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FOREIGN AFRICAN LABOUR SUPPLY IN SOUTH AFRICA

1960-1977

D.G. Clarke

DSRG Working Paper No. 1

**University of Natal
Pietermaritzburg
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ACE PMB

Development Studies Research Group

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fragmented rural labour reserve areas - can be viewed in a somewhat similar vein albeit with particularistic socioeconomic and political characteristics.

Underpinning these forms of "State" development, notably in the present period, have been a variety of economic requirements connected with the process of capital accumulation in Southern Africa. State creation, consolidation, restructuring and planned dis-integration can be regarded as mechanisms and processes related to accumulation in general and the forms it has assumed in Southern Africa under the political conditions relevant in the sub-continent. It is in this overall context that the periodisation of the history of foreign/migrant labour supply can and perhaps should be perceived.

Historical Phases

Viewed in the above framework, a number of broad phases might be distinguished. Note here that it is not implied that these phases have been discrete, or disconnected from each other, or restricted to only one chronological period of time, or even "mechanically" related to each other in a linear fashion. A proximate "analytical periodisation" has been sought - one which focusses on key elements of an overall process, some of which have been more pronounced at one point in time than at others. The most prominent phases appear as follows:

- a. The era of slavery. Imported slaves and "locally acquired" slaves were a prominent feature of early Cape history in the eighteenth century.
- b. The era of "volitional migrancy." Following the abolition of slavery in 1834 and through up to the period of establishment of a mining industry, movements of "independent" labourers were evidenced in Southern Africa. In part, these movements were rooted in a relatively flourishing peasant economic base. However, they also reflected a supply response to a period of "relatively high wages." Consequently, labourers entered South Africa from many areas, e.g. Ndebeleland and Damaraland.
- c. The era of "impositions." Foreign workers arrived in South Africa not only as slaves or "independent migrants" but also as indentured workers or as migrants whose causes of departure were closely tied to "forced labour" codes and taxes in foreign dependencies of the British and Lusitanian Empires.
- d. The era of "underdevelopment." Change in the structure of the economic system and imbalance in accumulation processes in Southern Africa brought with them related processes of peasant underdevelopment, rapid proletarianisation and a "necessary" exodus from supplier areas. Policies of land

I A BRIEF NOTE ON HISTORICAL ORIGINS

There has been no comprehensive study of the phenomenon of foreign/migrant labour supply to South Africa in "deep historical perspective." Such a mammoth task - requiring analysis of the span of three centuries - would be a formidable task. But a number of sources have contributed significantly to contemporary understanding of the phenomenon.¹

The intention here is neither to attempt a synopsis of these contributions nor to "fill in" details, events and relationships of the extremely variegated pattern of historical reality which have been omitted or obscured in earlier analysis. Rather, it is to briefly provide an "analytical periodisation" of foreign-cum-migrant labour supply to modern South Africa in an attempt to discern roots and phases of the overall process.

The Evolution of Nation States in Southern Africa

The "phases" of foreign migrant supply should be viewed in the context of the particularistic form of state development which has characterised the historical process in Southern Africa.

Originally, the area was characterised by a variety of African States or "areas of dominance", often shifting in location or changing in size and composition under the influence of social and natural factors. The first instances of mercantile colonialism rooted in the Cape, and the subsequent outward and northern expansionism, in the quest to redefine colonial boundaries, brought inter-State conflict to the fore. Subsequent successes achieved by incipient colonial States and regimes, in the field of the establishment of governance and control, lead to the decomposition and restructuring of previously viable and semi-autonomous African States. A major issue in the newly defined relations was that of labour supply. The issue centered around not only the volume of labour supply but also conditions of supply.

In the "long historical thrust" that has led to the establishment of modern South Africa, at least up to 1948, an integrated State and boundary situation was sought. These acts of "State creation" and exercises in State control have defined foreign African workers for what they are now held in law to be, viz. "outsiders" to South Africa.

The subsequent post-1948 attempted "internal balkanisation" of the South African State itself - an attempt designed to mould incipient States around various

alienation, bias in agriculture towards plantations and limited trade and marketing opportunities for rural cultivators brought about economic conditions in the periphery which favoured massive inflows of labour into South Africa.

- e. The era of institutionalised private recruitment networks. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, employers began to more systematically organise foreign labour supplies on a Chibaro (forced labour) basis. These arrangements were initially kept on a "privatised" level, being conducted through agents or recruiting companies. Many recruiting companies struck contracts with the States from which labour supplies were being drawn (see for example the contract between the recruiting agency of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines and the Mocambique authorities in 1897).
- f. The era of inter-State contract aided by monopsonistic private recruitment. Soon after the turn of the twentieth century inter-State agreements came to play a major role in the supply mechanism.. As industrialisation and development of the primary industries' base has proceeded, so too has the demand for low-cost contractual labour supplied from outside the formal boundaries of South Africa.
- g. The era of problematic and acute "structural dependency." Decades of dependence on labour export have left a number of States in a structurally dependent position, e.g. Lesotho. On the other hand, there has also in this last phase been evidence of an assertion of "radical" independence by certain States vis-a-vis the export of labour to South Africa. During this phase too, South African institutions - e.g. labour bureaux - have come to play a more central role in policy on the allocation of foreign workers across industries and between employers.

During these historical phases, the system of international migration in Southern Africa has undergone various transformations. The outline above merely sketches these variations. It also illustrates some roots of the contemporary phase in which the labour supply system has come to be characterised by monopsonistic recruitment organisations, the licensing and control over recruiters of foreign labour by both supplier and recipient States, the establishment and re-negotiation of inter-State Agreements, and the administrative control over fees connected with contract labour.

II STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING FOREIGN AFRICAN LABOUR SUPPLY
TO AND INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Although structural conditions affecting foreign labour supply will be the focus of various parts of the paper, it will be useful to synopsise at the outset those determinants which have played, and continue to exert, a prominent part in the foreign African labour supply pattern.

The effects of structural determinants can be separated for analytical purposes into those affecting the "flow" of labour supplies and those operating on the "stock" of foreign workers already inside South Africa. It is not suggested that these effects can be disaggregated precisely, but it might be useful to observe the different implications of specific changes for each constituent element in the overall foreign African labour supply pattern.

Without trying to assign "order of priority" rating to them, the principal determinants appear to be the following:

- a. The pattern of accumulation. This pattern has led to marked imbalances in the sub-continental economy - with respect to the international division of labour, the degree of capital concentration, unevenness in inter-State re-investment levels and rates, the size of markets, and the volume and composition of trade. A more even balance would probably have been less likely to have precipitated such sizeable flows of labour across such enormous distances, State divides and occupational categories.
- b. The international and local level policy of employers, notably in expanding low-wage primary industries. These policies have sanctioned the existence of a co-existent pattern of overall labour surplus amidst artificially created "labour shortages" which have not been eliminated through wage-bidding or "market mechanisms." Such policies have necessitated, or rather have been an actual consequence of, heavy reliance on imported low-cost contract or foreign labour supplies.
- c. Secular and cyclical growth patterns in the capitalist sectors of the sub-continent. Cyclical depression has led to large inflows to South Africa in 1920-22 and in 1929-33 but not in the 1973-76 case because of the different conditions of a growing structurally-determined local labour surplus. On the other hand, the secular post-war boom raised demands for cheap labour from outside South Africa, at least until around the mid-1960s

since which time the growth of a local labour surplus and rates of unemployment for Africans have risen sharply whilst strategic considerations, as viewed by South African employers, have dictated a lower foreign labour participation rate in South Africa.

- d. State policy. Here policy has been effective on both inter-State Agreements and in the field of sanctioning "clandestine inflows" (e.g. from Southern Rhodesia in the late 1940s) during certain periods whilst actively discouraging such inflows in the post-1960 era through greater control of labour movements across boundaries and by the prosecution of "illegal" entrants, together with their employers.
- e. The implemented and planned results of policies of foreign supplier States. The effects of planning have been of crucial significance in the fields of employment growth policy and agrarian development. The inability of some States to provide adequate subsistence for workers and dependents has been a factor behind the development of a labour surplus for employment in South Africa. However, in that this factor can be related to the pattern of accumulation, it should not be viewed as a "separate determinant".
- f. The relationship between wages and subsistence on the international level. Wages in the recipient States and means of subsistence available in supplier areas have become more uneven. In a number of instances, higher wages in South Africa and/or zero employment prospects in supplier areas have caused a southern drift of labour. Here, however, attention should also be directed to the structure of capital and its history of accumulation in the search for explanations why more jobs are found, and/or higher wages now pertain, in South Africa. The securement of labour supplies from outside South Africa at a cost below the full cost of subsistence of the families supplying labour has facilitated accumulation inside South Africa.
- g. The changing policies and labour supply strategies of employers. Here of special importance are policies adopted in recipient States, often in collaboration with the host government. These policies usually concern aggregate foreign labour content, quotas on supplier areas, recruitment tactics and precise conditions of labour governing contract workers and independent migrants.
- h. The conflict of interests between employers. On the one hand is found the recipient State and its employers. These interests may conflict with those interests of employers elsewhere in the periphery. Such conflicts

have led to a division of the Southern African "labour reserves" on an international level. This sort of division has also been reflected internally within South Africa, the various nuances also having a bearing on international labour supply patterns (e.g. the fact that until 1973 the areas of Pondoland in the Transkei were almost exclusively a labour supplying area for the Natal sugar industry).

- i. Inter-State and social group politics. These divisions have affected the stability of foreign labour supply patterns. Here it is found that withdrawals, threats of withdrawal and "labour conflict", as well as "perceived" withdrawals and conflicts, have influenced strategy and the limits within which policy has been defined and pursued.

III HISTORICAL TRENDS IN FOREIGN AFRICAN LABOUR SUPPLY IN SOUTH AFRICA

At the outset it is necessary to record some comments on the origins, source and limitations of available data on the foreign African labour supply in South Africa.

Some Limitations of Available Data

No supplier States in Southern Africa keep and make available sufficiently good records of labour emigration to the Republic;² and none could be said to have a reliable socioeconomic profile of their labour supplies outside the country - whether in South Africa or elsewhere. Nor apparently do international organisations such as the International Labour Office or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development possess such data. Indeed, both these latter institutions, possibly for different reasons, are now committed to on-going analyses of "International and Domestic Labour Migration in Southern Africa", their prime foci being supplies to the Republic.³ However, both the ILO and IBRD studies have as their foci the "flow" of labour to South Africa. They are not for the most part, as far as is known, as closely concerned with the "stock-flow" situation of foreign African workers as a whole.

On the other hand, there is no comprehensive central record of "foreign" workers in the Republic. Indeed, as the Froneman Committee found when it examined these issues in the early 1960s, the questions of domicile and who is "foreign or otherwise are vexed ones."⁴ Further, despite the great plethora of labour studies

conducted in and on South Africa in the post-1960s, relatively little attention has been given to this subject. These observations remain true for empirical as well as theoretical work, except that is for a number of more limited studies dealing with the bi-lateral analysis of labour supply to South Africa.⁵

Probably the best available data then can be found in the records of the South African Census, both that of 1960 and the most recent in 1970. Although this information is slightly "dated" (for 1977), it can be significantly improved in a number of ways with supplementation: by data derived from the Central Statistical Offices of supplier States; through industry recruitment records (notably those of the Mine Labour Organisations - Wenela and the NRC - for the mining industry); by use of the findings of the Froneman Committee (the report of which was never fully published, but the essence of which is contained in a comprehensive summary produced by Owen); by field surveys which incidentally cover the subject; and by attempts at an overall evaluation of selected issues (notably those of Breytenbach and Leistner).⁶ These secondary works and primary sources can also be improved by reference to draft reports of the IBRD/ILO studies - the most recent work of late - and certain published and unpublished materials of governments and private researchers.

Even so, it is hard to escape the view that foreign labour supply remains a badly under-researched issue. Hence, a re-evaluation of certain insights presently available from contemporary data will also help formulate questions for further research as well as point to areas in which information is weak or non-existent at the moment.

The principal deficiencies of available data will be made apparent in this paper. Here it will be useful to note the major shortcomings. These appear to be as follows: problems with the definition of "foreign" workers; the lack of reliable annual series for certain overall bits of information for which at present only inter-censal records exist; the fact that records are not comprehensive or "even" on an industry-by-industry or a country-by-country basis; the omission of data on certain key "pieces of the puzzle" (e.g. turnover rates in non-mining sectors, inter-sectoral movements of foreign workers inside South Africa, the occupational origins and changing job status of foreign worker inflows, the basic socioeconomic characteristics of "illegal/illegitimate/concealed/clandestine" workers, the incidence of migrant women, etc.); the difficulties of interpolating various changes recorded as inter-censal variations; the non-consistent status of workers defined as "foreign"; and the impossibility of imputing or estimating "concealed" foreign labour supplies and unrecorded "flows" across various international borders.

