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Skills, Equity and the Labour Market in a South African Workplace: A Case Study of Durban Botanic Garden's Parks Department, eThekwini Municipality

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By
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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment/partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science, in the Graduate Programme in Sociology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Social Science in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree at any other University.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the problem of skills shortages in the workplace by reviewing macro-policies, such as the Skills Development and Employment Equity Acts. It also looks at the impact of economic strategies in South Africa that seek to redress past injustices whilst stimulating growth. This study endeavours to provide a greater understanding of the development of skills in the South African workplace in general. It also attempts to determine whether or not skills acquired by employed workers help to sustain them when they become unemployed. Furthermore, it assesses the impact of changes in the workplace chosen for this study, whether it experienced segmentation and casualisation of the workforce and the manner in which
 it is affected by technological change.

In conducting this study, a triangular approach has been adopted in order to collect more data on skill shortages; it adopted the qualitative and quantitative methods. In-depth interviews and semi-structured questionnaires were utilised to collect data from Durban Botanic Gardens' Parks Department employees.

The study found that previously disadvantaged workers face almost the same working conditions as during the days of apartheid. It also shows that progressive skills policies adopted by Government have not been appropriately implemented by various management structures.

This study will assist the government, researchers and scholars in general in gaining a clearer understanding about skills development in South Africa. It also recommends that there is a need for the government to come up with mechanisms to ensure that all policies that are adopted are implemented effectively and monitored at all levels.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ASGISA	Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative
COTT	Central Organisation for Technical Training
CNE	Christian National Education
DoL	Department of Labour
DBG	Durban Botanic Garden
EMA	eThekwini Municipal Area
EEA	Employment Equity Act
FET	Further Education and Training
GET	General Education and Training
HRDS	Human Resource Development Strategy
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
HRD	Human resources development
ICT	Information, Communication and Technology
IMATU	Independent Municipal and Allied Workers Union
IIC	International Investment Council
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IT	Information technology
IMS	Integrated Manufacturing Strategy
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
JIPSA	Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition
JOI	Job Opportunity Index
JIPSA	Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition
KTT	KwaZulu Training Trust
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LGSETA	Local Government Sector Education Training Authorities
MTA	Manpower Training Act
MSE	Micro and small enterprises

NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NMC	National Manpower Commission
NTB	National Training Board
NSA	National Skills Act
NSDS	National Skills Development Strategy
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NRC	Native Recruiting Corporation
NSF	National Skills Fund
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RPL	Recognition of Prior Learning
SETA	Sectoral Training Act
SLM	Segmented labour market
SDA	Skills Development Act
SDA	Skills Development Act
SDPU	Skills Development Planning Unit
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SA	South Africa
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers' Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SMME	Small and medium sized enterprise sector
SML	Small, medium and large
SASCO	South African Standard Classification of Occupations
VAT	Value added tax
WSP	Workplace Skills Plan
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The question of skill has always been analysed in terms of its relationship to work, performance and the labour market (Adam, 1997). In South Africa (SA) in the past, skill was racialised and reflected in the nature of labour market segmentation. Black workers were restricted to unskilled and semi-skilled occupations while white workers occupied mainly semi-skilled and skilled jobs. The chronic skills shortage that this created amongst the previously disadvantaged black workers is part of the apartheid legacy (Adam, 1997: 232). Today, it presents serious challenges and serves as a constraint to competitiveness in the era of globalisation[1]. Rapid technological changes have aggravated the situation as the demand for a skilled workforce has increased (Hlekiso, 2005).

In response to these challenges, the South African government has recently introduced the Skills Development Strategy for skills development and the generation of a productive labour force to close the existing skills gaps between black and white South Africans (Hlekiso, 2005: 2).

The government's intervention has also occurred in the context whereby 'high-skills' are seen as being necessary for the successful expansion of human resources development (HRD) (Kraak, 2003:661). This study concerns itself with issues of skills development and their impact not only on performance and productivity, but also on the lives of the historically disadvantaged and/or

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[1] The term 'globalisation' is a more recent coinage than the phenomena that it purports to proclaim and is distinctly un-scholarly in its origin, as at first, it served as something of an embellishment, referring to a rather specific phenomenon in economic history - an observed tendency of the share of cross-border transactions to increase among all economic transactions that normally benefit the Western countries - with a term that radiates a world-historical and all-inclusive, pan-human sense of an epochal shift (Böröcz, 2006).

designated groups in terms of fulfilling the goals of social equity and sustainable job creation. It focuses on the labour market situation in SA today through a case study of the Durban Botanic Gardens, in the eThekwini Municipality with specific reference to the Parks and Recreation and the Culture Service sections. This case study will provide some empirical evidence in assessing the impact of Government's skills development programmes on workplace equity as well as the degree of influence it has on the labour market.

Although the primary focus of this study is the question of skills in the eThekwini Municipality's Durban Botanic Gardens, the implications of the findings for the broader challenges and strategies aimed at addressing skills inequality in SA are also considered. The study sheds light on national policy intervention for skills development, for instance, through the Employment Equity Act and its impact on redressing past inequalities and injustices, whilst promoting development. An important factor that needs to be revisited when assessing the contemporary state of skills in SA, relates to the poor and segregated education and training inherited from apartheid in 1994 (Kraak, 2003:74). The core problem is generally a low level of education, specifically amongst the black African workforce (Vally, 1997a:40). In addition, this study attempts understand whether or not skills acquired by employees help to sustain their livelihoods when they become unemployed (Department of Labour, 2005:31). Furthermore, this study will assess the impact of changes in the nature of skills shortage and whether or not there are new segmentations within the labour market.

The integration of SA into the global economy presented serious challenges in terms of competitiveness. As part of its response to this challenge, the South African government adopted neo-liberal policies centred on the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme, which gave rise to significant changes within the labour market. This occurred a the same time as firms and other industrial enterprises sought not only to survive, but also to become competitive by promoting a flexible and multi-skilled workforce (see

Webster and Von Holdt, 2005). The government also adopted the Employment Equity and Skills Development Acts as the means to address skills shortages (Stones, 2006). As Streak and van der Westhuizen (2004) have shown, the 'skills shortage' and restructuring of firms saw an upswing in unemployment that was estimated at 28.6 percent during the period of transition to democracy, and is now estimated at about 41.2 percent (27.8 percent when using the strict definition). This translates respectively, to 8.4 million or 4.6 million unemployed people, depending on the definition of unemployment being used (see Streak and van der Westhuizen, 2004; EPWP). It is in this context that this study attempts to provide some basic assessment of whether or not skills training and capacity development programmes, designed to empower formerly disadvantaged workers and effectively redress past inequalities and performance in the workplace, have ha the desired effect.

The following broad questions were investigated in pursuit of the research purpose:

- Does the current labour market and skills scenario in SA lead to skills development and equity in the workplace?
- Does a skills development initiative impact on a sustainable job creation programme?
- In what way can the labour market and the skills situation at the eThekwini Municipality be described as catering for meeting workers daily livelihoods?
- How does the skills shortage reflect broader change in SA workplaces?

1.2. Aims of the study

- To review current labour policies and strategies that have been adopted to redress past injustices in the workplace, especially within the government structures;

- To identify and record the shortcomings of the current policies and strategies in addressing past injustices through the selected case study.

- To examine the viability of current labour policies and strategies in addressing inequality in the labour market and workplace in terms of skills levels and equity.

- To provide recommendations for improving and effecting policies and strategies that will redress past injustices.

- To look at the theoretical understanding of the labour market in relation to questions of skills and whether it helps in understanding the current labour market situation in SA.

1.3. Scope and limitations of the study

- The researcher looks at mechanisms such as training offered, income and a number of positions filled by previously disadvantaged workforce to assess changes in the workplace;

- The case study of eThekwini Municipality's Parks Department and the Recreation and Culture Service Unit focuses specifically on its Durban Botanic Gardens.

- There are two limitations. Firstly, the study is limited to male employees only. This was mainly because at the time of the interviews only male employees were available. The female staff was not present in the unit under study, due to departmental job roster arrangements. A gender perspective of the

situation would have been of interest. The fact that there was no female present in the unit at the time of the interviews suggest a gender gap. Second limitation is the researcher's inability to secure an interview with management representatives despite several attempts to do so. Management did not make itself available until after the completion of the study.

1.4.   Structure

An introduction in *Chapter one* gives an overview of the state of skills and equity in the area under study. *Chapter two* outlines the research methodology that has been adopted in conducting this study. *Chapter three* gives a general overview of the labour market and scrutinises strategies and the appropriateness of policies that were adopted by the South African government to meet the challenges posed by globalisation. The reviewed collected data is discussed and analysed in *Chapters four* and *five. Chapter six* deals with data analysis and the case study. Finally, the main findings and conclusion are outlined in *Chapter seven* and some recommendations for the amelioration of the skills shortage in SA are provided.

The task of Chapter one is to give a brief overview of the debate around skill that are normally associated in its relationship to work, performance and the labour market. It also provide a summary of the historical socio-political developments and the segmented nature of the South African workplace where skill is still racialised. The black African majority remains in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations while white workers occupied mainly semi-skilled and skilled jobs. This Chapter highlights the impact of globalisation in the South African workplace that led to changes and the adoption of various strategies in the context of 'high-skills', which are seen as being necessary for the successful expansion of human resources development. It notes current concerns about the issue of skills development and its impact on the performance and productivity of historically disadvantaged and/or designated groups in terms of fulfilling the goals of social equity and sustainable job creation.

In summary this Chapter highlights major policies such as Employment Equity and Skills Development Acts with a view to examining their impact on redressing past injustices and promoting development. It also focuses on the historically poor and segregated education and training inherited from apartheid. This is a core problem, as most South African workers, particularly black African workers, have a low level of education. In addition, this Chapter highlights the need to understand whether or not skills acquired by employees help them to sustain their livelihoods when they become unemployed.

The broad questions and objectives of the study are also highlighted. Lastly, this Chapter outlines the scope, limitations and the structure of the study report.

CHAPTER 2
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

The following methods were adopted and used for carrying out the investigation:

A literature review: government documents, journals, manuals, reports and magazines were studied and reviewed. Both the qualitative and quantitative approaches were used for data collection and analysis.

2.2. Qualitative method

The qualitative method assumed the form of in-depth interviews through semi-structured questionnaires with a selected sample of workers from designated groups, their trade unions representatives and management representatives within the Parks Department and the Recreation and Culture Service Unit at the Durban Botanic Gardens. It was anticipated that this would enhance the understanding of perceptions and attitudes towards the question of skills, jobs and equity. The qualitative approach is also helpful in the analysis of collected data (Kuechler, 1998:178).

Another method used in this study is the Case Study. This is an ideal methodology when one is conducting an in-depth investigation. The Case Study method is used to bring out the details from the viewpoint of the participants by using multiple sources of data (Tellis, 1997).

2.3. Quantitative method

This approach is used in conjunction with the qualitative analysis of data through the use of the SPSS electronic software. This method is helpful in data collection

by means of a survey on the skills profile and impact on various occupational practices, racial groups and perceptions of measurements of initiatives aimed to improve the individual's livelihood (Andrew, *et al*. 2003:196). In addition, it can be used to extrapolate results on a specific group population.

Sampling used in the survey for data collection ensures equal representation around issues such as gender, age, literacy level, size, and race in the area of study (Fox *et al*, 2003:172; Bourque and Fielder, 2003:149). The sample was selected randomly from amongst the members of the workforce of the Botanic Gardens' identified departments. Although the Municipality has other parks, the Durban Botanic Garden was selected for its historical and income generating significance and because it is one of the workplaces where Durban Municipality has implemented its skills development policy geared to redress past injustices. It also has historical essentials that are relevant in linking with the site of study.

The Trade Union Official, Workers' Representative/ Shop steward and workers played a meaningful role in most cases in making this study a reality. The sample size comprised five in-depth interviews that were drawn from recognised trade unions – the South African Municipal Workers' Union (SAMWU) and the Independent Municipal and Allied Workers Union (IMATU) – in the workplace under study. The sample consisted of two trade union officials and two union representatives/shop-stewards from the same trade unions. Twenty questionnaires were administered to 20 employees at the Durban Botanic Gardens, which has 45 staff members. The sample selection was random, based on the availability of the respondents in their workplaces during the time of conducting the study. Both trade unions were selected because they are recognised by the Municipality (see Appendix 1 for a copy of the questionnaire and the interview outline).

2.4. Some key questions that were posed:

- Do the current skills development initiatives help to address past injustices in the workplace?
- What impact does skills training have on the economy, employment and equity?

2.5. Conclusion

Chapter two highlights various methods that were adopted, the literature review and the various approaches used in making this study a reality. It also highlights the manner which the qualitative approach was used in the form of in-depth interviews through semi-structured questionnaires within designated groups of workers, their trade unions and management representatives. The quantitative data analysis using SPSS electronic software helped in data analysis by means of a survey on the skills profile and impact on various occupational practices, racial groups and perceptions of measurements that impact on people's lives.

This Chapter clarifies how the sample group was used to ensure equal representation around issues such as gender, age, literacy level, size, and race. Interviews and questionnaires were administered to respondents according to their respective categories. Lastly, the Chapter explores major questions that are interrogated in the study with a view to accumulating more data in order to debate issues on an informed basis. This also allowed the researcher to reach an informed decision on the impact of globalisation on the workplace and the viability of policies and strategies adopted by the government to address past injustices..

CHAPTER 3

SKILLS DEVELOPMENT IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE LABOUR MARKET IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1. Introduction

In order to have a better understanding of the functions of the labour market in South Africa (SA) in relation to the question of skills and control, it is necessary to look at the earliest forms of control in the labour market and the manner in which it has been shifting over years. This requires an outline of labour process discourse in which issues of skills and control are central.

There are four historical epochs that are identifiable in the transformation of labour process: *cottage production*[2]*, co-operation, manufacture*, and *machinofacture* (Webster, 1985:2). Before the co-operation era, the creation of surplus value was limited as work was solely controlled in terms of the content to be produced – (handicraft and guild production), the pace of work, and the location of production. This era is referred to as *cottage production*. The cottage era was shattered by the ravenousness of capitalists, as they did not have authoritative power to force workers to work certain hours without adequate supervision (Webster, 1985).

Webster (1985) notes that capitalism emerged when the process of production was organised in terms of marketing commodities, including labour that was bought and sold according to the standards of the monetary system. He argues, drawing from Marxists theory that such an environment prevails when subjugated

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[2] I opted to recognise this era - *cottage production* - as the 'first or the beginning' (this era functioned under guidance of theocratic principles) of skills formation, emergence of industrialisation and as the part and parcel of the historical skills evolution (see Callinicos, 1990: 2 and Fuze, 1979:10). Theocracy means the rule of people, by people, for the Creator. Therefore, I will argue further that theocratic values are normally documented in 'totality' in the Bible. For example, the Zulu people used to practice ceremonies that resemble those documented in the Bible (Jeremiah 2:3) like the ceremony of the First Fruit (See Fuze 1979:9-11 & 90).

men and women do not own the means of production and are forced to sell their labour power. A contract of employment setting out the wage and related matters facilitates such a relationship between employer and employee. Depriving workers of the capacity to work independently gives management the power to control through its chain of command structures that transforms workers' capacity into real productive activity (Webster, 1985).

Factories were fashioned in response to labour market demands in order for the capitalists to gain more control over workers. Workers were put in one plant and their work was closely supervised (see Webster, 1985:2). This process was made possible by the removal of workers from direct control of the means of production, which has been termed 'primitive accumulation'. Factories differed within the cottage production era in terms of the number of workers employed, the work directed by supervisor and the environment of control (Webster, 1985:4). This relationship had some confrontational elements, as craft workers challenged management's new settings that denied them control over their work in terms of design, time and speed. As Callinicos (1990) has pointed out, workers in pottery, woodcarving and ironsmith, had a relationship with their product to some extent, e.g. control over the content and the performance of their work, but this remained confrontational.

The *co-operative period* offered capitalists a special function that is generated from the nature of the social setting through exploitation of social process. The nature of social settings inevitably brought about divergent relationships between capital and workers, and the nature of the contradictory relationship that is characterised by conflicts.

The continuous adversarial relationship between employer and employees over income and working conditions in general led to the adoption of *manufacturing strategies*, as the capitalists' attempted to lessen conflict and gain more control (Webster, 1985). Thereafter, work activities were broken down into a sequence

of separate duties that led to the division of labour and job fragmentation. This change led to the emergence of *four major concerns.* i.e. *increase in productivity of labour, the cheapening of value of the labour power, exclusion of the large group of labour from handicraft production and control over land* (the means of production). The introduction of machinery exacerbated the situation, as machinery was seen as the structural solution to the obstruction of handicraft production (Webster, 1985:4).

The development and usage of machinery in the capitalist production world became the standard feature of this period that is termed *machinofacture*. Webster argues that machinery was selected as a replacement for normal tools because the natural mechanisms were to be 'liberated' from the control of human strength, to utilise an independent source of production power. This change led to a worse situation whereby workers become attachments of the machines and became subjective as they become specialised. Under the *machinofacture period,* the exploitation of human labour is rife through the increase in surplus value. It led to an intensified working day – (for real surplus value) and enforced shortening of working hours through a piece-work and a shift system – (increasing the concentration of labour) (Webster,1985:4).

3.2. Contemporary skill determining factors in the labour market

When it comes to the modern economic system, the definition tends to ignore the limitations of the labour market, industrial employment, and unemployment in favour of the capitalist model of economic organisation. The economic definition of the labour market focuses on the buying and selling of *labour* power and corresponding skills. Durkheim (1956) argued that the labour market operates in a society of high level specialisation of economic activities that are organised on an organic instead on a mechanical basis (Abbot, 1980:15). Standing (1999) and Abbot (1980) illustrate this by highlighting the story of a lemon which cannot speak as an object or improve itself once it is removed from the tree. This type of

set-up can only be witnessed in a slave labour market as there are no sober-minded individuals who can be devoted to spending most of their valuable time working for somebody (Standing, 1999 and Abbot, 1980).

Labour market theory occurs in two parts. One relates to the nature of occupational choice whereby every human being will seek better-paying work and this will persuade him/her to move to more advantageous employment. The second concerns the consequences of a behavioral choice system such as the dependency syndrome, moving towards inequality (Standing, 1999). What is common to all is the influence of western capitalism, and the circumstances that different employment has upon the number of workers who avail themselves to be hired. In addition, the occupation that is equal in other factories would tend to be equal in wage, but unequal occupations in other factories would be unequal in wage. Although the labour market processes are portrayed as free, classical economists argue that world markets are not free (Rottenberg, 1971).

Rottenberg (1971) argued that there were other circumstances in the labour market of his time in which men were distributed by occupations through criteria other than relative ordinary advantage. Firstly, some people were disposed to enter a trade, but were denied from participating in that trade. Secondly, other people expected to enter a trade without duress. Thirdly, some people were prohibited from moving from one firm to another (Rottenberg, 1971: 51). When looking at the wage variation that is divided into two categories, that can be 'compensating' for the non-income qualities of various occupation.

This raises the issue of skills availability and shortages in the labour market as supply and demand. Skills shortages in a traditional and partial equilibrium can be easily identified. Where the demand for labour in a particular job exceeds the supply, a skills shortage is detected. A simple, static model of the labour market and competitive market forces will push up the wage rate and eradicate shortages as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Static view of labour market skills shortage
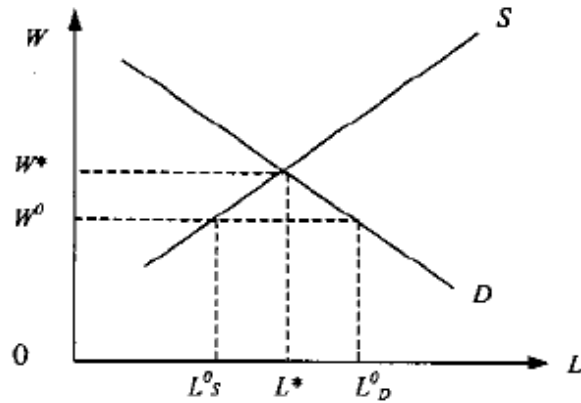
Source: Cohen and Zaidi, (2002)

The Figure shows the supply and demand curves for labour services in a specific labour market. For example, W^o is the wage level for a particular job related to the amount of labour demand L^O_D and the amount of labour supply L^O_S. The excess labour demand, $L^O_D - L^O_S$, content reflects a measure of skills shortage. Cohen and Zaidi (2002) point out that that Bosworth and Warren (1992) noted that the extent of labour shortages can be measured in percentage terms, and in this case can be defined as $(L^O_D - L^O_S)/L^A$, where L^A is $(L^O_D + L^O_S)/2$. Furthermore, any time the market is not in equilibrium, the excess demand for labour push the increase on the wage rate to W^*. The agreed market wage rate at which employer and employee will exchange labour services may mean that labour supply and labour demand will equal L^* (Cohen and Zaidi, 2002).

The static analysis of labour markets as highlighted in Figure 1 does not constitute an adequate explanation of the dynamics in changes in the labour market. Employers react haphazardly to the changing labour market without proper information about increasing wages and job seekers. There is a continuous process of change in working conditions that combine with various features that work together at the same time (Cohen and Zaidi, 2002: 5). Labour

market dynamics can lead to skills shortages if change in speed is slow or if there are difficulties in change.

Arrow and Capton (1959 in Cohen and Zaidi,2002 model) introduce a dynamic notion of the labour market and agree that a slow increase in the demand curve will result in a shortage of supply. This occurs when there are unfilled vacancies in positions where salaries are the same as those of the same type and grade. The dynamic notion is demonstrated in Figure 2 and shows that shortages can occur due to continuous changes in the demand curve during the process of adjustment to changing conditions. In addition, Blank and Stigler (1957) noted that unfilled vacancies in particular occupations caused shortages of employees when the number of workers available increased a slower rate than than the wage paid. Another view by Trutko *et al.* (1991) suggests that shortages in skilled employees prevail. Unequal access to employment leads to slow adjustment speed and places obstacles to adjustment (Cohen and Zaidi, 2002). The dynamic notion highlights that labour market mechanisms can describe labour shortages only in cases where there are special regulations or restrictions; the relations of other related reasons and the absurdity of the labour market are acknowledged and measured (Cohen and Zaidi, 2002: 5).

Figure 2: Dynamic view of labour market skills shortage
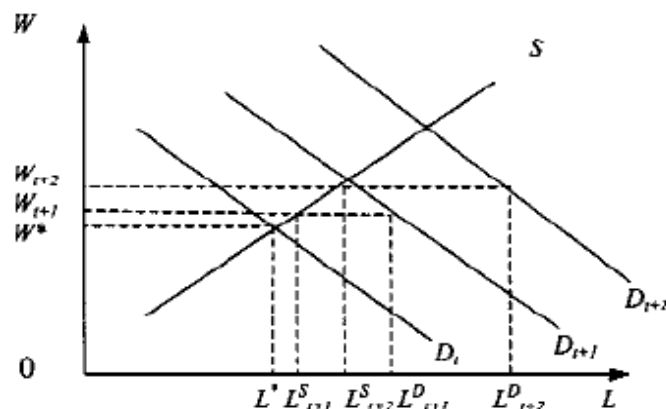
Source: Cohen and Zaidi, (2002)

Figure 2 illustrates this dynamic view of skill shortages. As wages fail to adjust in line with a balanced position, this leads to movement due to continuous shifts in the labour market curve, when the notion of time (t) is included. When starting from the market clearing phase W^* and L^* with the balanced increase of labour demand, the demand curve shifts outwards, $L^* \rightarrow L^D_{t+1} \rightarrow L^D_{t+2}$. However, wages change according to the increase to meet the extra supply of labour demand but the rate is not on a par with the fast changing market $(W^* \rightarrow W_{t+1} \rightarrow W_{t+2})$. Thus labour shortages exist and increase with time (Cohen and Zaidi, 2002: 6; and Barker, 2003:18).

