographical Union	(CP)	4 652	3 422	8 074	Tucsa
52.	S.A. Woodworkers' Union		2 000	-	2 000	Tucsa
53.	Die Spoorbond		-	738	738	Confed. and F.C.C.

APPENDIX (cont)

	NAME	MEMBERSHIP			AFFILIATION 7/
		'Coloured'/ Asian	White	Total	
54.	S.A. Spoorwegpolisie personeelvereniging	-	355	355	Confederation & F.C.C.
55.	S.A.R. Footplate Staff Association	-	700	700	Confederation & F.C.C.
56.	S.A. Iron, Steel and Allied Industries Union	-	561	561	Confederation and co-ordinating Council
57.	Textile Workers' Industrial Union	± 1 000	-	1 000	Tucsa
58.	Tramway and Omnibus Workers' Union	2 254	170	2 424	Tucsa
59.	Tramway Officials' Staff Association	-	90	90	Unaffiliated
60.	Transport Workers' Union	(CP) 159	-	159	Tucsa
61.	Trawler and Line Fishermen's Union	710	9	719	Tucsa
62.	Western Province Building and Allied Trades Union	-	80	80	Unaffiliated
63.	Western Province Building Workers' Union	7 000	-	7 000	Unaffiliated
64.	Western Province Meat Trade Employees' Union	In formation	-	In formation	Unaffiliated
65.	Western Province Motor Assembly Workers' Union	(WP) 1 123	-	1 123	Unaffiliated
66.	Western Province Sweet Workers' Union	440	-	440	Unaffiliated
	T O T A L	106 724	39 083	145 807	

Sources to Appendix:

1. Dudley Horner. Registered Trade Unions in South Africa, August 1974. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1974.
2. Trade Union Council of South Africa. Trade Union Directory. Johannesburg, Tucsa, 1975.
3. Where we could contact trade union secretaries, and they proved co-operative, we obtained confirmation of membership from them. We were unable to obtain such confirmation in every instance.

REFERENCES: SOURCES AND NOTES

1. Delia Hendrie. Recent Statistics in Agriculture: Saldru Working Paper No. 2. Cape Town, SALDRU, 1976. pp. 10 & 12.
2. Ibid., pp. 26, 38-45.
3. Ibid., pp. 46-7.
4. Ibid., p. 53.
5. Ibid., p. 50.
6. In most instances we managed to confirm trade union membership in the Peninsula but had to content ourselves in some instances with numbers for the Western Cape (W.C.), Western Province (W.P.) or Cape Province (C.P.).
7. Numbers of trade unions are affiliated to either the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) or the Confederation of Labour (Confed.). Others are unaffiliated. In addition some belong to the Federal Consultative Council of S.A.R. & H. Staff Associations and others to the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions.
8. These unions included some members located in a few areas outside the Peninsula proper.
9. Most of the food and canning workers are located outside the Peninsual proper.

LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS OF REGISTERED TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by J.R. Altman

In looking at the South African Trade Union scene, one must willy-nilly distinguish between registered trade unions (most of which are long established) and unregistered unions (most of which are newly emergent African unions) as there are big differences in respect of the problems facing these two groups. This article does not propose to deal with all the problems of the trade union movement, a subject which would require a thesis to deal with adequately, but will spotlight the particular problem of succession - who is to succeed the present leadership of the registered trade unions?

This has become one of the biggest headaches today in South African trade unions, particularly in the old-established unions. Too few younger people of the right calibre are coming to the fore in the various levels of leadership in the unions. In some of the unions whose leaders have died or retired in recent years, their places have been filled by persons who are already close to retiring age or beyond it, and in some cases older than their predecessors. Without casting any reflection upon the abilities of these persons, they are clearly stop-gap appointees who despite their age were the most experienced and best qualified candidates available - but in a few years time the same problem will crop up again. This is not only a problem in the White trade unions, but also in the older established mixed and Coloured unions. The African unions do not yet have a problem of succession (with the possible exception of the old-established National Union of Clothing Workers) - their problem at present is one of finding leadership for the new emergent unions.

Let us have a look at some of the reasons as to why there is a lack of younger people coming to the fore at leadership level in the older trade unions.

There are a number of factors which have led to this situation - a greatly distorted public image of trade unions, the hang-over of the anti-communist drive of the 1950's and the periodic bannings of certain trade

unionists in the 1960's and 1970's, the inadequacy of salaries for trade union officials, little or no security, the lack of trade union educational facilities, and general apathy amongst workers.

As far as the public image of trade unions is concerned, the South African press, representing as it does mainly big business interests, has never had much sympathy for the trade union movement, and with few exceptions has aided and abetted in presenting a distorted image of trade unions to the public. By over-emphasising the alleged iniquities of British trade unions (which incidentally are only about sixth in the world "strike league") and insinuating that the British trade unions in turn are controlled by the communists, our press has created public distrust and suspicion of trade unions *in this country*, and a fear that our own trade unions will become too powerful.

This distorted image of the trade unions has been buttressed over the years by the banning without trial (under the Suppression of Communism Act) of a number of leading trade unionists in the early 1950's - some of whom were actually members of the hitherto legal Communist Party, and others who had long since been expelled from the Party for disagreeing with its policies. Those bannings were followed in the early 1960's by another series of bannings, aimed mainly at the leaders of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, which at that time was the rallying point for a number of militant Black trade unions. During the 1970's, with a resurgence of Black trade unionism in Natal, a further spate of bannings was seen. All of these arbitrary bannings by Government have helped to create a wrong public image of trade unionism in South Africa, and have undoubtedly played a part in the lack of enthusiasm for people to come forward into the leadership of trade unions. There can be no doubt that people are afraid to work for trade unions today - and especially those trade unions which oppose Apartheid and discrimination - afraid of the knock of the Security Branch on the door.

Salary-wise, most of our trade unions cannot compete with commerce and industry, and thus are also unable to offer financial incentives to attract suitably

qualified people into trade union administration and leadership.

There is undoubtedly a need today for a more highly qualified and professional type of trade union leader. Employers' organisations employ highly qualified economists, lawyers and administrators to negotiate on their behalf, and if union officials are to be able to match them in negotiating skills, they must also be trained people, especially in the fields of economics, statistics and law. There is a growing tendency today to bring in young graduates into the trade union movement - but even there problems are encountered. The Constitutions of many unions do not permit of any one other than a member of that union being elected to any office in the union - for example, the Boilermakers' Society, the Typographical Union, the Electrical Workers' Association, and other craft unions, preclude outsiders being brought in as officials, except to assist the union officials in a purely professional capacity, as employees, - and few unions can afford to employ a full-time Secretary who has emerged from the industry, *plus* a professional assistant. And even in those unions which can afford to attract young graduates, there is the problem that young graduates who are interested in trade unionism are possibly too left for the present union leadership, or alternatively the present leadership is too reactionary for the young graduate to think of working for the union. This is partly due to the fact that the obloquy of the report of the Schlebusch Commission, and the extremely adverse publicity which NUSAS suffered as a consequence, has rubbed off on to students as a group (in the minds of many people), and students who express an interest in trade union work are often regarded with suspicion by many of the more conservative trade union leaders. The sporadic arrests (and current trials) of student leaders have strengthened the views of the conservatives, some of whom will have nothing whatsoever to do with students and are even suspicious of the liberal Universities themselves. It is a sad reflection upon the way in which people's minds are conditioned by politicians, press, radio and television.

The more progressive and militant unions are found mainl amongst the Black unions, and these again mostly do not

have the financial resources to employ trained and qualified people, and are able to attract only a few young idealists who feel they are working for a cause and who are prepared to work for a pittance and to brave constant surveillance (and possible detention) by the Security Police. The close watch on the activities of the officials of Black trade unions results from the fear by Government and by the Bureau for State Security (a not entirely unfounded fear) that these organisations can be used as breeding grounds for subversion and revolution, and it is commonplace for any industrial unrest among Black workers (no matter how legitimate their grievances may be) to be labelled by employers and by the authorities as the work of agitators. It does not need much agitation, however, to cause industrial unrest where there are deep-seated causes for dissatisfaction.

In respect of salaries most South African trade unions have clung to the British tradition that a trade union leader should not be paid a fat salary commensurate with that of leaders in commerce and industry, but should be paid perhaps just a little more than the highest paid of the workers he represents. There is thus little financial inducement to leave the workshop floor for a job without security. The wealthy South African trade union leader is as rare as the okapi, and not even the highest paid union official (with a few possible exceptions) earns as much as the manager of a smallish factory or a middle-sized supermarket. This is in complete contrast to the United States, where the top jobs in trade unions today are very highly paid, and attract keen competition. There never seems to be any dearth of candidates for leadership in the American trade unions, because of the rich financial rewards to be gained therefrom.

The problem of apathy is one which has become quite serious amongst White workers particularly. Despite the fact that many White workers are struggling to make ends meet (though not to the same extent as the Coloured and Black workers), there is no gainsaying the fact that the general standard of living of White workers has risen tremendously over the past twenty years, and Harold Macmillan's dictum of "you've

never had it so good" could be applied to the majority of White workers in South Africa today. This has led to a great deal of indifference to the need for active trade unionism, and more than that, to apathy. It is a commonly-felt attitude among White workers that their obligation to their trade union ends with the payment of their subscription. For the rest, they are quite prepared to leave everything in the hands of the paid officials, who have difficulties in getting quorums at meetings and are thus hampered in carrying out their constitutional obligations. This apathy is particularly noticeable among the younger White workers, and it is noticeable that the regular attenders at the trade union meetings are still the old stalwarts, but their attitude is becoming one of "we've done our share, and now it is over to the younger ones". A further aspect of the "you've never had it so good" line is that a few far-sighted employers have improved wages and conditions way beyond the minima established by the trade unions, which makes it virtually impossible for the unions which have a voluntary membership to enrol members in those firms - and ironically, the better wages and conditions in those firms have attracted the better quality employee who would be an asset to a trade union committee but who feels that he/she has very little to gain from union membership. This, together with an alarming degree of undisguised anti-trade union sentiments expressed by many employers, is a further contributing factor to the lack of suitable newcomers to the trade union movement. A look at the average age of White trade union committees will bear out that the unions have in the main been unable to attract younger people into the leadership positions.

One of the shortcomings of the trade unions has been trade union education amongst the membership. Despite the excellent work done by the Education Department of the Trade Union Council of South Africa over the past ten years, this is not enough. Trade unions must concentrate more on their own education programmes, in order to train their own people up for leadership positions. Forward moves in this direction have been the establishment of the Institute for Industrial Education in Durban, and the work done by the Urban Training Project in Johannesburg. It is also to be hoped that the newly established Institute for Industrial

Relations will be able to play a part in leadership training for trade unionists of all races.

Looking at the White leadership in the trade unions over the past decades, one can justifiably ask where are the likes of Anna Scheepers, Tom Rutherford, Solly Sachs, Johanna Cornelius, Tom Murray, Dulcie Hartwell, Ray Alexander and other leaders like them to be found among the rank and file membership today? - a small handful of unions have been able to throw up outstanding White leaders and negotiators from their ranks in recent years, like Lief Van Tonder of the S.A. Typographical Union and Andre Malherbe of the Bank Officials, but people like these are rare. White leadership in the S.A. trade union movement is an ageing leadership, faced with a serious problem of succession. Look around at the top White leadership of TUCSA - and you will see people who are nearly all within one to ten years of retiring age, mostly with no heir apparent.

It has become obvious that the more the workers have to gain, the more enthusiastic they are about their trade union. There is not nearly the same degree of apathy amongst Coloured workers towards their unions as there is among the White workers - because the Coloured workers have still got a much longer way to go than the White workers in order to reach satisfactory living standards. Through trade union efforts they are only now beginning to reach out towards equal pay for equal work, equal fringe benefits, equal pension rights, etc. This leads to a greater enthusiasm for the union in its efforts to improve the wages and conditions of its members, and also leads to the growth of a younger, more enthusiastic second-echelon of office-bearers, who are on their way up and who in time will be able to take over the leadership. The same is true of the embryo African trade union movement, which is struggling to produce its own new and younger leaders.