The Historical Trend

Because of these difficulties of definition and classification as well as the absence of various consistent and reliable time series, it is difficult to accurately evaluate trends in the numbers of foreign Africans (and by deduction foreign African workers) in South Africa. Nonetheless, the best available data can be examined.

A series of data for 1911-1970 is found in Table 1. The reliability of pre-1960 figures could perhaps be questioned. Further, there is a question mark to be raised over some of the post-1960 data. Nonetheless, in so far as a recent trend can be discerned, it is that the total number of foreign-born Africans appears to have decreased since 1960; and so too in the case of men, notably since 1970. The latter trend suggests that a similar pattern applies to foreign African workers (as most men are in employment - this being the "rationale" for their very presence in South Africa).

No figures of an official and reliable nature are available for (March) 1977, but assuming that in non-mining sectors the level of employment of foreign Africans was no more than the Census recorded in 1970, and that 10,000 represents a "fair figure" for foreign Africans in "non-affiliated" mining employment, then it would seem that as of early 1977 there were probably around 290,000 foreign African men in employment in South Africa.⁷ This would represent a significant reduction on 1970. The trend exhibited is consistent with known tendencies in mining employment and other labour supply patterns found elsewhere in the economy. Indeed, the level for (March) 1977 could be considered as overstated in some respects.⁸

What must also be appreciated is the rapidly changing situation regarding the numbers of foreign African workers employed in South Africa, especially with regard to the mining industry. Indeed, the Chamber of Mines has in the recent past set itself the target of a 50 percent South African "content" in its African labour supply for April, 1977. At a level of employment of (say) 415,000 workers, this would mean a 17.6 percent rise in the April 1977 complement of South Africans over recorded figures for June, 1976. With developing labour surpluses in South Africa, it is not difficult at this stage to envisage the Chamber pushing up its South African content to an even higher level by year's end.⁹

Numbers and Country of Origin

Table 2 shows the numbers and country of origin of foreign Africans as of 1970. At that time there were 443,000 men and 47,060 women so identified. The high masculinity ratio of 9.4:1 reflects the sex-selective bias of migration, the historical pattern of labour demand for foreign workers within the Republic and the legal and institutional constraints on labour movement in Southern Africa. The apparently greater degree of proletarianisation amongst men, indicated by the balance shown, also partly reflects the lower "labour participation rate" of women in peripheral supplier States.

At the outset a reservation ought to be noted against the accuracy of the aggregate figures. Considerable problems exist in accurately identifying the actual numbers of foreign-born Africans in South Africa. Indeed, when the Froneman Committee sat in 1961/2 it concluded then that "it proved impossible to obtain anything but a very rough estimate."¹⁰

The Committee, too, was working on Bureau of Census statistics, the latter institution having warned the Committee at the time that the figures "should be regarded as very approximate and treated with caution."¹¹ So significant was the uncertainty over data initially supplied to the Committee that the Bureau's subsequent 5 percent sample drawn from the 1960 Census, and only made available two days after the Committee had completed its report, gave a radically different picture. Thus the Census postulated a total of 586,320 foreigners whilst Froneman *et al* had worked with a figure of 836,000 for 1960. The Committee could not reconcile the two sets of data and hence concluded "that large numbers of foreign Africans must have concealed their true origins during the 1960 Census."¹² Indeed, it believed the "true" figure for foreign Africans (*viz.* including those born inside South Africa) to be in excess of one million. Significantly, though, the Committee retained the estimate of 836,000 foreigners for use in its report.¹³

This historical digression only serves to bring into sharp relief the caution which must be applied to use of the aggregate data on foreign African labour supply in South Africa. Furthermore, it is not possible to accurately adjust the data to account for "concealment", even as a notional basis for the purposes of deriving "order of magnitude" estimates.

As shown elsewhere in respect of foreign workers, the country of origin pattern has changed much in the last two decades. In 1970, the most important countries with nationals in the Republic were Mocambique (142,800 men and

IV A NOTE ON METHOD

At any one time, the foreign African labour supply in South Africa reflects the history of past inflows and outflows as well as the joint effect of these on the composition and structural position of foreign workers in the economic system.

It is thus at the very least necessary to utilise comparative static analysis to understand and identify changes in the patterns of labour supply over time. This method requires identification of the "stock" position at a given point in time (1970 for the purposes of the paper) and an estimation of interim "flow" changes experienced in labour supply which have led to the determination of the contemporary "stock" position. This will provide a foundation for evaluating the effects of various determinants and their relative significance at specific points in time.

This method is suitable for analysis of the aggregate foreign African labour supply as well as, and even more so, for the foreign labour supply to and inside the "mining complex." However, there is markedly less annual data available on non-mining sectors. Consequently, comments of a quantitative nature relevant to this latter quarter must at present remain "patchy" and relatively subjective.

V THE CHARACTER AND COMPOSITION OF FOREIGN AFRICAN LABOUR SUPPLY
IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1970

This section is concerned solely with the recorded situation as of 1970. The historical past is dealt with separately elsewhere and the 1970-77 era is discussed later on in the paper.

The only comprehensive and reliable data for 1970 are to be found in the Census reports of that year produced by the Department of Statistics (Republic of South Africa). They cover: country of origin, sex, location, age-specific composition, sectoral and sub-sectoral identity, occupational structure and distribution, educational status and activity/inactivity rates of "foreign-born" Africans in South Africa. Interpretation of this data thus needs to be qualified by the fact that they omit "foreign Africans" (so defined) who were born inside South Africa.

Numbers and Country of Origin

Table 2 shows the numbers and country of origin of foreign Africans as of 1970. At that time there were 443,000 men and 47,060 women so identified. The high masculinity ratio of 9.4:1 reflects the sex-selective bias of migration, the historical pattern of labour demand for foreign workers within the Republic and the legal and institutional constraints on labour movement in Southern Africa. The apparently greater degree of proletarianisation amongst men, indicated by the balance shown, also partly reflects the lower "labour participation rate" of women in peripheral supplier States.

At the outset a reservation ought to be noted against the accuracy of the aggregate figures. Considerable problems exist in accurately identifying the actual numbers of foreign-born Africans in South Africa. Indeed, when the Froneman Committee sat in 1961/2 it concluded then that "it proved impossible to obtain anything but a very rough estimate."¹⁰

The Committee, too, was working on Bureau of Census statistics, the latter institution having warned the Committee at the time that the figures "should be regarded as very approximate and treated with caution."¹¹ So significant was the uncertainty over data initially supplied to the Committee that the Bureau's subsequent 5 percent sample drawn from the 1960 Census, and only made available two days after the Committee had completed its report, gave a radically different picture. Thus the Census postulated a total of 586,320 foreigners whilst Froneman *et al* had worked with a figure of 836,000 for 1960. The Committee could not reconcile the two sets of data and hence concluded "that large numbers of foreign Africans must have concealed their true origins during the 1960 Census."¹² Indeed, it believed the "true" figure for foreign Africans (*viz.* including those born inside South Africa) to be in excess of one million. Significantly, though, the Committee retained the estimate of 836,000 foreigners for use in its report.¹³

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As shown elsewhere in respect of foreign workers, the country of origin pattern has changed much in the last two decades. In 1970, the most important countries with nationals in the Republic were Mocambique (142,800 men and

2100 women), Lesotho (119,200 men and 28,480 women), Malawi (106,580 men and 60 women). The Tanzanian, Namibian, Angolan and Zimbabwean components were small whilst Swaziland and Botswana occupied an intermediate status.

There was little consistency too in the ratio of men/women, it being low for Swaziland (1.9:1), Lesotho (4.2:1) and Botswana (6.3:1) whilst highest for Angola, Malawi and Mocambique respectively.

The composition for Lesotho was closely related to its extreme dependence on the South African job market, the relative ease with which borders have been traversed in the past and the severe land limitations found in that country. This highlights one aspect of entry to South Africa, viz. relatively easy access across a number of borders extending for 1715 miles. In 1961 only 3 immigration posts existed (Mafeking, Komatipoort, and Beit Bridge) but now there are many more, including some in respect of the Transkei, an area of South Africa in which the "territorial integrity" is in dispute.

It is now probably more difficult to illegally traverse borders than in 1960, despite existing physical limitations on control. This has particularly become so because a number of borders have emerged as areas of overt conflict (e.g. Angola/Namibia and South Africa/Mocambique). Additionally, more borders are now fenced, for both reasons of prevention of foot-and-mouth disease and security considerations.

Thus despite a history of "illegal" entry across all borders (e.g. the 1940s "clandestine labour exodus" from Southern Rhodesia to South Africa), it is probably much less marked today than in the 1950s and 1960s. Since 1945 the Department of Bantu Administration and Development has pursued a policy of exerting greater control over foreign Africans in South Africa (see here Sections 12 and 14 of Act No. 25 of 1945 and Section 9 of Act No. 67 of 1952). As Owen explained in the early 1960s, the (then present) policy was to "gradually ... remove all foreign Africans from the Cape Province, and from urban areas in other provinces, and to restrict them to working and living only in the rural areas of the Transvaal and Free State."¹⁴ The policy has had its parallel in the case of Southern Rhodesia in the post-1958 period.¹⁵

To conclude, therefore, it may be estimated that the numbers of foreign Africans are probably still underenumerated (possibly relatively more so for women than men because the latter are subject to a greater intensity of bureaucratic regulation); underestimation is probably much less marked now than in 1960 because of a tightening of controls; the number of foreign-born Africans in South Africa has probably declined over the period 1960-1970

(that is, if the sample base of the census estimates can be considered "consistent" with one another); and, finally, significant variations can be discerned in the inter-State demographic pattern of the foreign-born African population which by implication suggest similar variations in the inter-State labour supply. This last point highlights the need for specificity in consideration of supplier States and belies the simplistic view that they can be evaluated pari passu and independent of country-specific variations.

Age-Specific Composition and Location

Most foreign-born Africans in South Africa have come to seek work. In particular this applies to men. It is confirmed by the biased age-specific pattern of the population and the high concentration of persons in the age-group 20-44 years (see Table 3). This demographic profile "fits" a "labour supplying syndrome" of predominantly single-men migrancy. Over 75 percent of men were between 20-44 years of age, the approximate ages within which the Chamber of Mines of South Africa (the largest employer of foreign labour) recruits for underground and surface work. Very few men (9280:2.1 percent) were in excess of 65 years of age. Further there was noticeable "bunching" around the 20-34 years age group, which accounted for 55 percent of foreign-born African men in South Africa. This latter phenomenon reflects the specific demand composition of the mining industry.

The profile for women was somewhat less directly oriented to labour supply from the age group 20-44 years. Over 45 percent of women were in this category and a relatively high proportion (14 percent) were over 65 years of age.

Imbalance in the foreign-born African ratio of men/women was most noticeable in the 20-44 years group with near parity only being attained around the tails of the distribution.

An important insight may be thrown onto the composition (and possible situation) of foreign-born Africans in "Homelands" by the data in Table 4. The largest age-specific proportions of men and women in these areas in 1970 were in the age groups under 15 and over 55 years of age. Nonetheless, some men and women in the "productive" age groups were situated in "Homelands." This issue has received almost no attention in the literature on Southern Africa.

The labour-supplying character of foreign-born African men in South Africa is clearly exhibited in Table 5 which shows this group as a proportion of all African men by age-specific group and area of location for 1970.

In the group under 15 years of age, the incidence of foreign-born Africans is negligible. It rises sharply thereafter as age increases, peaking in the 20-29 year-old group. Quite strikingly, in a fashion demonstrating the relative importance of foreign workers in South Africa, foreigners accounted for 15-16 percent of African workers aged 20-29 years in 1970.

By contrast, foreign-born African women are considerably less important for wage-labour supply. And too, the proportions for "productive" age groups in respect of "Homelands" are not very high.

Area Distribution

Most foreign-born African men and women in 1970 resided in "white" areas. And, as if in tune with previously enunciated policy, most were found in the Transvaal (66.8 percent) and Free State (19.9 percent). Only 3.4 percent (17,725) were found in the Cape and 3.5 percent were located in Natal. But in both the latter instances, the majority were rural-bound and were probably coal-mining and farm workers, thereby giving these small numbers a localised strategic significance in that labour supply to these primary sectors has "traditionally" been problematic because of low wages. This latter point is less relevant nowadays for coal mines.