Measurements of labour shortage have advantages and disadvantages. Restrictions are enforced by labour market conditions, the demand for particular jobs and the availability and consistency of labour market information. Six indicators that are theoretically accepted, and their selection and utilisation may provide resolution to the problem of recognising and understanding skills shortages. The first is that, normally, a low unemployment rate indicates a skills shortage. A high rate of unemployment, though, does not necessarily imply a skills shortage. For example, job vacancies could be present even in a situation where an unemployment rate is above zero. This may be the outcome of the lack of proper classification of jobs, frictional unemployment and variation in different jobs. This is due to a difference in search time not related to skills shortages, the correspondence between theoretical and official measures and other related factors.

Second, the rate of growth of employment reflects the trend in demand for workers. There is a high chance of skills shortages happening in a case where demand increases more than where it is constant or reduced. Third, the swift increase in wages is consistent with skills shortages, since wages will be jerked up when demand surpasses supply. The demand and supply of workers along with the unemployment rate give reliable data concerning the prevailing conditions in the market. The weakness in this measurement is that it can

exclude other significant information, such as changes in the benefits structure; self-employed workers' incomes, commissions and other income that comes irregularly (Cohen and Zaidi, 2002: 12).

Fourth, the employers may encounter problems in filling vacancies that require high levels of skills, training or experience. This plays a meaningful role in determining and opening of vacant positions. Fifth, government projections on future demand can also be utilised to assess shortages in different jobs. Sixth, generally, jobs with high expectations of growth possibly have high skill shortages. Thus Cohen (1995) argued that the utilisation of the large number of certifications as a helpful gauge does not necessarily indicate the state of affairs in the labour market and a better understanding of its mechanisms. This might arise in the legal processes that produce various outcomes that economic analysis and regulations may not always show (Cohen and Zaidi, 2002).

Potts (1990) argued that the labour market is universal and has a long history. In the past, the Latin American, Asian and African populace were brought into forced labour and exposed to extermination, abduction and exploitation. Changes happened since the 1970s in the international labour market in the form of a segmented labour market that affects workers in the developing and industrialised countries. These changes facilitated the production environment that enabled the industrial market to utilise *'cheap labour'* in the home-supplying countries (Baskin, 2000:53 and Barker, 2003:18).

Further to be noted within labour market discourse is the view that the market is segmented (McNabb and Ryan, 1990). Segmented labour market (SLM) theory, concerns itself with inequalities in terms of wages, working conditions and employment opportunities amongst different occupational, industrial and demographic groups (see also Callaghan, 1997: 17). This theory points out that the labour market is always divided into various segments that have their own operative measures. Market forces are not always greatly influenced by the main

determinant or pricing role in these divisions. Institutional forces such as management and unions through bargaining process may have influence beyond that of market forces. Another characteristic of the segmented labour market is that access is controlled and mobility between segments may be restricted. For example, some of the segments are the labour market of various professions such as medical doctors and lawyers, who have the option to choose to move to another country or profession (Barker, 2003:23).

The labour market, in general, is divided into two main segments, i.e. the *primary* and *secondary* labour markets. High earnings, good working conditions and employment stability are the characteristics of the primary labour market. It normally has large enterprises where trade unions have a meaningful representation. It can also be divided into a number of internal labour markets that may be referred to by individual enterprises or occupations, such as, multinational corporations or the labour markets for lawyers or medical practitioners.

Employers in the primary market invest heavily in the training of the workforce as part of the improvement of productivity that can be linked to high and increasing wages. The high incomes are the product of labour-saving and productive equipment. When it comes to the secondary segment, workers 'on the outside' mostly have no job security; have little chance of promotion and poor working conditions. Webster highlighted that this labour market segment is defined by low paying jobs and enterprises are very competitive, small scale, require low skills, are labour intensive and accompanied by a low level of unionisation (2006:22). Dual labour market theory argues that inequality in earning cannot be speedily reduced by investment in education and training, unless workers in the secondary markets are integrated through various means into the primary labour market (Barker, 2003:23; Vally, 1997b:88).

The opposite end of the primary labour market is self-employed, freelance, and contractual-type employment relations and incomes. Employment and earnings are found in all industries and commerce, academia, the arts, architecture, entertainment, accountancy, the law, journalism, trade unionism and politics. But the difference with "archetypal" unskilled, casual, primary-type labour and tertiary labour of the professional with varying working conditions is high income and prestige (Abbott, 1980:3 and Webster, 2006).

In the South African labour market segmentation took a racial form with white workers dominating the higher echelons of the labour market, and black workers constituting the majority of the lower jobs in the periphery. It was also characterised by the intermediate category of Coloured and Asian workers that acted as a buffer between black and white workers (Webster, 1985:196). The threefold segmentation of the South African labour market is characterised by the secondary labour market, the subordinate primary labour market and the independent primary labour market. The secondary labour market was made up of occupations that need limited skill. This is repetitive and involves mostly manual work from light duties to heavy physical tasks. Most of the jobs in this category are regarded as semi-skilled because workers need only elementary skills and have little scope for initiative and decision-making, but focus on simple tasks such as using checklists. In addition, occupations in this category are casual in nature and need no formal training, no formal education and provide no job security. The lack of job security goes with the possibility of immediate replacement by other workers from the 'reserve army' that identifies with the secondary occupations. In summarising the secondary labour market Webster concludes:

> "It contains low-pay jobs of casual labour, jobs that provide little employment security or stability. These are dead-end jobs offering little opportunity for advancement, and requiring few skills . . . Since employers have little investment in matching workers and their jobs, they feel free to replace or dismiss workers as their labour needs change." (See Webster, 1985:198).

In contrast with secondary occupations, subordinate primary occupations provide some job security, with higher wages. All occupations in this category share the characteristics of well-defined occupations. The huge amount of subordinate primary jobs, Webster (1985:200) defined as "the jobs of the traditional industrial working class – production jobs in the unionised mass production industries". Three types of jobs that dominate the independent primary market are technical / supervisory, craft and professional. The fundamental characteristics of the independent primary market are the possession of general and self-pacing mechanisms (Webster, 1985: 200). In addition, the subordinate primary occupations are differentiated from independent primary jobs, because their work tasks are repetitive, routinised and subject to machine tempo (Webster, 1985). Occupations in the independent primary labour market differ from subordinate primary occupations in that they typically need skills resulting from advanced or specialised schooling; they normally demand education; they are likely to have occupational or professional standards of performance; and they entail independent initiative or self speed (Barker, 2007:206). Barker's human capital theory is illustrated by using paths A and B. See Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: The human capital theory
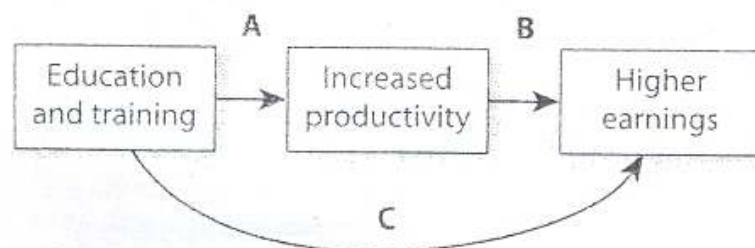
Source: Barker, (2007) citing McConnell et al (2006)

Human capital theory argues that people with higher educational qualifications constantly earn higher income (Barker, 2007:206). In addition, this theory argues that the reasons why people with higher education qualifications earn higher salary is that skills development improves a person's supply of human capital

and thus increases that individual's creative possibilities. Statistics released by Statistics South Africa and the Department of Labour Report in 2000 revealed high education levels in the finance and electricity sectors (Barker, 2007). For example, the hourly wage of workers with no matric is about 50 percent of the higher educated workforce. In support of such an argument, Figure 4 below compares the earning levels of matriculants and post matric graduates.

Figure 4: Possible earnings levels of matriculant compared with a graduate
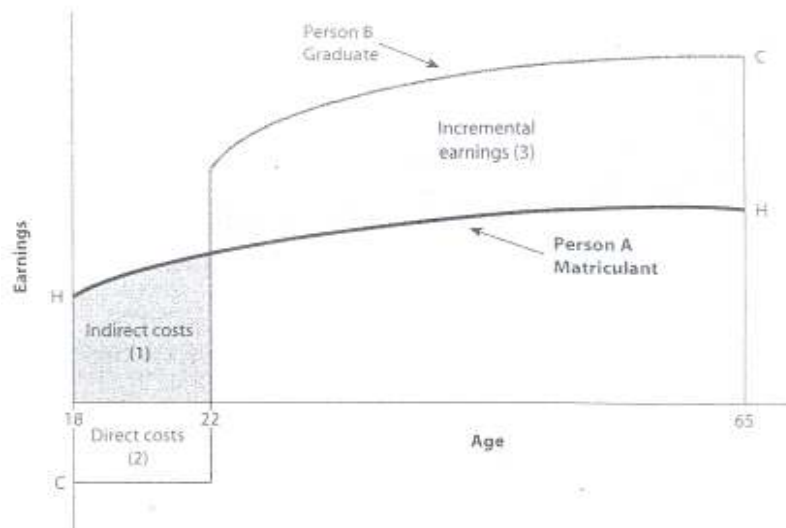
Source: Barker, (2007) citing McConnell et al (2006)

Figure 4 illustrates how earnings are calculated in relation to the total direct and indirect cost of education in comparison with the increase in income of the individual, as the means to ascertain the *"profitability"* or *rate of return* of investment in education and training (Barker, 2007:206). Figure 4 shows that an individual (*A*) commencing work after completion of schooling[3], earns a wage and the relevant earning in this regard will be *HH.* Another individual *(B)* continues with post matric studies, which carries a direct cost. Figure 4 shows that despite entering the labour market late, such an individual with a post matric

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[3] This normally refers to completion of matric at the age of 18.

education enjoy a higher income than individual *(A).* This suggests that investment in education is an economically worthy exercise (Barker, 2007).

The human capital theory is used to motivate investment in education and concludes that income inequality in society can be reduced by the equal distribution of human capital through putting more effort into educating the poorer and disadvantaged segments in the society (Barker, 2007:208). However, this suggestion has raised various criticisms of human capital theory on issues such as measurement, which emphasises the need to consider the effects that education and training have on individual productivity that is impossible to measure. Another criticism is the emphasis on ability or educational level because there are other factors that influence earnings i.e. the ability not qualification. Barker (2007) argues that workers with necessary abilities achieve higher educational qualifications, which is rewarded with higher income. This scenario tends to regard workers with a higher educational level as having more ability and that leads to their appointment into higher positions that come with higher income.

Another criticism of human capital theory concerns family background and financial status. Family background and financial status can have some influence in terms of access to better educational institutions and special occupations, i.e. business opportunities and achievement of educational qualifications (Barker, 2007:209). However, family background and financial status can lead to both higher educational qualifications and higher earning without there necessarily being a direct relationship between education and earnings. Another criticism concerns the dual labour market theory, which centres on the theoretical principle of a dual or segmented labour market. This theory argues that workers in the internal segment tend to enjoy job security, high income with fringe benefits and high upward mobility, whilst jobs regarded as the 'periphery' or on the outside are identified with low wages, limited job security and minimal upward mobility (Barker, 200:10). This theory ignores the fact that wages are not necessarily

dependent on education and training or even productivity but on the workings of the internal labour market. The last criticism that espouses views on the workings of the labour market and income inequalities is the *radical approach* (Barker, 2007). This approach argues that neither educational nor training programmes, nor even the amalgamation of programmes, changes relative income structures in the labour market. However, it is in the interests of capitalists to have different classes of workers and assurance of their sustenance through government structures that serve as the instrument of the capitalists (Barker, 2007:210).

The type of developmental changes that are taking place in South Africa tend to add to the already raging theoretical debates that have focused on the nature and degree of deskilling and managerial control of labour and their impact on the degradation of work. In relation to the segmentation of work, it is useful to revisit Braverman (1974), as he considers skill to be the same as the knowledge embodied within the craft or skilled trade. He argues that the successful deskilling of skilled craft workers happened through management's implementation of the ethics of scientific management. These are Taylorist in nature where management reorganises the labour process so that it depends upon managerial practices, as opposed to workers' abilities.

Braverman (1974:119) argues management's adoption of deskilling technology has resulted in further managerial control of labour. The control tends to manifest itself through the managerial monopolisation of the production planning process. This enables management "to control each step of the labour process and its mode of execution." Although this theoretical viewpoint has been considered valid, it has been widely criticised for its belief in managerial omnipotence and omniscience as well as ignoring workers, management and general worker subjectivity and resistance in the labour process. Another view by Kusterer (1978) suggests that skill is inseparably linked to "working knowledge," and that it is a precondition for effectively performing any job irrespective of its traditional classification as being skilled, semi- skilled or unskilled. In addition, Kusterer

(1978), highlights that there is no job that is truly 'unskilled' because all jobs need the acquisition of a substantial amount of working knowledge in two areas: "knowledge about routine processing procedures" and "knowledge about the formal organisation" (Manwaring and Wood, 1985: 138,143). Thus there is no work that is unskilled and all jobs entail the acquisition of working knowledge. Kusterer (1978:136) rejects the deskilling thesis. He acknowledges that routinisation may destroy various job-specific skills, but argues that new skills are continually being created and generated, leading to the acquisition of new working knowledge. In addition, Kusterer (1978:168)highlights that management is unable to control labour because the "total routinisation of the work situation" is impossible to achieve."

Taking this argument further, Manwaring and Wood (1985:175) note that performance of any type of work includes some level of skill. Hence, in their view, skill should be envisaged in relative, as opposed to absolute, terms. These theorists highlight three dimensions that embrace the acquisition of tacit skills. The first dimension involves learning the performance of practice of tasks, i.e. operating a machine by acquiring the necessary skills through practice and experience. The second dimension is tacit skills, which is acquisition of various levels of awareness that are required to perform specific activities which include the appropriate use of routine, semi-aware and "strategic choice" behaviors. The third dimension focuses on workers acquiring "cooperative skills" (i.e. friendliness) due to the "collective nature of the labour process" (Manwaring and Wood, 1985:172-3). Manwaring and Wood (1985) argue that since skill is viewed as a relative concept, deskilling also must be viewed in a relative terms. They highlight that deskilling should not be conceptualised as a unidirectional process but as a process that contains two different branches, that of specialisation, "in which the range of skills required is narrowed but the skilled status of particular jobs may be increased," and fragmentation, "in which the level of skill required is reduced" (Manwaring and Wood,1985:192). The labour process is equally created by both workers and management (management occupy the hegemonic

role). Workers are active agents in the creation of the labour process. Manwaring and Wood (1985:192) thus state that the existence of tacit skills entails that all workers possess "some autonomy" in the workplace because "management can never predict all deviations."

This raises the question of control in the work process and the role that skill plays. There are three types of control i.e. simple control, technical control and bureaucratic control (Abbott, 1980:15). The difference between modern and earlier management control strategies can be highlighted as follows: (a) the differentiation of managerial from proprietorial role-statuses (b) separations between senior, middle, and junior management and (c) the specialisation of management roles in particular functional areas such as production, marketing, personnel, and finance. In general, a broader social developmental and cross-cultural perspective, modern professional management can be contrasted with "patrimonial", "political", "custodial", and "syndicalist" types (Abbott, 1980:51). These different types of control are featured in various historical epochs of the labour market.

Simple control was much more applicable in the period of the early stages of industrialisation, through direct control. At that point technological development was still in its earliest stages of development. The owner of the enterprise participated in managing and operational-production activities. The essence of *simple control* under the *cottage production era* was the arbitrary power of foreman and supervisors to direct work, to monitor performance, and to discipline or reward workers. The secondary labour market in the *co-operation period* reflects workplace organisation based on *simple control*. *Technical control* during the *manufacture epoch* was found in cases where the whole production process or large segments of it were based on technology that determined the flows and directed the labour process. In the large-scale enterprises and technologically advanced industries, the *machinofacture time* in modern industries dictates the employment of outsider specialists into major managerial, technical, and other

roles, and without the allocation of roles and reward generally on skill, performance, or experiential bases.

A closely related theme in labour market discourse is that of labour market flexibility which refers to the extent to which an employer can change different aspects of work and the workforce to meet the demands of the business such as the size of the workforce, contents of the jobs, and working time (Barker, 2003:30). It is argued that labour market rigidities prevent firms from adjusting to technological transformation, changing economic circumstances, external shocks and more intense international competition. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) identified four types of flexibility in the current labour market:

⇒ Flexibility in contracts of employment i.e. the ability of the employer to have recourse to atypical employment contracts such as part-time work, temporary work, seasonal employment and fixed-term contracts. It also covers the employer's ability to hire and fire contract employees.

⇒ Wage flexibility that involves the imposition of a minimum wage linked to performance.

⇒ Working time flexibility that relates to normal or overtime working, working on weekends or night shifts.

⇒ Work organisation flexibility is determined by the extent to which new forms of work organisation are introduced i.e. multi-skilling and multi-tasking of workers and the encouragement of teamwork (Barker, 2003:30).

Similar types of flexibility were identified in the literature on the labour market i.e. functional labour market, numerical and wage flexibility. *Functional flexibility* refers to a situation where the traditional lines of occupational demarcation have been removed and a group of core workers is created to be 'multi-skilled'

together with multi-tasking, and enjoys a secure employment environment. *Numerical flexibility* refers to peripheral workers whose numbers fluctuate according to the demands of the labour market (see Callaghan, 1997: 4 and Standing, 1999a). *Wage flexibility* is concerned with income system flexibility, which facilitates the deregulation of the formal sector to decrease non-wage costs; and the decentralisation of wage bargaining to the individual company or firm.

Changes in the modern labour market are characterised by practices that shifted the demands for labour and consequent changes in employment opportunities in order to suit the notion of global demand. Flexibility is significant for getting a common and clear understanding in an attempt to critically discuss whether the rise of flexible and insecure labour markets is an inevitable and necessary part of the current processes of globalisation. The 'flexible firm' refers to a firm that rapidly changes the number, type and working time of employees to meet changing market conditions and capitalise on changing technologies (See Standing, 1999; Barker, 2003:23).

It is emphasised that flexibility in general and the flexible firm and flexible specialisation specifically are embedded solidly in a pro-market ideology:

> "… There is a much wider ideological message of social integration. The 'core' and 'periphery' model is one of organisational balance…The 'flexible specialisation' analysis is likewise based on dual labour market analysis as a system based on contradictory class interests, and wholeheartedly supports market regeneration. It poses a new equation of sectoral and productive balance, which is healthier for markets…The convergence between these perspectives, and the neo-liberal revival of the enterprise economy, individualised competition and policies of employment deregulation and attacks on trade unionism lead one to question why such a broad ideological consensus should have developed. Capitalist crisis, and the lack of

control by nation states over the system may predispose the relinquishing of policies of control, towards an emphasis on the primacy of 'markets', raising economic flexibility to be panacea" (Callaghan, 1997:5; Webster and Von Holdt, 2005:7).

Flexibility refers to a state whereby the capitalist economy, and its firms and industries move from the old system of large-scale production and redesign it or decentralise their mode of operation to meet global competition. It also suits the emerging mode of operation which is characterised by small scale production and flexible specialisation. This is facilitated by the technological revolution. There are varieties of flexibility that are currently experienced in the labour market. Organisational flexibility, can be seen through "the large scale ventures that have spread to control much of the global economy, typified by the growth of multinationals and household-name products known throughout the world" (Standing, 1999:86).

Employment flexibility focuses on the reduction in a firm's expenditure, through the easy hiring and firing of workers in the context of legislation that weakens employment protection (Standing, 1999:102). Similarly, in the industrialising economies, flexible labour types that emerge are the continuation of migratory labour which is the reserves of workers that always travel around the world. The labour circulants[4], staying in one place are used as cheap labour, labour contract workers that are mostly employed by a 'middle-man' or agent. The middle-man's responsibility is to employ workers for the firm and this leads to high exploitation as workers are easily discarded and lack a collective voice. They are also denied social security contributions (Abbott, 1980; Barker, 2003:23; Mthembu, 2005:17). Employment flexibility is an old practice within the industrialised economies. Whilst full-time employment is on the decline; casual and temporary work are on

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[4] Circulants are composed of unemployed people who are unskilled, semi-skilled and unskilled (see Mthembu, 2005: 17).

the increase (Standing, 1999:105). Casual and temporary workers enjoy no benefits and are poorly paid.

Consequently, labour market flexibility results in full-time employment becoming a thing of the past as well as reducing workers' bargaining power. The straightforward guide to labour market security is the unemployment level that has been observed globally for the past two decades (Standing, 1999:135). Flexibility and insecure labour markets have been described as a 'shrinking model' because this presumes that workers need to be persuaded to work for decent wages, but also to prevent wage increases as there must be sufficient unemployment to make workers insecure and to use that as the disciplining device (Barker, 2003:30).

The rise of flexible and insecure labour markets is evitable if the parties involved are on a mission to compete in the current processes of globalisation. In addition, there is the need to act in response to the challenges posed by globalisation by reinstating the old ways of working. The rise of flexible and insecure labour markets is advantageous to the capitalists as it is political in nature (Standing, 1999:86). This view is confirmed by the fact that the globalisation being experienced at present characterises the neo-liberal capitalists' agenda led by the multinationals (Massey, 2004:83). Globalisation is another significant manner of legitimising the idea that there is one set or model of development, as the world is not totally globalised.

Labour market flexibility is underpinned by technological advances that substitute other factors for labour in the production process. It results in increased *per capita* productivity that reduces employment in that particular industry, plants, and firms. So far, there is no supporting evidence for the argument that states that the introduction of technological development has created a larger number of labour surpluses than previous eras. Abbott (1980) argued that a particular change in technical-production systems has led to the displacement of a certain

group of workers, elimination of particular occupational roles, and contradictions in the number of workers hired in particular industries in general. In addition, Abbott notes that new technology can perform different production, distribution, handling, and data processing tasks. Automation tended to reduce the costs of production and the recruitment of additional white-collar, professional, and technical service personnel (Abbott, 1980:29).

In the ideal type labour market, the price of labour is expected to provide the basis for integration, wage differentials arise from specific individuals and employee groups in relation to product supply and demand for particular job performance skills. This results in a situation where high wages stimulate the movement of workers between firms, industries, and geographical localities. Lateral movement is expected to continue until either wage gaps have vanished or income is relativised within a particular job (Abbott, 1980:35). In addition, labour market symmetry or *'full-employment'* entails a certain level of mobility of labour resources and adaptability to changing wage, supply, and demand conditions. The definition of full employment highlights a situation of stability between existing supply on the one hand, and the point and composition of labour market demand on the other (Abbott, 1980:35).

In the perfect model of a labour market, the pricing of labour offer the basis for integration, as income differences emerging from specific individuals and employee groups contribute to the national product based on the varying supply and demand of a particular occupational skill. Eventually, high wages stimulate workers to migrate from one firm, industry, geographical locality to another and this movement seems to proceed until the difference has either vanished or is just reimbursed for the relative usefulness of a specific occupation.

The '*political'* enterprise allocates role rewards on the basis of political power, status, or affiliation and/or determination modification of economic goals and functions on the basis of political consideration (Abbott, 1980:17). *'Political'*

management in essence is a part of a collectivist system or societies where the polity and the economic system are merged together. Abbott (1980:17) defines "professional" management "as a type in which people is appointed to management positions on the basis of technical-commercial considerations rather than kinship, 'politics', or ascribed status". This is a crucial feature of professional management when it comes to allocation of and access to roles based on formal qualification, training, or performance. The daily management of the whole industry functions on the basis of the technical-commercial capabilities and performance is monitored.