There is no doubt that the future of the trade union movement in South Africa lies in the hands of the Coloured and Black workers. The Whites are rapidly moving up into purely supervisory and managerial functions, and already in an industry like the steel and engineering industry they comprise less than 20% of the total labour force. White unions, if they are

to survive, will in the future be mainly white-collar unions of supervisors, technicians and foremen. The real working class, in virtually all sectors of industry and commerce, will be the Coloured and Black workers - and despite the repeated assertions of the Government that it has no intention of granting trade union rights to the Black workers, it is only a matter of time before Government will be compelled by the realities of the situation to recognise the necessity of granting full collective bargaining rights to African workers.

REGISTERED TRADE UNIONS AND WESTERN CAPE WORKERS

by Dave Lewis

The marked lack of analysis of registered trade unions in contemporary literature in South Africa, whilst generally regrettable, is of particular political significance in the case of the Western Cape. The failure to take account of registered unions is ultimately explicable in terms of the dominance of a particular ideology. There is, in other words, a certain 'conventional wisdom' (i.e. ideology) surrounding registered unions which characterises these unions in terms of an all too simple identification with 'white workers'. The exceptional characteristics of the Western Cape and Natal (where a number of 'coloured' and Indian workers are members of registered unions) are usually noted but only as a deviation from the empirically defined norm. Those who attempt to analyse the 'self-evident' identification between registered unions and white workers predictably resort to a variety of ideological assertions usually revolving around notions of 'white governments' with their *electoral dependence* upon and *racial empathy* with 'white workers'.(1) It follows then that the supposedly exceptional features of the Cape's trade union structure will often be explained with reference to the 'relatively liberal Cape tradition'.

Now this paper certainly does not attempt to deny the operation of ideology - in fact in certain of the key issues raised in this paper (for example, the 1956 legislation segregating the registered 'mixed' unions) the importance of ideological factors comes to the fore.(2) But, simultaneously, we must also emphasise the *skill composition* of the workforce and the changing *labour process*, and particularly, we must situate the trade union movement within the *pertinent political arena*, if we are to understand correctly the question of worker organisation in the Western Cape.

The following section of the paper looks briefly at the pertinent facets of the 'industrial conciliation' legislation, particularly those prescribing the conditions for membership of registered trade unions;

I then attempt to describe the skill composition of the unions' membership; finally, I attempt, somewhat tentatively, to understand the dominance of skilled workers in, or rather, the relative neglect of unskilled workers by, the registered unions.

WORKING CLASS ORGANISATION IN THE WESTERN CAPE

A. THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

The legislative framework governing the important aspects of trade union activity in South Africa is familiar to most readers. I will however briefly summarise some of the major provisions dealing with the pre-conditions for membership of registered unions.

The position in respect of African workers is clear - from the first the legislation was geared towards excluding African workers from membership of registered unions. Various loopholes in succeeding Industrial Conciliation Acts permitted some African membership but the 1956 Industrial Conciliation Act, by defining 'employee' as "... any person (other than a native) ... " ensured a total prohibition of African membership in the registered unions. There were no provisions explicitly governing the membership of 'coloured' and Indian workers - they were defined as employees in terms of the Act and could and did belong to the same registered unions as white workers.(3) Thus, for present purposes, we must pay close attention to the provisions of the 1956 Act in so far as it prohibited the registration of any new 'mixed' unions, i.e. unions in which the members of more than one racial group were represented. This is, of course, of particular importance in the Western Cape where a large proportion of the 'coloured' workforce is employed and where the decision to separate the registered 'mixed' unions met with widespread opposition. We will briefly examine the lengthy debate surrounding the separation of the registered unions. However, what is important to bear in mind is that, whilst separation of the unions may or may not have affected the economic bargaining

position of both white and 'coloured' trade union members (and one certainly assumes that this division *would* have detrimentally affected their bargaining strength), it had no discernible effect on the mass of unorganised 'coloured' workers. In other words, whilst the racial definitions imposed by the 1956 Act may have created a divide within the ranks of the already organised, largely skilled workers, they did not affect the relationship between 'coloured' skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Thus broad ideological factors, in this particular case, the racist definitions of the Industrial Conciliation Act, certainly divide the ranks of the working class but they are not the only or necessarily the most important divisions. The technical division of labour itself is responsible for economic, ideological and political divisions within the working class ranks, and when we attempt to understand the marked lack of organisation of eligible unskilled 'coloured' workers we will have to look beyond the legislative imposition of racial categories.

To return, however, to the 1956 Act. Section 4 (6) provides that

> "After the commencement of the act no trade union shall be registered under this section
> (a) in respect of both white persons and coloured persons; or
> (b) if membership of such union is open to both white persons and coloured persons." (4)

Existing 'mixed' unions were not compelled to deregister although the legislation, by a variety of means, attempted to facilitate and 'encourage' the process of separation - particularly the Act prohibited multi-racial union meetings and stipulated that in the case of a mixed union the executive had to be all-white. The Minister was empowered to grant exemptions from these provisions.

The state's reasoning behind the separation of the 'mixed' unions is to be found in the report of the 1951 Industrial Legislation Commission whose recommendations in respect of the racial composition of trade unions were, without significant exception,

incorporated in the 1956 Act. It is interesting to note that most of the evidence presented to the Commission rejected division of the unions. The evidence presented to the Commission revealed three major arguments in favour of retaining mixed unions:

(1) The Western Province Federation of Labour Unions and the Trades and Labour Council, representing between them the great majority of the older craft dominated unions and hence including many of the unionised 'coloured' workers in their ranks, were strongly opposed to separation. They asserted that separate unions, by breaking the cohesion of the artisans, would facilitate wage undercutting and hence endanger the economic position of their members. The Commission rejected this argument and held that in 'mixed' unions the skilled workers' position would be threatened by the standards of the 'majority'. The Commissioners referred particularly to the case of the clothing industry, and it is possible, in this instance to sustain their argument. However, their argument is sustained *not* because the union in the clothing industry is dominated by 'coloured' workers but rather because it is dominated by unskilled and semi-skilled workers who would undoubtedly favour acceleration of the process of job dilution. In other words, in a single union of clothing workers the demands of the majority of unskilled and semi-skilled workers might threaten the immediate economic interests of the skilled workers. If racial separation is at all capable of allaying this threat it will succeed in so far as the skilled workers are white. The Commission's argument is not convincing but when it is bolstered by the rate for the job and job reservation it probably offers the artisan both 'coloured' and white, the same degree of protection as that envisaged by the unions. The sectional interests of the craft dominated unions are clearly revealed by the nature of their objections to separation of the unions.

(2) Both organised (registered) labour and capital, but particularly the latter, stressed the added difficulty of negotiating with more than one union and contended that separation of the unions would

endanger the Industrial Council system. The Commission, quite correctly, dismissed this argument - they pointed out that it was common practice for more than one union to be represented at an Industrial Council sitting, adding that any difficulties which might arise could be overcome by the formation of co-ordinating committees of the trade unions concerned.

(3) The third argument revolved around the notion of 'freedom of association' and its protagonists - inter alia, the Trades and Labour Council and many individual unions - argued that the envisaged separation seriously threatened this 'fundamental right'. The Commission countered this argument by referring to a variety of 'red peril' fears and in fact asserted that unqualified freedom of association in a multi-racial society is conducive to workers' solidarity only in terms of a 'Marxian-Communistic' philosophy. The Commission also provided some totally spurious evidence purporting to prove that white and 'coloured' workers had no desire to associate in 'mixed' unions and that any willingness to do so was prompted by the alleged 'leftist-leanings' of the majority of the leaders of the 'mixed' unions. We should not, however, be tempted to dismiss the red bogy as mere sophistry - during the 'thirties and 'forties the Communist Party and other 'left-wing' groups and individuals were particularly active in some of the Western Cape unions. It is highly likely that this 'leftist' activity prompted the state to separate the unions, hence dividing working class organisations under 'leftist' influence.

Thus, in summary, in 1924 the Industrial Conciliation Act formally introduced a division into working class ranks by excluding the great bulk of the largely unskilled African workforce from the ambit of the Act. Thus registered unions - particularly those in secondary industry, largely comprised skilled white and 'coloured' workers and specifically excluded the largely unskilled African workers. In practice the unions did, and still do, exclude the 'coloured' unskilled workers - they were unions defined principally by the skilled rather than the racial composition of their membership. In 1956 a division was introduced into the ranks of the registered unions by prohibiting

the registration of 'mixed' unions and encouraging the separation of those already in existence. The 'coloured' workers were *not* 'deregistered'; a step which would have placed them in the same position vis à vis unions as African workers, they were rather distinguished from white workers.

Certainly the divisions introduced into trade union ranks by the 1956 Act constituted a gross interference with 'freedom of association'. As such, it undoubtedly constituted an attack upon the workers' ability to unite cohesively and the opposition of progressive forces to this reactionary measure is to be commended. But if we are to explain divisions within working class ranks in the Western Cape we must go further. It is not enough to argue that the racist characteristics of the dominant ideology have been successfully employed to divide the working class, for, in fact, a corollary of the argument would assert that the now separate 'coloured' unions would inevitably and quite 'naturally' seek to incorporate *all* 'coloured' workers in their ranks - in other words, if ideological factors emphasising race are sufficient to divide a multi-racial workforce, then by the same token they should suffice to unite all workers of the same race. That the latter is manifestly not the case in the Western Cape serves to indicate that a more penetrating enquiry is necessary - it in fact indicates quite clearly that if one argues that racist ideology alone divides 'coloured' and white workers, then one is guilty of accepting a variant form of the same ideology. As one might justifiably argue that if the Trades and Labour Council and the Western Province Federation of Labour Unions had been genuinely concerned with 'freedom of association' and 'worker solidarity' they would have devoted some of their attention to more serious divisions within working class ranks. Concern with the lack of organisation of unskilled 'coloured' workers and the relationship of 'coloured' and African workers is noticeably absent from their various pamphlets, memoranda, minutes of evidence, etc., decrying, in the name of 'freedom of association', the devision of the 'mixed' unions. We must therefore look at the other, neglected, factors dividing the working class into unionised skilled workers and unorganised unskilled workers.

B. TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

The argument advanced in this section of the paper will be familiar to most readers and, although never rigorously verified, generally accepted on an *a priori* basis. I will argue that the registered unions, both the racially exclusive unions and the 'mixed' unions, are dominated by skilled workers - that they have always been dominated by skilled workers and that, with notable exceptions, these essentially functional criteria still determine the composition of union membership to this day.

Our concern, is, of course, entirely with the manufacturing and construction sectors which, in output and employment terms, dominate the Western Cape economy. A breakdown of the Western Cape and national manufacturing sectors reveals that, in terms of their contribution to national employment and output, four industries are of primary importance in the Western Cape: food, beverages and tobacco; textiles and clothing; paper and printing; leather. Between 1960 and 1970 all of these sectors maintained and at times increased their share of national output and employment. In terms of the Western Cape economy food and beverages and clothing and textiles dominate - in 1967/68 food and beverages' share of the Western Cape's total output and employment stood at 18,6% and 28,8% respectively and textile and clothing contributed 32,3% and 21,1% of the Western Cape's output and employment totals. On the other hand the contribution of the Western Cape in the heavy industrial sector is markedly weak.