The distribution of the 32,034 foreign-born Africans located inside "Homelands" is also revealing, over 87 percent being in rural areas and by far the largest number being found in the rural areas of Bophuthatswana, i.e. in areas close to and often adjacent to Botswana. Indeed, this "Homeland" contained more foreign-born Africans in 1970 than Natal or the Cape taken separately. The balance of foreign-born Africans was distributed across other "Homelands" on a basis approximately in order of size of population. Finally, it is noted that in 1970, 8036 foreigners were found in the urban areas of "Homelands."

Apart from data mentioned thus far in respect of foreigners inside "Homelands", there exists little else recorded on this subject. Indeed, the position may soon become more complicated if and as the "balkanisation" of South Africa proceeds and these persons come to fall under widely varying regulations and authorities.

Sectoral Composition

As mentioned earlier, most foreign Africans (79.6 percent of men in 1970) have been employed in the mining industry (see Table 7). Agricultural labour has been next in importance, accounting for 8.9 percent of men and 10.9 percent of women in 1970. Only 11,020 men were in manufacturing jobs but 11,660 men and 9620 women were in "services" - mostly in private households (6040 and 9140 respectively).

A large proportion of women (66.3 percent) was designated as "Not Economically Active, Unspecified or Unemployed" whilst only 2.7 percent of men (12,020) were so described. There are difficulties with this unsatisfactory aggregate categorisation, further details regarding a breakdown of which are found in Table 8, where it is shown that in 1970 1520 men and 1000 women who were foreign-born were unemployed. The "economically inactive" were shown as 8980 and 29,280 respectively, in aggregate only 0.4 percent of all such Africans so described in South Africa. But even this is not a satisfactory specification of relationships to the labour market, if only because such "inactivity" (so described) is measured in relation to the state of the labour market and prevailing wage rates. Further, there is no distinction between the various possible causes of "inactivity" and hence care must be exercised in using this definition. Similarly, a restrictive definition applies to the classified "unemployed" such that the real figure for unemployment was probably considerably larger. Here an important point is that foreign-born Africans do not receive entitlement to the Unemployment Insurance Fund, access to the benefits of which has been subject to valid and pertinent legitimate criticism of late.

Sub-Sectoral Composition of Foreign Workers

The incidence of foreign workers in industries varies markedly (see Table 8). The leading employers of foreign African labour in 1970 (with relative percentages of industry totals in parenthesis) were: gold and uranium mining (66.8 percent); non-gold metallic ores (53.2 percent); coal mining (47.3 percent); "other mining" (21.6 percent); forestry and logging (7.3 percent) and agriculture/livestock (5.0 percent). The most important here is gold mining - because of the sector's size, national importance and international ramifications.

However, the spread of foreign workers (men and women) across the industrial spectrum validates the view that nearly all sectors have benefitted from foreign labour in one way or another. On the other hand, the concentration in key areas marks these out for special attention in later sections of this paper.

Occupational Structure and Distribution

It is a widely held myth - and one which is becoming increasingly inaccurate - that foreign workers are only found in unskilled occupations. In Table 9 it is shown that even for 1970 this was not so. At that time, excluding consideration of the division of labour in primary industries and services (in which many foreign workers held skilled and semi-skilled jobs), a significant number of technical and artisanal African workers were foreign-born. A particularly high concentration was found amongst "Engine Drivers and Foremen" as well as "Brakemen, Guards and Signalmen." Other important categories included (with the numbers and percentage of the total shown): machine tool operators (2320:14.2 percent) and electrical fitters (2980:11.7 percent).

Foreign-born women, however, were more unskilled than foreign men, most fulfilling roles in agricultural and domestic work.

One implication of this occupational division of labour is that policies of "displacement" - evident in a number of respects of late - probably operate on all levels of skill. However, little data is available to ascertain the extent to which various classes of labourers obtain selective or temporary exemptions. Since 1970, however, the labour force in mining and agriculture has become more stratified in terms of the "labour process", wages, conditions and contractual obligations. In particular, such has been the case for mining where three-quarters of all foreign workers find employment. These trends have implications not only for South Africa but also supplier States in which technical, administrative and artisanal "labour shortages" are typically experienced.¹⁶

Another perspective on occupational distribution is found in Table 10 where it is shown that very few foreign African workers were from the Professional and Administrative grades. However, a high percentage of those who were (240 or 25 percent of men) found employment inside "Homelands". By contrast, only 2060 men of the 21,040 located in "Homelands" were in agricultural jobs.

In Table 11 it is found that the age-specific character of foreign workers differs between grades of labour, the agricultural and service workers being, for instance, relatively but significantly older than mineworkers.

The occupation-by-industry breakdown of Table 12 enables further refinements to these perspectives. Here it is noted that 380 of 960 'Professionals' (or 39.5 percent) were in the mining sector in 1970, the rest being in services (legal, accounting, insurance, financial, etc.). Further, all foreign workers defined as 'Administrative' were in mining as were at least half of the total number of service employees.

Educational Status

It is not possible to discern intersectoral or inter-occupational movement from available data. But an educational profile does indicate prospective mobility for occupations in which skill-specific demands are stipulated. Overwhelmingly, the foreign migrant African labour supply was without significant schooling experience. Only 28.2 percent in 1970 have had educational experience beyond Standard 3. Perhaps by now, however, as a result of Malawi's withdrawal of labour in 1974, and the inflow of relatively educated contractees to the mines from Rhodesia, as well as expansion in educational opportunities inside supplier States in conjunction with structural unemployment amongst the relatively educated, the educational/skill level of foreign workers has risen.

As Table 14 shows, in the case of men there appears relatively little locational bias to the distribution of those foreign workers "without any education", but for women those without education were preponderantly found in rural areas or urban "Homeland" areas.

Economic Inactivity/Activity

Around 44,541 foreign-born Africans (9.4 percent) were classified as "economically inactive" in 1970, most being women (see Table 15). Nearly 64 percent of these persons had had no education, whilst 8.1 percent of this group were "economically inactive" in 1970. If allowance was to be made for the exclusion of children below 15 years of age, the retired over 60 years of age, the infirm and those unemployed on a non-volitional basis, it would undoubtedly be the case that the overall foreign African population served almost a singular function in the economic system - that of a relatively unskilled but readily available (and "displaceable") labour supply.

VI SOME CHANGES IN FOREIGN AFRICAN LABOUR SUPPLIES, 1960-1970

The Census data of 1960 and the paper on foreign workers published by Leistner in the South African Journal of Economics in 1967, which contained more recent evidence, afford opportunity to examine recent changes in foreign African labour supply in South Africa. Only salient features will be noted here.

Firstly, given the recorded Census figure of 585,429 for all foreign-born Africans in South Africa in 1960, it appears most likely that overall numbers have fallen during 1960-70. This probably remains true despite problems of estimation arising from deliberate concealment of country of origin by both workers and (sometimes) employers. The causes for this are certainly complex but it would appear that State policy has been one instrumental factor in the "displacement process." The shift may also be seen as a consequence of various pressures to "localise" employment in South Africa - both as a response to growing evidence of structural unemployment and as part of a "stabilisation" policy, one root of which, being founded in the "balkanisation" and the creation of a plethora of peripheral "internal" States, has had the effect of "reserving" larger areas of African employment for persons born inside South Africa. Tendencies towards the proletarianisation of women, a higher net annual addition to the labour market through demographic change and greater uncertainty in job-securement for workseekers have also probably underpinned this process.

Secondly, country of origin proportions have altered over time. Here the best available data refer to men. Whilst the BLS States constituted 42.1 percent of foreign men in South Africa in 1960 (and 47.1 percent by Leistner's estimate in 1967), they only accounted for 39.6 percent in 1970; and this too of a diminished aggregate level. But Lesotho increased its proportion on the mines and possibly overall as well. Mocambique's "share" remained almost unchanged whilst Malawi's rose from 12.7 percent in 1960 to 24.0 percent in 1970. The number and proportion of Zambians (following the prohibition on recruitment in 1965), as well as in the case of Zimbabweans, probably declined during this time. A similar but more minor phasing-out appears to have taken place in the case of Angolan workers (who numbered around 7400 in 1970). Tanzanian workers had by 1970 become all but insignificant in number following a recruitment ban in 1961 as well as the development of more proximate supply sources for the South African mines.

Thirdly, because aggregate numbers of foreign workers appear to have fallen, so too, axiomatically, has this element of the labour-force and the "total economically active population."

Fourthly, the most important change in industrial/sectoral distribution between 1960 and 1970 has been evidenced by the falling component of South African black mineworkers employed, the 1960 level of 36.7 percent having diminished to 24.1 percent by 1970. Subsequently, this trend has been structurally reversed.

Other sectoral shifts - notably in the case of agriculture - are difficult to accurately identify because of the known weaknesses of the data. But at least in comparison with 1964 (as shown by Leistner's data), it seems that foreign workers on "white" farms have diminished from around 144,000 persons to around 44,720 (including on both counts men and women).¹⁷ However, if this is so, then it would seem that it has been through the agricultural sector that the largest net variations in aggregate foreign worker employment have been effected. A similar pattern was exhibited in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) following 1961, after which time the proportion of foreign workers on plantations fell significantly.¹⁸

VII RECENT TRENDS AFFECTING FOREIGN AFRICAN LABOUR SUPPLY, 1970-1977

The post-1970s have been a period of upheaval in labour supply patterns both in South Africa and in respect of migrancy into the Republic. A number of studies have attempted to capture the essence of these changes.¹⁹

For the purposes of determining broad patterns, such studies have been more or less adequate, but for an appreciation of the more subtle changes either it will be necessary to await the results of the 1980 Census, in order to obtain an appropriate framework for inter-censal comparison, or it will be necessary to probe deeper into the changing patterns of supply. This latter focus can be approached in two ways - either by an examination of internal industry-by-industry trends or a study of supplier State patterns in the context of altering relationships between the capitalist sector in South Africa and its internalised labour supplying areas.

Both analytical approaches should strictly be followed. Here attention will be given to the former. Furthermore, in the first instance, this paper will primarily deal with recently recorded sectoral changes in the "mining complex." The complementary methodology of focus on individual supplier economies will not be covered in this exposition.

Some of the major socioeconomic and political processes precipitating or responding to foreign African labour supply changes in recent times have been noted elsewhere. Some affect the "stock" of foreign workers, other the "flows". To re-iterate them briefly, in order to sketch the situational context of the period, the following factors should be noted:

- (a) The hegemonic pattern of dominance by capitalist interests in sub-continental politics has been eroded. In Angola, Mocambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia,civil wars have raged since 1970. The situation in the last two cited cases has yet to be decisively resolved but in both cases, as with the others noted, more complexity and uncertainty has been introduced into the pattern of international labour migration in Southern Africa.
- (b) On the economic level, the world economy entered a recession soon after 1971, beginning strongly in the "core" States and spreading under a "lag effect" to the Southern African economy soon thereafter. This has brought declining demand for primary product exports, falling foreign investment inflows, higher rates of unemployment together with inflation and more socioeconomic instability. Falling rates of growth in labour demand within supplier States and in South Africa have come at a time when demographic trends in the "economically active groups" (15-60 years) have been in a strongly expansive phase.
- (c) The crises introduced by factors noted in (b) causing a greater labour surplus to be pushed onto a shrinking labour market, would not have been so serious had it not been for "failures" in agrarian policies throughout the region. By this is not simply meant "too low" rates of growth of output (in capitalist and non-capitalist agriculture) but a co-existent pattern of peasant underdevelopment (e.g. in Zimbabwe and South Africa) or limited development (often only secured because of aid, e.g. in the case of a number of other States) combined with "labour-displacing" trends in the capitalist agrarian systems in the region. Associated thereto have been patterns of secondary stratification within the peasant economy and a higher incidence of rural "marginalisation", a process in which a growing number of persons has become excluded from absorption into hegemonic sectors.
- (d) Accumulation in Southern Africa has remained biased in favour of South Africa, the dependence of nationals of supplier States on jobs in South Africa being one element determining this pattern. Higher volumes of annual investment in South Africa have dictated a continuation of labour inflows. By contrast, the relatively low investment volume elsewhere has led to a substantial surplus of "reserve" labour supply in peripheral supplier areas. At the same time, building on a degree of structural

unemployment and underemployment, the effects of the post-1973 recession have made more imperative the need felt by employers and the State in South Africa for an "indigenisation" process to be implemented.