The broader society in which the labour market functions is identified by features such as highly organised work and educated and trained management, to a higher level of a wide range of performances and is geographical-occupational mobility. The dominant cultural goal is "individual achievement" instead of conservation of traditional socio-cultural forms that encourage societal development or the achievement of collective justice. Economic integration operates on the basis of an open market rather than the local community. Independent employers and courts, instead of government, regulate industrial relations. Industrial conflicts are frequent, but are dealt with according to the normally accepted 'rules of the game'. Education is broad- based, secular, and liberal, rather than sacred-collectivist or narrowly technical-vocational and access to education is generally open but in reality, it is reserved for the privileged elite. Jobs are obtained in labour markets based on education, experience, or performance. Trade unions are competitive and exclusive instead of being co-operative, as they are fragmented along political, ideological, racial, community or individual lines. Wages are determined through negotiations based on supply and demand, productivity, and other economic variables (Abbott, 1980:21).

3.3. Conclusion

This Chapter looked at the nature of and functioning of the labour market historically and today. This was achieved through a review of theoretical literature on labour markets. The themes addressed are those of the function of the labour market in terms of supply and demand; the segmented and flexible nature of the labour market, as well as the notion of control within the labour market.

The notion of supply and demand centres on the issue of skills availability and shortage and its influences in the labour market. This Chapter also looked at the human capital theory and its influences and shortcomings in relation to higher educational qualifications and higher income in the labour market. The section on the segmented and flexible nature of the labour market flexibility looked at the extent to which an employer can change different aspects of work and the workforce to meet the demands of the business, such as the size of the workforce, contents of the jobs, and working time. The notion of control was revisited and its role in depriving workers of the capacity to work independently *versus* management's power to control through its chain of command structures that transform workers' capacity into real productive activity.

The next chapter will focus on the evolution of skills in relation to the notion of control in order to ascertain whether the South African labour market followed the same historical pattern of skills development or not.

CHAPTER 4

THE SKILLS QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1. Introduction

The question of the skills shortage in South Africa cannot be properly addressed without looking at the historical background that influences the contemporary skills situation in the workplace. Skills shortage problems arise when determining what should be included or left out in classifying the skill and how to measure skills level for various occupations in different sectors (Brown et al, 2001:53). In South Africa it cannot be understood in isolation from the historical proletarianisation of black workers and the formation of white workers' craft unions, which became a labour aristocracy, protected by job reservation policies. In addition, South Africa became an industrialised country, leading to a demand for a highly skilled labour force (Webster and Leger, 1992:53).

4.2. Historical overview of the question of skills in the early industrialisation period

The conventional definition of skill normally sees skill as composed of two components – manual skill and knowledge skill (Webster and Leger, 1992:53). Webster and Leger (1992) argue that if skill is defined only in terms of manual skill and knowledge skill, it would imply that all workers possess work. The term 'skill' implies that workers overcame certain barriers to gain entry into an occupational category; be it an apprenticeship, an examination or a formal training course. In relation to the skilled worker, some workers are regarded as semi-skilled or unskilled irrespective of the fact that they perform a variety of skilled work in their workplace. Barriers are regarded as social closure because skills are capable of excluding outsiders and dominate resources that are denied to others. Barriers are artificial social constructs which relate to the skills

possessed by certain workers. Therefore, the definition of skill suggests that it is socially constructed and cannot be measured objectively since its construction is the result of the strength of employers and employees in a particular historical milieu (Webster and Leger, 1992: 55).

Another related problem is the supposition that the labour market is where some people are compensated well compared to others on the basis of their human competencies. This view has been criticised because it points to the differences in power relations that influences the increase of rewards in what comprises the point of income in a particular profession. The significance of the process is the rate of economic improvement and change in skill demands for the knowledge driven economies. The notion is that economic competitiveness will eventually lead employers to invest in upgrading of skills instead of profit maximisation.

To understand the c*raft as 'on the job' knowledge/skills,* there are many descriptions of crafts or traditional trades that needs to be reviewed. Most literature has placed emphasis on the relationship between worker, materials and tools, and a depiction of the craft worker as being responsible for producing the *whole* item. Craft workers perform all the operations necessary to produce a specific product, using a wide range of tools and are mindful of the inherent qualities of the material used. The relationship between part of practice and knowledge and final product is essential, as the craft worker must be able to figure out how the parts fit together. They sometime have a sense of how the whole series of interlocking parts are constituted. What relates the parts to the whole is an 'embodied principle of arrangement'. Principles operate at a general and non-empirical level, but craft workers grasp the relationship between part and whole through the act of *visualisation,* rather than through formal reasoning, talking, reading and writing (Gamble, 2004).

It is generally understood that the practical manner of passing on knowledge is through modelling rather than through verbal instruction. This may explain the

marginal role of language in the master–apprentice instruction process. Craft as something in common with general principled knowledge is found in the natural, social sciences, secondary and tertiary knowledge, yet it is different in practice. The similarity between the two kinds of knowledge is that both have an epistemic logic that links *procedures* with *principles*. Their differences lie in the nature of the principles involved, as well as in the directionality of the epistemic logic. In crafting, the principle in particular is personified in the item that is being created. In the natural and social sciences, principles are abstract and non-empirical and are achieved through formal reasoning (Gamble, 2004:180).

The contemporary South African system of skills is directly descended from the English system of technical education, which differs markedly from systems of technical education that developed on the European continent. Mumford (1930) argues that vocational knowledge has never been static as it considers the relationship between maker, materials and tools or sources of power as a variety of 'technical complexes', which inter-penetrate and overlap (Callinicos, 1990: 2).

The origins of vocational education can be traced back to various mission schools for 'native' and Coloured children (Callinicos, 1990: 8). In 1855, the Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey, instituted a scheme of industrial education for 'native' children, and in 1861, industrial departments were attached to certain Coloured mission schools in the Cape. This was evident through different approaches that were adopted in developing a special education for 'primitive' people in a rural context. The most striking exception to this was amongst the Coloured community of the Western Cape. By the middle of nineteenth century, Coloured males were increasingly becoming involved in semi-skilled and craft work in Cape Town and other urban settlements (McGrath, 2004: 11-23).

The 'discovery[5]' of gold on the Witwatersrand led to the need for more capital for special machinery for deeper level mining. This type of mining also demanded experienced skilled labour to sink shafts, fit pipes and pumps, install lifts, build props, drive engines and operate drilling machines as well as sorting and extracting gold from the ore (Callinicos, 1990). It needed an unskilled labour force for the heavy tasks of lashing, tramming and hammering tunnels into the ore (see Joffe, 1995). The expansion of the mining industry influenced the emergence of the manufacturing industry which needed supervisors to direct and control workers. The history of industrial development shows how late in the nineteenth-century technology started drawing more strongly on general scientific principles that resulted in the increase in specialisation and division of labour.

This period is characterised by the shifting of traditional work based on apprenticeships to a theory-practice combination. In addition, it coincides with the period that saw a need for a skilled labour force in the mines. The combination of theory taught in a college, linked to on-job apprenticeships became the model for what Young (2001) calls a 'knowledge-based approach' to vocational training. A particular feature of this curriculum mode was the exclusion of practical application. In the English *Technical Instruction Act* of 1889, technical education was defined as being "limited to instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industry" and *not* to include "teaching the practice of any trade or industry or employment". This definition fitted the requirements of professional scientists who were teachers and examiners in the new system. Government, in collaboration with mine owners passed laws such as Glen Grey Act of 1894 to force the natives to work in towns and on the mines as *cheap labour* (Callinicos, 1990: 23).

In order for the white colonialists to advance the extraction of mineral resources, they needed a huge pool of cheap force and a skilled work force in the mines.

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[5] The discovery of gold in 1886 differed from the gold mined by Africans hundreds of years earlier by the fact that it ran for many miles underground (see Callinicos, 1990: 8)

They introduced forms of coercion to achieve this - i.e. they made it compulsory for adult men to work for 'usual wages, for at least one year' (Callinicos, 1990; Popenoe *et al*, 1998). This practice is known as the *cheap labour system* and became the norm for wages in all other sectors. Another form of coercion was the imposition of a taxation system. All Black Africans aged 18 and above were expected to pay hut tax and a poll tax of one pound that was equivalent to R2.00 each. The colonisers enforced taxation on indigenous people as an obligation and a strategy to enter wage employment i.e. to earn cash wages to pay taxes. These changes also led African people to adopt other means to gather tax money including means that were never utilised by subsistence society such as the forced selling of their labour power (Callinicos, 1990; Popenoe *et al*, 1998:424).

By 896, deep-level mining needed more cheap labour and the government passed two laws that helped mine-owners have more control over the supply and movement of black workers into the mines. Callinicos (1990:23) notes that the law demanded that all natives must be employed by a master and wear a metal plate or badge as a token of employment. If an African man did not wear the badge, he was arrested and imprisoned or forced to work. In gold mining *labour districts,* it was demanded that African workers have district passes in order to have three days to search for work. These new laws restricted the movement and job selection of black African workers. In addition, in 1897 the government passed much stricter legislation that helped the Chamber of Mines to cut the wages of black miners. Furthermore, there were *four types of passes* that were granted to black African workers: the *six-day pass* that gave workers the authority to look for work in a particular district that included the weekends and public holidays; the *travelling pass* for workers leaving home and travelling to another district; the *night pass* that had to be carried by any black worker outside the municipality after 9:00p.m; and a *'special' pass* that was expected to be carried when the worker left the premises of the employer (Callinicos, 1990:23).

Other means that were utilised to control African workers were the low wages through the system called the *Wage Colour Bar*. Callinicos (1990:24) argues that this system empowered the mine-owners to create a huge labour force at a cheap and minimum wage of not more than two shillings and three pence for a ten-hour shift. African workers were expected to be more productive and work harder by doing two jobs for the price of one. For example, one job was to hammer and later to drill deep holes in the rock. Unskilled workers as 'hammerboys' were made to do all the underground work as a strategy to save costs by mine-owners. Another way was the *loafer-ticket system*[6] that expected the driller to drill at least 30 inches or more of rock by the end of the day and receive a ticket from the supervisor. In cases where a driller failed to meet such requirements, the worker would get a *'loafer's ticket'* for not working adequately (Callinicos, 1990:24). Since mine-owners were eager to keep workers in the mines for a long period it facilitated the gaining of experience and maximisation of profit for mine-owners. In order to keep workers in the mines, African workers were made to sign longer contracts and were paid low wages so that they would not to able to save money. The mine-owners feared that once migrant workers saved enough money, they would stay away from the mines.

This development led to black African subsistence farmers who needed to work a short period, becoming *labourers* with a view to earning money to pay their taxes and buy guns to protect their land, and agricultural tools like hoes or ploughs for use on their land. This was the beginning of a new way of life, as most people were becoming job seekers in order to earn wages, buy food and clothes and live in a compound or township. To meet skills requirements the mine owners employed immigrant miners from America and Australia and from the deep coal mines of Britain. These miners were paid high wages (Callinicos, 1990). As a result, blacks in general and Africans in particular were not given any skills training and were *unfree*.

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[6] The loafer's ticket meant that the worker received no income for a ten-hour shift and was allowed only porridge for lunch and supper (see Callinicos, 1990).

Due to colonial economic policies, Europeans expropriated land from indigenous South Africans to become landless cheap labour for commercial farms, mines and later manufacturing industries in the early years (Terreblanche, 2002: 14 - 15). This occurred under an economic boom. Black Africans living on the white farmers' land were forced to work for the landowner. They had to reside in the tribal lands – the 'Reserves' – which made up less than a tenth of the land in South Africa. The reserves could not accommodate all black Africans. This forced them to become migrant workers (Callinicos,1990). The shortage of cheap labour, the dangers encountered by the mineworkers on their way to the mines and other related problems led the mine owners to devise new strategies to attract workers and the unskilled. In 1889-1899 mine owners introduced the *Tout System*[7] which did not succeed. In 1901, the Chamber of Mines set up a recruitment system called the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) with agents in the neighbouring southern African countries such as Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique. They promised to pay taxes and transport fares to the mines. In 1912 the Chamber established the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC), to recruit blacks within South Africa (see Callinicos, 1990:31). The mine owners ensured longer periods of availability of labour by introducing the contract system that lasted between six and 12 months.

From as early as the 1890s, there was a strong strand of skills training focusing on the poor, 'educationally backward' and the 'delinquent'. Therefore, skill became infused with notions of social control and of the value of industriousness over notions of skills being about economic development (Callinicos, 1990). There was a need to protect white semi-skilled labourers against the threats of undercutting by black African cheap labour. This combined with racialised opinions about attitudes towards work and skill. It was widely held in the white community that Africans should be provided with the necessary skills to remain

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[7] Refers to a system introduced by mine-owners of paying agents to bring black African workers to work in the mines (see Callinicos, 1990:33).

and survive in rural areas – i.e. for their reproduction as labourers. Africans were forced to enter the 'white economy', as they were recruited primarily for the mines.

As noted earlier, the idea of providing industrial education to black Africans was first mooted in the mid-1800s (Callinicos, 1990). The aim was to create a settled and industrious peasantry that would work its own land or the land of white farmers and contribute to social order. This plan was eventually abandoned, for reasons that included ongoing conflict between settlers and Africans over land and cattle on the frontier. George Grey's idea of industrial education was meant to train a specific group of Africans located within certain strategic spaces as a buffer group on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony.

By the turn of the century, the Cape government was concerned with designing a form of education applicable to all school-going Africans. This later concept of industrial education for Africans was educationally far less ambitious than that of the earlier Grey Plan. It did not present African learners with vocational skills that had real market value, leaving them with only their labour to sell (McGrath, 2004:83). Forms of industrial training accessible to Africans had been part of the mission school tradition before the 1850s. But this industrial training was only concentrated in a few mission institutions. The missionary schools were extremely diverse in terms of the quality of their instruction and curriculum. This was the direct consequence of the freedom of the competing missionary societies to strategically allocate resources both in order to maximise conversions and increase membership, and to provide educational opportunities. Nevertheless, a tiered pattern of provision emerged with the dual system of training and other co-determinist principles, even though invested heavily outside of the European economy. Colonialists continued to replicate the high performance systems in foreign subsidiaries hoping to continue the successes achieved in the home country (Brown *et al.* 2001: 209).

Almost all South African black workers were employed on six-month contracts. However, these contracts took more than six and 12 months to complete. Most black workers' contracts were extended to seven to 14 months, as the Chamber of Mines demanded that 30 shifts be counted as a month of work before a worker was entitled to receive monthly income. Workers spent more years in the mines because the reserves were getting poorer and the cost of living was going up. Wages did not increase in line with the cost of living. For example, in 1895, the average wage of a unskilled worker in the mines was more than R6,35 a month, but 10 years later the wage dropped to R5,20 (Callinicos, 1990:54).

The demand for skilled, cheap labour and protection of white workers' interests was high on the agenda of the mine-owners. These were addressed by the co-operation of the mine-owners and the state, and Chinese labour was imported to deal with the shortage of cheap labour. The low wages of Chinese labour influenced the decrease of wages of all unskilled miners. The fear of a Chinese takeover of skilled labour led to the passing of the *Transvaal Ordinance of 1904* that endorsed the reservation of certain jobs –the *job colour bar* for whites. The early strong craft unions accepted only skilled workers that brought their experience of mine working. Unlike the unskilled workers, skilled labourers were capable of bargaining for better benefits and working conditions. Nevertheless, as time moved on the mine-owners saw the need for some black people to be skilled workers and started giving them some skilled work (Callinicos, 1990:43).

This led to the transformation of *craft unions* to *industrial unions* as a retaliation strategy by white skilled workers. The industrial union was open to all whites and was not based on *skill* but on *race* to unite for the protection of white workers' rights. Furthermore, the white miners used both their unions and political power to protect their interests against mine-owners who were seeking to undermine their privileges (Callinicos, 1990:43).

In spite of this mine owners started utilising African labour after pushing for various laws that forced Africans to sell their labour, especially immediately after the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. In the 1910 elections, the Labour Party managed to get into Parliament with the aim of passing laws that would protect white workers from employers and the competition of cheap Black labour. The South African government passed the Native Labour Regulations Act of 1911. This stipulated that mineworkers should stay in the compound until the manager was satisfied. Mineworkers were not happy with the compound and working conditions such as low pay and bad treatment by mine management, led to workers deserting their employers in increasing numbers (Callinicos, 1990:43). Some of these policies that were passed in 1911 ordered that Africans be disallowed from obtaining skilled workers' qualifications, and in 1913 another Act was passed prohibiting Africans from acquiring land except in labour reserves (Potts, 1990:118). Furthermore, following the founding of the Republic of South Africa, the government implemented racial discrimination or immigration control at inter-community and international levels. This contributed to the 'balkanisation' of workers in the labour market (McGrath, 2004:37). The historical socio-economic developments in South Africa that occurred within a racist-oriented system cannot be ignored. It was based on extreme inequality, unevenness, and injustice that condemned the majority of Africans to a lack of skills and various forms of economic bondage marked by low pay and dehumanising jobs (Terreblanche, 2002: 11 & 17).

The 'short-termism' and low levels of skills occupied the centre of thinking about the labour market (Webster and Leger, 1992:55). This was however challenged as the employers attempt to undermine the colour bar policy. They were legally fought in the Supreme Court as illustrated by the Hildick-Smith Judgement (1923), where a mine manager was judged to have acted illegally in ignoring the 1911 *Mines and Works Act's* regulations on who could be employed in certain occupations by employing an African engine driver underground (Callinicos, 1990:23; Webster and Leger, 1992:55).

In 1920, the National Recruiting Corporation called for the use of more 'semi-skilled' and permanent African labour on the mines in preference to the existing migrant system (Webster and Leger, 1992). At the same time, growing concern about the 'poor White problem' and the threat of black African urbanisation led to new pressures on black African education. Liberal education in some mission schools came under a concerted attack due to its perceived "inappropriateness" for the rural communities where black Africans were expected to remain. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed deskilling in other segments of occupation such as iron moulders through the introduction of new technology. The 1922 *Apprenticeship Act* was added to by a draft legislation that firmly reserved skilled work for whites and, to a lesser extent, Coloureds (McGrath, 2004:37; Webster and Leger, 1992:55).

Despite the colour bar, industry was compelled provide skills training to black workers. This was mainly achieved through the Central Organisation for Technical Training (COTT), which was established in 1940, with centres all over the country. The centres (operational by June 1940) were attached to a technical college and provided facilities that sought to train almost 5 000 students as fitters, machine tool operators, welders, blacksmiths, tool repairers, electricians and sheet metal workers. Men between the ages of 18 and 40 were admitted to courses that generally lasted 24 weeks. By the end of 1943 nearly 22 000 black workers had been trained at the various COTT centres. In 1943 "the low standard of living, meagre and inferior education and the obstruction of race and class barriers was mainly responsible for preventing the entry of large numbers of African, Coloured and Indian people into the skilled manual and white-collar occupations in the workplace (McGrath, 2004:37). In addition, these factors made it unnecessary to "inject large funds into providing technical and industrial education facilities, even though there were large numbers of outstanding African and Coloured workers that had the potential to become skilled craftsmen, foremen and building contractors" (McGrath, 2004). State education provision

under the apartheid government remained similar in orientation for African, Coloured and Indian learners. However, provision was made for the respective groups in quite different ways according to their respective social contexts and different legislative provision. The Union Education Department took over all COTT centres in June 1945 and focused on training mostly white ex-volunteers, mostly in the same trades as the previous black trainees.

The 1948 elections saw the victory of the National Party and the emergence of the 'grand apartheid' state. Education provision was vocationalised for African youths after 1948 through the system of Bantu Education. This approach sought to develop a national system of education for African learners and tie African education to the labour market in very loose ways, linked primarily to agricultural and mining interests. Obvious neglect of what is called intermediate skills relied on racial ideology and its creation of what constituted racially-appropriate labour. Nevertheless, it was entrenched in the way that apartheid encouraged a particular version of an import substitution approach to industrial policy (Kraak, 2003:665; Webster and Leger, 1992:55). This neglect of skills development was reinforced by the way that industrial strategy contributed to the rapid growth of an Afrikaner middle class, which increasingly turned its back on such skills as a route to social and economic betterment. Different access privileges to apprenticeship served to distinguish them from African, Coloured and Indian learners in the labour market (Lehohla, 2004).

The racist practices by capital towards black labour in 1950 had a 'dual' nature. On the one hand, there was a set of practices that were meant for white skilled and supervisory personnel, and on the other, those meant for unskilled black labour. This approach to dealing with technical and vocational training and the needs of African, Coloured and Indian learners is best captured in the report of the Botha Commission of 1956. It noted that technical education provision for black learners required improvements (McGrath, 2004:41). Vocational education was defined as 'instruction and training in commerce, agriculture, housecraft or

any trade or industry' and included vocational inputs into general primary and secondary education. Specifically, the Commission focused on education and training and how this arena needed to be shaped in order to have a positive influence on 'the real needs of the nation'. The 'industrial relations programme' for African labour during this era was simple education and training; and signified a clear instruction and sympathy in particular in times of injury and problems. In addition, employers were expected to train the 'native' to work harder and more productively in order to justify the extra cash he would receive (Nzimande, 1991:160).

The economic boom of the 1960s occurred in the content of skills shortages and attempts by some employers to float the colour bar upwards to become more intense (McCord and Bhorat, 2003:114). The state responded to the skills shortage by establishing the Working Committee on Manpower Training with a view to getting reports on training programmes in various sectors of the economy to stimulate further training and publishing data on manpower training. The government insisted that such programmes should be strictly under the ambit of government policies of separate development based on apartheid practices (Nzimande, 1991:151).

The *Advanced Technical Education Act* of 1967 allowed for the upgrading of those technical colleges that offered post-secondary school training courses in cities like Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town. Despite protests from various quarters, there was a tightening of job reservation through the introduction of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill in 1969. This Bill gave the Minister of Bantu Administration powers "…to prohibit the performance of work, or the employment of a Bantu a) in a specified area; b) in a specified class of employment; c) in a specified trade; d) in the service of specified employer or class of employers" (Badroodien, 2004: 21). This was the state's response to the threats that were posed by the take over of occupations earmarked for white workers. They were allowed to perform jobs such as counter assistant,

salesperson in a shop or café or a receptionist.   In commercial or professional undertakings they were allowed to work as a telephonist or telephone switchboard operators in a shop, office, factory, or a hotel; a clerk, cashier, and or typist in similar workplaces.

The growing protests at the apartheid skills model led into the third and decisive period of contestation and reform and renewed by African political militancy. This was on the understanding of 'skill' associated with technical and vocational education provision. Skill was loosely understood to refer predominantly to the different kinds of discipline and work-preparedness that made people both good workers and good citizens. It was also understood to mean "teaching people the habits and social requirements of work and work ethic". Provincial industrial schools were themselves not a homogenous group of institutions. There were provincial industrial schools that focused on trade training issues, whilst others responded to issues of indigence and social intervention (Badroodien, 2004:21).

Badroodien (2004:21) argues that this approach to trade training for black learners remained dominant till the mid-1970s when "apartheid policy in relation to technical education for blacks slowly began to be reversed". The provision of technical and industrial education for black children in the period between 1920 and 1970 was defined by external factors such as the absence of compulsory education. These included the levels of poverty under which most children lived, the low levels of education attained by many of them, their exclusion from apprenticeship and job opportunities based on race, and the limited availability of technical education institutions for black workers.

Reform initiatives led by the apartheid regime in the late 1970s and early 1980s took the form of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions of Inquiry into labour, training and black urbanisation legislation. Both the Wiehahn and the Riekert Commissions, appointed to look at issues surrounding black urbanisation, recommended the streamlining and rationalisation of labour and training

legislation, which resulted in the ratification of the *Manpower Training Act* (MTA) of 1981. They also recommended the establishment of the National Manpower Commission (NMC) and the National Training Board (NTB) to advise the Minister of Manpower on labour and training matters. These developments were followed by several research-driven initiatives that led to amendments to the legislation regarding industrial training.