Racially disaggregated regional employment statistics are highly unreliable - nevertheless census data indicate the historically dominant position of the 'coloured' worker in the industries of the Western Cape. Firstly, unlike other regions of the country, the 'coloured' artisan is an important component of the total artisan workforce in the Western Cape - this is particularly true of the construction sector and the furniture industry. Furthermore the dominant position of the 'coloured' worker in the Western Cape workforce is not of recent origin - Trapido provides evidence of their importance as early as 1905; Simons

cites the importance of skilled 'coloured' workers in the Cape as one of the fundamental distinctions between the Cape and the rest of the country; Leslie provides statistics indicating that by 1930, 90% of the unionised painters, plasterers and furniture workers were 'coloured', the great majority being artisans. In the bricklaying and carpentry trades 50% and 40% respectively of the unionised workforce were'coloured' as were 60% of the unionised leather workers. Secondly, again unlike the rest of the country, the 'coloured' workers dominate the semi-skilled and unskilled workforce of the Western Cape's dominant industries, viz., clothing/textiles and food/beverages. The dominant position of the 'coloured' workforce - artisan, semi-skilled and unskilled - in the dominant industries in the Western Cape is the important factor accounting for the relatively liberal outlook of many of the unions in the Western Cape.

What implications does the racial composition of the Western Cape have for union policy and practice? Unfortunately regional data on trade union membership is not available. Nevertheless we are able to assume that the majority of unionised 'coloured' workers will be employed in the Western Cape although Indian union members will largely be employed in Natal - the number of unionised Indian workers has increased rapidly over the past twenty years, but they still comprise somewhat less than one-third of all unionised 'coloured' and Indian workers. Thus although the union membership figures are only available on a national basis, the Western Cape is undoubtedly sufficiently representative of the total unionised 'coloured' workforce to permit broad generalisation in respect of union policy and practice.

It is not possible to assess accurately the effect which the 1956 legislation has had on registered trade union membership. Although the legislation has probably not had much effect on total union membership or, for that matter, on the racial composition of the total unionised workforce, it has undoubtedly affected the racial composition of a great many individual unions. Most of the 'mixed' unions are either predominantly white or predominantly

'coloured' - there are not many that are representative of a large number of workers of both races. An important factor accounting for this tendency is the Minister's power to grant exemptions from the provisions of the 1956 Act, i.e. where the union is numerically dominated by 'coloured' members the Minister may permit the election of 'coloured' members to the executive or he may permit joint (i.e. multiracial) union meetings to be held. Thus many of the unions which are only nominally 'mixed' have remained so because they have been exempted from some of the provisions of the Act. There are, of course, exceptional cases where unions representing a large number of both white and 'coloured' members have elected to remain 'mixed'; the Boiler-makers' Union being the best example. Nevertheless the provisions of the Act have 'encouraged' many of the larger unions to separate - the decision of the National Union of Distributive Workers (NUDW) to split into the white NUDW and the 'coloured' National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers (NUCAW) is a clear example of successful legal pressure. The views of some of the co-ordinating bodies will have also prompted separation in certain cases - the Confederation of Labour does not accept affiliation of 'mixed' unions - SACTU encouraged its unions to separate in the belief that 'coloured' workers would achieve more in separate unions in which they would be entitled to executive membership. It is important to note that SACTU attempted, unsuccessfully, to encourage the formation of unregistered unions representative of all races, particularly 'coloured' and African workers; in 1954 the first TUCSA president, Rutherford, referred to the threatened separation of the unions as "... the most serious threat of all to the Movement". The following year Rutherford indicated that while his organisation was prepared to accept legislation requiring segregated branches and meetings, they were not prepared to accept many of the important provisions of the proposed legislation, particularly the registration of break-away unions and the appropriation of part of the original union funds by the breakaway union. Basically TUCSA was concerned with maintaining the cohesion of the artisan dominated unions and, to this day, includes the majority of 'mixed' and 'coloured' unions within its ranks.

Nevertheless the point remains that, 'mixed' or 'separate', the unions continue to be dominated by the skilled fragment of the workforce, or, in particular unions, by the operative or semi-skilled component - they do not incorporate the bulk of the working class. Now this is obviously true on a national level - Africans are not permitted to form or join registered trade unions and thus the bulk of the unskilled labour force is automatically excluded from registered unions. However, even given the lack of organisation of African workers, the existing registered 'mixed' and 'coloured' unions in the Western Cape do not appear to have made significant inroads into the semi-skilled and, certainly, unskilled workforce, a great proportion of which is 'coloured' and therefore eligible for union membership.

Table 1 indicates a steady increase in the numbers unionised. The number of unionised white workers has increased steadily although the number of unionised 'coloured' workers has increased at a noticeably faster rate - column 4 of the table shows the steady increase in the 'coloured' component of the total unionised workforce. This increase in the numbers unionised and, particularly, the change in the racial composition of the unionised workforce can, in part, be explained by occupational mobility. In the words of one prominent unionist, "the workers have moved up into the unions, the unions have not moved down into the workforce". Changes in the labour process will certainly have led to the displacement of part of the artisan workforce and, to a smaller extent, part of the unskilled component, simultaneously accentuating the role of the semi-skilled operative. It is reasonable to assume that a number of skilled workers have, in some degree, moved into a supervisory position and, as such, have moved out of the union, and that a number of unskilled 'coloured' workers have moved into the operative and other semi-skilled positions and, hence, have possibly moved into the union, thus explaining the more rapid rate of growth of the unionised 'coloured' workers. In particular industries this appears to have been exactly the case - in the distributive trade, for example, the white union, the NUDW, has weakened whilst the 'coloured' union, the

NUCAW, has grown rapidly and the explanation offered is exactly that suggested above. Because of the lack of comparative and regional data it will be difficult to prove rigorously that changes in union membership have been caused by the growth of the Western Cape industries and the accompanying changes in the labour process - in the construction industry in 1968 the Manpower Report of the Department of Labour classified 15 360 'coloured' workers as artisans and in the same year total 'coloured' unionisation in the industry was approximately 10 700. By 1973 'coloured' artisans in the building trades numbered 25 187 and total union membership numbered 16 844, the respective growth rates between 1968 and 1973 being approximately 63% and 58%; in 1973 in the furniture trade 'coloured' artisans numbered 3 452, the number of operatives and semi-skilled workers approximately 8 550 and total 'coloured' union membership numbered approximately 8 500. Comparable union membership and employment statistics are not generally available but it appears obvious that the 'mixed' and 'coloured' unions concentrate for the large part on the skilled, and, in selected instances, semi-skilled workers, and the unskilled workers remain unorganised. The craft or artisan dominated unions in the Western Cape, - for example the South African Woodworkers Union and the Western Province Building Workers Union - generally operate in industries where the 'coloured component of the workforce has been prominent, if not dominant, both in the industry as a whole and in the artisan workforce, for a significant period of time. There are not legal barriers preventing, for example, the Western Province Building Workers Union from organising the large number of unskilled 'coloured' labourers working in the building industry - many of the established 'coloured' and 'mixed' unions emerged as craft unions and they have retained this skilled orientation to the present day.

In the metal and machinery and motor industries there are relatively few 'coloured' artisans - 5 000 'coloured' and 124 000 white artisans - although there are approximately 36 000 'coloured' operative and semi-skilled workers. 'Coloured' unionisation in these industries constitutes a small part of total 'coloured' employment and once again appears to incorporate the artisans and a small part of the semi-skilled workforce. In the

leather industry 'coloured' operatives and other semi-skilled workers dominate and union membership in relation to total semi-skilled employment is significant.

The Cape Town Municipal Workers Association is, in some sense, an exceptional case. It is a well established union of 'coloured' workers. It has approximately 9 500 members, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, although the latter two categories of workers are clearly dominant. A closed-shop agreement is in force in respect of all council employees in Cape Town.

It is difficult to assess the situation prevailing in the Western Cape's dominant industries. Both food/beverages and clothing/textiles are not craft dominated industries although the proportion of unskilled labourers is likely to be greater in respect of the former than the latter. The Garment Workers Union of the Western Province, which is also party to a closed-shop agreement, is the largest union in the country with a total membership of 35 406 members, 34 713 of whom are 'coloured' workers. The union obviously includes a large number of semi-skilled and unskilled workers in its ranks. However, the position of this union is unclear - I shall comment briefly on the Garment Workers' Union in my concluding remarks. Suffice it to say that press reports indicate that a significant element of the rank and file of the union is extremely dissatisfied with the union leadership. Nationally, approximately 84% of the 'coloured' garment workers are unionised. Only about 25% of the textile workers in the country are unionised although it appears that the Western Cape is the backbone of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union. Union organisation in the food and beverages industry is extremely weak. Approximately 30% of the 'coloured' workers in the national food industry are organised and the proportion unionised in the beverages industry is negligible.

Thus it would appear that where the number of 'coloured' artisans is dominant in relation to total artisan employment in the industry the 'mixed' or 'coloured' unions are narrowly craft dominated and a large number of eligible unskilled 'coloured' workers are excluded from the unions - the construction unions exemplify this

state of affairs; where the 'coloured' workers are dominant in the semi-skilled and operative categories, the unions, apparently the National Union of Leather Workers and the Garment Workers' Union are examples, have organised the semi-skilled workers but, I must stress, only where the 'coloured' component of the artisan workforce is not significant. Finally, where the industry is dominated by unskilled 'coloured' workers the unions tend to be extremely weak - the food and beverages industry offers a clear example. Apparently the only exception to this pattern is the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association which represents a large number of artisans, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Unreliable data notwithstanding, it appears that the registered union ranks are dominated by skilled, and, in select instances, semi-skilled workers, despite the presence of a large number of eligible unskilled workers. The slight changes that have occurred appear to have been determined by a changing labour process (rather than by any change in union policy) and with some artisans and other skilled workers moving into supervisory positions (and hence moving out of the union) and unskilled workers moving into 'acceptable' semi-skilled positions. There is, however, considerable doubt as to the significance of this movement - certainly the number of unionised workers as a proportion of the total white and 'coloured' workforce has declined and it is unlikely that the reverse process has occurred in any particular sector of the economy. The 1956 legislation separating the unions has had the effect of introducing an essentially ideological division into the ranks of the unionised 'coloured' and white workers. Whilst the lack of a common organisation has certainly concretised this ideology and impaired the unionised workers' ability to confront the employers, it has not prompted the registered unions to salvage their lost solidarity by looking to the unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

These conclusions obviously beg an important question: we have to ask ourselves why the unions have riveted their attention upon the most skilled fragment of the

workforce, why they have chosen to exclude the eligible unskilled workers from their ranks. I can do little more than offer several tentative suggestions.

One possible explanation - though decidedly historicist has, in fact, been outlined above. The 'mixed' and 'coloured' unions in the Western Cape have been dominated by skilled craftsmen since at least the turn of the century - 'coloured' workers were thus admitted to the unions because they were firmly established in most of the important trades. The relative liberalism of most of the Cape unionists and white wage-earners is thus not to be explained by the climate of the fair Cape but rather by the expedient grasping of particular crucial opportunities. Craft unions will only open their ranks to semi-skilled workers when the job of artisan has been irreversibly diluted or fragmented and this has undoubtedly occurred in a number of cases. But in terms of the prevalent economistic 'craft-type' perspective there is no *a priori* reason for opening their ranks to unskilled workers - it is obviously far simpler to organise relatively stably employed skilled workers than to organise lowly paid, oft unemployed labourers. And undoubtedly the simplest way of resolving any economically grounded conflict which might arise between skilled and unskilled workers is to keep the conflict out of the union.

Furthermore, the domination of craft or skilled unions reinforces itself. For example, if the skilled unions are dominant it is obvious that the co-ordinating bodies will be dominated by the immediate economic interests of the skilled workers. Thus when bus fares were raised recently in Cape Town it appears that several of the skilled unions were able to arrive at an amicable agreement with management whereby their real earnings were unaffected - when the leader of a predominantly semi-skilled and unskilled union publicly objected to the increase in bus fares he provoked opposition from the leadership of one of the co-ordinating bodies on the grounds that the interests of skilled workers had been satisfactorily accomodated by management at the same time that the bus fares had been increased. The co-ordinating bodies' overt support of the dominant skilled unions thus increases the difficulties faced by the unskilled unions in attempting to secure the economic demands of their members.