- (e) The pattern of labour demand has also altered in various sectors. Intensification of the division of labour, as well as mechanisation and attendant tendencies, have reduced the "relative demand" for unskilled labour - the primary "export commodity" of peripheral States vis-a-vis their relationship with South Africa.
- (f) Various events have transpired to reduce or alter labour supply from a number of quarters. A rise in the gold price, after "freeing" of the price from its official moorings in 1971, redefined the longevity of life of gold mines and brought marginal mines into a more viable position. The subsequent post-1974 fall in the price broadly worked in the opposite direction, raising questions over long-term supply requirements. Wage rises by the Chamber of Mines substantially increased domestic supply and reduced the need for as significant a dependence on an external labour supply. On top of this, the Chamber of Mines began to set itself targets for raising the South African content of the labour supply. Primary producers using foreign labour, now faced with competition from the mines (like the sugar industry), have also had to revise previous recruitment practices. The decision in 1972 by Anglo American Corporation to "stabilise" the migrant labour supply of the Kimberly diamond mines, traditionally the focus of migrancy for many Basotho workers, has cut one more option away from foreign workers. Compound confrontations from 1973-76 have disturbed not only labour relations but also the supply of "labour-time" measured in shifts worked, thereby providing another lever for protagonists inside and outside the mining industry proposing the displacement of foreign workers who in large measure were shouldered with much of the burden of liability for the unrest. Perhaps most crucial, however, was the Malawian unilateral withdrawal of labour from contract in South Africa and Rhodesia in April 1974. Wenela was no longer permitted to recruit in Malawi and Malawians in South Africa quickly departed, even before expiration of contract. Later in that year, in response to international pressures from the U.S.A., the Masters and Servants Act was suddenly repealed, making it more feasible for the previously contractually-tied local labour force to opt for shorter-term stays in mine employment.

By the end of 1974 Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) had also contracted into the labour system, contracted numbers building up rapidly in 1976. Finally, since early 1976, Mocambican workers have been steadily "phased-out" as their labour cost per shift has risen - a consequence of the South African government's policy of shifting directly onto the mining industry the liability to meet the "gold transfer" premium under the 1928 Mocambique Convention.

At this stage it is not possible to trace the quantitative effects of these deeper determinants on labour supply except in the case of the mining industry for which, in respect of Chamber of Mines' affiliates, good annual records are kept. It is to this dominant employer of foreign labour that attention must now be given.

VIII FOREIGN AFRICAN LABOUR SUPPLY IN THE "MINING COMPLEX", 1970-1977

The section will examine data on a wide range of aspects of the labour system of the mining industry. The prime focus will be on changes affecting foreign labour supply patterns. However, such changes can only be examined in the context of an appreciation of the overall labour situation.

Issues to be dealt with here include: employment trends 1966-75; source of origin of labour supply 1970-76; variations in intra-annual employment levels; recruitment/employment and contract turnover rates; labour transfers within the "mining complex"; levels of rejection and repatriation of labour; "net wastage" rates; the "disposal" of mineworkers discharged from hospitals; patterns of recruited and non-recruited labour supply; and classifications and changes in non-recruited forms of labour. The specific pattern of supply and foreign supplier State patterns considered on a country-by-country basis will need to be dealt with elsewhere.

Employment Trends in Mining 1966-1975

The supply of foreign African workers in the mining industry needs to be adjudged against overall employment trends therein (see Table 16).

The pattern of employment in 1966 and 1975 is self-explanatory. The demand for labour has fallen in the gold, coal quarrying, asbestos and diamond sub-sectors (which employed 75 percent of mineworkers in 1975), rising in all others to give a small almost negligible 2 percent growth in the aggregate

volume of employment over the 10 year period. This has been in line with tendencies to capital-intensification, a relative shift away from gold-mining and concentration in the industry.

Gold and coal producers have, however, dominated in terms of employment. The relatively sizeable growth in numbers employed in the copper, manganese, tin, iron, chrome and "works" components of the industry has compensated for falling job opportunities elsewhere.

Country of Origin

The most striking change in numbers employed is the reversal of the post-1955 historical downward trend in South African Africans on the mines affiliated to the Chamber after 1971 (see Table 17). This tendency is likely to accentuate even further in the short-term future, at least until 50 percent of all African mineworkers are South Africans, the "target level" having been set by the Chamber through the Mine Labour Organisations in its Budget and Objectives for 1977.²⁰ The BLS States have also compensated for the loss of Malawian supplies, notably after 1975. At least Lesotho, among them, is counting on an increase in labour exports to South Africa in order to fulfil objectives of its Second Five Year Development Plan 1975-1980.²¹ Despite concern in South Africa after the takeover of Mocambique by Frelimo and fears of an "instant cut-off" of labour to South Africa, supplies continued to increase steadily until the beginning of 1976, since which time numbers employed have fallen sharply, to 44,122 workers as at the beginning of 1977. The composition of 'Tropicals' (recruitees from N. of Lat. 22°S) has altered; Malawians are now almost negligible, following a massive rise in labour supplies since the mid-1950s, whilst Zimbabwe/Rhodesia has now been incorporated into the supplier State system - so reversing its own historical trend of the period up to 1958 when it was a net labour importer, and up to 1974 when it last received contractees from Malawi.

These changes in aggregate country-of-origin patterns merely reflect "surface" phenomena. More significant patterns, which have not been adequately researched in the literature to date, can be discerned in their overall and individual composition.

Intra-Annual Employment Ranges, 1970-1975

Even when "stability" has reigned in the mining industry, the intra-annual employment level has been found to fluctuate significantly. For the great

"flux" of the 1970s, the ranges exhibited have been even more noticeable (see Table 18). This has had implications for profitability, the return on fixed capital and the efficiency of recruitment networks (Wenela and the Native Recruiting Company or NRC, which together have been merged under the aegis of the Mine Labour Organisations Ltd.).

The lowest low figure for monthly recruitment for 1970-75 was the January 1970 level of 374,413 workers employed, while the highest high was 446,286 workers employed in April 1973. On average, the annual range has varied between 19,000 and 59,000 or, put another way, between 4.75 percent and 14.3 percent of annual average numbers employed. Because of costs associated with the high fixed/variable cost ratio of much capital in mining enterprise, etc. - the Chamber of Mines has sought to control wide shifts in the "annual range". It has in general sought a "steady state" supply, albeit a fundamentally migrant supply combined with a small settled African labour force (presently restricted by State policy to less than 3 percent). Naturally, this has been a difficult task, making the industry vulnerable to unplanned "specific conditioning" factors and sudden shifts in the ratio of employees to the desired complement.

A feature of the general pattern has been the trough found at the end of the 4th quarter and very early days of the 1st quarter. This has been combined with a substantial influx in mid to late January and a general peaking of labour supply in the 2nd and 3rd quarters. However, not all supplier areas (e.g. Mocambique) have followed the same seasonal pattern.

Recruitment/Employment and Contract Turnover Rates

Even cognisance of the "instability" of intra-annual fluctuations in labour supply disguises a full and proper appreciation of the "flux" and restructuring of the mining labour market since 1970. Massive changes have taken place in recruitment/employment rates and in contract turnover rates in recent years (see Table 19).

The "recruitment/employment rate" used here refers to a ratio of the numbers recruited over a 12 month cycle prior to a certain date measured in comparison to numbers employed as of the terminal month. Deviation of the ratio from unity would indicate alteration to the pattern long established of a "flow", generating over a year sufficient labour supply at the terminal period to produce a "stock" of labourers employed equivalent to the total sum of the

"flow". The ratio can be converted into a crude measure of the average contract length for any given "flow".²² This has been done in Table 19 for different source areas of mining labour supply over the period 1970-1976, differentiating between foreign supplier States and provinces in the Republic.

In 1970 the average contract length in all provinces in South Africa was in excess of 12 months. Indeed, it was 19.35 months in the case of labourers obtained from the OFS, possibly because of the limited options facing migrant workers and peasants in those areas. Foreign States - except for the BLS group - also supplied labour on contracts for an average period in excess of 12 months. Swazi workers, it appears, took the shortest contracts at this time. By 1976 major changes had taken place. South African recruits now took radically shorter contracts on average and the industry average has also fallen to 82.3 percent of the average contract period recorded for 1970. This indicates the development of a more generalised "instability" in labour supplies. However, in the case of the BLS States, noticeable increases in average contract length occurred - this being a consequence of the economic crisis and "tight" job markets in those economies. Significantly, the most "stable" contract supply was from Mocambique, the average contract remaining just over 12 months in duration.

Although country of origin changes have occurred on a significant scale, "labour-time" supplied must be estimated in the light of variations in average contract length. These variations have a bearing on the Chamber of Mines' strategy as well as the question of supplier State dependence on South African labour markets. The massive shortening of South African contracts has been a complex phenomenon attributable to a variety of factors. However, the greater volume throughput of workers implied and precipitated by the new South African pattern has raised not only special problems for mine employers but has also been one of the factors behind the continued "demand" for foreign labour in a context of growing local unemployment. In part, this forms a vital element in the explanation of the "apparent paradox" of continued labour importation in the context of a lengthening of job queues in South Africa itself. It is also a reason why within limits mine-owners are likely to resist requests or pressures for them to wholly phase out foreign workers, at least whilst contractual variations of the existing magnitudes still exist. This is consistent with the explicit strategy of the CM/MLO to gradually "up" the South African content of the labour force.

"Labour Transfers" to Mines from within the Capitalist Sector

Not all labour supplies - whether local or foreign - originate from outside the capitalist sector. Workers may come from one mine to another - an intra-sectoral movement - or from a non-mining employer to mine employment. The former (designated as 'Mines' in the MLO statistics) and the latter "labour transfers" (referred to as 'Locals') are noted in Table 20.

It is significant - as well as being an indicator of mining's greater competitiveness in local labour markets - that a rising proportion of workers employed have come from 'other employment', the percentage being less than 1 percent in 1970 but 4.26 percent in 1975. Further, as a proportion of "non-recruited" labour, this form of labour supply has also gained in importance. By 1975 nearly one-quarter of non-recruited workers on mines came to their jobs from "other employment". During this time, too, non-recruited labour has assumed greater importance in the labour system of the "mining complex".

The trend of "labour transfers" from (other) "mines" for 1970-75 has not been significant, except that such workers have been a steadily diminishing element of non-recruited labour (from 32 percent in 1970 to 13 percent in 1975). An inference to be made here is that somewhat more competition for labour has probably been felt within the industry and so fewer inter-mine transfers have been sanctioned, encouraged or demanded by managements.

Some of the "mines" movement recorded could be considered "normal": for example, workers wishing to move away from mines with reputations for having "hard" rock faces (though this may be one advanced as a surrogate excuse in order to move for other reasons). Substantially higher wage-minima since 1971 may have also reduced the significance of earnings differentials between mines and hence the relative advantage for miners of re-locating employment within the "mining complex" at the end of contract. The intensification of the division of labour, with concomitant wage stratification, could also be regarded as a measure which would work to reduce inter-mine movements of labour. It may be stretching a point, but reduced mineowner conflict over the securement of labour supplies, coupled with more effectively articulated joint recruitment policies and a "return to the fold" in respect of minimum wage policy by Anglo American Corporation on the crucial Gold Producers' Committee of the Chamber of Mines after 1973, has probably brought greater cohesion to capital than was evident at the beginning of the decade.

This is not to ignore or minimise significant or subtle differences in managerial policy, strategy or style, but it is worth seeing such variations in the context of a coherent and greater identity of managerial interests.

Rejection and Repatriation Rates

The great flux of labour to, within and from mining capital has not been limited to volume variations in recruitment, unevenness in contract turnover or various kinds of "labour transfer" within the capitalist sector. It has also been significantly affected by the post-recruitment rejection, reclassification and/or repatriation of workseekers (see here Table 21).

All workers are medically examined on recruitment, sometimes on a number of occasions, e.g. in the country of origin - because the State's need to observe the ILO medical regulations for mineworkers - at the Johannesburg and/or Welkom depots of the MLO, and often also on-site at various mines. A variety of medical tests are applied and a pre-patterned and specified condition of health is required of workers before they are accepted for mine work. Medical examinations have a basic economic purpose - to sieve the fittest and healthiest labour supply for the industry and, in the longer term, to thereby maintain the highest level of productivity and output. Other explanations of the phenomenon, drawing legitimate criticism to the modus operandi of examinations (particularly the requirement of mass public stripping), and which stress the attempt by management to exert social control over labour, are not unimportant.²³ But in themselves they are inadequate, or more properly insufficient, as an explanation for the very costly process of regular medical examination undertaken throughout the mining industry.²⁴

The objectives of medical examination, rejection policies and repatriation would appear to be to marry supply contracted to a pre-determined pattern of demand in a context of labour surplus and thus ensure the highest return per unit outlay invested in labour costs.

