



Human Sciences
Research Council



Development Policy
Research Unit



Sociology of Work
Unit

RESEARCH CONSORTIUM

TRACKING PROGRESS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT OF THE EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT SINCE ITS INCEPTION

Andries Bezuidenhout, Christine Bischoff, Sakhela Buhlungu and Kezia Lewins
Sociology of Work Unit, University of the Witwatersrand

MARCH 2008

RESEARCH COMMISSIONED BY
DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
SOUTH AFRICA

TRACKING PROGRESS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT OF THE EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT SINCE ITS INCEPTION

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the Employment Equity Act (EEA) of 1998 is to redress fundamental labour market inequities and to minimise discrimination on the basis of demographic profile (race, gender) as well as disability and HIV status. However, as we show in this report, success in terms of a number of objective measures of employment equity remains lacklustre. The aim of this study is to systematically evaluate the effects of the mechanisms and institutions created by the EEA.

The research questions addressed by the research are the following:

- What is the scope and nature of administrative compliance, and what are the key strengths and weaknesses of the enforcement procedures and mechanisms?
- What are the main trends and issues arising from existing knowledge of EEA implementation and the changing face of the workforce?
- What are the emerging best practices and lessons that can be learnt from companies in terms of conceptualisation, operationalisation and compliance of EE plans?
- What impact does implementation of EE plans have in the medium to long-term for companies, in relation to workplace relations, skills development, productivity and other indicators?

This study is based on an analysis of a range of documents and data, interviews with role players and in-depth case studies of firms and institutions in three industries (higher education, engineering and mining). See Appendix A for more detail on our methodology.

The report is divided into five sections. We first section provides a cursory background to the emergence of employment equity legislation in South Africa. We point out that this was driven by particular interests, resulting in a specific notion of what employment equity includes and excludes.

We then outline our understanding of the labour market and how this relates to the entrenchment of inequalities, as well as policy mechanisms to bring about redress. In this section we provide some detail of continued inequity in the post-apartheid labour market.

The section following this draws on existing data and our interviews to assess the progress made in terms of the implementation of the EEA.

We then move on to our three case studies – higher education, engineering and mining. In this section we attempt to understand how the EEA impacts in very specific sectoral and local contexts.

Finally, we conclude the study with a range of findings and recommendations.

In addition to a range of tables and figures we use as evidence for our arguments in the main body of the report, we include a range of tables containing data on employment equity trends as an additional resource.

SECTION 1 EMPLOYMENT EQUITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The origins of policies intended to prevent discrimination and those that seek to achieve redress for previously disadvantaged and discriminated sections of the population can be traced back to the period before the inauguration of democracy in 1994. In this section we present a brief historical overview of the emergence of these policies. Our starting point is that the origins, introduction and implementation (or non-implementation) of these policies must be understood in relation to the social forces that have an interest in them. Furthermore, the influences that give rise to these forms of contestation and changes are inside the country (internal) and outside (external). Below we elaborate further on these points.

Opposition to discrimination and the yearning for equality were crucial aspects of the struggle against colonial domination and apartheid. One of the documents that captured these goals is the Freedom Charter, a document adopted by several organisations involved in the national liberation struggle. Under the clause “All national groups shall have equal rights”, the document pronounced boldly,

“The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.”¹

The struggle against discrimination was also taken up by many of the black and non-racial unions at different times during the 20th century. However, for a long time the goal of ending discrimination and achieving equality was understood to apply mainly to race with hardly any mention made of the other forms of discrimination that were experienced by other sections of society. In addition, until the 1970s, there was little clarity as to how notions of non-discrimination would apply in the labour market, let alone what redress mechanisms would be needed to address the legacy of centuries of discrimination.

Although the changing structure of the economy and the increasing demand for more semi-skilled and skilled black labour put pressure on employers in key sectors to relax some of the extreme forms of discrimination from the 1970s onwards, discrimination and inequality in the labour market continued. But from the 1970s several developments inside and outside the country resulted in a more vigorous search for strategies to prevent discrimination and achieve redress in society and the labour market.

Internally, the influences came from a combination of struggles and reforms. First, the changing structure of the economy created a need for the incorporation of a section of the African population in low-level personnel roles in some of the leading corporations. The experiences and frustration of this small layer of what Nzimande called “African Personnel Practitioners”, later gave rise to organisations campaigning for affirmative action for black managers.² The Black Management Forum (BMF), an organisation founded in 1976 is a leading example of these. The emergence of this class occurred at more or less the same time

¹ “The Freedom Charter” as adopted by the Congress of the People, 26 June 1955, in Karis, T., Carter, G.M. and Gerhart, G.M. (eds) 1977. *From Protest to Challenge: A documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882 – 1964*, Volume 3. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press and Stanford University Press.

² See Nzimande, EB. 1991. “‘The Corporate Guerrillas’: Class formation and the African corporate petty bourgeoisie in post-1973 South Africa.” PhD Thesis, University of Natal, Durban.

as the apartheid government was introducing reforms regarding urbanisation and homeownership for Africans.

Second, the 1970s also saw emergence of a militant union movement following the strikes that erupted in Durban in 1973. Although these unions did not articulate a clear redress approach for the labour market, their activities and campaigns sought to combat discrimination and achieve equality in relation to rights, wages and working conditions.