Secondly, if we are to understand correctly the priorities and policies of the registered unions we have to situate them within the political struggles of the time - struggles between the state and the various political organisations actively co-operating with the unions; conflicts between the various political organisations supposedly sympathetic to the interests of the broad mass of workers; struggles within the power bloc, between the dominant classes. I will attempt to deal briefly with only one facet of the political struggle, the conflict between the state and the political organisations active in the trade union movement. This does not attempt to deny the critical importance of divergences within the power bloc and within the organisations politically active in the Cape (particularly in the 'forties and 'fifties) but analysis of these conflicts must remain the subject of further research.

In some sense, the question of the conflict between the state and the political groups or individual members of political groups alleged to be co-operating with the unions is clear, and the government's views are crystallised in the action taken against trade unionists immediately after the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act. Horrell records that

> "In January 1956 the Minister told the House of Assembly that, by then, the names of 75 trade union officials had been placed on the liquidators' lists ... Of these 56 had been ordered to resign from their union. Since then, hundreds of other trade unionists who were never members of the Communist Party have been banned on the ground that the Minister considered them to be furthering the aims of Communism as broadly defined in the Act. These persons are precluded from continuing union activities." (pp 14-15)

It is generally assumed that action taken by the state against these organisations and individuals reflects antagonism towards any attempt to assist in the organisation of African workers. Although this may be the case, it is equally true to say that such action has severely retarded the development of unions of which unskilled 'coloured' workers were

members. Clearly the Communist Party itself played an extremely active part in the organisation of unskilled workers - both African and 'coloured' - in the Western Cape. They, together with other organisations, like the Coloured Unemployment League, were involved in trade union activity in the depression of the 'thirties and their pioneering activity in this period produced a healthy crop of unions of unskilled workers in later years. Communist trade unionists like Ray Alexander, Gomas, La Guma and others were instrumental in the formation of many unions including the S.A. Railway and Harbour Workers' Union which incorporated approximately 1 500 unskilled stevedores and railway workers. In later years Ray Alexander's Food and Canning Workers' Union flourished in the Western Cape and, in general, the Communist Party, assisted by the African Federation of Trade Unions, engaged in considerable activity amongst unskilled workers in the Western Cape. These organisations and individual were subjected to considerable harassment, leaders were imprisoned and later banned in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. The unions in which these individuals and organisations were active were, by and large, isolated from the mainstream of trade union activity in the Western Cape and were subjected to severe criticism by the established unions and co-ordinating bodies, most notably by the leaders of the Cape Federation. In the mid-'fifties some of these unions affiliated to SACTU which included in its ranks unregistered African unions and several 'coloured' unions and which, in fact, advocated the formation of unregistered unions of 'coloured' and African workers. SACTU officials and member unions suffered acute harassment - it is claimed that official hostility towards SACTU coupled with the open antagonism of many of the established unions and co-ordinating bodies enabled employers to ride roughshod over many of the member unions' minimum economic demands.

Thus the action of the state, if not explicitly directed at the organisation of 'coloured' workers, has certainly had the effect of retarding the development of organisations of unskilled workers - both African and 'coloured' in the Western Cape. I do not, of course, suggest that these two factors,

the historical dominance of craft unions and the repressive action of the state - of themselves account for the lack of organisation of unskilled workers, but they are of critical importance. One registered union in the Western Cape has successfully organised the mass of semi-skilled and unskilled 'coloured' workers within its sphere of authority, the Garment Workers' Union. It is not without significance that in the early years of the GWU's life a massive confrontation between the then progressive forces from the Transvaal Union (led by Solly Sachs) on the one hand, the the entrenched Cape leadership on the other, resulted in victory for the latter. Nor is it without significance that this supposedly powerful union appears to be torn by a conflict between large elements of the rank and file and the union bureaucracy - the union has not attracted the hostility of the state, but nor has it attracted the support of an articulate element of its rank and file.

Thus, in conclusion, we have seen that the 1956 legislation, separating the 'mixed' unions, whilst a flagrant violation of 'freedom of association', only directly affects the position of the skilled workers. It probably reduces their bargaining power and, in a more general sense, undoubtedly assists in bolstering the racist ideology separating whites and 'coloureds'.

There are other factors which drive a wedge between the 'coloured' workers of the Western Cape and which have given rise to a unionised skilled workforce and an unorganised unskilled mass - interestingly, many of the unions which vehemently opposed the racial separation of the unions in 1956 have not attempted to repair the rift between their members and the unorganised, but eligible, unskilled workers. But, without doubt, the critical division in the Western Cape is that existing *within* the ranks of the semi-skilled and unskilled workforce - I refer, of course, to the division between 'coloured' and African workers. Organisation of unskilled workers in the Western Cape must ultimately incorporate both 'coloured' and African workers.

In the past the difficulties have proved enormous -

racist ideology certainly operates as an important wedge, and, moreover, as Alexander and Simons have pointed out, "Coloured, Indians and Africans have a common interest ... But their statuses are unequal. Coloured and Indians, but not Africans, *may* form and join registered unions and take part in collective bargaining under statute. As long as the registration of a union confers a real or imagined advantage on its members, it is unlikely that Coloured and Indian workers will adopt the course open to any union of not seeking registration." (p. 25)

FOOTNOTES:

Most of the research for this article was completed in the first half of 1975.

1) A refreshing departure from this sort of ideological stress is to be found in Rob Davies' excellent work. See, for example, his article entitled 'The Class Character of South Africa's Industrial Conciliation Legislation', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 2(6), January 1976.

2) In fact, it might be argued that in any discussion where the 'coloured' people constitute an important object of the analysis, ideological factors, by definition, come to the fore.

3) There was, of course, nothing to prevent any union restricting its membership to a particular racial group. Also membership qualifications are not only racially defined - the Act also stipulates that a union has to be registered in respect of a particular occupation or industry. This effectively prevents the registration of a general workers union.

4) For the purpose of the Act 'coloured' is defined to include 'coloured' and Indian workers.

Table 1

Number of Unions and Membership by Race - 1950-1974.

Year	No. of Unions	Number of Members			
		All Races (1)	White (2)	Coloured & Asiatic (3)	(3) as % of (1) (4)
1950	168	355 362	284 076	71 286	20,1
1951	166	365 117	288 536	76 581	21,0
1952	170	376 800	296 906	79 894	21,2
1953	169	376 890	295 825	81 065	21,5
1954	165	377 159	291 355	84 804	22,5
1955	166	394 008	304 107	89 901	22,7
1956	171	406 971	312 566	94 405	23,2
1957	182	414 580	313 184	101 396	24,5
1958	183	420 101	319 085	101 016	24,0
1959	172	429 669	328 188	101 481	23,6
1960	166	440 473	332 623	107 837	24,5
1961	172	444 727	333 295	111 432	25,1
1962	171	449 940	335 271	114 713	25,5
1963	172	466 686	344 652	122 034	26,1
1964	171	489 392	355 219	134 173	27,4
1965	168	512 618	367 714	144 910	28,3
1966	168	523 383	375 229	148 154	28,3
1967	169	542 763	386 438	156 325	28,8
1968	171	554 352	392 719	161 633	29,2
1974	174	618 694	411 952	206 742	33,4

Compiled from the following sources: (see overleaf)

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PROBLEMS WITH TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY: CASE STUDY OF THE GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF THE WESTERN PROVINCE

by Johann Maree

This is an account of an unfinished battle between the officials of the Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province (GWU), especially Mr. Louis Petersen, general secretary of the Union, and an Action Committee consisting almost exclusively of rank and file members of the Union. Their aim is to "clean up the Union" which entails ousting the Executive Committee and Mr. Petersen as a first step. At the time of writing the outcome of the struggle between the two sides is still indecisive, but since this is an event of considerable significance for the trade union movement in South Africa, an account of the major events to date is given here.

The reason why the struggle is of such importance is that the Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province is the largest mixed union in the country and probably now larger than the all-white South African Association of Municipal Employees (Non-Political). In 1974 the Union had a total of 35 406 members comprising 693 White and 34 713 Coloured members. (1) Currently claims are made of a membership totalling no less than 45 000. Mr. Petersen is therefore head of a very powerful union. His position is further strengthened by virtue of the fact that he serves on the National Executive of TUCSA, a position he has held for a very long time, and is one of the six vice-presidents of TUCSA. He is furthermore secretary of the Western Province Area Division of TUCSA and on the Garment Workers' Consultative Council of the three Garment Workers' Unions in the country.

He took office as Secretary when Rose Crawford retired and has been a paid official of the Union for 25 years or more.

ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE SECRETARY

The first public criticisms against the secretary appeared in October last year when an Action Committee

of garment workers came into existence. It aims to unseat Mr. Petersen and his son, Mr. Cedric Petersen, who is assistant secretary of the union and allegedly being "groomed" to take over the job his father is holding. (2)

The criticism soon focussed on the fact that the secretary had settled for a minimum wage of R22,50 per week for a skilled machinist at Industrial Council negotiations during August to October, 1975, (3) whereas members of the Action Committee claimed that he had been instructed by Union members at the Annual General Meeting of the Union in 1975 not to settle for less than R27,50. When members subsequently learned that the increase to R22,50 would not come into operation until 1977, but that machinists would carry on earning a weekly wage of R20,50 until then, the criticism grew more forceful.(4)

In addition to this the Action Committee maintains that the secretary earns a monthly salary of R1600 excluding perks. (5) Against this Mr. Petersen claims that the general meeting had decided that he should accept "the best possible" conditions in the negotiations and denied that he had said he would get a minimum of R27,50 for top hands. (6) He has resolutely refused to reveal his monthly income to the press or to me and was not prepared to make any comment when I directly asked him to verify or deny a newspaper report that he informed a shop stewards' meeting that he earns "only R1100" a month. (7)

FURTHER CRITICISMS AND THE SECRETARY'S RESPONSE

The Action Committee very soon widened its field of criticisms of Mr. Petersen. In a pamphlet issued by them they pointed out that he had been secretary of their trade union for more than 20 years and had led all negotiations for wage increases. They point out that

> "In 1948, a Machinist was paid R8 per week. Remember, Mr. Petersen, we Machinists are probably the most important employees in the Clothing Industry and we definitely represent the majority of the workers in the trade. After 28 years, we Machinists are being paid the magnificent sum of R20,50 per week ....

A very conservative calculation of the increase in the Cost of Living since 1948 has been put at 32%. This means that merely to have kept pace with this increase, a Machinist should now be earning at least R25,60 per week. This means that our REAL WAGES have DECREASED since 1948 ...."

"Now let us look at the Industrial Council Sick Fund, Mr. Petersen ... In 1948 for a contribution of 5 cents per week, Machinists were paid R4 per week when they had been off work for three days or more... Today, after a similar period of absence due to certified sickness, a Machinist receives R8 per week. Incidentally, contributions have now risen to 20 cents per week for a Machinist .... On the conservative calculation of a 32% increase in the Cost of Living since 1948, we should now be receiving at least R12,80 per week in Sick Pay." (8)

Furthermore the Action Committee accused the secretary and the Executive of extravagant expenditure of Union funds. This extravagance, they claimed, extended into an extensive face-lift of Industria House, the building that houses the Garment Workers' Union and other unions. They claimed that it cost R2-million and that this money could rather have been used to build homes for the homeless. The secretary denied that it cost R2-million and asserted that the cost was R1 284 000 "with escalating costs". Some of the criticisms of the Action Committee regarding Industria House appear to be misdirected. It certainly is the case that the building provides many centralised facilities for members of the Union. Mr. Petersen showed me around the spacious medical and waiting rooms that service the Sick Fund of the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry. A full-time doctor and nurses are on duty. A dental room, an Eye Clinic and ample service counters are also provided in the building which is quite well placed at Salt River to service members of the Union. A number of clothing factories are for instance in the immediate vicinity of Industria House.