The 1985 National Training Board/Human Sciences Research Council (NTB/HSRC) *Investigation into the Training of Artisans* led to key amendments to the *Manpower Training Act* of 1981. The political and economic discourse of the 1980s emphasised that the history of capitalist industrialisation is part and parcel of the history of labour migration and has a tendency to transform all labour into one labour market of the world (Potts, 1990:4). Morris and Padayachee (1989) argue that this transition represented the triumph within the state of a "market-oriented, neo-conservative group over the hardliner adherents of classic apartheid and import-substitution" (see McGrath, 2004:60). The 1989 NTB/HSRC *Investigation into Skills Training in the Republic of South Africa* studied the training needs of semi-skilled black operative workers. This led to the 1991 NTB/HSRC *Investigation into a National Training Strategy for South Africa* (McGrath, 2004).

South Africa's highly fragmented vocational qualifications were another cause for concern for the NTS. Three problems regarding certification were identified. Firstly, there was a need to merge into a single, coherent state institution capable of effective training delivery and certification. Secondly, there was formal education but no such body in the vocational training sector. Thirdly, there was a demand for skills within and across different industrial sectors. South Africa further observed the policy of apartheid which led to the creation of labour reserves that had a negative influence on skills level amongst Africans. Apartheid created two worlds: a white world that was affluent and a black world with homelands/reserves where the Blacks only had 13 percent of land. The Black

world also supplied labour power to the white world and were compensated with extremely low income, and secured more social and economic privileges for whites irrespective of whether they were Dutch or British (Terreblanche, 2002:39; Marais, 2001:16). This type of socio-economic development continues to haunt black Africans, as they remain the most disadvantaged in post-apartheid South Africa, and this will continue until the socio-economic gaps between racial groups are closed (Marais, 2001:9). This type of development manifests itself in the manner in which different races benefit in the current socio-economic set-up.

Thus in apartheid South Africa, skills reflected the nature of labour market segmentations whereby Black workers were reduced to unskilled and semi-skilled occupations while white workers occupied mainly semi-skilled and skilled jobs (Streak, 2004). This was realised by the implementation of programmes that were meant to address the skills shortages that were a serious concern between the 1940s and 1970s. Skills shortages in South Africa during these periods did not become material-based but were the arena for the consolidation of white dominance in skilled occupations. For example, the skills shortage problem reached emergency proportions as early as the 1960s but the apartheid state opted to offer technical training to the white population only. There are two main reasons for the failure of the state to offer technical training to black Africans. Firstly, the skills shortage was addressed by the promotion of the *colour bar policy* and, secondly, the large quantity of foreign capital countered the negative effects of shortages on productivity.

Despite the failure of segregation policies in 1977 such as job reservation, provision of skills remains a capitalist rhetoric. Provision of skills training to African workers is regarded as more exaggeration than reality. As Nzimande (1991:157) argued: "…the rhetoric on skills shortage by capital is made with other purposes in mind …as a convenient smokescreen behind which co-optation of an incipient black petty bourgeoisie can proceed". This argument is

borne out by the response of the state as some of the strategies included the importation of skilled labour from overseas and intensification of job dilution.

The failure by the state to adequately respond to the skills shortage is based on three principles. The first principle suggests that the white ruling bloc was committed to "…protecting the fundamental structures of white supremacy" (Nzimande, 1991:157). The second is the highly controlled training and advancement of black Africans into highly focused jobs and occupations in all social spheres. Thirdly, there was a deliberate suppression of advancement and mobility into the echelons of power for black African workers.

The problem of skills has always been analysed in terms of its relationship to work, performance and the labour market (Nzimande, 1991:157). As a result, there was no mechanism to accredit education and training received across industrial sectors and training institutions. The 1981 De Lange Commission's report entitled *Provision of Education in South Africa* shared these concerns regarding fragmentation and recommended further investigation of a national certification body that would be responsible for standards of evaluation and certification in both the academic and vocational education, and training sectors (Potts, 1990:63).

The most fundamental elements of the training dispensation as proposed by the reforming apartheid state in 1991 were that it should be market-driven and employer-led with a considerably shrinking role for the state. The rise of this 'free market' framework had its roots in changes to apartheid state macro-economic and industrial policy that took place a few years earlier. This shift from a macro-economic philosophy based on active state intervention in support of import substitution policies and apartheid-defined institutional structures to that of a free market perspective represented a critical watershed in South Africa's political and economic history (Unwin, 2004).

The provision of skills to Africans for most of the twentieth century invariably focused on developing 'competencies', skills and attributes that would fit them into various kinds of low or intermediate skill activities. Such provision focused predominantly on 'teaching' Africans skills appropriate to predominantly rural agricultural contexts or the routine work of the mine or factory floor (see Paterson, 2004:71). In more recent times this referred to 'technical and vocational education' that was spoken of in the early period of the evolution of education systems in southern Africa in a variety of ways such as 'industrial', 'manual', 'agricultural' and 'adapted' education. This *mélange* of terms reflected multiple understandings of vocational education that encompassed a variety of skills that might be learned in rural or urban contexts.

4.3. The impact of 1994 political settlement on the labour market and skills

South Africa's' attempts in 1994 to dismantle institutionalised racism in the labour market resulted in major structural changes characterised by two main drives: i.e. the structure of the economy and increasing capital intensity. Three principal problems that faced the incoming state in 1994 were: Firstly, skills shortages as skills were historically racialised and gendered; blacks, especially females were denied access to skills development or had received no certification or recognition for possessed skills and knowledge learned on the job and provider institutions. Secondly, the absence of consensus and co-operation around skills development was about issues of race i.e. white privilege. Thirdly, South Africa's apartheid-driven industrial development led to an intense polarisation of skill between high and low skill elements with a serious underdevelopment of the intermediate skill segment. That is seen as essential to successful industrialisation and competitiveness internationally (Badroodien, 2004:21).

In contemporary world labour markets, there are various disturbances that might arise due to mobility based on skills, and mobility of job performers that are in and out of employment, and between occupations, firms, industries and

communities. In the pre-1994 period, the economic slowdown, combined with a structural decline in key industries led to massive industrial and company restructuring and job shedding, especially in the primary sectors such as mining and agriculture. This restructuring continued in the post-1994 period and is related to rising levels of import penetration in the South African economy that led to an increase in plant closures due to bankruptcies (Naidoo, 2003:2). The restructuring came with the 'international best practices' through downsizing, outsourcing and privatisation, especially in the public sector. Current research shows that in the past years, there has been an intensive anti-worker restructuring which led to job insecurity and job losses. The 'market' has been making greater use of so-called atypical employment, including so-called independent contractors' and labour brokers. (See Table 1 below).

Table 1: Changing forms of employment in South Africa

	Sector employment 1999	Sector employment 2002	Compound annual Growth Rate	% change from 1999-2002
Permanent employees (FT and PT)	382,521	361,075	-1.9%	-5.6%
casual labour	1,390	5,179	55.0%	272.5%
temporary labour	4,184	5,906	12.2%	41.2%
sub contracted labour	7,055	29,778	61.6%	322.1%
total labour	394,479	401,938	0.6%	1.9%

Source: Naidoo, 2003 citing the NALEDI Sectoral Report, 2003

Table 1 suggests that the casual labour force increased by 55.0 percent in 2002. Temporary and contract workers increased by 12.2 percent and 61.6 percent respectively whilst permanent employment (made up of full-time and part-time contract) declined by 1.9 percent annually, amounting to 5.6 percent between 1999 and 2002. Temporary labour increased more than other categories by 12.2 percent, making up 41.2 percent between 1999 and 2002. In addition, Table 1

shows that subcontracted work is leading in growth by 61.6 percent, which amounted to 322.1 percent between 1999 and 2002 (Naidoo, 2003).

The demand for skilled labour and rising capital intensity leads to a demand for 'high-end workers', which necessitates a high demand for a skills base at the expense of unskilled elementary occupations (McCord, and Bhorat, 2003:115). Whilst the demand for workers with Matric or tertiary education qualifications was growing as well as for females, demand for males dropped. Improvements in education and opportunities facilitated large amounts of young blacks rising to the middle strata. The less educated and unskilled faced the prospect of a poverty trap, but that goes along with the increase in levels of education, especially among young people looking for work (Netshitenzhe, 2006:44).

Graph 1: Education level by race

	Africa	Coloure	Asia	Whit		Averag
Higher	5.2	4.9	14.	29.		8.4
Grade 12/Std 10	16.	18.	9	8		20.
	8	5	34.	40.		4
Second	30.	40.	9	9		30.
Completed prim	4	1	33.	25.		8
	6.9	9.8	0	9		6.4
Some prim	18.	18.	4.2	0.8		16.
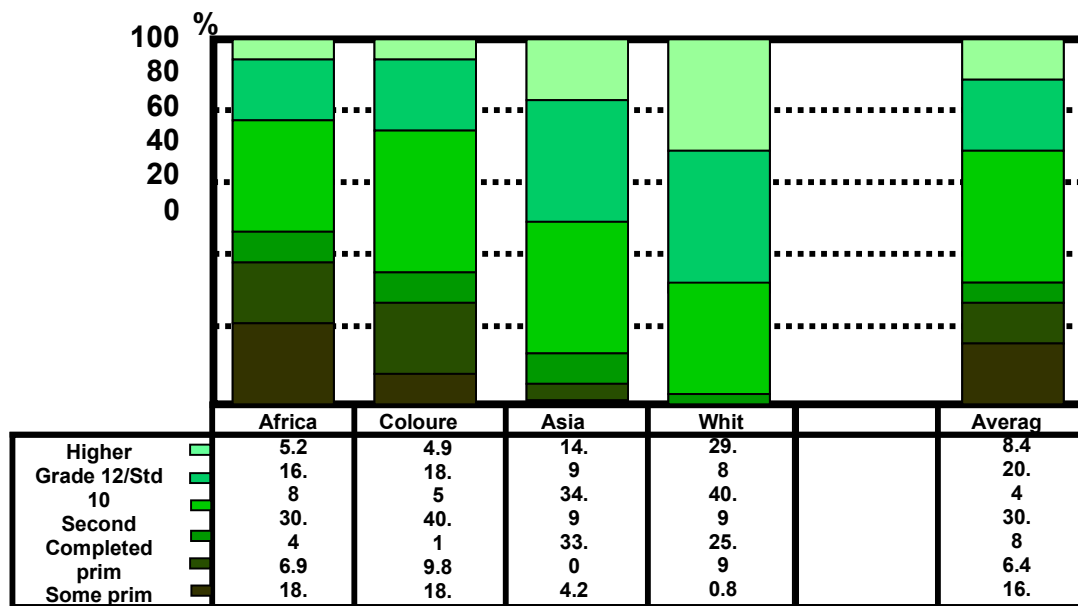
Source: Netshitenzhe (2006).

Graph 1 shows the percentage of education level in different race groups in South Africa. While 5.2 percent of Africans have attained higher education qualifications; 4.9 percent of Coloured, 14 percent of Asian/Indians and 29 percent of whites are in possession of similar qualifications. The graph shows

that 4 percent of Africans completed secondary school, while 1 percent of Coloureds, 33 percent of Asian/Indians and 25 percent of whites have done so. In summary, the graph suggests that only few Africans received education at different levels, although they are the majority in the country. When compared with the majority of whites and Indians who attained education in different levels, they still constitute a minority.

McCord and Bhorat argue that the racially polarised employment pattern can be explained in two ways: the restructuring of the public sector and the decline in the quality and relevance of tertiary education (2003:115). There are contradictory views about the nature of South African graduates which suggest they are not adequately equipped for the workplace. This suggests that higher education institutions produce graduates that are not employable. The high rate of illiteracy, estimated at 16 percent of all adults with functional illiteracy, attests to the state of skills training in the country. A study commissioned for the Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition (Jipsa) shows that South African tertiary graduates have qualifications that are not suited for the working world (Zake, 2006).

Currently, South Africa is experiencing graduate unemployment that is estimated at 9 percent. While 38 percent of the adult population have matriculated, only 8 percent have tertiary qualifications. In terms of employing skilled labour, there is a gap at all levels between the skills required in the workplace and the current skills available amongst the working population. South Africa is still contracting foreign nationals to address the skills shortage problem (Woolard *et al*, 2003:471). This option raised differing views on the development of skills in South Africa. The International Investment Council (IIC) suggested that the skilled workforce from abroad be reduced (South African Press Association, 2006). Another view stresses that the country's economic growth hinges on the development of skills in South Africa (Mpahlwa, 2006).

Poverty and inequality are the result of racial segregation in Africa. The most common measure of income inequality is the 'Gini coefficient', a number between 0 and 1 (0 refers to everyone having the same income and 1 refers to one person having all the income). Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries - Namibia, Botswana, the Central African Republic, Swaziland, Lesotho, South Africa, Zambia, Malawi, Gambia and Zimbabwe – have a Gini coefficient of more than 0.50 (Bond, 2006:6).

Education helps to create and legitimise conditions for creating inequality and sort people into subordinate (inferior) or dominant (superior) positions. Durkheim and Parson's (1959) view suggests that education moulds, allocates and restricts individuals based on social veracity (McKay, 1995:31). Schools transmit the societal norms, values and specific skills necessary for the diversity of needed social co-operation. Moreover, the education system conveys basic skills such as literacy and numeracy and other more job related skills. Giroux (1983) argues that through correspondence between the social relations of the workplace and the school, people are prepared for different occupationally stratified positions and various social relations, based on domination and subordination. This confirms the correspondence theory that *meritocratic ideology/equal opportunity* legitimises inequality and promotes the belief that talent determines one's success. In addition, McKay (1995:39) argues that meritocratic ideology creates an illusion that economic success depends on the belief that the school provides equality of educational opportunity. Blackledge and Hunt (1985) observe that education maintains the capitalist system through class maintenance. They argued that:

> "it teaches the skills and techniques appropriate for the child's future job, it imparts the 'rules of good behaviour' or the attitudes suitable for the child's later economic role; … fosters 'modesty', resignation and submissiveness for future capitalists and managers, instills 'cynicism, contempt, arrogance, self-importance, even smooth-talk and cunning' and teaches children the

ruling ideology in its pure state (ethic, civic instruction, philosophy)" (McKay, 1995).

The South African education system under the apartheid regime was directly or indirectly based on the principles of Christian National Education (CNE) that was primarily concerned with the religious-moral, intellectual and cultural molding of people (Wolpe, 1995:7). This facilitated people's internalisation of norms and values that help in forming an *occupational ethic'* along racial lines. Christie and Collins (1984) argue that Bantu Education was intended for the reproduction of labour as required by capitalists (Wolpe, 1995). McKay emphasises that:

> "Not only would blacks learn the skills necessary for the participation in the capitalist mode of production; they would also acquire, through the particular form of schooling provided for Blacks, an ideology orientation geared towards appropriate work attitudes such as diligence and punctuality, the operation of the colour - caste system, and their subordinate position in the social relations of dominance and subordination in South African society" (1995).

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter examined historical developments in South African that influenced the evolution of skills in the workplace. It also looked at skills shortages problems and the determinants that are included or left out in classifying the skill and how to measure skills level for various occupations in different sectors. It was noted that South African skills formation could not be understood in isolation from the historical proletarianisation of Black workers and the formation of white workers' craft unions, which became a labour aristocracy. It also looked at strategies that were adopted as South Africa industrialised, leading to a demand for a skilled labour force.

Early educational policies including the *Apprenticeship Act* and *Job Colour Bar Policy* reserved the notion of skill and skilled work for whites. The Black workforce was largely employed as unskilled and to an extent as semi-skilled labour. This Chapter revealed that the most fundamental elements of the new training dispensation as proposed by the reforming apartheid state in 1991 was tailor made for market-control. It highlighted the post-apartheid restructuring in the workplace which tended to be in line with the 'international best practice' of downsizing, outsourcing and privatization, especially in the public sector. It was noted that in the past years, there has been an intensive anti-worker restructuring of the workplace, which culminated in the reduction of benefits and rights, making greater use of so-called atypical employment, including so-called independent contractors' and labour brokers. Lastly, responses of the present government to skills shortages in relation to global market demands were discussed.

The next chapter will look at strategies and policies adopted by the post-apartheid regime and their relevance in dealing with skills shortages and equity especially amongst the previously disadvantaged group.

CHAPTER 5

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

5.1. Introduction

In order to gain a better understanding of strategies adopted by the government in dealing with the challenge of skills shortages, it is vital to look at policies that are adopted to face the challenge of skills development in the country. In this Chapter various policies and strategies adopted by the government in response to the challenges posed by skills shortages in the workplace as inherited from the legacy of apartheid are outlined. This Chapter will look at the new skills development strategy in South Africa that focused on three levels of skills development, i.e. policymaking, the framework of developing, and improving skills in the workplace.

5.2. The skills development policy framework

Post-1994, under the new political dispensation, the government had to introduce a new policy framework on skills development. The National Training Strategy (NTS) initiative and the policy processes were commenced by the Department of Labour (DoL) and the process led to the promulgation of the Green Paper in 1997. The final phase of this process was the negotiations over the details of the National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS), which took place in the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC). The latter is a co-determinist body bringing together representatives of organised business, labour, community and development organisations and government. NEDLAC serves as a forum for discussing and formulating economic and social policies. Both the 1998 *Skills Development Act (SDA)* and the *Skills Development Levies Act (SDLA)* emerged from negotiations in this forum. As Macun (2001) points out, this process guarantees 'legitimacy, understanding and support from key stakeholder constituencies' (See also Kraak, 2004a). The new NSDS requires

strong stakeholder input in the development and design of Workplace Skills Plans and Sectoral Skills Plans, as instruments for realising skills development at the workplace level (Kraak, 2004b:138).

In 1997, the South African Government identified four areas of labour market information retrieval as:

• *Labour market trends analysis* entailing the identification of trends in the rate of growth of different industries and occupations; the skills situation, surpluses or quality gaps; and making recommendations regarding skill priorities in the economy;

• *Sectoral studies* aimed at identifying strategic initiatives through examination of the present state and future possibilities of each industry over the medium - to long-term;

• *Skill audits of government development projects* particularly those within the scope of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and other public sector development initiatives that are likely to require substantial skills development and training infrastructure; and

• The *evaluation and monitoring* of the extent to which national skill priorities and targets have been achieved over a given period of time (Department of Labour, 2005).

Such information would provide crucial feedback into the policy refinement process benefiting later policy phases. The SDA aimed to improve skills and the quality of working life and productivity in the workplace. It aims to promote self-employment and enhanced social service delivery (Barker, 2003:260). The Act encouraged employers to utilise the workplace as the site for learning and create *Vocational Education and Training* opportunities in order to redress past

injustices. It seeks to create conditions that allow new labour market entrants to gain skills and experience, especially previously disadvantaged persons through education and training. Together with the SDLA, the SDA aims to establish a stronger institutional and financial framework for training.

The framework for developing skills is established by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) whose functions include:

⇒ the creation of a single unified system of education and training qualifications for the implementation of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF),

⇒ producing unit standards and qualifications for registration on the NQF, and

⇒ establishing and accrediting institutions necessary to guarantee the quality of qualification to the required standard through monitoring of training providers.

The NQF is based on the principles of access to learning quality skills and transferring such skills to the various sectors of the economy. It also provides the basis for achieving an integrated approach to education and training through career paths. The implementation of the Skills Development Strategy is carried out through the introduction of Sectoral Training Act (SETA) system to meet skills shortages in the workplace. There are 25 SETAs representing different sectors. SETA focuses on education and training, and assisting in implementing the National Skills Development strategy and increasing skills in the various sectors by disbursing levies collected from the employer in different sectors. Thus, the skills development programmes in South Africa are funded through a compulsory SDLA and a fund in the National Skills Fund (NSF) (Barker, 2003: 261).

The National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS) has five strategic objectives and a set of equity targets (Streak and van der Westhuizen, 2004:26). In terms of equity, it requires that 85 percent of all its training beneficiaries be black, 54 percent be female and 4 percent be disabled people. Its five strategic objectives include the development of a culture of high quality life-long learning, and to foster skills development in the formal economy for productivity and employment growth. In addition, it aims to stimulate and support skills development for small businesses, promote skills development for employability and sustainable livelihoods through social development initiatives; as well as to assist new entrants into employment (Streak and van der Westhuizen, 2004).

The NSDS objectives are to address the structural problems of the labour market inherited from the past, and to transform the South African labour market from one with a low skills base to one characterised by a high skills base and a commitment to lifelong learning. In addition, the NSDS seeks to ensure that through responsive education and training, the labour market is able to support social development to reverse the challenges inherited from the past such as poverty, inequality, disease and unemployment.

The SDA proposed the formation of a Skills Development Planning Unit (SDPU), whose function is to co-ordinate and commission research on 'the labour market in order to determine skill development needs' at national and sectoral levels as well as within the public sector. The SDPU also assists in the development of Sectoral Skill Plans. The SDPU provides skills information to the Minister, the NSA, and 25 SETAs, other organs of the public sector, education and training providers and also co-ordinates a national planning cycle of four year's duration. The NSDS progress report is published every four years. The same applies to Sector Skills Plans, with annual updates and Workplace Skill Plans produced each year. The SDPU provides guidelines for Sector Skills Plans and Workplace Skill Plans. It sets national targets and priorities, which are subsequently

responded to by employers, through their Workplace Skill Plans that feed into the Sector Skills Plans and the NSDS.

Furthermore, the South African government's NSDS comprised seven core elements which construct a radically different approach to skill formation. This strategy replaces the narrow, short-termist and voluntarist model of enterprise training that predominated during the apartheid period. The new framework is based on greater co-ordination and planning, which is to be met primarily through new institutions at the national and sectoral levels. It is also based on greater stakeholder consensus and improved funding arrangements, which concede with the state and the new SETA's real leverage over the direction of training initiatives (Kraak, 2004b:116).

5.3. The impact of the skills development strategy on skills and equity

Firms are required to become more proactive by consciously using skills creation as a vehicle for achieving competitive advantage. To achieve this, there had to be a paradigm shift in approach to skills within firms and industry changes. The new approach has abandoned the pretence of earlier models of manpower planning of being able to forecast the future accurately. Instead, it seeks to identify the broad parameters of national and sectoral skill priorities and strategies (McGrath, 2004:131; Fedusa, 2003).

Developments in 2002 saw 18 SETA-driven project proposals approved for funding by the NSF to a total value of R1 billion, aimed at benefiting nearly 400 000 people by 2005. Many of the projects were aimed at skills development and job creation for the most vulnerable in the labour market. These initiatives are important because the small and medium sized enterprise sector (SMME) constitutes the majority in many sectors. These are the financial services, insurance, retailing, building construction, information technology (IT), media and advertising, services, tourism and transport sectors. It is estimated that approximately 72 percent of all private sector enterprises in South Africa employ

four or fewer workers. Some of these firms are in the formal sector and demand high skills - for example the financial services, IT, media and advertising services. Others are in the informal sector and demand low skilled workers such as in transport, construction, services and tourism sectors. The NSDS set targets for the greater participation of these firms within the new skills development system. It hoped that by March 2005, 20 percent of SMMEs would be able to claim skills development grants.

Key indicators that have been published by DoL (2001) regarding skills development in the South Africa labour market include the following:

• Blacks constitute 85 percent of training beneficiaries; 54 percent women; and 4 per cent disabled,

• Of the formally employed workforce, 70 percent possess qualifications at NQF Level 1,

• A minimum of 15 percent of the formally employed workforce have moved up one level on the NQF,

• Of enterprises with more than 150 workers, 75 percent are receiving skills development grants,

• At least 40 percent of enterprises employing between 50 and 150 workers are receiving skills development grants,

• At least 20 percent of SMMEs are being supported in skills development initiatives,

• A minimum of 80 000 people have entered learnerships, and

• A minimum of 50 percent of those who have completed learnerships are, within six months of completion, employed in full-time study or further training, or are in a social development programme (see Department of Labour, 2005).

The HSRC survey on skills training conducted in 2000 shows that black Africans constituted 68 percent of the beneficiaries of skills training. It also showed that women constituted only 30 percent of the beneficiaries. In addition, the survey found that the attainment of the 54 percent target remains a major challenge. Training for disabled people is almost non-existent. However, some of the targets are attainable. For example, 64 percent of employees surveyed in the HSRC study possessed a qualification at NQF Level 1 – getting closer to the target of 70 percent. The survey however only focussed on large, medium and small firms in the formal sector, leaving unanswered questions about the extent to which workers in the informal economy have attained NQF Level 1 training and qualifications.