Almost all workseekers are mandatorily examined, firstly and most importantly for their suitability for underground labour. Between 3.8 percent and 4.6 percent (18,923 workers in 1975) are typically rejected. Subsequently, "rejects" are sub-classified into those who, for various reasons, are repatriated (at Wenela/NRC cost) and those who are accepted for "surface work only". Some repatriation is obligatory under the Pneumoconiosis Act for reasons of T.B. or lung deficiencies. These are usually sizeable proportions

of "rejects". Other "rejects" are deemed to fall outside of "acceptable" age requirements - usually between 18-40 years of age, though this criterion and others have been generally or selectively altered in the past to either include or exclude more labour, dependent on demand considerations and the state of the supply side of the labour market. Others still are rejected on the grounds of epilepsy or because of "mental" factors.

Smaller numbers of "rejects" are repatriated - an expensive decision as it involves zero return of fixed outlays. Since 1970 the proportion of "rejects" repatriated, then 25 percent, has fallen, to 16.9 percent in 1975. This too could be seen as a tactical response to labour supply crises during the period. Thus the non-repatriated "reject" group has steadily risen in numbers, from 9894 in 1970 to 15,707 in 1975 - at a rate of increase well above that for numbers employed or even numbers initially classified as "rejects". The importance of such relaxation should be viewed "at the margin", i.e. in terms of the relatively high structural costs that might have had to have been incurred in order to obtain "non-rejectable" labour supplies of an equivalent amount.

Hence the absorption of surplus labour from foreign States, as also from South Africa, has not been random or without pre-determination. It is carefully chosen in a calculated exercise involving a fundamentally sophisticated cost/benefit analysis of the anticipated returns per worker. The greater the reserve surplus of labour, the easier such selectivity becomes and the higher the benefits to South African mineowners, given that more productive labour can be "siphoned-off" from the larger supply "pools". For the remainder - those rejected and repatriated, those not falling into the "acceptable" age/medical/sex and (increasingly) skill categories - opportunity (if available) must be sought elsewhere. For many persons in various supplier areas and States, this means structural "marginalisation" and for others never considered for recruitment a "permanent exclusion" from absorption into wage employment.

The medical screening of workers also helps orient supply to the most crucial category - underground labour. Higher rates of pay attach here in comparison to surface work, but the latter is essential for production nonetheless.

Monthly and Annual "Net Wastage" Rates, 1969-1975

The fantastic turnover in mine labour supplies already described as resulting from recruitment and discharge is further "destabilised" by abscondment

(previously known by the term "desertion", as used in the Masters and Servants Act) and industry mortality. This is not to mention other negative effects on the volume of labour supply caused by accident, "faction fights", strikes, temporary or prolonged hospitalisation and worker resistance through "loafing".

The shortening of the average contract period is also demonstrated by data on "net wastage" (Table 22). 'Discharged and rejected' workers, 84.9 percent of the average number employed in 1969, rose to a proportion of 114.7 percent in 1975. The rise was not to be accounted for merely by increased "rejections".

Significantly, aided by a new climate in labour legislation as well as the apparent assertion of worker consciousness, the number of "absconders" rose from 11,092 to 28,456 in the 7-year period, a substantial hike coming in the 1974-5 phase, i.e. directly after the repeal of the archaic Masters and Servants Act. Thus in 1974-5 fully 7.38 percent of all labourers employed found reason to "abscond" - a pattern which must be seen against the industry's accurate claims that real wages had risen and certain conditions of work had improved.

The incidence of death, the causes of which are not fully examined here, did not seem to alter very much over the period, though undoubtedly, as the work of Horner and Kooy suggests, the composition of causes probably changed, more deaths arising in the 1973-5 period from violence of various kinds.²⁵

The effect of adding on "absconders" and deceased miners to the numbers discharged and rejected is to raise "net wastage" levels still further, such that annual average monthly "net wastage" as a proportion of annual average monthly employment rose markedly, from 7.35 percent in 1969 to 10.21 percent in 1975. All this has shaken the historical industry pattern of supply, rooted as it was in the 1960s on a relatively stable inflow derived largely from external sources. For supplier States currently contracted into the mining labour system, it has also raised new questions about the effects of future inter-penetration with the South African "mining complex". Unfortunately, there is no method of disaggregating the data on local and foreign absconders and deceased miners. A pro rata transposition of data would appear an adequate starting point for evaluation, except that in the case of "absconders" there may be reason to see a higher portion of this group relating to South Africans.

Labour Supply and Worker "Disposal" after Discharge from Hospitalisation

Consideration of the "disposal" pattern of workers discharged from mine hospitals would not be so significant for "labour-time" supplied if it were not for the large numbers involved and the relative incidence of such hospitalisation (see here Table 23).

Workers enter mine hospitals for a variety of reasons. If anything, both numbers and proportions of the labour force entering hospital have fallen since 1970 when 33,336 miners (8.26 percent of those employed) were discharged from hospital. Three alternative options await miners upon discharge. The largest numbers are discharged and repatriated - these being serious medical cases and those affected by bad accidents. Many of such persons may have originally been "refused" by individual mines to which they had been "allocated". The second largest grouping, around 30 percent of those discharged from hospital, are returned to the depot for allotment or re-allotment. A third "residual group", about 20-25 percent, are returned back to the mines from whence they came. Smaller numbers go on elsewhere for further treatment or else to the Pneumoconiosis Medical Bureau whilst some "desert" from hospital.

Clearly, the level and incidence of repatriation following hospitalisation can only but add to the predicament of "marginalisation" experienced by supplier States because typically such workers would find difficulty getting jobs in areas from which they emigrated, the original exodus itself having its roots in unemployment or limited opportunity for securing necessary subsistence.

Overall Monthly Trends in Labour Supply: Recruited and Non-Recruited

Labour supplies do not "flow", or are not secured, in an even monthly pattern. A pronounced "seasonal trend" can be discerned, data on which for 1970-75 are to be found in Table 24. The December low and 1st quarter peaks have already been mentioned.

The aggregate monthly "flow" is, however, a composite resultant of a variety of segmented "flows", each responding to a variety of separable, though not necessarily separate, "conditioning factors", e.g. rural production conditions, agricultural cycles, inter-State contracts, localised crises such as droughts, variations in wage levels in supplier States and prospective employment alternatives. It is thus useful if not necessary to examine these patterns in a more segmented fashion. Here, however, the analyst is to some extent the

"prisoner of the data" in that it is not always organised in such a way as to provide answers to the most meaningful questions. Even so, a deeper appreciation of supply trends can be obtained from a dis-aggregated approach.

Forms of "Non-Recruited" Labour Supply, 1961-1975

Not all workers are recruited directly through the operating agencies of Wenela/NRC or from individual Contractors. As previously mentioned, some come on "transfers" from other mines and others from employment elsewhere. The latter group are mostly South Africans.

In addition, some enter the labour system through the Assisted Voluntary Scheme (AVS). These are 'labourers obtaining employment on travelling passes from their "homes"'.²⁵ AVS workers receive a "pass" valid for 30 days in the Witwatersrand area and they have "freedom" to move from one mine to another in search of work within this period. Thereafter, they must leave the area. Some AVS persons do not actually take up jobs (hence they are described as "non-arrivals") but they are reported to be relatively few and are usually "picked up" by the system at a later stage (through documentation checks), at which point various penalties may be applied against their further application for mine employment.²⁷ For the most part, AVS designated workers are non-foreigners (see Table 26), "passes" only being applicable to Africans in South Africa. Non-nationals in any event normally enter the country under various inter-State contract arrangements. Because of variations in conditions of labour, some mines may attract a larger number of AVS recruits and hence become "over-supplied". Once their average exceeds a certain prescribed level, these mines are then "closed" to recruits, at which time the NRC is notified and it closes options for workers to seek employment on mines so designated.

A further category of "non-recruited" labour is that denoted as "New Voluntaries". Such workers are effectively novices who contract for the first time through an "assisted voluntary scheme".

Table 25 illustrates the rapidly changing pattern of non-recruited labour supply for 1961-75 in the case of Chamber of Mines' affiliates. "Locals" have risen in relative importance whilst "Mines" have diminished in significance. The "new AVS" group has been dwindling in numbers from 1961 to 1972 after which time it has become more important. Novices or "new volunteers" have steadily increased in relative importance within the category of non-recruited labour and numbers have picked up a lot in the last few years.

For "non-recruited" labour as a whole, the trend has been downward, except since the beginning of the 1970s. This has been broadly in line with the trend of South African workers on the mines. A more accurate identification of the foreign/local and inter-State patterns can be obtained by examination of Table 26.

Take the foreign labour component first. A negligible number of 'Tropicals' - workers from Malawi and Zimbabwe/Rhodesia - fall into the non-recruited classification and Mocambicans alone fall into the "mines" category. In this latter case, although the numbers are small both in relation to the Mocambican outflow, they are significant compared to the volume of inter-mine "labour transfers" for foreign workers.

Workers from the BLS States can be found amongst all forms of non-recruited labour. For both Botswana and Swaziland - States less directly dependent than Lesotho on the South African mines - the numbers are small and relatively insignificant. The highest concentrations for non-recruited Batswana and Swazis are for 'new AVS' contracts and inter-mine transfers. Since few foreign workers have legal right to non-mine employment, especially in sectors paying wages above mine minima, there are few workers wanting to shift to mine work. The low incidence of "New Voluntary" attestations can perhaps be explained by the thesis that most workers from these territories, if they are not recruited, are "career migrants", i.e. novices from these countries come to South Africa as recruited workers.

The pattern of Basotho workers is singularly unique amongst non-recruited foreign labour. Most non-recruited Basotho come as "new voluntaries", relatively few use the "new AVS" option, less than one percent involve themselves in inter-mine transfers and less than a handful come from other employment. This pattern for Basotho workers largely determines the foreign non-recruited labour supply pattern and trend, except that is in the instance of inter-mine transfers where the dominant element has been that of Mocambican workers. A notable feature of the trend for Lesotho for 1970-75 is the fall-off in the popularity of the "new AVS" option and the rise in the preponderance of novices from that country in the 1974-5 period.

On the whole then, South African patterns have determined the "flows" of non-recruited labour; they will probably continue to do so in the short-term future.

Taking the most recent data (for 1974-75), it is observed that a large part (23 percent) of the doubling in transfers from "other employment" have originated in the heavily industrialised Transvaal area. This can be seen as strongly indicative of a degree of wage competitiveness in certain classes of mine work.

The fact of some significant reliance by Chamber of Mines' affiliates on "non-recruited" labour forms enables mineowners to "mix" contracts and sources of supply to meet specific requirements. It illustrates their awareness of the labour supply to be had through "wage-bidding" as well as allows for some intra-industry competition, probably in the skilled and semi-skilled grades. The AVS option can be understood as an industry-level strategy of labour-securement in which probably the "more progressive" employers stand to gain most. The significance of the MLO monitoring its novice-intake levels is that such persons are more prone to medical ailment and require longer training and/or acclimatisation periods (and hence investment in subsistence during "unproductive" labour-time). It is thus unlikely that the industry would permit "too high" a novice-intake level. On the other hand, the figures for novices (below 10 percent of employed workers) are fairly low.

Overall Recruited/Non-Recruited Supply Relationships, 1970-1975

The aforementioned flux and movement of labour into and inside the mining industry is complex. When "added up" it yields a pattern exhibiting the major changes which have been evident in recruited/non-recruited labour supply relationships in recent years (see Table 27). These broad movements will not be dwelt upon here.

In order to better understand some of the factors inside South Africa which have been behind recent movements and changes with respect to foreign labour, however, it is necessary to look more closely at the principal employer(s) in the mining industry - the seven mining houses constituting the Chamber of Mines. This is not an objective of the present paper, even though it is an issue deserving serious study.

IX FOREIGN AFRICAN LABOUR SUPPLY IN NON-MINING SECTORS: A NOTE

It is unfortunately not possible - because of the absence of adequate data - to examine in depth trends on foreign African labour supply in the non-mining sectors of South Africa for the period 1960-1977. The only available data

at the present time have already been cited in Section V of this paper. Clearly these are areas for further research.

X SOME CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVES

Many changes have taken place in the foreign African labour supply patterns in Southern Africa in the last decade, the most significant ones being in supplies to South Africa. Yet there is still a great deal not known about the overall supply pattern - particularly in agricultural, manufacturing, services and domestic employment.