On the other hand the Action Committee has touched on an important principle of priorities and, with the immense housing shortage in Cape Town one might well ask whether the Union should not give urgent attention to housing all its members. The Industrial Council

Provident Fund does provide housing loans: in its 18 years of existence the Home Ownership Scheme has provided assistance to over 500 contributors to purchase or build their own houses or to purchase plots.(9) But is this sufficient and has the Union tried to establish the housing requirements of its members? Has the Union attempted to determine whether they should give priority to housing as opposed to centralised social services for its members?

Another allegation of extravagant expenditure is that the Union bought a fleet of five cars in 1969, but that only three had been used for union business. The secretary denied that two of the cars had not been used for Union business. He said the two cars were parked at his home because there were no parking facilities for them. He kept the engines running, he said, by using them alternately with other Union cars. Another reason was that there were not enough Union organizers who could drive for them to be given to Union officials (10). Action committee members on the other hand claim that there was ample space to park the cars at the Union building and also point out that the secretary already drives an expensive Mercedes Benz.

The secretary and Union officials have also come under fire from the Action Committee for over-spending on overseas and local trips to conferences. Their criticism is that all these trips "are total waste of the workers' money which can be used to the benefit of the workers themselves" (11). The 1974 Statement of Expenditure (the 1975 Balance sheet and statement of income and expenditure was not ready for presentation at the 1976 Annual General Meeting even though the constitution lays down that it should be presented during the month of March) indicates that the amount spent on Fares and Accommodation was R3 976 and on Subsistence Allowance was R5 888. These sums were spent by attending two conferences that took place consecutively in Port Elizabeth: the Consultative Council of the Garment Workers' Unions met on 20 September and the TUCSA Conference lasted from 23 to 27 September. The Action Committee points out in a pamphlet that 10 people attended the conferences which means that they were paid an average of R84 subsistence per day. (12) The secretary replied that the allowance given to each

delegate was only R12,00 out of which hotel bills, food and transport expenses had to be paid.(13) It is however hard not to agree with the Action Committee because the secretary himself implies in a pamphlet that the figures refer to only two conferences.

Although bonuses and attendance fees are probably fairly common to many trade unions, the 1974 Statement of Expenditure of the Garment Workers Union of the Western Province nonetheless makes interesting reading. It includes a chairman's allowance of R780 and bonuses totalling R17 435 for salaried officials. Over and above that the Executive Committee received Attendance Fees of R7 308 plus bonuses totalling R6 096.

An attempt by me to interview the secretary and get a clear picture of his side of the story turned out to be rather futile. He was highly suspicious of my motives for interviewing him and could not understand why I displayed this interest in the Garment Workers' Union and not in any other union. Mr. Petersen and his son were very keen to inform me of all the other benefits they were providing for their members: the Union has, for instance, from 1969 to 1975 given 51 bursaries to students and in 1976 they were supporting 27 students in all. The Union has also paid out Funeral Fund Benefits to more than 512 people with the benefits totalling R28 000. But these claims seem irrelevant because they do not meet the basic objections raised by the Action Committee.

ACTION COMMITTEE PROBLEMS: THE CONSTITUTION

From the above it is quite clear that the practices of the Union officials have not sprung up overnight. The whole process is one that has built up over many years and it was only the last straw that really gave the impetus for an Action Committee to step into the breach and try to reform the union.

The problems facing the Action Committee are wide-ranging and do not just entail getting rid of the secretary. Members of the Committee that I have spoken to realise that some fundamental changes are needed in the Union's structure that would require amendments to its constitution. This is because many of the Union

officials' practices could easily be attributed to the undemocratic nature of the constitution that effectively excludes participation of members other than the Executive Committee from the affairs of the Union. Once the Executive has been elected, they and the general secretary hold great discressionary powers which they can exercise without consultation of union members. Nor do union members have any jurisdiction or authority over these decisions except under certain circumstances that are extremely hard to attain.

The Central Executive Committee has power to appoint the General Secretary, fix his remuneration and define his duties. Upon the recommendation of the General Secretary the Committee engages or dismisses employees including the organisers. The other duties of the Central Executive Committee are administrative matters like instituting legal proceedings and so on. These duties are not directly concerned with the problems on the shop floor of rank and file members other than the assigned task of dealing with disputes between members and their employers. (14) Nor do they have any contact as a committee with rank and file members an and shopstewards other than through the constitutional power that "members of the Executive shall have the right right to attend meetings of delegates (shop-stewards), and to speak at such meetings". (15) The Central Executive Committee are thus required by constitution to get in touch with shop-floor problems as a Committee other than through a monthly report including "any matters the members desire to bring to the notice of the Central Executive Committee" (16) that each shop-steward has to submit to the General Secretary. However, many executive members are also shop-stewards which would help the Executive Committee to automatic-ally be in touch with rank and file members of the companies for which the Executive members work.

The Central Executive Committee has fairly wide-ranging financial powers with the right to authorize payment from the funds of the Union for any item of expenditure up to R3 000, excepting any expenditure appertaining to delegations to conferences in which case the payment can be of any size whatsoever. (17) In addition to these powers, the Executive also has the right to suspend, fine or expel a member of the Union. (18)

In contrast to the powers vested in the hands of the Executive Committee the shop-stewards are assigned petty roles of a clerical nature such as keeping stop-order books and so on. This is not to imply that financial affairs are not important. To the contrary, they are important, but the point is that shop-stewards are not given an active role in organising workers, dealing with grievances on the shop floor, formulating Union strategies, participating in the bargaining process, and generally taking decisions in the Union.

The remarkable aspect about the constitutional role of the General Secretary is that the role appears to be fairly limited. A great number of the functions of the Secretary are typical secretarial functions of giving notice of meetings, keeping minutes and so on. A closer look however reveals that the Secretary attends all the meetings of the shop-stewards (19) and of the Executive (20), the organisers are under the supervision of the General Secretary. (21) The Administrative functions vested in the hands of the General Secretary also give him considerable discretionary power. It is quite clear that a forceful Executive Committee would be able to keep the activities of the Secretary fairly well under control.

Although the constitution does allow for the rank and file to make their voice heard, it is hard for them to make use of these constitutional rights. A ballot can be called on any questions provided a petition signed by at least 600 members (not more than 50 from any one factory) is presented. However, an attempt in February by the Action Committee to get the constitution changed so as to ensure that the ballot at the forthcoming election of the Executive Committee would be organised, scrutinised and supervised by independent persons proved to be futile. Although more than 600 signatures were obtained with great ease by the Action Committee their attempts were thwarted because it proved to be ultra vires in terms of section 10 of the Industrial Conciliation Act. (22)

Rank and file members can also remove an official from office provided at least 30% of the members of the whole Union submit a written request to the Executive Committee for the taking of a ballot of the members on the question

of removing the official from office. Only if 60% of the members of the Union vote in favour of the removal of the office bearer shall such a person vacate his office. This means that at least 13 500 signatures would have to be obtained in order to hold a ballot for the removal of the secretary, say, and that 27 000 members would have to vote in favour of his removal before he would vacate his office. This would be no easy task and the Action Committee has adopted another strategy.

THE ACTION COMMITTEE AND ITS STRATEGY

The approach adopted by the Action Committee has been to try and get an entirely new Central Executive Committee elected. Election of a new Executive was due in the first half of this year. Action Committee members I interviewed asserted that the secretary had the support of the Executive Committee. It was therefore necessary to get an entirely new Executive elected in the first place. The strategy they adopted to try and achieve this is very interesting.

At the Annual General Meeting the General Secretary has to read out the names of the nominated persons to the meeting. Because the Action Committee feared victimisation of their nominees they did not reveal which of the large number of election candidates were the Action Committee's candidates. (More or less 100 candidates were nominated for 12 posts which Coloured members elect). Not until the first election day did they reveal who their candidates were. They did this by handing out pamphlets entitled "Vote for a New Deal!" which contained a list of names of people who are endorsed as "honest, sincere trade unionists who will work in your interests". This strategy did not work out as well as it was envisaged because a "spy" allegedly infiltrated the Action Committee ranks and the pamphlet mistakenly listed 8 instead of 7 ordinary members that voters were encouraged to support. Since this pamphlet was laid out like a ballot paper with crosses behind the candidates' names, this might have caused many ballot papers to be spoilt.

The Action Committee consists of about 15 to 30 people most of whom are ordinary members of the Garment

Workers' Union. Included amongst them are Mr. E. Buckton and Miss M. Borez, two former employees of the Union. Mr. Buckton was also on the Executive Committee. A couple of trade unionists also act in an advisory capacity for the Action Committee. Before the election for the new Executive the Action Committee ran a very active grass-roots campaign. They held "campaign meetings" in the homes of Union members in townships right across the Peninsual. One member claimed these meetings were held nightly, another said they were held about twice a week. About 6 to 10 rank and file members were asked to attend a "campaign meeting" where Action Committee members would tell them what was happening in the Union hierarchy and the plans they have for reform. These members would then speak to other Union members and so on.

In addition to these meetings the Action Committee handed out pamphlets which union officials could not resist replying to. The result was that a veritable pamphlet "war" between the Action Committee and the Garment Workers' Union broke out. In a pamphlet issued by the Garment Workers' Union and addressed to "Dear Member", the following attack is launched:

> "Your union calls on you to stand up and fight to keep out these traitors who are trying to take from you everything that you have helped to build up. Now that all the hard work has been done, these cowards are working in the background - at night, secretly - by putting out nameless pamphlets; by running to the press, telling BLATANT LIES and by attacking the character of your secretary who has devoted his life to the principles of trade unionism."
> "If these cowards had any guts they would come out into the open and reveal themselves instead of hiding behind a nameless "Action Group" and working behind everyone's back." (23)

In response to this tirade the Action Committee replied:

> "Not satisfied with his dismally poor performance as Secretary of *our* trade union, Mr. Louis Petersen, in his latest circular, calls *us* traitors. Who does this man think he is? The Garment Workers'

> Union of the Western Province is *our* Union. *We* are the bosses and Mr. Petersen must remember that he is an employee. He is *our* employee, we are not satisfied with his performance and we want him out. ...Who are *we* ? Mr. Petersen, we are paid up members of the Union who help to pay the fantastic salary you receive as secretary of the Union.. *We* are not cowards, we certainly are *not* traitors. We are doing what should have been done years ago, during all those years whilst we slaved away at our machines for a very low wage and you and your Executive Committees toured the capitals of Europe, stayed in the best hotels and attended conferences on *our* hard-earned money. What good did the conferences do for us? Did they improve our conditions, our wages? ... You ask "Who are we", Mr. Petersen? ... You will know who we are, Mr. Petersen when we vote for a new Executive Committee which will work for *us* , the ordinary members of *our* Union". (24)

It is clear that the Action Committee had unveiled a discontent that had been simmering for a long time amongst the rank and file of the Union. At the Annual General Meeting held on 8 April the members voiced their discontent in no uncertain manner and the meeting had to be adjourned for a fortnight. There was an uproar for several minutes when Mr. Petersen tried to get the minutes of the previous meeting passed alleging that it had been decided that the Union's negotiators should negotiate for the best possible wage. Police were actually present in the hall and were also patrolling the area outside in four vans. According to several reports Mr. Cedric Petersen was actually in one of the police vans directing the police in picking up young boys who were handing out Action Committee pamphlets. (25) At the second meeting on 22nd April the minutes were passed without being read again.

The elections for the new Executive Committee were finally held on July 15, 16, 19 and 20 with Mr. Petersen himself acting as returning officer with scrutineers appointed by the existing Executive Committee. At the time of writing the results of the election had still not been announced although more than a month had elapsed since the first election day. The Action

Committee members I interviewed are uncertain what the results will be. One thing is clear though: they are going to carry on fighting whatever the results.

FOOTNOTES:

1. D. Horner, *Registered Trade Unions in South Africa 1974* (S.A.I.R.R., 1974), p. 37.

2. *Sunday Times Extra*, 5 Oct. 1975.