Signs of skills shortage can be identified and interpreted through the analysis of job vacancies. The Skills Development Planning Unit implemented a pilot Job Opportunity Index (JOI) to identify vacancy levels for various occupations in the Gauteng Province between April and June 2003. All vacancies were coded using the South African Standard Classification of Occupations (SASCO), using four or five digits as appropriate. The highest rate of vacancies during the period of the study occurred amongst skilled workers, especially professionals and associate professionals. Vacancies in semi-skilled or intermediate occupations, for example, clerks, were at about 20 percent in all months. The less skilled occupations such as operators and assemblers account for only a small percentage of the vacancies advertised. Another important issue is whether vacancies for a particular occupation grew or declined over this three-month period. Jobs in the categories of technicians and associated professional

vacancies rose by 10 percent over the period, whereas there was a fall of 15 percent for professionals (see SDPU, 2003:28).

Learnerships through SETAs are new, vocational education and training programmes that integrate and improve old apprenticeships. These are targeted at the young unemployed. However, there are differences between learnerships and apprenticeships in that the learnerships apply to all components of the economy and encompass "blue collar" trades and prepare people for new services sector and higher para-professional occupations. Learnerships fit into the NQF and offer qualifications registered by SAQA, and this facilitates the movement of people who qualify to move on later to professional and other qualifications including more than the old apprenticeships.

Looking further at how South Africa responds to the challenges posed by globalisation in relation to skills and training, there is a need to acknowledge some strides made by government in meeting the challenges posed by past injustices. For example, the percentage of the workforce that is skilled has increased. In 1970 about 53 percent of the workforce that had less than Grade 5 qualifications. This has been reduced to 36 percent. Workers with a degree or diploma increased from 9 percent in 1970 to 23 percent in 1996 (see Barker, 2003: 251). The Further Education and Training Act (2000) and related policies provide the basis for the development of a national co-coordinated Further Education and Training through senior secondary and technical colleges. These include the Adult Basic Education and Training Act (2000) providing for the establishment of public and private adult learning centres for funding for adult basic education and training (ABET) and various other levels of education such as General Education and Training (GET) (Barker, 2003: 257). However, these policies including ABET programmes utilise English in its programmes which tends to overlook the indigenous languages in terms of redressing past injustices (Barker, 2007).

Table 2: Enterprise training by occupation, race and gender

Occupations	Percentage of people trained	Gender		Race			
		Male	Female	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Professional and managerial	10.9	71.9	28.1	16.4	4.9	7.4	71.3
Technicians	11.1	82.9	17.1	27.8	8.6	8.6	55.1
Clerical/ administrative	23.2	41.2	57.9	30.9	15.8	15.3	37.9
Service and sales workers	14.4	67.0	33.0	44.3	17.3	16.2	22.2
Craft and related workers	11.4	93.5	6.5	49.0	8.8	2.6	39.6
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	14.0	77.9	22.1	83.6	9.3	2.3	4.9
Unskilled labourers	14.9	79.1	20.9	89.4	9.6	0.6	0.4
Total	100.0	69.9	30.1	47.5	11.5	8.6	32.4

Source: Badroodien (2004: 152)

Skills training in South Africa is still racially framed and gendered given that many skilled occupations remain male and white-dominated. Table 2 above shows a preponderance of whites receiving training in high skills occupations. In 2000, about 71 percent of employees trained in the managerial/professional category were white and only 16 percent were black Africans (Badroodien, 2004:152). In addition, about 83.6 percent of Africans were trained as plant and machine operators and assemblers. About 89.4 percent of African workers remain unskilled. The 2000 World Bank study reported that 80 percent of workers in managerial positions and 70 percent of professional and technical workers trained by small, medium and large firms in the Johannesburg metropolis were white (see Badroodien, 2004:151).

Table 2 indicates that the majority of those trained in semi-skilled operative tasks in 2000 were unskilled black African workers. Less than 5 percent of those in lower level occupations were white while 89.4 per cent were black Africans. The World Bank (2000) report found that 81 percent of plant operators and 91 percent

of unskilled labourers being trained in the Johannesburg metropolis were black African.

Table 3: Equity profile of the labour force

	African %	Coloured %	Indian %	White %	Female %	Male %	People with disabilities3 %
Total	60	13	4	23	36	64	0.9
Top management	8	13	4	75	12	88	n.a.
Senior management	10	5	5	80	18	82	n.a.
Professionally qualified	40	6	4	50	38	62	n.a.
Skilled technical, junior management and supervisor	38	13	8	41	46	54	1
Semi-skilled and discretionary decision-making	62	15	5	18	36	64	0.7

Source: Skills Development Planning Unit, 2003.

The 2000 Employment Equity Report shows the equity profile of the workforce data taken from 1 782 employers with more than 150 workers each. The companies that submitted reports to the Department of Labour employed about 2.2 million workers in total that constituted 30 percent of formal sector employment. Black Africans remains significantly under-represented in the senior management category, as well as in the category of technicians and associate professionals. In professional and middle management levels, black Africans' representation was at 50 percent. Over time, this trend still needs improvement, as only a small increase of about 2.7 percent in black African representation in the middle skilled occupations was recorded between the years 2000 and 2001. Small but positive increases were recorded at the senior management levels. Thus, there is more to be done to close the existing skills gap.

Table 3 shows that there is low number of workers with disabilities at all levels in formal sector employment.

The current skills shortage situation has influence on the future training approach (Badroodien, 2004:155). A survey of skills needs in the Public Service was conducted in 2003 by the Department of Labour. It covered 16 national government departments, and highlighted that the following skills are required in the labour market:

● All sectors have a high demand for basic level skills, including literacy, numeracy, and IT skills;

● All sectors demand generic skills, especially those concerning how to work with others, collecting and interpreting information and communication skills;

● The primary sector demands skills that are associated with HIV, including awareness of the disease and its management in the workplace;

● Skills such as understanding of global markets and regulations are in demand but only in some sectors; and

● The service sector has a high demand for specific skills such as analytical and interpretative skills (see DoL, 2005).

South African's correspondence of high, intermediate and low skill bands with certain economic sectors is dependent on these skill bands. The three sectoral bands, categorised according to dominant skill requirements, are:

• *High skill sectors:* petrol, gas, chemicals, dyes, paints, pharmaceuticals, and office equipment;

• *Intermediate skill sectors:* engines, machine tools, metal machine tools, and

non-electric machines; and

• *Low skill sectors:* meat, rubber, leather goods, rubber goods, textiles
(Kraak, 2003:665).

A skills development strategy for South Africa is based on this approach as it entails three complementary skills development components. They are:

• *Developing a high-skills closed society:* South Africa has a relatively complicated transport system, information technology, telecommunications, financial markets, higher education and science and technology infrastructure, all of which require highly skilled personnel. The overthrow of apartheid has been relatively successful in manufacturing higher value-added exports, especially in the automobile sector. Other recent economic developments such as the 'Blue IQ' innovation hub development in Gauteng show that there is clearly a need for, and infrastructure capable of handling higher skill value added goods and services, although restricted to a smaller closed society as compared with the high-end manufacturing and services sectors in the advanced countries.

• *Meeting the low to intermediate skills demands:* The development and growth of a new high-tech community in manufacturing does not replace the previous system, based on mass production and jobbing as well as small batch labour processes. The growth of these sectors was limited by apartheid's exclusion from the world economy, by the racial restrictions placed on growth in internal demand, and by the stagnation which came as a result of the impact of import-substituting manufacturing. The challenge currently is to renew and expand the sector within the country and the southern African region based on increased demand and improved intermediate skills. Economic development cannot wait for a new generation of well-educated school leavers, South Africa will need to follow the Singaporean example of rapid socio-economic change achieved by

upskilling the existing workforce, which Singapore succeeded in doing in only two decades.

• *Catering to the low skills informal sector:* South Africa has a population of about 43 million people, 12.6 million of whom are economically active. Over 8 million of the economically active have jobs in the formal economy and another 1.3 million are employed in the informal economy. About 3.2 million are unemployed. The South African labour market is also characterised by a high degree of income inequality and social polarisation. SMME development strategies aim to incorporate the unemployed and those in the survivalist economy with those in the informal sector. The priority of the strategy is on job creation rather than significant skills upgrading, appropriate low skills training in operating and sustaining SMMEs, self-employment, basic literacy and numeracy training (Kraak, 2004b:219).

The impact of the NSDS clearly shows the negative effects of globalisation on the social markets and institutional economies. The challenge faced by South Africa is to protect the new cultural, political and social imprint the NSDS has inserted onto its new skills development programme – the new institutions, co-determinist and social market arrangements. This clearly indicates that markets do not exist only at a theoretical level, but are entrenched in the social and economic institutions that can be shaped in different ways to achieve improvements in productivity, economic growth and a particular political ideology. Another challenge is the unequal structure of South African society that has remained unchanged (see Department of Labour, 2003; Kraak, 2004b:226).

Between 1990 and 1998, formal employment of semi-skilled and low skilled workers decreased by 19 percent (this translates to about 700 000 jobs) (SDPU, 2003:3). Employment of skilled and highly skilled workers rose by 12 percent, by approximately to 80 000 jobs. Important changes have occurred in the economic environment, including a liberalisation of the economy and a swift uptake of

technology in all sectors which favours skilled labour. South Africa has also had to compete with higher volumes of imports, especially from low cost producers such as India and China (see Department of Labour, 2003). At the same time, new markets have opened up in the United States, the European Union, Asia and the rest of the African continent leading to export opportunities in diverse industries.

A better understanding of the current state of the South African economy requires an examination of the role of the main economic sectors such as p*rimary sector, secondary sector* and *services sector.*

• *Primary sector*

Agriculture and mining have traditionally been the backbone of the South African economy. They remain significant contributors to the national output, but have experienced rapid reduction in recent years. Both industries are directly impacted by the price of fuel, as well as imported equipment, which are denominated in dollar terms. Commodities in both sectors are sold on the world market also at dollar prices. In the agricultural sector, demand for low skilled and semi-skilled workers has decreased, while the demand for skilled and highly skilled workers has been rising drastically. Mining has also been losing jobs for the low skilled and semi-skilled, especially in reaction to fluctuations in the world price of commodities, combined with the volatile value of the Rand (SDPU, 2003). Technology is playing an increasingly vital role in both sectors for productive processes as well as value adding, with an attendant increase in the level of skills required;

• *Secondary sector*

The secondary sector comprises manufacturing, construction, transport, utilities, and other secondary industries. Manufacturing exports have generally risen but economic output in the sector has been sluggish or declining. According to the South African Reserve Bank, the sector was growing at 5 percent rate in 2000,

but declined in the following year and recovered in 2002. Growth within the sector has tended to be capital and skills intensive. Government has introduced the Integrated Manufacturing Strategy (IMS) in an effort to bolster the sector (SDPU, 2003).

The IMS focuses on re-defining South Africa's competitive advantage by raising specific components of the value chain within which major industries ensure sufficient investment in order to promote growth and job creation. Its objectives are to place greater emphasis on Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and on beneficiation of the primary commodities that remain the principal products of the South African economy. It also aims to take advantage of export opportunities. Public and private initiatives are introduced to improve the road and rail infrastructure of the country in order to improve the haulage capacity. This secondary sector has the potential to employ semi-skilled to skilled workers (see SDPU, 2003);

• *Services sector*

The services sector is mainly made up of social and community services. The biggest employer is government which delivers social and municipal services at local level. The needs of this sector have changed significantly in post-apartheid South Africa. Outside government, internationally, the service sector has proved the most adaptable and flexible means of generating employment, specifically through the establishment of SMMEs. In South Africa, the sector is taking on an increasingly important role as more and more public and private institutions restructure and outsource some of their non-core functions.

Business services where information and communication technology is significant represent the fastest growing industry, and have taken over manufacturing in their contribution to GDP. Globalisation places greater demand on some industries such as banking and other financial services to operate by international standards in order to remain competitive both locally and

internationally. This therefore poses a need for a much more flexible and skilled workforce that can adjust quickly to changes in the working environment (SDPU, 2003).

Whilst some attempt had been made to improve skills amongst Blacks, the shadows of the legacies of the apartheid years linger (Moleke, 2003: 204). This is disclosed in the Department of Labour (DoL) Report (2000), which found that average firms spent about 4,4 percent of their budget on training as in the apartheid days. The study also found that firm in the small and medium-size category spent fewer resources on training, especially on the externally accredited training skills. Firms put much emphasis on on-the-job training. Furthermore, the report revealed that whites dominate training in the managerial, professional and technical occupational categories. As far Black Africans are concerned, they participate much more in training for less skilled jobs such as the operative and clerical occupational categories. Eighty three percent of trainees in these less skilled areas were Black Africans compared to 4, 9 percent of whites. In managerial and professional categories, white workers made up 71 percent of trainees compared to 16 percent Black Africans (Moleke, 2003).

Data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) (2002) shows differences in unemployment levels amongst population groups with tertiary level qualifications and those who are unskilled. The unemployment rate amongst Black Africans with a tertiary level qualification was estimated to be at 16.41 percent in 2002 compared to 3.15 percent for whites. A policy perspective by SDPU suggests that it is important to understand what subjects are being studied at Higher Education institutions and how institutions are responding to the technological demands identified earlier. Technikons country put more emphasis on programmes in business management (47%) and in science, engineering and technology (33%). Technikons played an important role in meeting skills demanded in the economy (SDPU, 2003).

Colleges as well as the other major public providers of education and training in the Further Education and Training (FET) system provide training that has an indirect relation to the world of work, both in terms of subjects offered and the processes of teaching and learning. For example, senior secondary schools, as one component of the FET system in South Africa have traditionally concentrated on general academic education that prepares the individual for work. The FET determines a second important component of a country's skills base. A recent HSRC (2006) study shows that in terms of workplace placement, 34 percent of graduates were in employment or self-employment the two years of completing their studies; 35 percent were in postgraduate studies; and 31 percent were unemployed. Employers of the college graduates indicated that they are generally satisfied with the level of competence of the new workers. Nevertheless, the average earnings of college graduates are lower than that for the industry. Employers tend to place less value on college qualifications relative to those of other institutions or to work-based experience. It is estimated that about 58 percent of white graduates were able to secure employment within two years of completion, compared to 21 percent of their Black African counterparts (see DoL, 2005).

Government sectors such as the eThekwini Municipality view skills development as not just concerns about training, but also about creating an opportunity to improve workers' livelihoods (*Metrobeat*, 2007). It views this as means of giving skills that are necessary to participate effectively and compete in the economy progressively (SDPU, 2003). For the first time in the history of the eThekwini Municipality, there is an outward focus-training department that looks after not only the employees, but also the needs of the community at large. This is confirmed by its vision that eThekwini as an African City draws on its rich strong, social heritage and the principles of "*ubuntu*" which place great emphasis on reaching out and caring for each other (see 2004/2005 *Annual Report of the eThekwini Municipality*). Historically, municipalities such as eThekwini have not meaningfully invested in people development. With regard to the skills base, it is

of concern that 16 percent of all adults are functionally illiterate. The eThekwini Municipality Council initiated programmes combine the need to ensure improved service, create jobs and develop entrepreneurship (*Metrobeat*, 2007:31). The Municipality says that it will strive to meet its vision statement "growing its economy and meeting people's needs" (*eThekwini Integrated Development Plan - Final draft*, 2002:8) so that all citizens enjoy a high quality of life with equal opportunities in the city. The Municipality thus runs a series of projects that are geared towards redressing past injustices. They include a Municipality-wide Workplace Skills Plan (WSP). It offered training courses to 18.5 percent (3 3840 of its employees). The Management Development project has seen 178 managers attend a Project Management course. In addition, it also conducts a Competency Profiling Potential service providers; Qualifications Audit and Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL). A large portion of ABET training was outsourced to a private provider and 305 new learners joined the programme making a total of 617 learners on the ABET programme and Investors–In–People Programme
http://www.durban.gov.za/eThekwini/Municipality/policy/background).

Measurement tools are developed and introduced to ensure that staff interacting with customers are measured on a continuous basis and that management has effective tools to measure customer satisfaction. The target for the initial stage was 20 percent of staff members participate in the Corporate Training programme and 100 percent of staff interacting with customers to receive training documentation on the Council's Customer Care Policy. This is in the context of Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) that brought government, business and labour together and is supported by the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA), which specifies the need to improve skills (see Department of Labour, 2003). Local government has earmarked some employees to receive management skills training by companies like Old Mutual in order to improve service delivery in line with ASGISA (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006; *Metrobeat*, 2007).

Income inequalities in South Africa vary according to population groups. The 2004 Statistics for South Africa Report shows that about 79, 3 percent of the Black African employed population earned less than R1 501 per month, whilst only 17, 3 percent of the white employed fell in this category. The Indian and Coloured employment rate is large in the middle-income categories. About 72,7 percent of Indians and 68,4 percent of Coloured employees earned a monthly income ranging between R501 and R3 500. White workers were generally high-income earners. About 57,5 percent earn between R1 501 and R6 000 per month. Workers earning a monthly salary of R6 001 and above are more likely to be found amongst the white and Indian communities (25,2% and 6,2% respectively) than in the African and Coloured communities (1,0% and 4,6% respectively) (Statistics South Africa, 2004: 24). This concurs with the eThekwini Municipality *Quality of Life* report (2007) that examined the change in the quality of people's lives between 1998-2005.The report examined post-apartheid development programmes that focused on redressing past injustices and ensuring equity through service delivery, infrastructure and jobs creation. The gap in the quality of life in 2004 was still as wide as it was 1998 (*Metrobeat*, 2007:31). This has a negative effect on the quality of life for different races. Whites rated at 80 percent in terms of satisfaction; Indians' satisfaction decreased after 1999 to reach an average of 55 percent; Coloureds' satisfaction level was at 70 percent and later decreased to 56 percent in 2004. African workers' satisfaction dropped to 26% in 2005 (*Metrobeat,* 2007).

Whilst the issue of skills shortages is a matter for grave public concern, there are shortcomings as the labour market tends to fail to put in place measures that will allow all players to compete freely and equally. Another issue of concern is unemployment, which cannot be ignored when looking at the South African labour market. There are four equally pertinent points about unemployment. These are shortage, confusion, mismatch and the surplus unskilled labour force (Zake, 2006). Undermining the country's struggle to retain a skilled labour force,

employment is still racially defined. For example, in 1999 Coloured employment increased by 16 percent, followed by Indians at 13 percent, Africans at 12 percent and whites at 8 percent. Despite the increase in economic growth, unemployment amongst matriculants remains high. It rose from 25 percent to 35 percent in 2002 (McCord and Bhorat, 2003: 122-124). This is consistent with the Ntsika enterprise (1999) findings that there were approximately 900 000 small-medium enterprises in South Africa. The majority of people fall into various categories i.e. the survivalist (self-employed), small and medium firms, employing one to four employees each. These firms constituted about 650 000 firms or about 72 per cent of the total number of firms in South Africa in 1999.

A total of 14 948 learnership agreements were registered between April 2001 and June 2002, 10 277 of which were people already employed and 4 682 new entrants into the labour market. By March 2003, the number of learnerships registered had reached 23 517, 10 872 apprentices and 34 389 trainees. NSDS performance shows that the achievements obtained so far constitute 29 percent on the success indicator. These achievements surpass apprenticeships under the old apartheid training regime. The achievement represents a 107 per cent improvement in training at this critical intermediate level. In 1999, the small and medium enterprises (SME) sector employed about 28 percent of workers in South Africa. This contrasts with the 76 239 small, medium and large (SML) firms, which constituted just 8.4 percent of the total number of companies in South Africa. At present, the employment rate is about 5.3 million workers or 72 percent of the total workforce. Of the total number of SML firms, 2 785 large firms in the manufacturing, mining, finance and business services as well as the retail sector employed almost two million employees or 27 percent of the total workforce in South Africa in 1997. Learnerships comprised a minimum of 80 000 people in March 2005. A very small enterprise category that is largely comparable with international notions of SMEs constituted 92 percent of all firms in the country. Large firms constituted less than one percent of the total number

of enterprises in South Africa, but employed about 43 percent of the total workforce in the private enterprise sector (see Badroodien, 2004:146).

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter briefly examined government policies that were formulated in response to the demands made by the new political dispensation. It scrutinised various strategies and policies and their relevance in addressing inherited apartheid inequality i.e. the skills shortage in the workplace. The National Training Strategy Initiative and the policy processes were initiated by the Department of Labour (DoL) and the process later led to the promulgation of the Green Paper in 1997, which led to the formulation of the National Skills Development Strategy. This strategy managed to bring together representatives of organised business, labour, community and development organisations and government.

The impact of skills development strategies in 2002, guided by 18 SETA-driven project proposals funded by the NSF was examined. Many of the projects aimed at skills development and job creation for the most vulnerable in the labour market focus on initiating small and medium sized enterprise sector. The HSRC survey on training conducted in 2000 shows that black Africans constituted 68 percent of the beneficiaries of skills training. The same survey showed that women constituted only 30 percent of the beneficiaries. In addition, the survey indicated that the attainment of the 54 percent target remains a major challenge in the next four years. Training for disabled people is almost non-existent. It was noted that some of the targets are attainable for about 64 percent of employees surveyed in the HSRC study possessed a qualification at NQF Level 1 that is closer to the target of 70 percent.

CHAPTER 6

A CASE STUDY OF DURBAN BOTANIC GARDEN'S PARKS DEPARTMENT, ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY
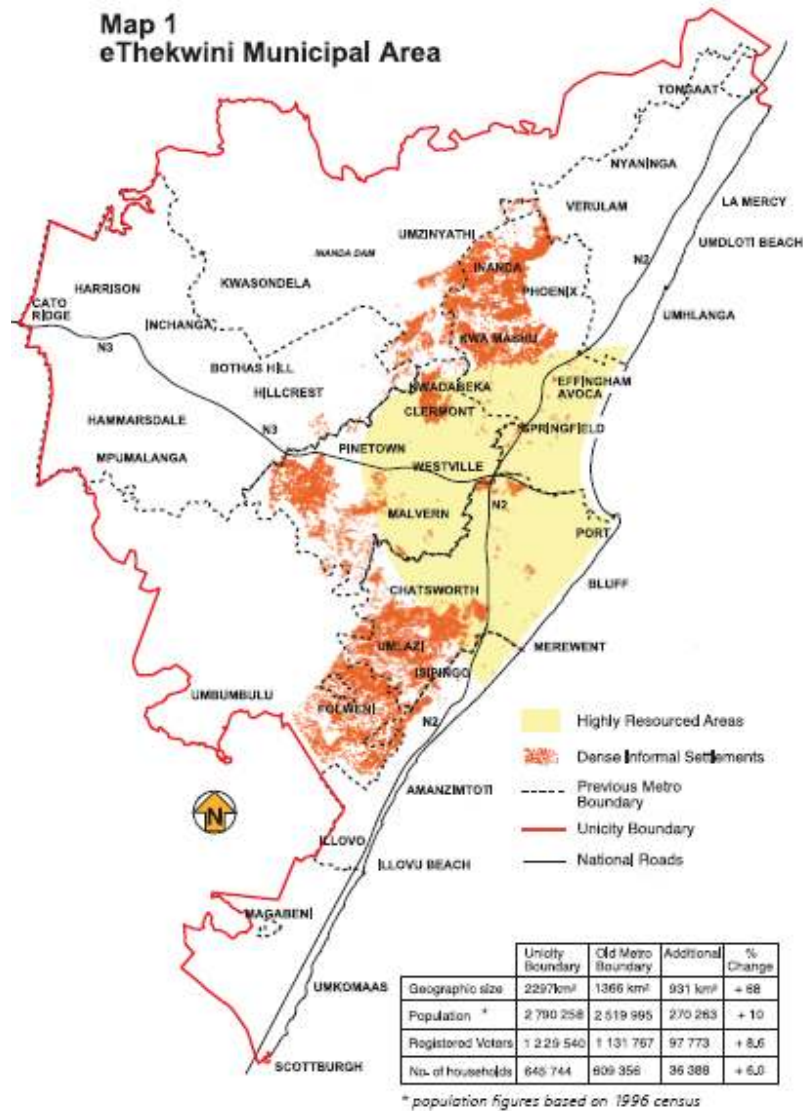
6.1. Introduction

This Chapter presents data collected in the study in one of the government departments aimed at ascertaining the viability of skills programmes geared towards addressing the inequality and skills shortage especially amongst the previously disadvantaged. The chapter bases its assessment of the impact of skills development policies in the workplace on the case study of the Durban Botanic Garden's Parks Department, under the eThekwini Municipality.