With evidence of a growing labour surplus in South Africa, as well as a growing component of "marginalised labour", it would appear that further changes in supply patterns can be anticipated. Such changes will undoubtedly usher in new, if not unique, problems for supplier areas and supplier States; most of which already face substantial difficulties in the fields of employment growth, rural development and income distribution.

Notes/....

NOTES

1. See here *inter alia* Francis Wilson, International Migration in Southern Africa, ILO Working Paper, Geneva, 1975; Roger Leys, Lesotho: Non-Development or Under-development? IDR, Copenhagen, 1973 (mimeo); M. McDowell, Basotho Labour in South African Mines: An Empirical Study, Gibraltar, 1973, (mimeo).
2. In point of fact adequate records are not even kept in the case of most supplier States though some (e.g. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) are attempting to improve their information.
3. Both the ILO and IBRD studies have their roots in work inaugurated in 1976. However, full reports of the latter will probably only materialise in 1978 whilst the latter institution is attempting to produce a "First Phase" assessment in late 1977.
4. On the Froneman Committee report, which was never published, see the synopsis by Ken Owen, Foreign Africans: A Summary of the Report of the Froneman Committee, SAIIR, Johannesburg, 1963.
5. Among these see those cited in footnote (1) as well as D.J. Webster, Colonialism, Underdevelopment and Migrant Labour in Southern Mocambique, African Studies Seminar, University of Witwatersrand, 1975 (mimeo); C. Da Silva Peres, The Mocambique Economy With Special Reference to its Interdependence with South Africa, MBA, University of Witwatersrand, 1975 (unpublished); D.G. Clarke, Contract Labour From Rhodesia to the South African Gold Mines: A Study of the International Division of a Labour Reserve, SALDRU Working Paper No. 6, University of Cape Town, 1976; Colin Murray, From Granary to Labour Reserve: An Analysis of Lesotho's Economic Predicament, SALDRU Farm Labour Conference, University of Cape Town, 1976 (mimeo); Michael Ward, Lesotho: Hard Labour for Life? UBLS, Maseru, 1975 (mimeo); C.W. Stahl, Organisation of Migrant Labour in Southern Africa, NIRDAS, Gaborone, 1976 (mimeo); E.K. Afriyie, Report of the Preliminary Investigation of Migrant Mine Labour in Ngamiland, FAO/UNDP, 1976 (mimeo).
6. W.J. Breytenbach, Migratory Labour Arrangements in Southern Africa, Africa Institute, Pretoria, 1976; G.M.E. Leistner, Foreign Bantu Workers in South Africa: Their Present Position in the Economy, South African Journal of Economics, 35, 1, March, 1967.
7. This statement would not appear to be contradicted by the recent statement on the number of foreign workers in South Africa made by the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Development (Mr M.C. Botha) on February 10, 1977, in which it was noted that the numbers of foreign workers (men and women) was 382,848. There was no precise date attached to the figure, but from an assessment of its composition on a country of origin basis, it appears clear that the data refer to around September, 1976. Subsequently, there has been a substantial fall-off in labour from Mocambique.
8. One reason for this is that in the 1976 period the numbers of Mocambican recruits declined drastically. Thus whilst the inflow for June 1974 to June 1975 was 86,979 and for June 1975 to June 1976 it was 67,620, for January 1976 to December it was only 28,994. See Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd., Reports and Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31 December, 1976, Johannesburg, 1977.

9. Questions of foreign labour "displacement" in South Africa are discussed in D.G. Clarke, Foreign African Labour Inflows and "Unemployment" in Southern Africa, Workshop on Unemployment and Labour Re-allocation, Development Studies Research Group, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, March, 1977, (mimeo).
10. See Ken Owen, op. cit., p. 2.
11. Ibid., p. 3.
12. Ibid., p. 5.
13. The Froneman Committee, at the time, believed its estimate to be in line with that of J.L. Sadie (as of 1959) who posited a figure of 750,000 persons in 'n Halfeeu Ekonomiese Vooruitgang 1901/10 - 1959/60, Pretoria, Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, 1959, p. 35.
14. See Ken Owen, op. cit., p. 18.
15. The case of Southern Rhodesia in this regard has been analysed in D.G. Clarke, Contract Workers and Underdevelopment in Rhodesia, Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1974.
16. Amongst States experiencing such problems for example is Lesotho.
17. See G.M.E. Leistner, op. cit., Table III.
18. D.G. Clarke, Contract Workers, op. cit.
19. See here Roger Leys, South African Gold Mining in 1974: The Gold of Migrant Labour, African Affairs, 274, 295, April, 1975; as well as other citations in footnotes (1) and (5).
20. See here the report in Financial Mail, 16 December, 1976.
21. Kingdom of Lesotho, Second Five Year Development Plan 1975/6 - 1979/80, Maseru.
22. See here Note (2) of Table 19.
23. For example, see V.Ramahapu, Towards a Study of Basotho Labour in the Orange Free State Gold Mines: The Mechanisms of Social Control, ILO Migrant Labour Research Project Conference, Maseru, 1977, (mimeo).
24. For instance, the Mine Labour Organisations Ltd. reported that it spent nearly R2 million in hospitalisation in 1975.
25. Dudley Horner and Alide Kooy, Conflict on South African Mines, SALDRU Working Paper No. 5, University of Cape Town, 1976.
26. Such is the description found in the reports of the Mine Labour Organisations Ltd.
27. Interview with MLO official, December, 1976.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1911-1977

Year	Total Number	Women		Men	
		Number	Annual Ave. % Change	Number	Annual Ave. % Change
1911	229,000	41,000	-	188,000	-
1921	280,000	64,000	+2.23	216,000	+0.95
1936	334,000	73,000	+1.28	261,000	+1.38
1946	539,000	104,000	+6.14	435,000	+6.66
1951	606,000	121,000	+2.47	485,000	+2.29
1960 (a)	836,000 ⁽¹⁾	186,000	+4.22	550,000	+0.34
1960 (b)	586,320 ⁽²⁾	102,360 ⁽⁶⁾	-2.24	483,960	-0.02
1965	494,000 ⁽³⁾	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1970 (a)	600,000 ⁽⁴⁾	n/a	-2.82 ⁽⁸⁾	n/a	n/a
1970 (b)	486,060 ⁽⁵⁾	43,060	+0.04 ⁽⁹⁾	443,000	-0.85
1977	n/a	n/a	n/a	290,000 ⁽¹⁰⁾	-4.93

Sources: W.J. Breytenbach, Migratory Labour Arrangements in Southern Africa, Pretoria: Africa Bureau, 1972, p.16; Ken Owen, Foreign Africans, Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1963.

Notes:

- (1) Froneman estimate.
- (2) 1960 Census estimate.
- (3) From Froneman Report.
- (4) Breytenbach's figure.
- (5) 1970 Census estimate.
- (6) 1960 Census estimate.
- (7) 1970 Census estimate.
- (8) 1960-70 annual average estimate using 1960 (a).
- (9) 1960-70 annual average estimate using 1960 (b).
- (10) Own estimate of foreign African workers in mining (210,000: based on published figures for the Chamber of Mines affiliates plus 10,000 estimated for non-affiliated mines); agriculture (estimated at 40,000); domestic labour (estimated at 10,000); all other employment (estimated at 30,000).

TABLE 2

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1970

Country	Men	%	Women	%	Ratio Men/Women
Namibia	1,240	0.3	180	0.1	6.8
Zimbabwe	11,060	2.6	580	0.1	19.0
Malawi	106,580	24.0	60	0.1	1776.3
Lesotho	118,920	26.8	28,480	60.5	4.2
Swaziland	15,840	3.6	8,420	17.8	1.9
Botswana	40,840	9.2	6,520	13.8	6.3
Tanzania	180	0.1	0	-	n/a
Mocambique	142,800	32.2	2,100	4.5	68.0
Angola	3,440	7.8	0	-	3440.0
Other	1,840	0.4	140	0.1	13.1
Total	443,000	100.0	47,060	100.0	9.4

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census (02-05-01),
Pretoria, 1971.

TABLE 3
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND LOCATION OF
FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA
1970

Country	Urban		Rural				'White Areas'				% In 'Homelands'	
	Men	Women	Men		Women		Men		Women			
			Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Men	Women
Namibia	1,000	80	240	0.2	100	0.4	1,180	0.3	120	0.3	60	60
Zimbabwe	6,020	220	5,040	5.0	360	1.4	10,000	2.3	360	0.9	1,060	220
Malawi	84,890	140	21,620	21.6	460	1.7	101,020	23.9	540	1.3	5,560	60
Lesotho	89,880	14,180	29,040	29.0	14,300	54.3	114,640	27.1	25,260	61.8	4,280	3,220
Swaziland	9,980	3,360	5,860	5.9	5,060	19.3	14,880	3.5	7,260	17.8	960	1,160
Botswana	29,700	2,460	11,140	11.2	4,060	15.4	37,440	8.9	5,540	13.5	3,400	980
Tanzania	40	0	140	0.1	0	-	160	0.1	0	-	20	0
Mocambique	117,300	220	25,500	25.6	1,880	7.2	137,300	32.5	1,680	4.2	5,500	420
Angola	3,260	0	180	0.2	0	-	3,400	0.8	0	-	40	0
Other	660	60	1,180	1.2	80	0.3	1,720	0.4	100	0.2	120	40
Total	342,960	20,740	100,040	100.0	26,320	100.0	421,900	100.0	40,900	100.0	21,100	6,160

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census (02-05-01), Pretoria, 1971.

Note: A column designated as '?', referring to relatively few persons in number has been omitted. Total will thus not round perfectly.

TABLE 4
LOCATION AND AGE-SEX SPECIFIC COMPOSITION OF
FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA
1970

Age Group	Men		Women		Ratio Men/Women		% In 'Homelands' By Age-Specific Group	
	Total	Percent Rural	Total	Percent Rural	Total	Rural	Men	Women
0-4	760	78.9	700	60.0	1.1	1.4	10.5	17.1
5-9	1,020	86.2	900	75.5	1.1	1.3	18.0	11.1
10-14	1,180	72.8	1,360	79.4	0.9	0.8	10.2	8.8
15-19	24,000	22.3	1,800	74.4	13.3	3.9	7.3	9.2
20-24	101,020	14.3	2,620	58.7	38.5	9.4	4.7	10.2
25-29	81,340	15.0	3,540	61.5	22.9	5.6	3.7	9.5
30-34	63,760	17.2	4,640	56.5	13.7	4.2	3.9	8.2
35-39	49,940	20.0	5,140	48.3	9.7	4.0	2.9	8.8
40-44	38,380	27.5	5,600	44.6	6.8	4.2	4.3	12.1
45-49	30,220	32.4	4,720	46.2	12.7	4.5	4.9	11.0
50-54	22,520	40.0	4,620	45.0	4.9	4.3	4.9	6.4
55-64	19,580	47.4	5,600	57.5	3.5	2.9	7.4	16.1
65-74	6,440	64.9	3,400	67.6	1.9	1.8	13.3	14.7
75+	2,840	68.3	2,420	70.2	1.2	1.1	20.4	24.8
Total	443,000	22.6	47,060	55.9	9.4	3.8	4.7	12.4
Total (20-44)	334,440	13.1	21,540	52.5	15.52	5.1	4.0	11.1

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census (Report No. 02-02-02),
Pretoria, 1973.

TABLE 5

FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA AS A
PROPORTION OF ALL AFRICANS BY AGE-SEX SPECIFIC
GROUP AND BY AREA OF LOCATION, 1970

Age	Men		
	RSA	White Areas	'Homelands'
0-4	0.1	0.1	0.0
5-9	0.1	0.2	0.0
10-14	0.1	0.2	0.0
15-19	3.2	5.1	0.5
20-24	16.1	20.2	3.1
25-29	15.2	18.6	2.6
30-34	13.6	17.2	2.4
35-39	12.3	15.6	1.5
40-44	10.9	14.1	1.8
45-49	10.2	13.8	1.7
50-54	9.4	13.0	1.5
55-59	6.6	10.6	1.2
65-69	3.9	7.3	1.0
75+	3.9	7.6	1.3
Total	6.0	9.6	0.7
Women	0.6	1.1	0.1

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census
(Report No. 02-02-02), Pretoria, 1973.