3. Industrial Council for Clothing Industry, *Annual Report, 1975* p. 4.

4. *Sunday Times Extra*, 6 March 1976.

5. Ibid. 1 February, 1976, Action Committee pamphlet, *Garment Workers Awake*.

6. *Sunday Times Extra*, 15 Feb. 1976.

7. Ibid., 28 March 1976.

8. Action Committee pamphlet *We haven't Stopped Talking Mr. Petersen.*

9. I.C. for Clothing Industry, *Annual Report*, 1975 p. 9.

10. *Sunday Times Extra*, 28 March 1976.

11. Action Committee as quoted in *Sunday Times Extra*, 15th Feb. 1976.

12. Notes from 1974 Statement of Income and Expenditure, Action Committee Pamphlet *Garment Workers Read This Very Carefully and Remember It.*

13. Garment Workers' Union pamphlet.

14. Constitution, Section 7(5) (f).

15. Ibid, Sect. 6 (C) (1)

16. Ibid, Sect. 6 (B) (1) (f).

17. Ibid, Sect. 9 (3) (a).

18. Ibid, Sect. 12 (1).

19. Ibid, Sect. 6 (C) (7).

20. Ibid, Sect. 7 (9).

21 Ibid, Sect. 8 (1) (g)

22. *Sunday Times Extra*, 22 Feb. 1976; also Garment Workers' Union Pamphlet, March 1976.

23. Garment Workers' Union Pamphlet *Stand Firm by Your Union.*

24. Action Committee Pamphlet *Garment Workers Reply to Mr. Petersen.*

25. *Sunday Times Extra*, 11 April 1976.

THE WESTERN PROVINCE WORKERS' ADVICE BUREAU

by Dudley Horner

A more general strategy on the organisation of workers than the industrial union approach is what distinguishes the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau from other organisations in the country which are organising African workers. Prior examination of the rationale for this different approach is, thus, a necessary requirement for assessing the Advice Bureau's achievements.

In the first place, although the Bureau is open to all workers, only African workers have thus far joined it. The position of the African worker in the Western Cape has particularly peculiar characteristics because the area falls within what the authorities have decreed a 'coloured labour preference area.' This means that no employer can employ an African worker without first applying to the Department of Labour for an unemployed 'coloured' worker to fill the vacant post. If no 'coloured' worker is available, the Department issues a certificate to this effect and sanctions the employment of African labour. While this policy is obviously an important obstacle in the path of African/'coloured' worker unity, its practical application over many years has ensured that the vast mass of African workers in Cape Town have remained either unskilled labourers or semi-skilled operatives engaged on tasks for which relatively little training is required. The exceptions are the few professional people, teachers for example, and salesmen, clerks and minor bureaucrats, who together constitute a tiny fraction of the city's African labour force.

A second factor, which aggravates the insecurity of African workers in Cape Town is the severe restriction of their residential rights. Some ten years ago, the government 'froze' the African labour complement of Cape Town and, since that time, it has been impossible for any Africans, other than children born to people legally resident then, to become permanent legal residents of the city. This has meant that the proportion of migrant workers from the Transkei and Ciskei has risen tremendously. The fact that the contracts of these migrants are valid for one year

only, after which period they are obliged to return to their places of origin and await new or renewed contracts, tends to keep these workers in relatively unskilled jobs. This leads to a great deal of inter-industry mobility which in turn reinforces their unskilled status. The uncertainty attached to migrant status coupled with vast reservoirs of unemployed people in the Transkei and Ciskei exacerbates an already insecure job situation.

The impending independence of the Transkei with its attendant issue of loss of citizenship of the Republic is an additional complication. It is difficult at this stage to foresee what the practical effects of this political decision will be.

The aims and the work of the Advice Bureau must be seen against this background. The inter-industry mobility of the relatively unskilled worker, either from choice - or in the case of the migrant worker - from necessity, is of crucial importance. In most industries the African worker has, this far, been taught a few basic skills only and this fact places him at a serious disadvantage on the bargaining front. At a number of factories, and Cape Town is not exceptional on this score, employers, with little inconvenience to themselves, have been able to dismiss their entire complement of unskilled labour and hire migrant workers as replacements. The displaced seek other jobs wherever available, but often in different industries from those in which they had previously been employed.

Historically the trade union, whether craft or industrial, developed mainly because skills acquired by workers in particular industries provided them with an effective weapon in negotiations with their employers. This does not appear to be true of relatively unskilled workers. The absence of this basic motive for incorporating workers into industrially based organisations, has led the Advice Bureau to conclude that such an approach affords inadequate protection for relatively unskilled workers. In short, the real need is for a more general organisation reflecting the numerical strength of these workers and compensating for their lack of bargaining power based on acquired skills.

We turn, in the light of our earlier sketch, to an examination of the Advice Bureau's methods of organising workers, and its achievements, since its foundation some three-and-a-half years ago.

The Bureau consists, constitutionally, of individual members who elect annually an executive committee, and a board of trustees which functions in an advisory capacity. In the first two years of its existence it employed a single secretary/organiser, but later expanded its personnel to two organisers and an office administrator who handles individual worker complaints.

On paper, membership of the Bureau stands at between five and six thousand members organised in factory committees in approximately fifty different establishments. In practice, however, the active membership is about one-quarter of total membership. The reason for this is that many of the factory committees which had initially been organised (which were located mainly in the commercial rather than the industrial sectors) 'dropped out' of ongoing active involvement. They tend to make use of the Bureau only when specific problems arise at their places of work.

There are a number of causes for factory committees withdrawing active support. One cause, experienced by other worker organisations also, is that active membership which tends to increase when particular demands are being pressed falls off after settlement has been reached. Another is that the Bureau's educational and training programme for committees was haphazard in the beginning and took time to develop properly. However, the main reason for dwindling support from factory committees which the Bureau had originally organised is that these committees were not concretely involved in the organisational structure. An executive committee elected annually probably could not really achieve the necessary degree of active participation. What happened, inevitably, was that some factory committees were not represented on the executive while newly organised committees could not be brought onto the executive immediately. A further factor was

that the executive committee, unsurprisingly, tended to regard itself as responsible to the annual general meeting of workers and was thus in some danger of divorcing itself from the needs and interests, as well as the control, of workers on the factory floor.

In an effort to redress these faults the Bureau evolved a controlling committee of elected representatives of African workers at establishments which had been organised. This committee meets every week and presently consists of representatives of thirteen factories employing about 3 000 workers, mainly from the iron, steel and engineering industries and the construction industry. The aim is to have representatives of workers at all organised establishments.

The Advice Bureau has, until recent times, encouraged committees at organised factories to negotiate with management, direct. It has not pressed for recognition of the Bureau itself. In practice, circumstances at a particular factory, and demands and objectives arising from the situation there, have been discussed with other factory committees and with Advice Bureau organisers. These have then been pursued by the committee in question in its negotiations with management. The Bureau has only been directly involved in disputes when workers required that legal action be taken. It has, however, taken up individual worker grievances and it was twice involved with management's consent and at the workers' request in direct negotiations between factory committees and management. In time, as the organisation develops a firm foundation among workers on the factory floor, it is likely that management will be presented with demands for recognition.

In examining the achievements of the W.P. Workers' Advice Bureau since its inception one faces the inevitable problem that young organisations tend to be more subjective than objective in their early years. Nevertheless, it remains true that many workers have been assisted with individual problems and grievances. Furthermore, there have undoubtedly been many factories where committees have been helped to negotiate higher wages and better working

conditions. However, the most important achievement has probably been the establishment of the beginnings of sound, representative organisation among African workers in Cape Town where before none had existed.

PRESS RELEASE BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, WESTERN PROVINCE WORKERS' ADVICE BUREAU

The Board of Trustees of the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau, an African worker organisation comprising 5 000 members, heard with shock of the death in detention of one of the members of the Bureau, Mr Luke (Storey) Mazwembe.

Mr Mazwembe was taken from his residence on Thursday morning (2 Sept.'76) in good health and in good spirits by the Security Police and, according to a newspaper report, was dead two hours after his arrest. The police claim that he hanged himself, but we are not satisfied with this explanation.

We demand the holding of a post-mortem, inquest, and full inquiry into the circumstances of his death.

In addition, the secretary of the Workers' Advice Bureau, Ms Zora Mehlomakulu, and three other members, Mr Alpheus Ndude, Mr Helford Ndzotyana, and Mr David Sikobi have also been detained. We are very concerned about their health and safety.

INTERVIEWS WITH AFRICAN WORKERS IN CAPE TOWN

by Janet Graaff

Twenty years have passed since a survey was last conducted dealing with employment conditions of the African labour force in the Cape Peninsular, and the economic effects of influx control upon the workers and their families.(1) The findings presented in this paper are from a recent survey conducted by Johan Maree and myself. This survey overlaps with the previous study but places geater emphasis on industrial relations.

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 settlement of Crossroads and KTC ('Dutch Location').

An interview schedule, based on a pilot survey completed a few months earlier, was prepared and a random sample chosen.(2) Most interviews were conducted in Xhosa and lasted about two hours. There were few refusals and a wide variety of reasons were given for refusing. It is therefore highly unlikely that the absence of this small group affects the representivity of the sample.(3)

The sample is,however, 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.

LEGAL STATUS, AGE AND EDUCATION

Respondents were asked to explain their legal status in Cape Town. Twenty-five percent said they were *"borners"* and a further twenty five percent 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.

For those readers unfamiliar with these terms and their legal implications, a summary of the second chapter of the Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Influx Control is given below.(5)

> Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1925 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 continuously 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" to "migrants without contract"; otherwise the two groups are collectively referred to as the "migrants".

Ages of the workers interviewed range from 18 to 68 years. The average age is 41 (± 13 years)(6), and 50% of the men are over 40. A high proportion of men are 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 have gained residence rights in Cape Town by prolonged periods of employment and keep these rights only for as long as they continue to remain in Cape Town. (See Table A1 in the Appendix).

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

50% of the *bormers* have *Std. 6* or higher education
50% of the *10(1)b's* have *Std. 4* or higher education
50% of the *migrants* have *Std. 2* or higher education

Table A2 in the Appendix gives a breakdown of education according to legal status.

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 generalized 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 stevadoring and milk delivery.

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 descriptions 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, or high 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.

Further categories have been developed to deal with such cases - but for the purposes of this paper, only the four job categories described above are used, namely:

unskilled, menial

unskilled, heavy

lower operative

higher operative

Table 1 shows job category cross tabulated with legal status.(7) This table together with others not presented here, indicates a strong association between legal status and job category and suggests that it is primarily *a worker's legal status*, and only secondarily his age and education which *determine his job*.

Table 1: Employment category by Legal Status

	RESIDENTS		MIGRANTS		TOTAL
	Borners	10(1)b's	With Contract	Without Contract	
	%	%	%	%	%
Unskilled (menial)	32	50	20	37	33
Unskilled (heavy)	23	19	50	37	33
Operative (lower)	20	14	15	21	17
Operative (higher)	25	18	15	5	17
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Fifty percent of the contract workers do heavy labour work whereas only about one-fifth of the borners and 10(1)b's do. Fifty percent of the 10(1)b's are in menial labour jobs, whereas only about one-fourth of the borners and migrants (with and without contract) are. Thus, *71% of the migrants and 68% of the 10(1)b's are "unskilled", whereas only 55% of the borners are.* It appears that the borners have better opportunities than other of doing operative work, and in particular, the more responsible 'higher operative' work.

Age and education have 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 are 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. For example, 56% of the higher operative group have had some high school education, whereas 33% of the unskilled menial group and 30% of the unskilled heavy labour group, and only 18% of the lower operative workers have had some high school education. Furthermore, as many as 60% of those men

with a Std. 9 or Std. 10 education are very possibly 'underemployed' since they are doing only unskilled or lower operative jobs.(8)

In summary, it appears that 10(1)b's, largely due to their status, get menial jobs; that contract workers due to their status, tend to be contracted into heavy or unpleasant jobs; and that borners have the best chance of getting the higher operative jobs, if they are suitably qualified.