6.2. Background

The new city demarcation of eThekwini[8] Municipality was drawn after the 2000 local government elections and the implementation of the Municipal Structures Act. Through this, seven different local councils that were previously divided under apartheid demarcations were unified. Thus, the eThekwini Municipality covers uMkhomazi in the south, including the tribal areas of Mbumbulu; Uthongathi in the north, some tribal areas in Ndwedwe, and Cato Ridge in the west. The eThekwini Municipality Metropolitan area has a geographical area of 2291.8910 square kilometres. Most of the newly incorporated areas are rural in nature with 50 percent of the area being used for subsistence farming and only 2 percent for urban settlement (See *eThekwini Municipality Integrated*

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[8] The name eThekwini was first mentioned by King Shadwa of the amaThuli, who settled on the bay and named the bay after its appearance like a bull with one testicle- *ithweke* (Bluff being penis and the Bay being testicle) that refers to a lagoon (Fuze, 1922:170).

Development Plan, Final Draft. 5 December 2002 – 2006). See Map 1 of eThekwini Municipality Area below.

Map 1
eThekwini Municipal Area

	Unicity Boundary	Old Metro Boundary	Additional	% Change
Geographic size	2297km²	1366 km²	931 km²	+ 68
Population *	2 790 258	2 519 995	270 263	+ 10
Registered Voters	1 229 540	1 131 767	97 773	+ 8.6
No. of households	645 744	609 356	36 388	+ 6.0

* population figures based on 1996 census

Source: *eThekwini Integrated Development Plan* 2002 - 2006

Transformation of the administrative component of the eThekwini Municipality was initiated in 2002, with a specific focus on improving service delivery as well as driving economic growth and improving employment in the region (Joffe, 2006). The eThekwini Municipality is surrounded by the iLembe to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, Ugu to the south and UMgungundlovu to the west. The population of eThekwini Municipality is approximately 2 790 258 million people,

68.30 percent of whom are African, 20 percent Indian, 8.98 percent white and 3% Coloured]. It is estimated that 68 percent of the population is under the age of 35 and 28 percent is economically active but unemployed (Mji, 2007:104). Casale and Thurlow (1999) argue that about 40 percent of the households can be regarded as being poor and/or ultra-poor. About 20 percent of households have incomes of less than R1 156 per month and a further 20 percent of households have incomes of between R1 157 and R1 1834 per month. The eThekwini Municipality has staff compliment of between 18 500 and +/- 22 000 employees in total (*eThekwini Municipality Integrated Development Plan*, Final Draft. 5 December 2002 – 2006; *Batho-Pele*, 2006).

Skills development in eThekwini is linked to development and to achieving a vision of accelerated, sustainable economic development. The Municipality believes this can be achieved through the joint and focused efforts of public and private enterprises (Mji, 2007:106). The eThekwini Municipality skills development is in line with the national government's Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA), which identified six barriers to achieving economic growth and poverty reduction, one of which is the "shortage of a suitably skilled labour force, amplified by the impact of apartheid spatial patterns on the cost of labour" (Mji, 2007).

Mji (2007:106 argues that it is for this reason that the eThekwini Municipality has structured its Skills Development Unit as an autonomous unit, which has two focus areas. Firstly, to establish the department that specialises in the development of employees. This department is linked to the Human Resources Unit of the Municipality. The department that works closely with the Economic Development Unit in skilling the citizens of eThekwini in order that they are able to constitute a pool of workers that is able to sustain existing businesses, attract potential investors to the area, or sustain their own employment towards fulfilling its vision. In fulfilling the above, the eThekwini Municipality has an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) that identified eight strategic areas, for its focus. One of

these plans is identified as "Empowering Citizens[9]". Its programmes and projects have the strategic focus on Developing Human Capital or Developing the City as a Learning City. The development of employee's programmes is mindful of the need for the Municipality to deliver on its constitutional mandate of delivering sustainable services to the community (Mji, 2007).

To fulfill this mandate, the Municipality recommended various development opportunities for its staff in order to keep pace with technological advancement and other advances in the workplace. In this regard, the Municipality needs to look at one of its internal social development programmes i.e. the provision of free basic literacy and numeracy classes for its employees. Approximately 20 percent of its employees do not have the basic 12 years of schooling. About 732 employees attend Adult Basic Education classes, as its strategy of encouraging lifelong learning. All staff are encouraged to improve their qualifications by using opportunities such as the Assisted Education Scheme where the Municipality assists employees to study in their own time. There are about 500 employees that are registered (Mji, 2007:106).

The national government has promulgated a series of legislation, policies and strategy documents for the past 12 years in an effort to redress past injustices and improve the social and economic status of the country. Since skills development would not take place in a void without participation of local communities, the eThekwini Municipality has many skills development projects in place and each is there to achieve a particular outcome. For example, there are partnerships and the development of the eThekwini Municipal Area (EMA) with the business community that has risen to the challenge of meeting the objectives of the 2005-2010 National Skills Development Strategy. It has opened its doors to young learners on learnership programmes. Since August 2004, the Municipality has facilitated the placement of 665 unemployed and 53 employed

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[9] The word "citizens" refers to employees of the Municipality as well as non-employees (Mji, 2007:106).

learners on learnerships, relating to Tourism, Early Childhood Development, Customer Management, Mixed Farming Systems, Project Management, Internal Audit, Emergency Operations and Payroll Administration (Parks Department, 2003). This has taken place despite the fact that learnerships are administratively burdensome for businesses and municipalities (Mji, 2007:107).

This has impacted on the functioning of the Municipality. However, serious attention needs to be given to the difference between the theory of legislation or policy and its implementation at local level (Mji, 2007). For example at some point, the facilitated learnerships were selected indiscriminately based on the qualifications identified as needs in a specified area. Specified areas are determined by the needs of the Skills Development Unit, which functions in conjunction with the Municipality's Economic Development Unit (especially on areas based in management structures), and with the Chamber of Commerce and its members. The Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) sector was used as a pilot project, which helped the Municipality to develop a model for identifying the immediate and long-term skills that are needed in the economic sector and development of a process to address those needs. In order for the Municipality to identify skills needed it undertook research into the skills needs of the major ICT companies and ICT users in the EMA. A project management team comprised one member of each of the Skills Development and the Economic Development Units of the Municipality and a private ICT enterprise known as Smart Xchange (Mji, 2007:107).

The survey of the service providers identified the gaps between supply and demand that necessitated the establishment of an ICT skills forum, which has the objective of closing these gaps (Mji, 2007:107). In addition, the model established in this process will be replicated for other major economic sectors. The informal economy is developed to the extent that their capabilities develop skills further. In order to achieve this model, three factors were identified as fundamental:

• The need to know the economic status and strategies for the EMA;

• The need for all public and private stakeholders in the EMA to acknowledge that their active participation in development is essential for success; and

• The need for individual citizens to realise their responsibility in the growth of the Municipality (Mji, 2007).

One of the significant services that is provided by the Local Councils in the field of recreation and environmental protection is the development and maintenance of a parks and unused land system. The eThekwini Municipality has more than 50 nature reserves, parks, specialised gardens and recreational open spaces that cover over 6 000 hectares within the jurisdictions of the North and South Central Local Councils (eThekwini Municipality Parks home page, 2006).

Many of these open spaces fall within the Durban Metropolitan Open Space System which is a planned system that ecologically links some 2 100 ha of open space, including nine parks, river valleys and coastal land. They are maintained by the City's Parks Department, which has 4 500 hectares of parkland and undeveloped open space under its control. The most well-known garden in the city is the Botanic Gardens, a rich 20 hectares park located at the foot of the Berea (Roberts and Diederichs, 2002). The Durban Botanic Gardens' (DBG) history is traced to colonial times. It was founded in 1849 for the introduction and trial of potentially useful commercial crops. It developed collections of sub-tropical trees, palms and orchids and remains a classic botanic garden, reflecting the universality of the plant kingdom. For over 100 years, it has had a fine mixed arboretum of African, Asian and American trees. It hosts about 500 000 visitors each year, most of whom are foreign tourists and draws about R3.5 million per annum to the eThekwini Municipality tourism sector (McCracken, 1996; Roberts and Diederichs, 2002:193).

eThekwini's economy is primarily an industrial one with manufacturing as its economic engine accounting for approximately 21 percent of output and employment respectively. The largest sub-sectors in terms of net output are food, beverages, textiles, clothing, paper, printing, chemicals, fabricated metals, motor vehicles, and components. The needs of a growing African city show some open gaps, in terms of the key role of providing goods and services such as water supply and pollution control that are imperative in meeting the basic needs of urban residents, especially in the poor, previously unserviced communities (Roberts and Diederichs, 2002; *Batho-Pele*, 2006).

This study was conducted through interviews with workers at Durban Botanic Garden working in the unit of the Parks Department. The Parks Department is amongst those that employ mainly low earning and a less educated workforce, due to the manual nature of work in the Department which includes grass cutting, tree felling and garden maintenance. Interviews were designed to investigate and establish information on the social demographic profile of the workforce, educational trends, the training situation, jobs satisfaction levels amongst employees, types of work done; skills required and skills training and its impact on work and workers' lives.
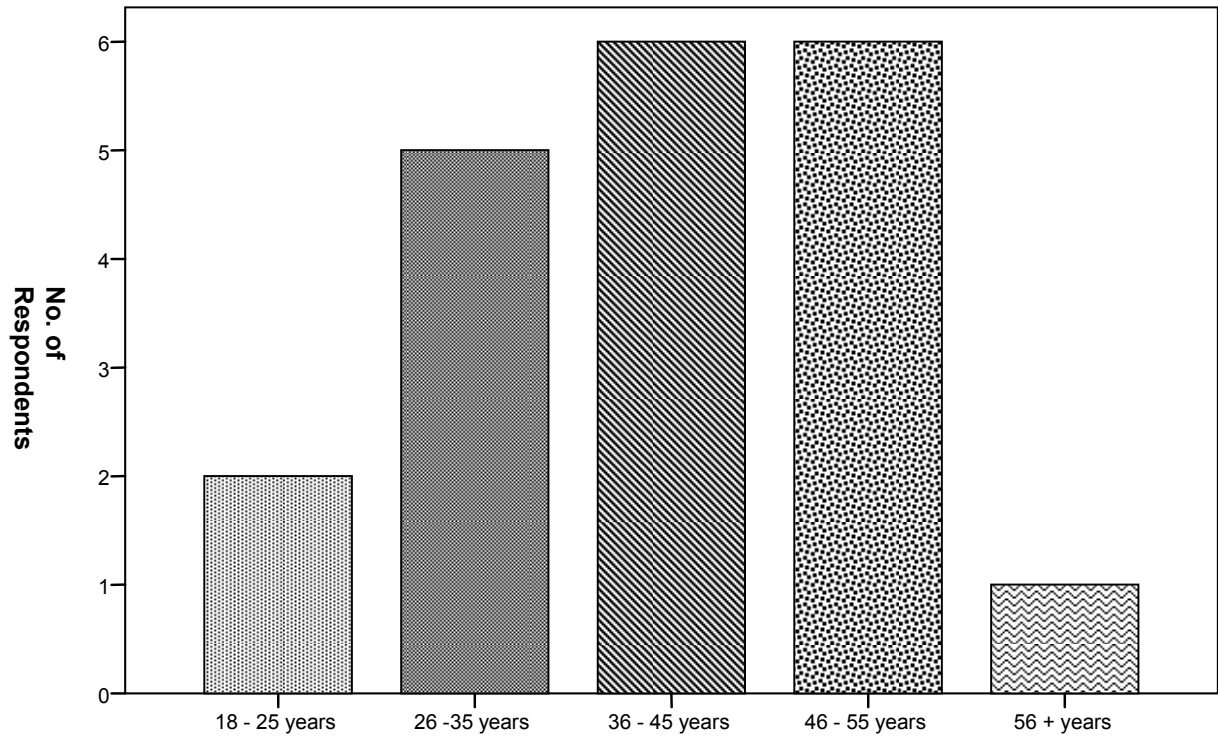
6. 3. Demography

The demography of the respondents in the department is presented in Graph 2 below:-

Graph 2: Racial category
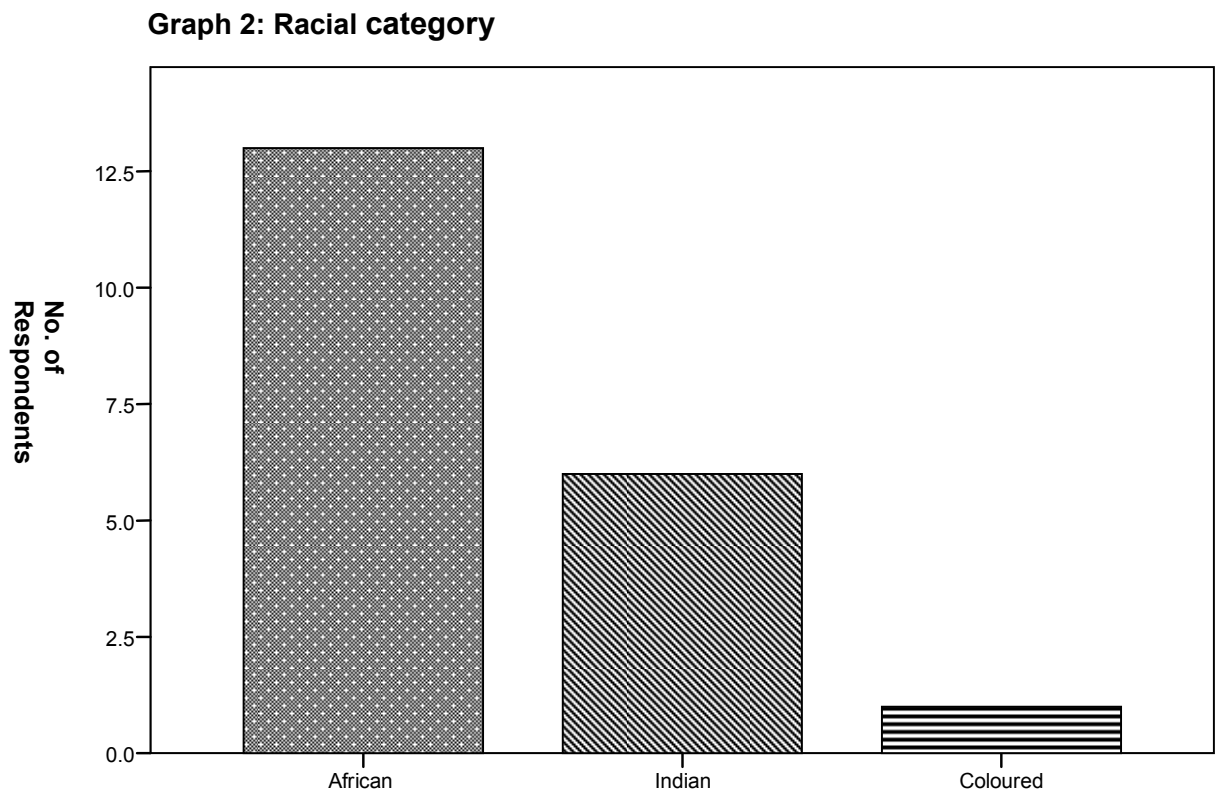
Graph 2 shows that majority of respondents were Africans (13) followed by six Indians and one Coloured. White workers did not participate in the study although they were not deliberately left out.

Graph 3: Respondent's Age

Graph 3 shows that the majority of participants' age ranges between 36 and 45 years as well as 46 – 55 years. Six respondents in each of these age categories were interviewed. The second largest category is that of the 26–35 year olds, constituting five respondents and those between 18 – 25 years age (two respondents). The last respondent is approaching retirement age.

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Graph 4: Secondary Education Qualification
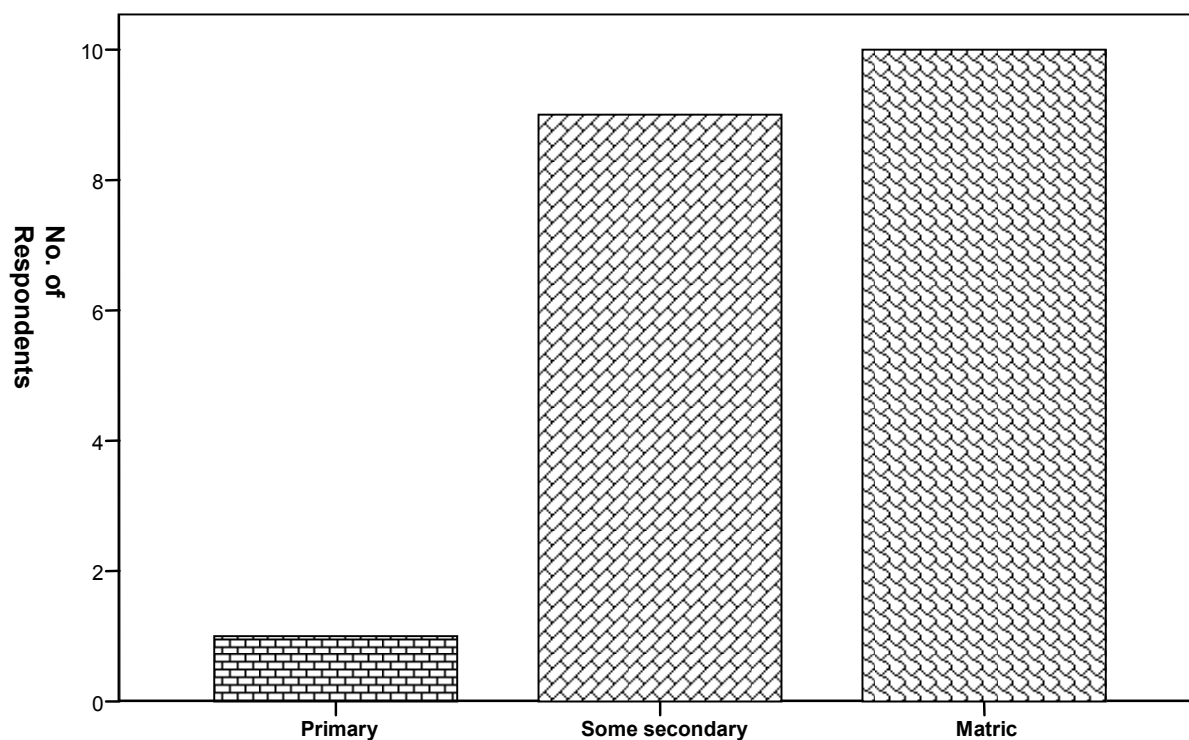
Graph 4 shows that 10 of the respondents have acquired Matric; nine respondents have some secondary education; and only one has primary level education. This is consistent with the requirement that the workers employed in this category should have Matric level qualifications, despite the manual nature of the work.

Graph 5: Post Matric Qualification
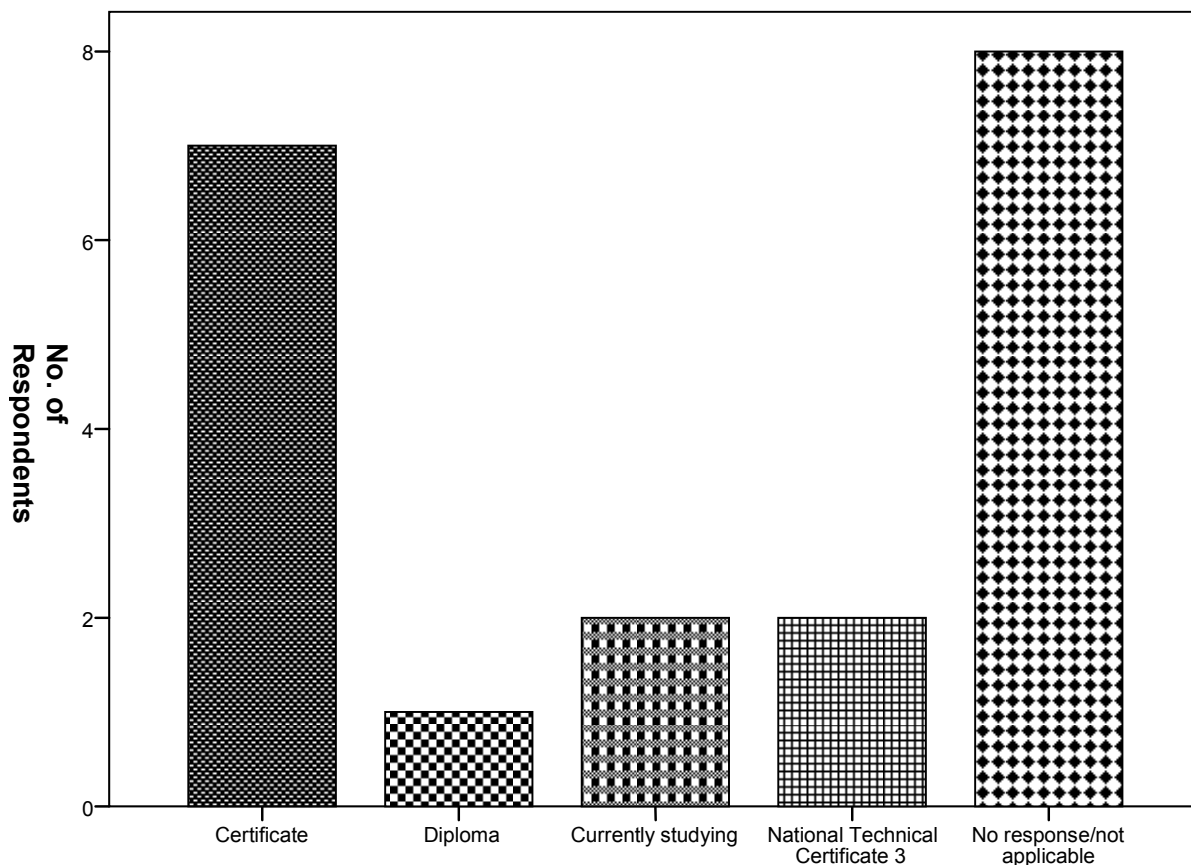
Graph 5 shows that eight of the respondents that form the majority of the sample do not have post-Matric qualifications; whilst seven have engaged in training that resulted in them receiving post-Matric certificates. One respondent has acquired a diploma and none have a degree. Two respondents indicated that they are currently studying further and another two possess the National Technical Certificate 3.