TABLE 6
AREA DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN
AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1970

Area	Urban	Rural	Total	%	Rural % By Area
R.S.A.	395,797	120,246	516,043	100.0	23.3
'White Areas'	391,779	92,230	484,009	93.8	19.0
Cape	8,814	8,911	17,725	3.4	50.2
Natal	7,912	10,433	18,345	3.5	56.8
Transvaal	290,640	54,459	345,099	66.8	15.8
O.F.S.	84,413	18,427	102,840	19.9	17.9
'Homelands'	4,018	28,016	32,034	6.2	87.4
QwaQwa	32	344	376	0.1	91.4
Lebowa	537	1,600	2,137	0.4	74.8
Gazankulu	33	709	742	0.1	95.5
Swazi	77	728	805	0.2	90.4
Bophutatswana	2,052	18,163	20,215	3.9	89.8
Venda	1	171	172	0.1	99.4
Ciskei	142	443	585	0.1	75.7
Transkei	80	2,284	2,364	0.4	96.6
KwaZulu	1,064	3,574	4,638	0.9	77.0

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census, (Report No. 02-05-01),
Pretoria, 1971.

TABLE 7

SECTORAL COMPOSITION OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA
1970

Sector	Men	%	Women	%
Agriculture	39,580	8.9	5,140	10.9
Mining	352,480	79.6	40	0.1
Manufacturing	11,020	2.5	660	1.4
Electricity	900	0.2	0	0
Construction	6,080	1.4	20	0.1
Commerce	5,120	1.2	340	0.7
Transport	3,420	0.8	0	0
Financing	660	0.1	40	0.1
Services	11,660	2.6	9,620	20.4
'NEA, ? and Unemployed'	12,020	2.7	31,200	66.3
Total	443,000	100.0	47,060	100.0

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census, (Report No. 02-05-01), Pretoria, 1971.

Note: NEA denotes "not economically active" (as defined) whilst ? denotes "unspecified". No disaggregated data are provided for this lumped category.

TABLE 8

INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITION OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1970

Industry	Men	Women	Total	As % of Industry Total
Agriculture/Livestock	36,880	4,800	41,680	5.0
Forestry/Logging	2,480	320	2,800	7.3
Coal Mining	31,640	0	31,640	47.3
Non-gold Metallic Ore	39,020	0	39,020	53.2
Gold and Uranium	268,040	20	268,060	66.8
Other Mining	13,780	20	13,800	21.6
Food	1,060	100	1,160	1.4
Wood/Cork Products	1,960	200	2,160	6.8
Non-Metallic Mineral	1,900	20	1,920	4.4
Metals Except Machines	1,740	0	1,740	2.6
Building Construction	3,560	20	3,580	2.1
Civil Engineering	2,520	0	2,520	2.7
Wholesale/Retail	2,660	240	2,900	1.5
Accommodation Services	1,360	80	1,440	0.1
Road Transport	3,040	0	3,040	2.5
Public Admin./Defence	1,860	20	1,880	1.5
Domestic Services	7,040	9,140	16,180	2.2
Unemployed	1,520	1,000	2,520	5.7
Not Economically Active	8,980	28,280	37,260	0.4
Total	443,000	47,060	490,060	3.3

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census (Report No. 02-05-01), Pretoria, 1971.

Note: For 'Agriculture/Livestock' the total industry figure is taken as 840,000 (the estimated number of African wage-labourers on white farms).

TABLE 9
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AND SEX OF FOREIGN-BORN
AFRICAN WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1970

Occupation	Men	Women	Total	As % of Total by Occupation
Domestic Worker	10,960	9,260	20,220	2.5%
% of all 'Service Workers'	47.2%	94.7%	61.2%	
Agricultural Worker/Labourer	38,500	4,820	43,320	5.1%
% of all 'Farm and Forestry' Workers	9.23%	9.37%	9.3%	
Forestry Worker	1,980	280	2,260	14.9%
Mine Worker	286,700	0	286,700	59.0%
% of all 'Production & Transport' Workers	82.0%	0%	79.4%	
Production Supervisor/Foreman	8,480	0	8,480	44.0%
% of all 'Production & Transport' Workers	2.4%	0%	2.3%	
Blacksmith/Machine Tool Operator	2,320	0	2,320	14.2%
Machine Fitter/Precision Instruments	1,060	0	1,060	13.2%
Electric Fitter	2,980	0	2,980	11.7%
Bricklayer/Carpenter/Construction	3,340	0	3,340	3.2%
Engine Operator	2,260	0	2,260	10.9%
Docker/Freight Handling	21,280	40	21,320	25.9%
% of all 'Production & Transport' Workers	5.9%	5.1%	5.8%	
Engine Driver and Fireman	7,220	0	7,220	66.2%
Brakeman/Guard/Signalman	1,140	0	1,140	45.6%
Driver (Road)	3,340	0	3,340	3.3%
Labourer N.E.C.	13,620	420	14,040	2.4%

Source: Dept. of Statistics, Population Census (Report No. 02-05-01), Pretoria 1971.

- Note:
- 1. N.E.C. denotes "not easily classifiable".
 - 2. The Census data for 'Farm and Forestry' workers includes persons so classified but engaged as such in 'Homelands'. Thus the percentage figure for the right-hand column in this case reflects a proportion of the regular and casual agricultural wage-labour force on white farms (estimated at 840,000 for 1970).

TABLE 10
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS
IN SOUTH AFRICA BY SEX AND LOCATION, 1970

Occupation	Men		Women		In 'Homelands'	
	Number	%	Number	%	Men	Women
Professional	960	0.2	300	0.6	240	80
Administrative	120	0.0	0	0.0	0	0
Clerical and Related	4,420	0.9	0	0.0	180	0
Sales Worker	1,680	0.4	40	0.1	280	20
Service Worker	23,240	5.2	9,780	20.7	940	260
Farm and Forestry	41,440	9.3	5,140	10.9	2,060	480
Production & Transport	360,180	81.3	780	1.6	15,480	140
Not Classifiable	1,980	0.4	2,740	5.8	260	320
Total Econ. Active	434,020	97.9	18,780	39.9	19,440	1,280
Not Econ. Active	8,980	2.0	28,280	60.1	1,600	4,560
Total	443,000	100.0	47,060	100.0	21,040	5,840

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census, (Report No. 02-02-02), Pretoria, 1973.

TABLE 11

OCCUPATION BY AGE OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICAN MEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

1970

Occupation	Under 20	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
<u>Men:</u>								
Professional	20	60	200	180	240	160	100	960
Admin., Clerical & Related	0	0	0	40	20	40	20	120
Sales	0	140	200	420	580	260	80	1,680
Service	860	2,920	6,000	5,580	5,120	2,060	700	23,240
Farm and Forestry	1,860	1,880	4,940	9,780	12,120	6,780	4,080	41,440
Production & Transport	20,700	94,480	131,480	70,200	33,000	8,860	1,460	360,180
Not Classifiable	300	180	360	380	340	360	60	1,980
Not Economically Active	3,120	580	780	600	480	740	2,680	8,980
Total	26,960	101,020	145,100	88,320	52,740	19,580	9,280	443,000

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census, (Report No. 02-05-01),
Pretoria, 1971.

TABLE 12
OCCUPATION BY INDUSTRY OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICAN MEN IN SOUTH AFRICA
1970

Industry	Professional	Admin., Clerical	Sales	Service	Farm & Forestry	Production & Transport	Not Classifiable	Not Econ. Active	Total
Agriculture	0	0	0	340	38,160	1,020	0	0	39,580
Mining	380	120	120	11,960	960	335,980	0	0	352,480
Manufacturing	20	0	160	840	140	9,380	0	0	11,020
Electricity	0	0	0	140	0	760	0	0	900
Construction	0	0	0	200	20	5,780	0	0	6,080
Commerce	0	0	1,280	1,700	80	1,740	0	0	5,120
Transport	0	0	0	460	20	2,680	40	0	3,420
Finance	0	0	0	400	0	180	0	0	660
Services	540	0	20	7,060	2,040	1,860	0	0	11,660
NEA, ? and Unemployed	20	0	80	140	20	800	1,940	8,980	12,080
Total	960*	120	1,680	23,240	41,440	360,180	1,980	8,980	443,000

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census, (Report No. 02-05-01), Pretoria, 1971.

TABLE 13

SCHOOL STANDARD OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1970

School Standard	Men	%	Women	%
No Schooling	274,280	61.8	26,960	57.3
Sub A	1,900	0.4	360	0.7
Sub B	2,840	0.6	740	1.5
Std 1	29,200	6.5	2,900	6.2
2	37,340	8.3	3,780	8.0
3	39,940	9.0	3,620	7.7
4	24,160	5.4	3,120	6.6
5	12,960	2.8	2,300	4.9
6 and 7	17,920	4.0	2,540	5.4
8 and 9	4,740	1.0	600	1.3
10	420	0.1	80	0.2
Unspecified	300	0.1	60	0.2
Total	443,000	100.0	47,060	100.0

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census (Report No. 02-02-02),
Pretoria, 1973.

TABLE 14

SCHOOL STANDARD OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY LOCATION

1970

School Standard	Men						Women					
	Urban			Rural			Urban			Rural		
	RSA	W	'H'	RSA	W	'H'	RSA	W	'H'	RSA	W	'H'
None	204,640	203,000	1,640	69,640	56,400	13,240	8,040	7,600	440	18,920	15,960	2,960
None As % Total	59.6	59.6	67.2	69.6	69.2	71.2	38.7	37.9	61.1	71.9	75.2	57.8
Total	342,960	340,520	2,440	100,040	81,440	18,600	20,740	20,020	720	26,320	21,200	5,120

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census, (Report No. 02-02-02), Pretoria, 1973.

TABLE 15

'ECONOMIC INACTIVITY' AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
OF FOREIGN-BORN AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1970

Level of Education	Economically Active	Economically Inactive	EI/EA %
None	286,765	28,309	8.1
Std 1	35,369	4,119	11.6
2	40,046	2,846	7.1
3	40,087	2,742	6.8
4	26,085	2,419	9.3
5	15,163	1,540	10.2
6	16,601	1,466	8.8
7	4,628	370	7.9
8	4,332	291	6.7
9	1,020	116	11.3
10	364	77	21.2
Other	168	39	23.2
Unspecified	773	207	26.7
Total	471,502	44,541	9.4

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census 1970: Level of Education,
(Report No. 02-05-01), Pretoria, 1971.

TABLE 16
EMPLOYMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINING SECTOR, 1966-1975
(Thousands)

Sub-sector	1966	1975	% Change	Percentage of Total Mines & Works Employment (1975)
Gold	425,5	377,9	- 11	55
Coal	82,2	76,9	- 6	11
Quarries	24,1	21,2	- 12	3
Asbestos	23,7	20,1	- 15	3
Diamonds	21,1	19,8	- 6	3
Sub-Total	576,6	515,9	- 11	75
<hr/>				
Copper	10,3	13,4	+ 30	2
Manganese	8,4	9,9	+ 18	1
Iron	7,2	9,5	+ 32	1
Chrome	3,7	7,4	+ 100	1
Tin	2,6	2,8	+ 8	0.4
Works	40,6	63,7	+ 57	9
Other	26,4	69,2	+ 162	10
Sub-Total	99,2	175,9	+ 77	25
<hr/>				
Grand Total	675,8	691,8	+ 2	100

Source: F. Wilson, Recent Developments Affecting Mining Employment. University of Cape Town: SALDRU, 1977. (Mimeo).

The author's data has been drawn from:

Department of Mines, Mining Statistics 1966, (RP 10/1968)

Department of Mines, Mining Statistics 1975, (RP 27/1976)

TABLE 17

CHAMBER OF MINES

SOURCE OF ORIGIN OF AFRICANS EMPLOYED AS AT 31ST DECEMBER

1969-1976

(Thousands)

Year	S. Africa	Lesotho	Botswana	Swaziland	Mocambique	Tropicals ⁽¹⁾	Total
1969	116,5	65,0	14,8	5,0	99,8	69,9	371,1
1970	96,9	71,1	16,3	5,4	113,3	98,2	401,2
1971	86,5	68,7	16,0	4,8	102,4	107,8	386,2
1972	87,2	78,5	17,5	4,3	97,7	129,2	414,3
1973	86,2	87,2	16,8	4,5	99,4	128,0	422,2
1974	90,1	78,3	14,7	5,5	101,8	73,1	363,5
1975	121,8	85,5	16,6	7,2	118,0	15,5	364,7
1976 ⁽²⁾	176,7	89,1	22,7	13,1	72,3	23,4	395,4
1976 ⁽³⁾	193,0	98,5	30,2	10,0	63,8	23,4	414,9
1976 ⁽⁴⁾	142,1	85,3	18,8	8,3	44,1	30,3	331,0

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd., Reports and Financial Statements (1969-1976 inclusive). Johannesburg.