LENGTH OF SERVICE

Length of service refers to the job currently held by the worker at the time of being interviewed, or if unemployed, the job he held last.

There is no association between length of service and job category. In particular, there is no indication that borners in the higher operative category hold their jobs, on average, for any longer than migrants doing the same type of work or that either group has a longer average record of service than their counterparts in the unskilled (heavy) category. Indeed, those with the longest service are most often to be found in the unskilled menial labour category.

In all categories and in all industries represented by the respondents, *there are as many workers with at least 5 years of service as there are with less than 5 years.*

Despite this overriding tendency towards long service, *the actual length of service is influenced by legal status.*

Table 2 illustrates the effect of legal status on the length of time a man is likely to remain in his job.(9)

TABLE 2: The Effect of Legal Status on Length of Employment

	Employed for more than 1 year	2 years	4 years
	%	%	%
10(1)b's	94	77	67
Borners	88	78	54
Migrants (with contract)	80	60	40
Migrants (without contract)	67	33	11
AVERAGE for all workers	85	67	50

WAGES

Weekly earnings range from R10 to R72 with an average of R26 (± R9). A wage of R72 is exceptionally high because:

95% of the sample earn *less than R45* a week.
75% of the sample earn *less than R30* a week.
50% of the sample earn *less than R25* a week.

These numbers refer to total net weekly earnings, and include the attendance bonus and overtime earnings where applicable minus the deductions for P.A.Y.E. and U.I.F.

The wages paid by the dairy industry and the night watch and security firms are particularly low: the averages are R17 (± R1) and R20 (± R3) respectively.

State, Provincial and Municipal workers do not earn better wages: with the exception of a few very highly paid workers in State employ, the average for all three institutions is about R23 (± R4).

Averages for the building industry, iron and steel manufacturing, and baking and confectionery are the same, namely R27 (± R9).

The workers in commercial and distributive trade, and possibly also the stevadores, appear to earn the highest wages - R32 (± R10) and R36 (± R16) respectively - however, there is too much variation, as the standard deviation figures reflect, and the number of respondents is too few for certainty.

Regression analysis on the sample as a whole suggests that *earnings are significantly related to length of service and education but that these factors account for very little (5%) of the variation in earnings*. On the whole, *earnings are lower for migrants than for residents*. For migrants, wages range from an average of R17 in the dairy industry to R26 in the building industry. For residents, wages range from an average of R21 for those in municipal and state employ to R38 in commerce.

The differences in earnings between migrants and residents are in part due to the fact that for migrants there is little difference in average earnings between the unskilled categories and the lower operative category, whereas for residents there is a difference i.e. the average earnings in the lower operative category

is substantially higher than in the unskilled categories

WORKER GRIEVANCES

Respondents were asked what their problems were at work and were asked to mention them in order of importance. A content 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 grievance, allowance was made for coding up to five types per respondent.

Twenty-eight percent 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 questions 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 3 below, (i.e. the sample from which was calculated the percentage of the sample who expressed a particular type of grievance).

Table 3.

TYPE OF GRIEVANCE	% OF THE SAMPLE WHO EXPRESSED THE GRIEVANCE
1. Dissatisfaction with wage, i.e. low wages.	77%
2. Unwarranted deductions and arbitrary action by management.	43%
3. Unsatisfactory relations with foreman and/or manager; ineffective negotiating institution	39%
4. Unsatisfactory material conditions and conditions of service.	29%
5. Living conditions inadequate or unsatisfactory. Management seen as responsible.	10%

Wage problems are a widespread grievance. 77% of all workers who express any grievance at all, complain that their wage is too low. *Irrespective of industry, of job category, and of legal status, the overriding grievance concerns low wages.*

Many say simply that their wage is too low to keep up with the increases in the cost of living; others specify that their wage is too low in relation to their length of service, or the level of skill or the degree of risk involved in their work; still others express 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 concerns *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 is seen to be engendered by management when an increase in wages or an improvement in conditions is promised or at least hinted at but nothing is done.

Ineffective institutions for negotiations is a problem that workers express in a number of different ways:

"... a works committee is not allowed";
"... the liason 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 is another area of grievance. Ten % of workers feel that they are insulted or treated rudely by their foreman; 5% say that they are threatened with dismissal if they complain.

With the exception of the low wage grievance which is expressed equally strongly by both migrants and residents, *grievances are articulated more frequently by migrants than by residents.* For example, contract workers appear to be the victims of arbitrary action by management twice as often as the residents.

THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF FACTORY COMMITTEES

Respondents were asked to whom in the factory or firm they took their problems. Their replies indicate that *a large proportion of workers approach management.* (See table 4) The presence of a works committee decreases this proportion rather more.

Table 4: Whom Workers Approach According to Form of Worker Organisation.

FORM OF WORKER ORGANISATION / WHOM WORKERS APPROACH	Works Committee %	Liaison Committee %	Neither %
Works Committee	36		
Liason Committee		59	
Management	56	35	75
Foreman	8	6	25
TOTAL	100	100	100
	N = 33	N = 49	N = 111

The picture changes a little when the particular grievances are considered individually. Among workers whose main grievance is *unwarranted deductions*, 83% approach management directly and only 17% approach their committee whether it be a liaison committee or

a works committee. Where the main grievance is *ineffective negotiating insitution or disatisfaction with foreman* or *arbitrary action by management*, 80% - 100% of workers with a works committee approach management directly, whereas only 40% of workers with a liason committee do. Where the problem is *low wages* or *material conditions at work*, 30% -40% of workers approach their works committee, and 60% approach their liaison committee.

Respondents were asked whether they belonged to an organization or group whose purpose was to improve their work situation. Eighty % of works committee workers replied in the affirmative whereas only 50% of those with liaison committees did. 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 committee could improve their work situation.

Despite the greater confidence that is held in the works committee, there is no evidence that workers with a works committee have any fewer grievances than other workers. The major grievance, that of low wages, is 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, are twice as common where there is 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.

A rather surprising finding is that *four times as many works committee workers as others complain about the material conditions at work* (lack of toilets, canteen, protective clothing, etc.) and furthermore twice as many works committee workers as others complain about the conditions of service (long hours, too much overtime, lunch and tea breaks too short, etc.). This finding suggests that works committees are not only as ineffective as liaison committees are, but possibly even a stumbling block in the processes of channeling and attending to grievances.

WORKERS' SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING THEIR WORK SITUATION

A further question asked in connection with worker organisation was "what do you think workers like yourself should do to improve their work situation?" A content analysis on the responses was done. In the table below only the broadest categories are used. Table 5 indicates the range of responses according to the worker organisation accessible to the worker. (Of the 33 workers who have a works committee, 20 are members of the *Western Province Advice Bureau*.)

Table 5: Workers' suggestions according to their form of worker organisation.

	Works Committee	Liaison Committee	Neither
	%	%	%
Factory organisation (Africans only)	61	36	36
Wider organisation	12	13	18
Individual action	--	2	5
Don't know	27	49	41
TOTAL	100	100	100

Among those who suggested that a factory-based organisation of workers might improve the worker' 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*, approach management as a unified group, and negotiate with management as a unified group.

Fourty percent of the workers who suggested a wider-based form organisation, wanted a Trade Union for African workers; 20% wanted Africans to join Coloured Trade Unions; and only 6% wanted Africans to join the Advice Bureau.

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".

The "don't know" category includes 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 is statistically significant. (11) It was found that 72% of the borners suggested a factory or wider-based organisation, but only 58% of the 10(1)b's and even fewer (47%) of the migrants did. 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 is a works committee, the proportion of both 10(1)b's and migrants in favour of worker organisation is much higher, but where there is a liaison committee, the proportion is lower. In particular, 100% of the 10(1)b's who have a works committee and are members of the Western Province Advice Bureau believe in collective action

ATTITUDES TOWARDS COLOURED WORKERS

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

Levels of Communication between African and Coloured Workers

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.

100%

There is 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 7 and 8 below indicate that 75% of the workers at LEVEL 3 say 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 co-operation APPEARS to be reflected in the actual level of communication.*

Table 7 (12)

	"WOULD YOU HELP COLOURED WORKERS IMPROVE THEIR WORK SITUATION?"			
	Yes	Don't Know	No	TOTAL
LEVEL 3	75	3	22	100%
LEVEL 2	44	12	44	100%
LEVEL 1	24	11	65	100%
TOTAL	42	10	48	100%

Table 8 (13)

	"DO YOU THINK COLOURED WORKERS WOULD HELP YOU IMPROVE YOUR WORK SITUATION?"			
	Yes	Don't Know	No	TOTAL
LEVEL 3	63	17	20	100%
LEVEL 2	20	36	44	100%
LEVEL 1	8	38	54	100%
TOTAL	23	34	43	100%

A content analysis of the reasons the men advanced for wanting to help Coloured workers provides the following breakdown:

REASON	% OF SAMPLE WANTING TO HELP
"They have helped us in the past"	8%
"We are all workers; we work together; we earn similar wages and have the same wage complaints."	30%
"They give us advice; we have a friendly relationship."	15%
"I believe we can help each other".	33%
OTHER	13%
	± 100%
	N = 61

Reasons for not wanting to help Coloured workers ar as follows:

REASON	% OF SAMPLE NOT WANTING TO HELP
"They have not helped us in the past"	9%
"There is no communication; we are separated in work."	29%
"They earn higher wages; they do different work."	20%
"Coloureds have trade unions and we can't belong to them; we have no negotiating institutions."	13%
"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"."	25%
OTHER	6%
	± 100%
	N = 87

Thus, 25% of negative responses stem from bad personal relations with Coloured workers, possibly explained in terms of racialism; while 62% of the responses

indicate the effects of the institutional and legal separations and restrictions emplemented through such policies as the Industrial Colour Bar, the Factories Act, Coloured Employment Preference, and the Industrial Conciliation Act.

CONCLUSION

In Cape Town, it appears to be primarily a worker's legal status (as imposed by the influx control regulations), that determine his job, his length of service and his earning power. Earnings are lower for migrants than for residents. This is particularly marked in the lower operative job category where for migrants the average wage is approximately the same as in the unskilled categories, whereas for residents there is a substantial difference in wages between skill levels. And yet, in all job categories, the average length of service for migrants is more or less as high as for residents.

Neither works committees nor liaison committees are used extensively by workers to channel their grievances. Furthermore, these two forms of worker organisation have apparently not had much success in attending to workers' problems, especially those associated with wage structures, non-payments and deductions. Works committees, in particular, appear to be ineffective.

However, it appears that where there is a works committee, workers have a greater awareness of the need for collective action. This applies particularly to 10(1)b's and migrants, but not to borners, who have a high desire for collective action irrespective of whether they have a committee.

Furthermore it appears that workers with a works committee have a greater faith in their form of representation than do liaison committee workers. A further finding, which has not been elaborated upon in this paper but is of considerable interest, is that works committee workers have a surprisingly coherent idea of a desired wage (whereas this is 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 are members of the Western Province Advice Bureau.

NOTES AND REFERENCES:

1. Sheila van der Horst, *African Workers in Town: a study of Labour in Cape Town*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1964. (The field-work was carried out over the years 1955 to 1957)

2. Cluster areas were randomly selected within each type of living quarters; and within each cluster a certain number of houses, rooms or beds, whichever applicable, was randomly selected.

3. A systematic method of replacing refusals was adopted.

4. All numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number. e.g. 24,4% becomes 24%, as does 23,9%, but 23,4% becomes 23%.

5. *Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Influx Control*, Black Sash Vol. 16, No. 8 (February), 1974.