Graph 6: Where and how skill acquired
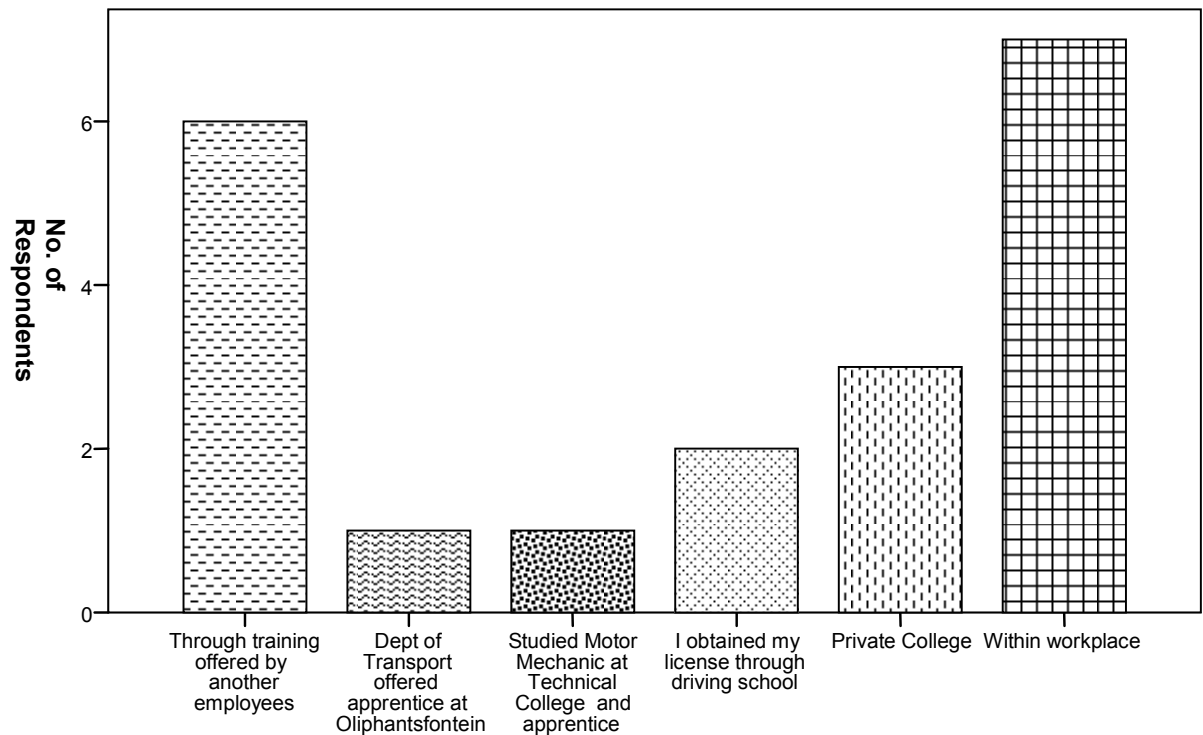
Graph 6 shows that seven of the respondents acquired their training within the workplace and six received some training through the assistance of fellow workers. Three received training from private colleges. Two of the respondents obtained their driving licences through driving schools. The last segments of one each indicated that they received their training through the Department of Transport and a Technical College respectively.

Graph 7: Informal training amongst Respondents
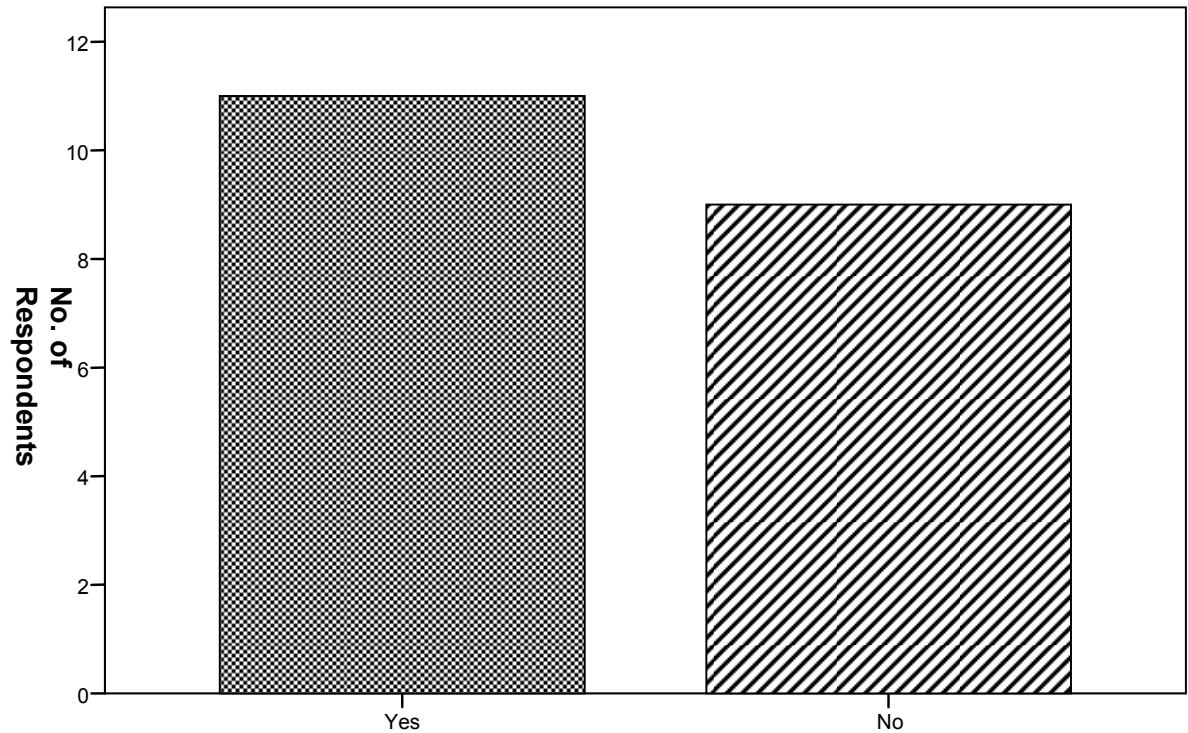
Graph 7 shows that 11 of respondents indicated that they received informal training when they were initially employed. Nine of the respondents did not received informal education, which is contradictory to the submissions from the respondents who indicated that when they are employed they first get informal education. However, those respondents who received informal training indicated that they are able to cope with their work after they have gone through an informal training course, which is normally facilitated by their fellow employees because the machines that the Department uses vary in makes and engine sizes. Workers pointed out that it is easy to do the work after an initial informal training irrespective of whether they have the qualification, such as motor mechanic. The respondents argue that the times of employment differ. At the time of appointment, some possessed certain qualifications. For example, one

respondent highlighted that he got employed in 1994 as the artisan because he has a Diploma in motor mechanic through KwaZulu Training Trust (KTT) (a training centre) at Olifantsfontein in Tshwane. His job description includes repairing different machines, such as mowers, tractors and any other horticultural machines.

Observations and interviews revealed that working conditions are very poor at the eThekwini Municipality, especially in the Parks Department and also suggest a lack of transformation. Previously disadvantaged workers have no benefits and are treated almost the same as under apartheid. A worker belonging to the South African Municipal Workers' Union (SAMWU) who is also a Workers' Representative/ shop steward said that: *"the Department that I work in still resembles the old apartheid South Africa, because the ratio of skilled workers between races is still more visible as African Horticulturalists are less than five. Despite the fact that the African workers who worked in that category for more than twenty years as Assistants to Horticulturalists still have permanents job and no benefits"* (Interview: 15 December 2006). The Independent Municipal and Allied Workers' Union (IMATU) Workers' Representative noted that, *"the managerial structures still resembles the same old structure that was characterised by the senior management which is still white; middle management consists of the majority of Indians followed by whites and small segment of Africans"*(Interview: 12 December 2006).

The central activity in the DBG is planting, nurturing, and maintenance of the park and its landscapes. The workers' representative reported that despite the experience of Assistant Horticulturalists that have enabled them to perform the duties of horticulturalists, they are still not recognised. They added that Assistant Horticulturalists have a good understanding of indigenous names of plants in the garden. For example, the Assistant Horticulturalists know a flower *cactus-*(botanical term) which is also known as *'isigqiki semfene* in IsiZulu an indigenous name. Literally, when is translated it means *the seat of the baboon.* This

suggests that African indigenous knowledge goes unrecognised or acknowledged.

The respondents have different work experiences in which they specialise. Mechanicals job expose them to various machines and they repair different types of machines such as mowers, tractors and other horticultural equipment. Although some workers enjoy their current work, mostly because they possess relevant qualifications, they however aspire for promotion to higher levels with higher wages. Their aspirations have been however thwarted by the consistent rejection of their applications. Note this response by one of the workers who is also a SAMWU Worker Representative: "*My job is good, but if I have chance to change to another job I would do so, by becoming Training Officer, as I have a Diploma for being a Motor Mechanic Trainer. To add on that I acquired this Diploma in 1997 and I have been applying for such post as from 1998 but all my applications failed after I went through the interview. I will keep on trying maybe I will succeed someday*" (Interview: 05 January 2007).

Change of working equipment has made work much easier and as a result, there are fewer repairs, as there are less machine breakdowns. The new ones are efficient, save time and improve the work pace. However, the new machines' performance depends solely on the machine operators' ability to utilise them efficiently. For example, some machines mix petrol and oil. This requires the operator to know exactly the amounts to be mixed. One respondent said that in regard to new machines, work has improved and the eThekwini Municipality saves about 40 percent of the money that would have been spent on spares and repairs. The problem is that there have been no new jobs; instead, more jobs have been lost (SAMWU Workers' Representative Interview: 15 December 2006).

Employment figures show that the majority of Africans are hired and employed on a temporary basis for a fixed period. This makes it difficult for them to move

up in their careers. It was found that there are no new skills provided in order to empower employees to enable them to do their work efficiently. Some are helped by their experience on the job, as seen in the response by a SAMWU Workers' Representative: *"I can manage and cope to do my job effectively for now because my experience help me, as I have been working in this category for more than five years without any training being offered to me. In short that really means in case I become unemployed, I will not be able to meet my family needs and sustain my livelihoods"* (Interview: 05 January 2007).

SAMWU has apparently failed to intervene, as no attempt was made to redress past injustices. The majority of workers in the Parks Department remain employed on a temporary basis for even as long as five years before they start enjoying fringe benefits such as medical aid. Fixed term workers only start to enjoy benefits like the permanent workforce after finishing three years of service. A fixed term system was introduced in 2000 and through it workers are put on *placement programme* that enables them to become permanent. The fixed term system does not specify the period, and some workers work for a period as long as 35 years. This has a negative effect on workers' job satisfaction as can be seen in Graph 8 below.

Graph 8: Job Satisfaction
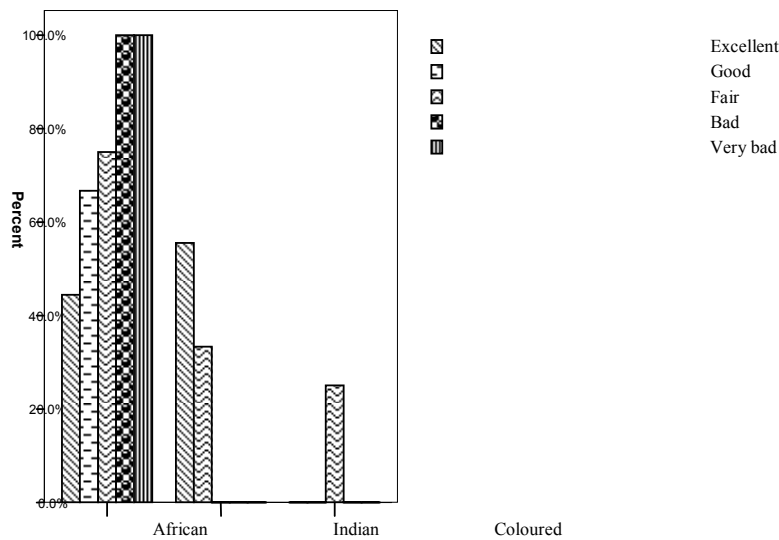
Graph 8 shows that the majority of respondents, mainly Black Africans, recorded poor/low job satisfaction. The majority of Indian respondents rate their satisfaction as either excellent or good. Coloured workers rated their satisfaction as fair. The majority of casual workers regard their level of job satisfaction as fair.

Skills necessity and viability were investigated and it was found that the usage of mower machines from small size to big size machines that cut big areas in a short space of time was desirable. Another example is where a *machete*[10] was used to cut or fell tree. Now a chain saw is used as part of technological change. The planting of flowers and other related plants in the garden is still done manually by hand.

Technological changes necessitated some skills provisions, although these skills do not necessarily enable workers to enjoy workplace mobility such as promotion to a higher position. For example, grass cutters still do the same work, but the difference is that machines are used. Currently, the introduction of new machinery does not go with new skills training as it used to be. Agents of a

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[10] Bush knife used manually by hand to cut grass/ trees.

company that provide the machineries provide instructions on their usage. The introduction of new machinery benefits management as work is done much more efficiently without using much labour. For example, grass cutting that needed high labour force and time input is now done in less time with fewer workers. Technology did improve working conditions, but it also exposes workers to accidents.

There have been some changes in other jobs. For example, the Parks Department used to utilise *Shindawa[11] bush cutter* and changed to *Stihl[12]*, because the former machines used to break down often. The new machines are lighter weight. This change came into effect roughly about two years back.

New technology led to improvement in skills. A worker, who is a qualified motor mechanic, indicated that the machines they work with differ from the engine of a car. He said that this helps when repairing machines as one has an idea about that particular machine and it makes it easy to identify problems in cases of machine breakage. Management benefits from this process because workers repair many machines in a short space of time.

Technology's impact on work varies according to different sections of the municipality based on the type of work that a particular department is doing. The eThekwini Botanic Garden is amongst the departments that used technology on a lower scale when compared to departments involving administration. Despite the fact that the Parks Department is regarded as labour intensive, it clearly also uses technology. Another motivating factor is the terrain where work is carried out. This needs more workers as machines cannot be used in such circumstances.

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[11] Type of machine.
[12] Another make of the machine.

Skills training offered to workers in light of new equipment is not meant to redress past injustices, but rather to help workers to perform their work better. There is no mobility into management echelons or higher paying positions. A SAMWU Official indicated during an interview that "*the Municipality offers frivolous skills such as telephone answering, first aid, Batho-Pele but fail to offer meaningful scientific skills that are regarded as scarce i.e. engineering*" (Interview: 15 December 2006).

Graph 9: Job categories
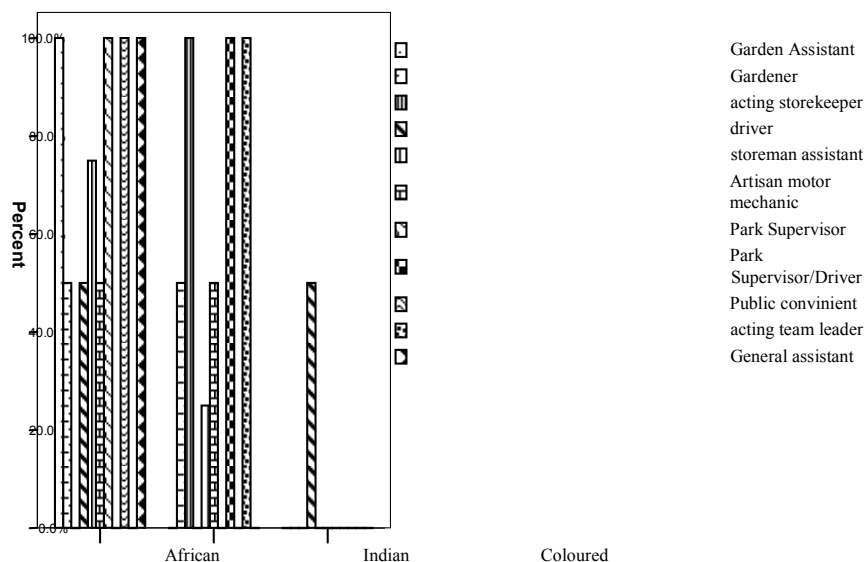
Graph 9 concurs with the responses of the IMATU Worker Representatives. It shows that black Africans possess skills that do not enable them to ascend to echelons of management. A substantial percentage of the Black Africans work as Garden Assistants, Parks Supervisor, Public Convenient (Community Helper), and general assistant. More than 60 percent are Storeman Assistants. The majority of the Indians work as Acting Storekeepers, Supervisor/Drivers and Acting Team Leaders.

Coloured workers appear only as Drivers and are not found in other job categories like other respondents. The respondents complain about the failure of the Parks Department to embrace and use the Recognition of Prior Learning

(RPL) as a strategy for redress of past injustices. For example, workers who have worked and attained vast experience in their respective jobs i.e. assistant horticulturalists who have worked a long time in the same category ought to be upgraded to position of horticulturalist. Some respondents emphasised that the policies are good, but implementation is poor. They feel that when it comes to the implementation of skills development policies management only speaks about them but does nothing to implement. Graph 10 below shows the number of respondents who have worked a long time in the department but have little upward job mobility.

Graph 10: Time working in this category
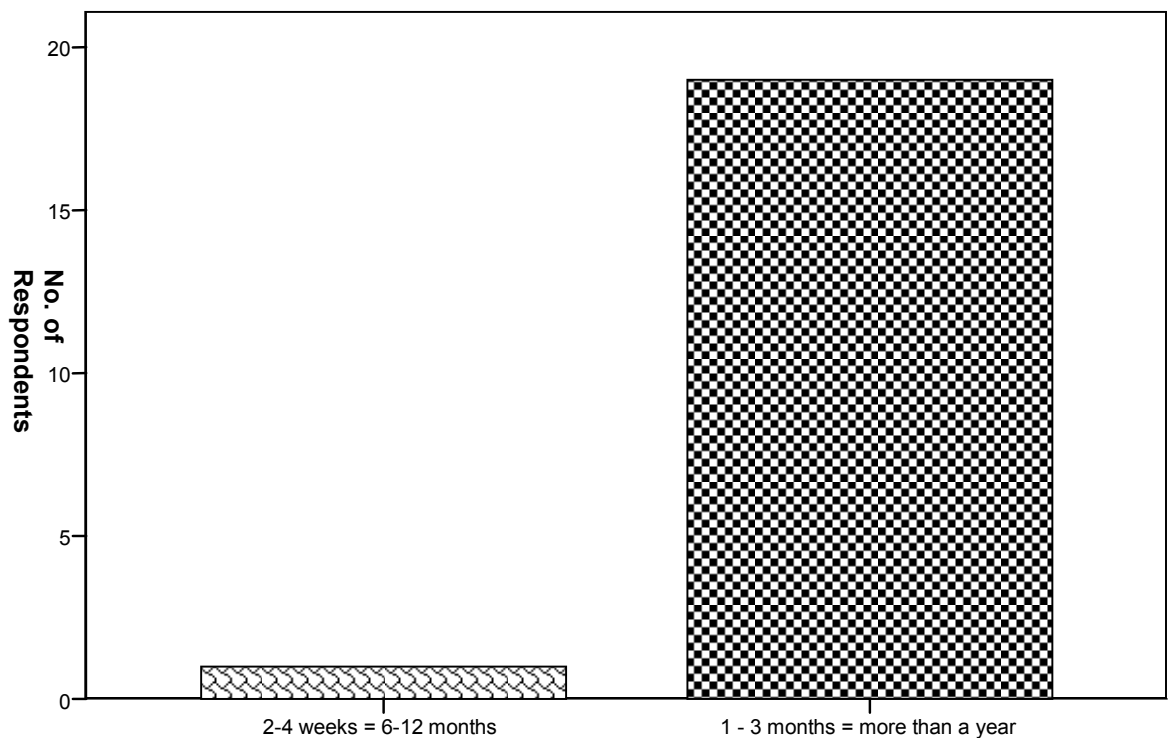
Graph 10 shows that the majority (19) of respondents indicated that they worked there for more than a year. One respondent indicated that he had worked for less than a year.

The department is responsible for offering skills training to its workforce i.e. is aware of the skills that are required to fulfil its duties. Although departments have a say in determining the skills development initiatives, their programmes are in line with broader national government programme. Trade unions organising in this sector continue to lose influence. The SAMWU official said: *"response by trade unions in the offering of skills remain reactionary in the sense that unions do not offer any alternative except to reject whenever the management come up with suggestions or offer. Our shortfall as unions is that we are lazy, as we do not come with proposals except to wait for management suggestions and start reacting. That is not different from the situation whereby we chase our tails, as we do not have clear programme of things we want to achieve for workers in order to redress past injustices in the shop floor"*.

Skills offered to workers by agents that supply machine to the Municipality are of importance, as they provide workers with basic instructions on efficient and safe operation of the machine. Most of the time, management decides on which workers qualify to be sent for training or on information courses on various machines. Some of the workers possess skills that are useful outside their current workplaces, should they suddenly become unemployed, especially the qualified mechanic artisan. The IMATU Workers' Representative said: *"the skill that I have can help me to start my own business or seek another employment in case I become unemployed, as I'm the qualified Artisan"* (Interview: 15 December 2006).

When the various Municipal Departments experience skills shortage, Management advertises the post, initially internally on notice boards and later externally when no appropriate candidate is found. Workers argue that this process denies the previously disadvantaged an opportunity of mobility or promotion within the Municipality. As one said: *"In case a driver is required, no one is promoted to do such work, as I believe that Assistant Drivers can be given*

chances of becoming qualified drivers as part of promotion. Before workers who had completed one year service were encouraged to bring their own learners license in order to get assistance to become qualified drivers" (IMATU Senior Workers Representative Interview:12 December 2006). In addition, workers feel that the *promotion system* has not been monitored properly because workers are often put on a long waiting list. By the time they are called up, their Learners Licence's period has expired, disqualifying them. Workers who are in possession of Code 10 licences that have been upgraded to Code 14 within the Municipal Driving School, do not get promoted. According to the respondents, the Parks Department was losing its workers to other departments within the Municipality such as electricity. Despite the trade unions attempt to challenge this type of negative impact, no response has come from management to date. In short, the union is ineffective and the management remain dominant.

The Local Government Sector Education Training Authorities (LGSETA) plays a role in accrediting courses that are supplied in terms of a Workplace Skills Plan. The SETA's main aim is to enable employers to fulfil their duties. For example, the main objective of the employers is to improve performance and productivity and as well as profit making. Skills offered to workers in general are not progressive, as they fail to offer mobility within the shop floor. This is proven by the fact that workers previously attained experience that is not recognised especially in cases of workers who perform duties such as horticulturalists and plumbing.

Whilst expectations amongst workers on the advent of democratic freedom were high in the department, more than a decade later, their situation remains the same. Things have changed in the higher political echelons in terms of administration, but the shop floor experience still resembles the old *status quo* where workers report to the same old white boss/manager as before 1994. This tends to suggests that the same old beneficiaries of the Colour Bar principle continue to benefit, and the previously disadvantaged remain

in subordinate positions. The notorious separate amenities "acts" still prevail in the Parks Department. The SAMWU Workers' Representatives confirmed this:

"old habits remain the same as places such as canteen or change rooms and higher management positions remain favourable to whites in terms of racial division in general"

Graph 11: Skill recognition by employer
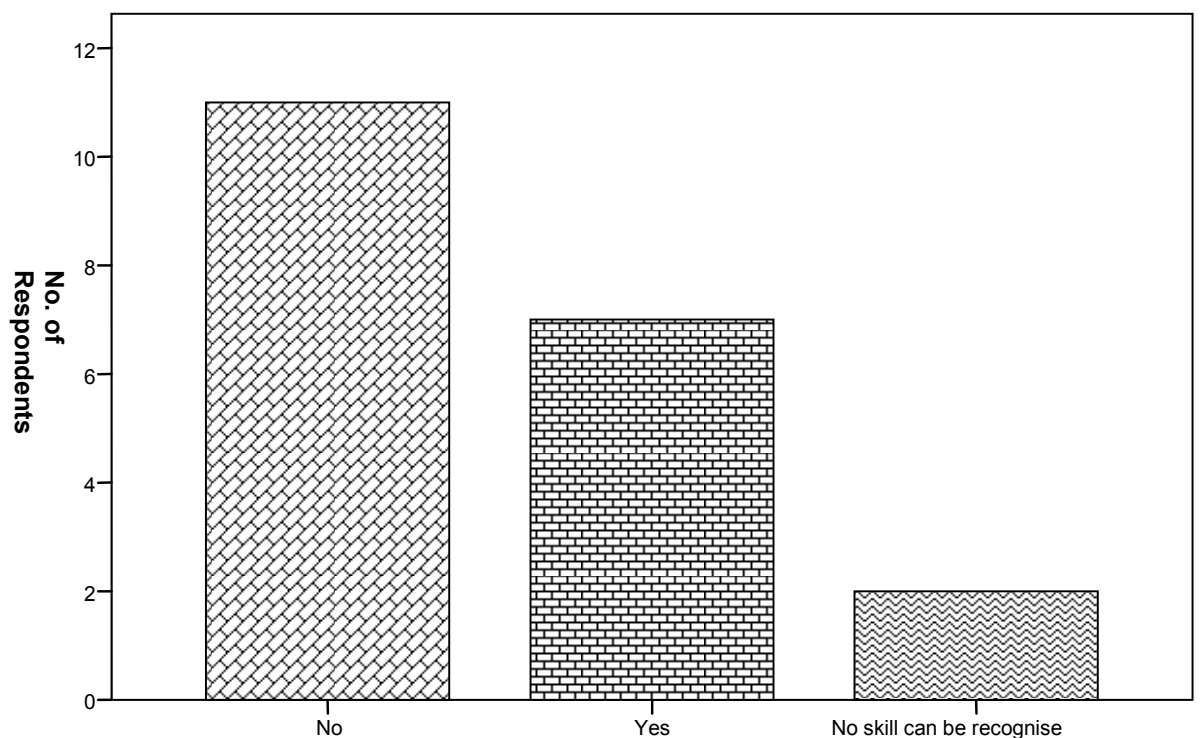
Eleven of the respondents felt that the employer does not recognise their skills, seven indicated that their employer recognises their skills and two that they do not have a skill that needs to be recognised. (See Graph 11 above). Previously, workers used to receive skills training in their respective Departments, but such training was last held in the three years ago where workers attended a 2 to 3 day workshop geared towards improving their work related knowledge and skills.