- Notes:
- (1) 'Tropical' areas are those N. of Lat. 22°S. The data refer to Malawian workers up to 1974 and to Zimbabwean and Malawian workers (but only a small number of the latter) thereafter.
 - (2) As of June 1976.
 - (3) As of September 1976 for Gold, Copper and Platinum Mines but using June 1976 figures for coal mines (the latter derived from P.J. van der Merwe, Black Employment in South Africa, Pretoria: BEPA, 1976, Table 2). Note the total does not "round".
 - (4) As of December 1976. Total does not round. These figures are heavily influenced by seasonal variations "typical" of the end of the fourth quarter.

TABLE 18
CHAMBER OF MINES
EMPLOYMENT LEVELS: INTRA-ANNUAL RANGE
1970-1975

Year	Lowest		Highest		Range	Annual Average
	Number	Month	Number	Month		
1970	374,413	Jan.	416,205	Oct.	41,792	403,340
1971	394,884	Jan.	414,191	April	19,307	406,066
1972	385,346	Jan.	419,254	Nov.	33,907	411,192
1973	413,393	Jan.	446,286	April	32,893	435,671
1974	376,103	Dec.	435,383	Feb.	59,280	414,232
1975	362,112	Jan.	399,763	July	37,651	385,160

Source: Mine Labour Organisation (Wenela) Ltd. Reports and Financial Statements (1970-1975 inclusive). Johannesburg.

TABLE 19
CHAMBER OF MINES
RECRUITMENT/EMPLOYMENT RATES⁽¹⁾
BY ORIGIN
1970-1976

Country	1970	1976	Variations in Average Contract Length (Months) ⁽²⁾		
			1970	1976	Change 1970/1976 %
South Africa	0.89	1.36	13.48	8.82	65.4
Cape	0.94	1.39	12.76	8.63	67.6
Natal	0.86	1.57	13.95	7.64	54.7
O.F.S.	0.62	1.08	19.35	11.11	57.4
Tvl.	0.73	1.26	16.43	9.52	57.9
Lesotho	1.06	1.03	11.32	11.65	102.9
Botswana	1.29	1.10	9.30	10.91	117.3
Swaziland	1.78	1.45	6.74	8.28	122.8
Mocambique	0.94	0.94	12.76	12.63	98.9
Tropicals	0.98	1.12	12.24	10.71	87.5
Totals	0.98	1.19	12.24	10.08	82.3

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd. Reports and Financial Statements For The Year Ended 30 June, 1976. Johannesburg.

- Note:
- (1) The "recruitment/employment ratio" refers to the ratio of the numbers recruited 12 months prior to a certain date in relation to numbers employed as of that date. It implies a surrogate measure of "labour stability".
 - (2) Estimates of "average contract length" are calculated by dividing the recruitment/employment rate into 12, thereby obtaining a figure for the number of contract months required per recruit to produce the recorded level of employment.

TABLE 20
CHAMBER OF MINES
LABOUR TRANSFERS: 'LOCALS' AND 'MINES'
1970-1975

Year	Locals		Mines	
	% Total Employed	% Non-Recruited	% Total Employed	% Non-Recruited
1970	0.94	8.19	2.71	31.66
1971	0.96	11.63	1.96	23.66
1972	1.10	13.02	2.10	24.83
1973	1.29	16.62	1.39	17.83
1974	1.86	20.64	1.29	14.35
1975	4.26	23.52	2.27	12.51

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd. Reports and Financial Statements (1970-1975 inclusive). Johannesburg.

TABLE 21
CHAMBER OF MINES
LABOURERS REJECTED AND REPATRIATED
1970-1975

Year	Number Examined	Rejected		Repatriated	Accepted For Surface Work Only		% "Rejects" Repatriated
		Number	%		Number	As % Surface Only	
1970	338,578	12,957	3.83	3,103	9,894	11.1	24.6
1971	291,972	11,799	4.00	2,487	9,305	11.8	21.1
1972	321,741	13,104	4.07	2,842	10,257	11.9	21.7
1973	333,607	12,975	3.88	2,879	10,096	11.5	22.2
1974	337,829	13,285	4.61	2,022	11,263	13.0	15.2
1975	414,535	18,923	4.56	3,212	15,707	18.4	16.9

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd. Reports and Financial Statements, (1970-1975 inclusive). Johannesburg.

Note: Numbers used for surface employment levels reflect affiliated gold and coal mines.

TABLE 22
CHAMBER OF MINES
ANALYSIS OF "NET WASTAGE" OF LABOURERS
1969-1975

Year	Average No. Employed	Taking Discharge And Rejected		'Absconders'		Died	Total "Net Wastage"	Average Monthly "Net Wastage" As % Average Monthly Employment
		Number	% of Employed	Number	% of Employed			
1969	390,522	331,824	84.9	11,092	2.84	1466	344,382	7.35
1970	403,340	318,668	79.0	10,204	2.53	1395	330,267	6.83
1971	406,066	318,719	78.5	10,329	2.54	1543	330,591	6.78
1972	411,192	325,290	79.1	10,968	2.67	1604	337,862	6.85
1973	435,671	343,826	78.9	9,279	2.13	1603	354,708	6.78
1974	414,232	374,664	90.4	10,851	2.62	1655	387,170	7.79
1975	385,160	442,016	114.7	28,456	7.38	1663	472,135	10.21

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd. Reports and Financial Statements,
(1970-1975 inclusive). Johannesburg.

TABLE 23
CHAMBER OF MINES
"DISPOSAL" OF LABOURERS DISCHARGED FROM HOSPITALS
1970-1975

Year	Number Discharged	Discharged As % Employed	"Disposal" Of Discharged Labourers		
			To Depot For Allotment	Repatriated And Discharged	Returned To Mines
1970	33,336	8.26	8,152	15,547	7,760
1971	28,963	7.13	6,795	13,869	6,811
1972	27,121	6.59	6,999	11,351	6,638
1973	28,027	6.43	9,605	9,312	6,648
1974	25,585	6.18	8,535	8,590	6,417
1975	30,351	6.49	8,788	12,061	6,458

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd. Reports and Financial Statements (1970-1975 inclusive). Johannesburg.

Note: Some workers may be (1) transferred to the Pneumoconiosis Medical Bureau for treatment; (2) sent for further medical treatment; (3) "deserters" from hospital. They are not included in the above breakdown.

TABLE 24
CHAMBER OF MINES
RECRUITED AND 'NON-RECRUITED' WORKERS
MONTHLY MOVEMENTS
1970-1975

Month	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
January	38,474	33,560	34,643	44,900	41,486	45,080
February	35,202	31,082	32,604	36,597	35,683	42,930
March	31,849	30,591	31,899	32,427	37,624	36,204
April	31,766	26,756	29,594	23,200	28,795	43,999
May	30,311	24,936	26,151	25,408	23,552	36,738
June	28,817	23,874	26,845	24,857	22,093	33,125
July	31,207	24,020	25,471	22,667	22,440	31,100
August	29,621	24,504	27,695	28,556	25,266	38,573
September	30,866	26,879	30,668	31,526	24,625	42,522
October	30,528	26,597	29,899	32,961	25,917	46,312
November	26,209	24,460	29,870	33,125	25,358	40,167
December	18,032	22,073	24,296	22,601	15,633	27,558
Ave. Monthly Number	30,240	26,652	29,137	29,900	27,371	38,942

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd. Reports and Financial Statements, (1970-1975 inclusive). Johannesburg.

TABLE 25
CHAMBER OF MINES
CLASSIFICATION OF 'NON-RECRUITED' LABOURERS
1961-1975

Year	Locals		Mines		'New' AVS		'New' Voluntaries		Total Number
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
1961	8,036	5.7	62,415	44.8	45,922	32.9	22,790	16.6	139,163
1962	5,083	4.8	44,160	41.3	33,788	31.6	23,798	22.3	106,829
1963	5,422	6.8	36,712	46.3	16,680	21.0	20,429	25.8	79,233
1964	5,127	7.6	32,314	47.8	12,693	18.8	17,396	25.7	67,530
1965	6,587	10.7	29,431	47.9	9,407	15.3	15,969	26.0	61,394
1966	7,109	12.0	26,355	44.5	8,659	14.6	17,092	28.8	59,215
1967	7,912	14.1	25,190	44.8	7,330	13.1	15,679	27.9	56,108
1968	7,510	13.9	24,576	45.7	7,940	14.8	13,737	25.5	53,754
1969	5,778	12.8	18,379	40.8	7,024	15.6	13,836	30.7	45,015
1970	3,825	11.1	10,919	31.6	6,739	19.5	13,003	37.7	34,486
1971	3,913	11.6	7,956	23.6	5,054	15.0	16,703	49.6	33,626
1972	4,541	13.0	8,660	24.8	5,674	16.3	15,958	45.8	34,833
1973	5,634	16.6	6,042	17.8	6,531	19.2	15,686	46.2	33,893
1974	7,700	20.6	5,355	14.3	6,885	18.5	17,364	46.5	37,304
1975	16,426	23.5	8,733	12.5	13,192	18.9	31,498	45.1	69,849

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd., Reports and Financial Statements (1970-1975 inclusive). Johannesburg.

TABLE 26
CHAMBER OF MINES
CLASSIFICATION OF 'NON-RECRUITED' LABOURERS BY AREA OF RECRUITMENT
1970-1975

Classification	Mocambique S.Lat.22°S	Tropical Areas	Lesotho	Botswana	Swazi Land	Total Foreign	South Africa				Total	
							OFS	Cape	Natal	Tv1.		
<u>Locals</u>	1970	-	-	922	-	1	923	487	1,457	118	840	3,825
	1971	-	-	917	1	3	920	553	1,359	128	952	3,913
	1972	-	-	1,087	4	1	1,092	539	1,676	153	1,081	4,541
	1973	-	-	1,227	11	1	1,238	953	1,782	151	1,509	5,634
	1974	-	-	1,353	2	1	1,356	1,494	2,256	178	2,416	7,700
	1975	-	-	2,232	3	6	2,242	3,212	4,152	358	6,463	16,426
<u>Mines</u>	1970	673	1	3,574	266	38	4,552	353	4,143	385	1,486	10,919
	1971	1,292	-	1,777	139	38	3,248	233	2,948	329	1,200	7,956
	1972	1,401	7	2,141	179	35	3,763	252	3,037	268	1,304	8,660
	1973	1,160	3	937	148	21	2,269	241	2,164	217	1,151	6,042
	1974	437	1	965	71	10	1,474	337	2,092	225	1,219	5,355
	1975	83	-	1,947	97	57	2,184	588	3,082	277	2,606	8,733
<u>New AVS</u>	1970	-	-	1,154	289	182	1,625	159	1,046	326	3,583	6,739
	1971	-	-	1,039	260	61	1,360	128	939	196	2,431	5,054
	1972	-	-	959	192	104	1,255	187	1,269	384	2,579	5,674
	1973	-	-	1,139	48	100	1,287	171	1,464	687	2,922	6,531
	1974	-	-	507	10	87	604	759	1,738	462	3,322	6,885
	1975	-	-	153	11	112	276	2,592	2,218	608	7,494	13,192
<u>New Vol- untaries</u>	1970	-	-	5,608	4	1	5,613	952	4,137	186	2,115	13,003
	1971	-	-	6,915	3	3	6,921	1,153	5,985	231	2,413	16,703
	1972	-	-	6,979	17	6	7,002	1,442	5,901	148	1,765	15,958
	1973	-	-	7,194	11	2	7,207	1,368	5,187	146	1,778	15,686
	1974	-	-	6,842	1	53	6,896	1,279	7,034	207	1,948	17,364
	1975	-	-	10,771	1	242	11,014	2,366	13,188	535	4,395	31,498

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd. Reports and Financial Statements
(1970-1975 inclusive). Johannesburg.

TABLE 27
CHAMBER OF MINES
RECRUITED AND NON-RECRUITED LABOURERS
1970-1975

Year	Recruited		Non-Recruited		Ratio
	Number	Change	Number	Change	N-R/R %
1970	328,396	-	34,486	-	10.5
1971	286,206	- 42,190	33,626	- 860	11.7
1972	314,802	+ 28,596	34,833	+ 1,207	11.1
1973	324,916	+ 10,110	33,893	- 940	10.4
1974	291,158	- 33,758	37,304	+ 3,411	12.8
1975	397,459	+106,301	69,849	+ 32,545	17.6

Source: Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd. Reports and Financial Statements, (1970-1975 inclusive). Johannesburg.

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