6. "Average" is used to indicate the arithmetic mean. The standard deviation of the mean is given in rounded brackets after each average because it indicates the dispersion of values about the mean: at least 75% of the sample values are likely to lie within the interval ($\pm$ 2 standard deviations) around the mean even if the distribution is not normal. (Reference: Roscoe, J.T., Fundamental Research Statistics, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, N.Y. 1969), p.51)

7. The chi square statistic is significant at the 99% confidence level.

8. A useful reference on the employment positions and opportunities for educated Africans in Cape Town is *Education for Underemployment* by M. Hubbard and V. Qunta, S.A.I.R.R. (Cape Western Region), March, 1975.

9. The chi square statistic is significant at the 98% confidence level.

10. E. Webster and J. Kuzwayo, *Consciousness and the Problem of Collective Action - A preliminary case-study of a random sample of African workers in Durban*, 18/6/75, pg.9.

11. The chi square statistic is significant at the 97% confidence level.

12. The chi square statistic is significant at the 99,9% confidence level.
13. The chi square statistic is significant at the 100,0% confidence level.

APPENDIX

Table A1: Age by Legal Status.

AGE CATEGORIES	LEGAL STATUS CATEGORIES			
	Borners	10(1)b's	Migrants	TOTAL
	%	%	%	%
18 to 29 years	35	—	36	26
30 to 39 years	22	9	33	24
40 to 49 years	22	40	17	25
50 to 68 years	22	51	13	25
TOTAL	± 100	100	± 100	100
	N = 52	N = 55	N = 101	N = 208

Table A2: School standard by Legal Status.

EDUCATION CATEGORIES	LEGAL STATUS CATEGORIES			
	Borners	10(1)b's	Migrants	TOTAL
	%	%	%	%
None	6	22	32	23
Sub.A to Std.2	10	13	18	15
Std.3 to Std.5	34	27	32	31
Std.6 to Std.8	34	34	15	25
Std.9 and 10	16	4	2	6
TOTAL	100	100	± 100	100

DUENS BAKERY WORKERS VICTORIOUS

Cape Editors

The May-June, 1976, (vol. 2, nos. 9 & 10) issue of the South African Labour Bulletin contained an account of the dispute between workers and management of Duens Bakery, Cape Town. Briefly, the dispute was over the formation of a works committee: management had initiated the formation of a liaison committee which the workers soon rejected. Instead, they wanted a works committee. This management firmly opposed, but under pressure they grudgingly agreed to let workers elect a works committee - under management's terms. They insisted that voting had to take place by means of a ballot. This was a move that the workers mistrusted deeply and they therefore boycotted the election. Finally, in desperation, they went on strike on 13th August, 1975, in an effort to actually elect a works committee while management was present. They chose a time to strike when workers from two shifts plus the delivery staff were all present at the factory. Instead of electing a works committee 19 workers found themselves arrested for striking. In the ensuing court case the regional magistrate found them guilty and imposed a sentence suspended for three years.

At the appeal in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, heard after the time of writing the first article, Mr Justice Burger concurred with Mr Justice de Kock in upholding the appeals of 14 employees. The workers' convictions and sentences of R100 (or 90 days' imprisonment) conditionally suspended for three years, were set aside. According to a report in The Argus of 17 May, 1976, Mr Justice de Kock said the State had failed to prove the strike was unlawful. In terms of the relevant Act, the State had to prove that no report on the dispute had been submitted to the Bantu Labour Officer for the area and that a period of more than 30 days thereafter had not elapsed. There was no evidence on whether or not a report had been submitted. The judge said the employers may well have submitted a report more than 30 days before the strike, because the dispute with the management over a works committee had been dragging on for many months.

Cape Town's afternoon paper, The Argus, considered the judges' ruling and statements in such a serious light that it wrote the following editorial:

"EMPLOYERS' RESPONSIBILITY

"Employers bear a great responsibility to their Black workers in particular and to the cause of healthier race relations in general. African workers are not equipped with all the industrial conciliation machinery available through trade unions and rely largely on the magnanimity of their employers for improvements in their working conditions.

"For this reason all who have Black labour on their payrolls would be well advised to take note of the remarks made in a concurring judgement in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, this week by Mr Justice Burger -

> 'It is a great pity that the management did not, at an earlier stage, adopt a more reasonable attitude; then this strike would never have happened'.
>
> "It is not enough to agree to demands from African labour forces only when employers consider they can no longer hold out in the face of industrial unrest and potentially even more dangerous circumstances."

An extremely important conclusion that can be drawn from the Duens dispute is that the anti-victimisation clause of the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act is of no effective value. The clause does not protect workers from victimisation as the Duens case showed. On the day before the strike four workers, the most vociferous spokesmen, were dismissed. In court the Duens management gave a multiplicity of reasons for their dismissal, but these were so unconvincing that the magistrate eventually intervened and said that an alleged reason "cried to high heaven". Both the magistrate and council for the defence actually got the general manager to admit that the four workers were dismissed for their part in the dispute and because they were spokesmen for the workers (Court Proceedings, Case Number: SH/R.608/75, The State vs Willem Mqaqo & 18 Others, pp. 93-4.) In spite of this clear evidence, no proceedings have been brought against Duens Bakery. Instead, 19 workers found themselves on charge for illegally going on strike.

On this occasion the workers were victorious in their struggle: their strike was not found to be unlawful. African workers actually went on strike and won their case.

APARTHEID AND HOUSING IN CAPE TOWN

by Charles Simkins

A Review of:

Margaret Nash - Home : An introduction to the housing crisis in Cape Town. *(Board of Social Responsibility, Anglican Diocese of Cape Town and The Cape Flats Committee for Interim Accommodation, 1976)*

Charles Simkins - Socio-economic characteristics of 16 squatter settlements in the Cape Town area in 1975. *(S.A. Labour and Development Research Unit Working Paper No. 8, 1976)*

Over the past few years there has been considerably more widespread discussion in Cape Town about housing, and about the manifestation of its shortage (squatters), than in any of the other metropolitan areas of South Africa. Just about every liberal in town - English-speaking academics from the University of Cape Town and verligte Afrikaners from Stellenbosch and the University of the Western Cape, the Church, the Institute of Race Relations, progressive businessmen - has had something to say about it.

Why is this so? For two reasons, I believe:

1) The number of people in Cape Town not properly housed by local authority standards is very high. Nash (pg. 5) estimates that some 200 000 Coloured people live in shanties, and another 100 000 are living in overcrowded conditions. On top of this, 6 000 Africans are on official waiting lists for housing, a probable 20 000 legal residents are 'doubling up' and need to move out, and a further 90 000 illegal African residents live somewhere outside Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga.

2) The greater part of the people not properly housed are Coloured. Assigned a more privileged place in the apartheid racial hierarchy and without a 'homeland', Coloured squatters cannot be dealt with so easily by the bulldoze-and-deport methods ruthlessly applied, especially during the last decade, to hundreds of thousands

> of Africans in the urban and rural 'white' areas. My paper estimates the proportion of married adults (in the 16 Coloured squatter settlements studied, *born* in the Cape Peninsula, at 76%. There is not even any pretext for arguing that the shortage of housing for Coloured should be dealt with anywhere but in the Cape Town area.

The Coloured housing shortage, then, has greater salience than that for Africans. Also, since the establishment of the Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board in 1972, Africans have been removed from the jurisdiction of other local authorities (the City and Divisional Councils) and Nash (pg. 50) reports the absence of information about their conditions. My own work reproduces this defect, based, as it is, on an analysis of the results of two local authority surveys. Nash (pp54-7), however, makes the following points:

- Africans in Cape Town are even more disadvantaged than in other urban areas, because of the application of the 'Coloured Preference Area" policy which restricts both educational/training and employment possibilities available to Africans. The resultant low household incomes only serves to make conventional housing solutions more difficult.

- There has been an official freeze on African family housing since 1966 and only a few family houses have been built since then (between 1966 and 1972 in Guguletu).

- The Peninsula BAAB, which is required to be self-financing, has a R1 million deficit on the housing account; accordingly, employers are coming to provide more of the approved singly 'hostel' accommodation. A company arranges for the construction of the hostel in a township and can recoup the costs from rentals charged. The standards of such hostels varies considerably.

- Unable to subsist in the homelands (particularly in the Transkei), and desiring a family life, women and children are coming illegally to Cape Town,

where they can do nothing but squat.

Even this much information makes it clear how apartheid has produced the desparately unsatisfactory housing situation facing Africans. It is an official aim to reduce Africans in the Cape Town area to a minimum; housing policy is being used as a means to this end. Housing for single people is probably not easy to find and for families it is virtually impossible. Families resisting what is officially decreed for them, squat, and the scene is set for a continual struggle between them and the authorities.

Coloured squatting arises from somewhat different reasons which may, I think, be discussed under two heads:

1) Squatter settlements have rather distinct socio-economic characteristics; only four of the 16 areas studied were demographically unbalanced, having rather more men and fewer children than the rest (and the Coloured population as a whole) A clearer pattern emerges in the fields of income, unemployment and poverty. Incomes per earner are about average for the Peninsula in City Council areas (median : R102 per month) but lower in Divisional Council areas (median : R80 per month). Unemployment is high (over 10 %) in half of the Divisional Council areas, and all the City Council areas average 21%. This combination of factors means that if we accept the stated household incomes then the proportion of households living below the Minimum Living Level is 49%. This proportion would still be as high as 41% even if we assumed that incomes were actually 20% higher than those stated. These proportions compare with one of 12% for the Coloured population of the Peninsula as a whole (estimated from the report of the Theron Commission). This suggests that a high proportion of squatters squat because they are too poor to afford conventional housing even if it were available. (It should be remarked that the wage levels found for predominantly unskilled Coloured workers seem to be about the same as those found for African workers in Cape Town by Maree and Graaff in late 1975. In other words the mere

possession of the right of Coloured (as opposed to African) unskilled workers to belong to registered unions makes no difference to their incomes. This is chiefly because these unions have not, in fact, made much progress in organisation at this level.)

2) The way in which housing is provided leads to wider-supply in a number of ways. Neither article analysis the way in which employers have been able to 'get off the hook' in neither having to supply housing themselves, nor having to pay wages to many of their employees which would permit the cost of conventional housing to be met. An interesting article waits to be written on that subject. Responsibility is shared by central (the Department of Community Development and the National Housing Commission) and local government. The trouble with placing too great a burden on local authorities is that in South Africa, as in many parts of the world these are chronically short of funds, their sources of revenue falling increasingly behind the level of expenditure required for reasonable urban services. Under these circumstances, the tendency is for local authorities to want to build home-ownership, on at least economic, schemes, for which financing is easier, rather than sub-economic housing (which is most urgently needed, if people are to be conventionally housed).

There is also a strong insistence on conventional approaches to housing from the Department of Community Development. If one restricts oneself to conventional techniques, one immediately creates two problems:

a) There is a minimum cost, below which a conventional house cannot be provided. This translates into a minimum rent and a family income below which this rent cannot be afforded. Families receiving less than this income become 'unhouseable'.

b) If there is under-utilised manpower in the area it could be directed to housing construction, thus augmenting income and employment. Instead construction is restricted to the

existing trade which can exploit a quasi-monopoly position.

It is hard to think of an 'interest' explanation for this insistence in a matter of *technique*, other than that of a partiality to the building trade; a bureaucratic insistence or maintaining the initiative and a corresponding fear of community self-organisation is probably also at work. Clearly there is a case for considering alternative solutions. Much of Nash's booklet is devoted to this question (pp. 15-26 and intermittently elsewhere).

In conclusion, apartheid also deeply affects the Coloured housing patterns. It has affected it by Group Areas removals which have destroyed some of the housing stock. It has made living for the people removed more expensive through higher transport costs and more expensive housing, thus effectively defining more families as 'unhousable'. Through inflexible standards, officialdom makes the housing problem more intractable; through restriction of the franchise, the effective demand for more public finance for housing is repressed; through a highly unequal distribution of income, the ability of workers and unemployed to pay for housing is restricted. In this field, as in many others, a new dispensation will have to find radically different methods to deal with basic human needs.

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