Wages are equal due to one grading system that applies to all employees. However, whites and Indians remain the majority and whites dominate in the higher positions. The Municipality seems to be lagging behind in setting the target for equity, as set by the National Skills Development Strategy. The Strategy requires that 85 percent of all its beneficiaries be Black[13], 54 percent be female and 4 percent be disabled people (Kraak, 2004a).It is estimated that only 10 per cent of Africans occupy higher positions. Graph 12 below confirms this state of affairs.

Graph 12: Job categories
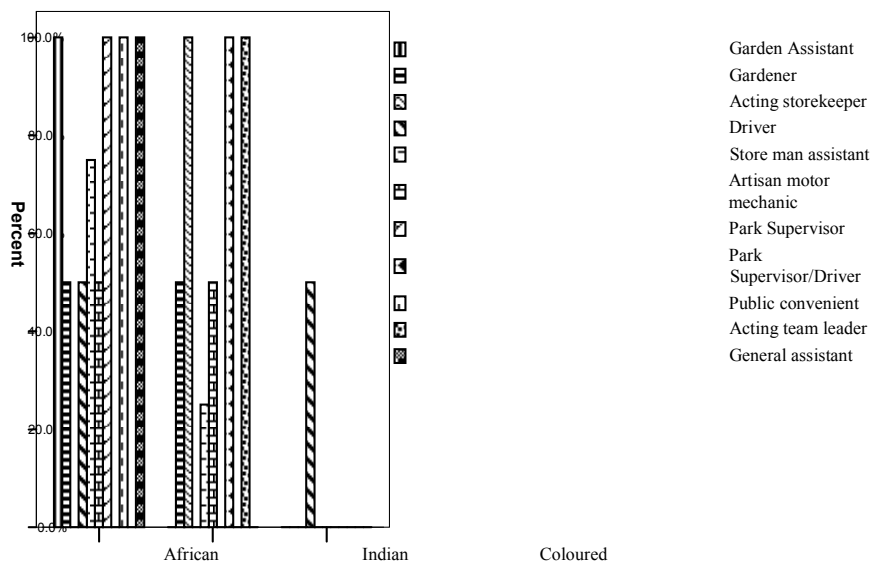
Black Africans possess skills that cannot enable them to ascend the management ladder. Black Africans are mainly employed as garden assistants, parks supervisor, public convenient (community helper), and general assistant, as well as storeman's assistant. Whilst the majority of the Indians work as acting storekeepers, supervisor/drivers and acting team leaders. Black African workers still feel that treatment in the workplace is still characterised by oppressive racial

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[13] Refers to Africans, Indian and Coloured people

divisions. The canteen remains separated into two. Whites and Indians sit in one section and black Africans sit separately in a section separated by a sliding door, just like in the apartheid days. The Parks Department employs more Black Africans as casual workers, especially in gardening and landscape management. If the Parks Department wants to remove garden refuse or clean new areas identified for planting flowers casual workers are employed through an organisation reputed to have links with the white workers of Botanic Garden called the *Friends of the Botanic Garden Trust*.

Whenever the Parks Department needs to employ more labour it consults with this Trust. In return, the Parks Department pays the Trust for the work done and the Trust pays workers at the end after deducting its commission. These workers indicated that the Trust fails to give them protective clothing such as uniforms and gloves. In response to this problem the Parks Department issued uniforms to the workers employed by the Trust. It was gathered that before workers are employed as permanent, they are firstly employed as casual. They are employed as casual for a period ranging from one to six years or even more. The casuals earn meagre wages amounting to R250 per week with no benefits, such as medical aid and housing subsidy. Once their contract finishes, workers do not have a clear idea as to when their next contract will be renewed.

Graph 13: Type of Employment
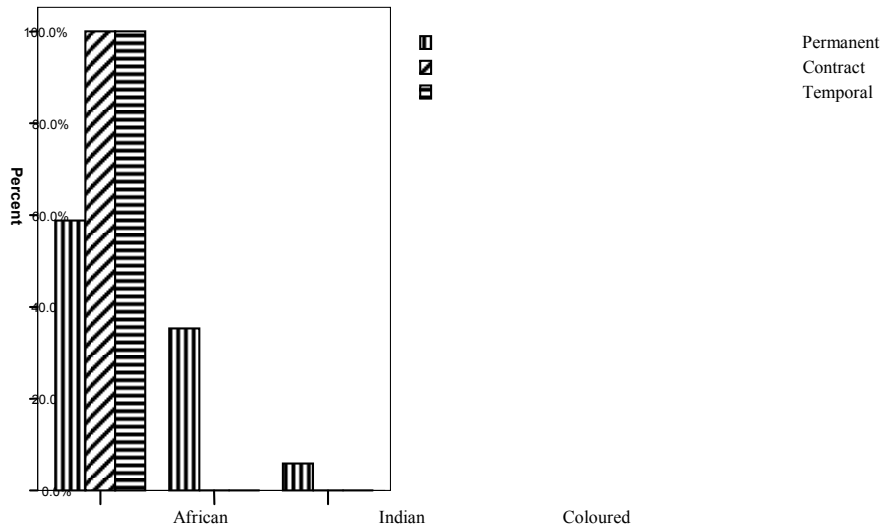
As Graph 13 shows almost 100 percent of African workers who participated in the study are employed on contract and on a temporary basis. Less than six of the African workers employed are permanent. Indian and Coloured respondents are employed as drivers on a permanent basis with none employed on contract. .

Graph 14: Who benefit from skilled workers
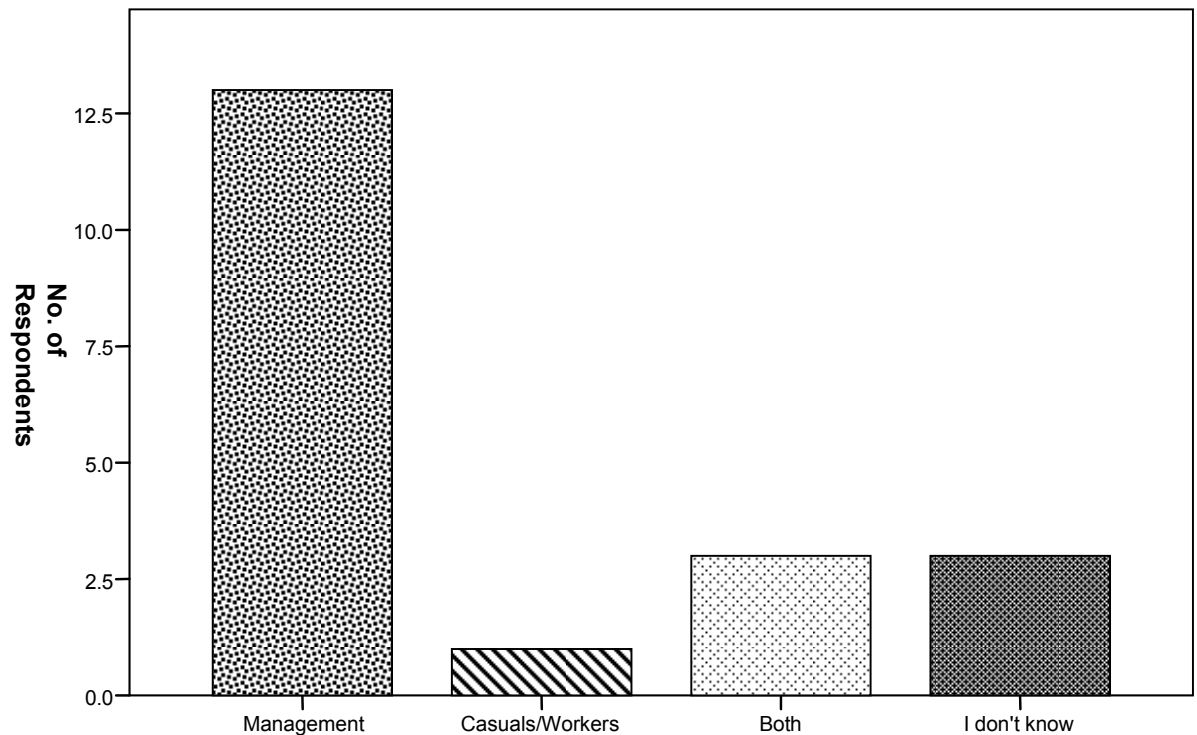
Graph 14 emphasises the point made earlier on. It shows that 13 of the respondents constitute the majority in all categories and view management as the main beneficiary of the technological and skills changes. About three of the respondents indicated that they do not know who benefits from these changes.. Three respondents indicated that both management and workers benefit from workplace change.

In attempting to get the view of the respondents on how the beneficiaries benefit it was noted that the majority of respondents did not respond to the question; followed by the respondents who indicated that the employer is always happy with their service and job efficiency. This is followed by the response that highlighted that respondents (workers) benefit from these changes by getting

recognition from their communities i.e. they get job that help them to meet some of their basic needs and get some respect and recognition from their families and in their neighbourhood. Lastly, this category is followed by the response of those who indicated the safe keeping of the eThekwini assets; followed by the response that highlights that the employer benefits by making more profit as it pays meagre wage with no benefits, applies multi-tasking and makes more work for workers.

6.4. Conclusion

This Chapter started by giving a brief historical overview and the current demarcation of the area and Durban Botanical Garden with a view to understanding the location of the workplace being studied. It looked at the data collected in an attempt to provide a clear picture of the state of the skills shortage in terms of workers' experience of government policies and strategies in addressing past injustices in the workplace. It looked at data collected in the study in one of the departments to ascertain the viability of skills programmes that are geared towards addressing inequality and skills shortages especially amongst previously disadvantaged people. It was noted that inequality in the management echelons and in the workplace in general still persists despite government's passing of various policies.

CHAPTER 7

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate and assess the role and impact of the post-apartheid skills development strategy in addressing the inherited problem of skills shortages amongst Black African workers as well as the problem of racial inequities in the workplace. Based on an empirical study of the Durban Botanic Garden's Parks Department, it finds that the questions of skills and racial inequalities in the workplace remain prevalent, exposing the ineffectiveness of the skills development strategy. Black African workers are still disadvantaged and cannot access skills training due to constraints imposed in the past. The result is that they cannot equally compete for physical, vertical or horizontal mobility in the workplace (see Adam, 1997: 232; McCord and Bhorat, 2003:114; Terreblanche, 2002: 11-17; Vally, 1997a: 40).

The question of skills is often examined in terms of its relationship to work, performance and labour market. The tacit skills thesis asserts that skills possessed by workers provide them with leverage over their work environment since performance of any type of work includes some level of skill and competency. Tacit skills enable performance of any job irrespective of traditional role classification into skilled, semi- skilled or unskilled (Kusterer, 1978). Kusterer (1978:168) thus rejected the deskilling thesis as new skills are continually being created and generated through workplace changes and technological innovations, leading to the acquisition of new working knowledge. Working on the basis of this thesis, it could be argued that Black African workers at the Durban Botanic Garden's Parks Department are equally skilled. As the sentiments of the IMATU and SAMWU worker representatives reveal, Black African workers possess skills that unfortunately are not acknowledged, resulting in them not benefiting in terms of job mobility. The workers in the Parks Department do not

only possess tacit skills as noted from their indigenous knowledge of the various plants and their significance, but are also in possession of high school and post-high school qualifications that have some positive impact on their work performance. Notwithstanding this, and contrary to the skills thesis, the Parks Department workers have not used this leverage to their advantage but instead find themselves overwhelmed by management authority and power. It could thus be argued that technological changes through the introduction of the new machinery in the Parks Department tended to only benefit the employer as there was subsequent improvement in the quality and efficiency of work.

Workers in the Parks Department remain in similar jobs as when they first joined the Durban Botanic Garden. The skills acquired by workers through some training on how to best operate the machines do not help with redress of past injustices. This suggests the lack of penetration into workplace practices of the new Skills Development Strategy, resulting in failure to achieve the intended objectives of improved human resources capacity, performance and equity (Barker, 2007). Government's intervention through legislation such as the EEA and the SDA after 1994, designed to address issues of equity and skills in the SA labour market, have not made difference in reaching desired goals and change. Senior posts are still dominated by whites and Indians, and also to some extent by Coloureds, implying the persistence of inherited inequalities in workplace. This reflects the persistence of inherited labour market segmentation characterised by racially defined occupational categories of primary, secondary and subordinate primary labour markets. The primary labour market jobs are characterised by better earnings, upward mobility opportunities, job security and high skills requirements, and have always been dominated by white employees. The secondary labour market jobs on the other hand are characterised by low skills, low wages, minimal job security and no upward mobility (see Vally, 1997b:88).

The situation is today exacerbated by the new forms of segmentation such as the core and periphery due to casualisation of work and flexible labour market

strategies, which further disadvantage black African workers. I call these new divisions and segmentation *sandwich workplace formation* model[14] (see Webster and Von Holdt, 2005:7; Vally, 1997b: 83). At the Parks Department, the workforce is divided into management*,* which consists mostly of white workers that form part of the *core*[15] workforce and the skilled and semi-skilled workers such as the horticulturalists represent the *core*[16] workers, which are mostly Indians. Black African workers are mostly assistant horticulturalists and are employed as casuals, representing the *periphery*[17] of the workforce.

It is thus no surprise that Black African workers locked into the peripheral, secondary labour market jobs recorded low levels of job satisfaction, which is in stark contrast with that of other races. The majority of Indian respondents regard their satisfaction as excellent and good, whilst the Coloured respondents only recorded that their working conditions as fair.

Racial disparities were also identified in the canteens at Botanic Gardens. Black African workers are squashed into little canteen space with few resources, whilst Indian and White workers use a separate, better-equipped canteen space. These findings confirm what has been described by McKay (1995) as meritocratic ideology which creates an illusion that economic success depends on the belief that schools provide equality of opportunities (see Barker 2007). This transpired during the interview with the union representatives who argued that Black African

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[14] I prefer to call it sandwich, since the pattern of division of worker (core, non- core and periphery) resembles that of the snack that serves one purpose of food, to sustain life. Therefore, I argue that division of workforce in the workplace serves one purpose - of sustaining the company's' life in terms of profit making with little financial benefits for workers.

[15] Refers to workers that are can be defined as the "true" employees of the company because they usually manage the company and enjoy almost all benefits (i.e. job security, medical aid, annual bonus, workplace representation, skills development opportunities).

[16] Refers to workers that form part of the workforce that enjoys some of the benefits of the core category staff and also found and perform some of the duties of the lower category staff – periphery. This category acts as a buffer between black African workers in the periphery and white workers in the higher echelons of management.

[17] Refers to workers that normally do not enjoy fringe benefits (i.e. guaranteed and secure work environment, secure employment, trade union representation) , "no rules" is the norm and can be fired and hired willy- nilly at the discretion of the employer (See Mthembu, 2005).

workers are not offered the same opportunities in skills improvement as their white, Indian and Coloured counterparts.

The study suggests that the current policies are not fully implemented and/or that there no political will or commitment to see them implemented on the shop floor by some members of management. For example, the majority of workers in the Parks Department remain employed on temporary basis and this leads to further re-segmentation of the labour market, marginalising the historically disadvantaged. The Durban Botanic Garden Trust employs them for a period of not more than five years. This practice tends to follow the same old pattern that was seen in the earlier years of the industrialisation process in the South African mines whereby Black African males were coerced into working on a contract and fixed-term basis as cheap labour, and not recognised as employees. As fixed-term workers, they only start to enjoy benefits associated with permanent employment after finishing three years of service, and sometimes this can take even longer. Management introduced a fixed term system in 2000 which places workers on a placement programme that will enable them to become permanent in the end. The fixed-term system does not specify the period the worker needs to complete before being confirmed as permanent staff with fringe benefits. Some workers work for a period of up to 35 years without being turned into permanent staff. This system renders workers vulnerable, tending to silence them from challenging workplace injustices as they enter into this system with little understanding of the nature of contract they entered into. Their unions are too weak to challenge management practices.

The above findings fly in the face of the eThekwini Municipality's new outward-looking training programme that is aimed at providing gardening skills to the communities in and around the city, beyond just the immediate workplace. In the light of this, it is safe to conclude that the eThekwini Municipality legitimises itself

by using the indigenous social values of "*ubuntu*[18]" which, amongst other things, places emphasis on reaching out and caring for others.

In conclusion, it is clear that the apartheid legacy continues to haunt South Africa despite its highly celebrated democratic transformation. It continues to grapple with issues of redressing past injustices such as unequal provision of skills to its people. Income inequalities and unemployment are still rife, especially amongst Black Africans. While the eThekwini Municipality highlights in its vision statement that it is an African City that draws on the rich heritage of *"ubuntu",* some of its sections such as the Parks Department at the Botanic Gardens fail to make that vision a reality. Black Africans remain alienated and segregated in terms of skills development and job mobility. Pillars of apartheid are still intact, as **'***ubuntu"* seems to be co-opted into the westernised economic system to legitimise the current dominant workplace regimes.

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[18] Nkosi concurs by arguing that a growing tendency towards greed and commercialisation of land, even by black Africans and especially in urban areas and that contributes in gradually destruction of the sense of '*Ubuntu*' is the basis of African spirituality within the theocratic settings -(see Tafete, 2003:89). Therefore, I will argue that it will be unrealistic to expect the success of *"ubuntu"* as a philosophy within the spaces of democracy, as this philosophy - democracy - represents something totally different and dismally failed to offer a "holistic approach to offer love and respect for human beings, nature and other living creatures". In addition, the custom of asking for rain or making rain through the help of the ancestors and God still features strongly in some communities.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaires

- Questionnaire 1 – Workers' Questionnaire

Skills, Equity and the Labour Market in a South African workplace: A Case Study of Durban Botanic Garden's Parks Department, eThekwini Municipality

Workers' Questionnaire

Doc. No.:.........

1.1 SECTION A: Demographics

(Mark your answer in the appropriate box)

1.1. Age

18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56+

1.2. Gender

Male	Female

1.3. Marital status

Single	Married	Divorced	Separated	Other

If other, please specify.

1.4. How many dependents do you have?

0-2	3-5	6-8	9+

1.5. Race

African	Indian	Coloured	White	Other

If other, please specify.

SECTION B: Education & Training

1.6. Formal Education

a) Highest level of education completed?

Primary	Some Secondary	Matric	Other

If other, please specify.

b) Post Matric qualifications

Certificate	Diploma	Degree

1.7. Informal education

a) Do you have any informal education?

Yes	No

b) If you have any informal education, how did you get it?

Workshop	CBO's	NGO's	On the job training	Other

If other, please specify.

1.8. Skills

 a) What type of skill(s) do you have?

Machine Operator	Driver	Hyster Driver	Packer	Other

If other, please specify.

b) Explain where and how did you get this skill.

SECTION C: Employment

1.9. (a) What is your job title?

(b) Explain what you do.

(c) What type of worker are you?

Permanent	Contract	Casual	Other

If other, please specify.

(d) Explain why do you work in this category?

1.10. (a) Did you choose to work in this category?

Yes		No		I don't know	

(b) If no. Explain.

1.11.(a) How long you have been working in this category?

Lees than one week	2-4 weeks	1 – 3 months
3 -6 months	6 – 12 months	More than a year

If more than a year, please specify.

1.12. (a) Tick the category you think most accurately represents your job satisfaction.

Excellent	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad

(b) Why have you ranked your job satisfaction as such? Explain.

1.13. (a) Does your employer recognise you skill?

Yes	No

(b) If yes, how do get your recognition? Please specify.

SECTION D: Perceptions of skills

1.28. (a) Who do you think benefits from your skill(s)?

Management	Casuals / Workers	Both	I don't know

(b) Explain why you think so?

1.29. Explain how does that individual or management benefit from your skill(s)?

1.30.   Is there anything else you would like to share with the researcher?

- Questionnaire 2 – Workers representatives

Skills, Equity and the Labour Market in a South African workplace: A Case Study of Durban Botanic Garden's Parks Department, eThekwini Municipality

Interview schedule: Workers representative

1) How did your union improve skills of African workers prior 1994?
2) What type of skills that were offered to African workers then?
3) How do you address the past injustices in the shop floor?
4) Do you think skills that members have address the past injustices?
5) If not, why?
6) If yes? Explain
7) What factors contribute to the skills shortage?
8) Does technology helps the improvement of skills in the shop floor?
9) If it helps. How?
10) Does technology improves the working conditions?
11) If yes, how does it improve the working conditions?
12) If it does not, how it degrades working conditions?
13) What impact do skills attained after 1994 have on the lives on workers generally?
14) There is any difference in skills qualification?
15) If yes. What is the difference?
16) How do you see the difference?
17) How do skills possessed will help in case of workers become unemployed towards sustaining their daily livelihood?
18) How does skills help the employed workers in their respective work?
19) How do you monitor the relevance of skills in the workplace and in the Households of members?
20) How do you monitor the relevance of skills in the workplace and in the community?
21) What role-played by the social institutions in providing skills?
22) What role is played by your organisation in addressing the skills shortage?
23) What skills that are provided by your organisation?
24) When did you start providing these skills?

25) Whom do you provide these skills? e.g. employed or unemployed works/members only.
26) Which institutions or organisation that are known to be providing relevant skills?
27) Describe advantages and disadvantage of caused by new changes to workers?
28) Who benefit out of these new changes in the workplace?
29) Why and how?

- Questionnaire 3 – Management and Trade Union Official

Skills, Equity and the Labour Market in a South African workplace: A Case Study of Durban Botanic Garden's Parks Department, eThekwini Municipality

Questionnaire: Management/ Union Official

- How would you describe the kind of work that your dept carries out on a daily basis?

- Describe the historical evolution of the nature of work being done? i.e. *what kind of work was central activity in the past and how has it changed today? What implications for workers and for skills requirements?*

- If not changed, what has changed? Technologically and equipments-wise?
  How would you describe the work in your department? Is it labour intensive or capital intensive?

- What kind of labour / workforce has always been employed in your department? Has it changed today? If yes, how? Please explain.
  If it has changed, what has the company done to adjust to new changes? What changes?

- Describe advantages and disadvantage of caused by changes in skills requirements, work content and labour force from managerial point of view?

- Is the company or Dept's response including skills training and why?

- If skills training, what kind of skills and who provides training and who funds it? Any role or contribution of skills training by the SETAs?

- Describe working relations with workers in general in your department?

- How have these relations been in the past and how have they changed, if at all?

- Who benefits from these new changes in the workplace? Please explain.

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