Finally, the broader struggles for democracy in the country provided the background against which issues of discrimination were being debated and contested within the labour market. Within these broader struggles, other forms of social division and inequality such as gender, disability and sexual orientation were coming to the fore and shaping the way in which the labour market was being reformed.

The struggle against discrimination was also influenced by external developments and forces. In particular, US multi-nationals operating in South Africa came under pressure at home to improve conditions within their operations in South Africa. The adoption of affirmative action and equal opportunity policies in the US during the 1960s provided the context within which this was taking place. The Sullivan Code is the best known example of how American corporations should force their South African operations to introduce equal opportunity policies.³ In this way the discourse of affirmative action also found its way into the South African context, with young black professionals being the first social group to embrace and espouse it.

But there were other developments in the 1960s and 1970s which, though not as influential as those in the US, served as part of the background against which South Africans were thinking about redress. Many of the African countries which achieved independence in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly those with sizable white settler populations or expatriates, embarked on what was commonly known as “Africanisation” of the high echelons of their workforces. But, as Michael Burawoy has shown, Africanisation (or Zambianisation, as it became known in Zambia) could produce unintended and counterproductive results such as “window dressing” and an “upward-floating colour bar”.⁴

The ways in which these internal and external influences on the struggle against discrimination and the efforts to achieve redress shaped the development of the current employment equity dispensation had a lot to do with the balance of power among the different social forces within the country. First, given the power of the business community in the country, the relatively large size of the local white population and the pitfalls noted in other African cases, it was clear from the start Africanisation was not a viable option in the South African context. Second, although the labour movement emerged as a powerful force during the transition to democracy, it never developed a clear approach to employment equity per se. Most of labour’s focus was on issues such as rights, education and training and the reform of political and labour market structures and institutions. Besides, the low or limited skills

³ See Seidman, G. 2007. *Beyond the Boycott: Labor rights, human rights and transnational activism*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation; Fig, D. (ed) 2007. *Staking their Claims: Corporate social and environmental responsibility in South Africa*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

⁴ Burawoy, M. 1972. *The Colour of Class on the Copper Mines: From African advancement to Zambianization*. Lusaka: Institute of African Studies.

among large segments of the workforce represented by unions often render them ineligible for advancement to senior positions.

Third, the social group that stands to gain the most from equity politicise is the black professional class, including many who belong to bodies such as the BMF. It is no wonder then that these have been the most active and vocal on matters of discrimination and employment equity. Through their networks and organisations, they exert the most powerful influence on policy.

Finally, we must highlight here that the relative power (or powerlessness) of the different social groups is mediated through various consultancy, law firms, state institutions, academic and international bodies that play a direct role in policy formulation. In South Africa, the ILO has been particularly influential in terms of packaging policies in ways that take into account of local and international experiences. In the lead-up to the passing of the EEA the ILO published a comprehensive review of the labour market and located issues of employment equity within this broad review.⁵

⁵ Standing, G., Sender, J. & Weeks, D. 1996. *Restructuring the Labour Market: The South African challenge*. Geneva: ILO.

SECTION 2 EQUITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET

Inequity in the South African labour market is the result of past statutory discrimination in the workplace, as well as interventions by the colonial and apartheid regimes in other policy realms. In the workplace we saw the introduction of job reservation, as well as the denial of organising rights for black South Africans. This has been called the ‘apartheid workplace regime.’⁶ Broader policy that impacted on labour market outcomes include a systematic devaluation of education (“Bantu Education”), influx control, the migrant labour system, restrictions on economic activities, as well as an industrial path that favoured capital-intensive growth (the minerals-energy complex).⁷

Hence, equity in the labour market is not only dependent on policies that have been developed to target the area specifically, such as the EEA. It is an outcome of the aggregated effects of a range of social and economic policies. Some policies prominently impact on the demand-side (economic structure and dominant industries) of the labour market, such as macro-economic and industrial policies. Other policies impact on the supply-side (the quantity and quality of labour) of the labour market, such as social welfare, health, housing, education, and transport policies.

Inequity in the labour market under colonialism and apartheid was a result of policy interventions in all these policy realms. In order to unmake this legacy thus requires a range of concerted policy interventions that are sensitive to the interplay between the role and functions of various government departments, the private sector and civil society formations.

Since labour is not a commodity (unlike other commodities, its reproduction is social and relatively autonomous),⁸ labour markets do not operate like typical commodity markets as a simple process of matching supply and demand. Labour markets involve a number of social processes which could be categorised as processes of incorporation, allocation, control and reproduction.⁹

Incorporation describes the processes by which individuals become wage earners in the labour market or self-employed, and that determines their choices in the labour market, and their potential to do certain jobs. Often individuals may also decide not to seek employment. This depends on the availability of alternatives, such as subsistence farming or living on

⁶ Von Holdt, K. 2003. *Transition from Below: Forging Trade Unionism and Workplace Change in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press; Webster, E. and Von Holdt, K. (eds). 2005. *Beyond the Apartheid Workplace: Studies in Transition*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press..

⁷ Fine, B. and Rustomjee, Z. 1996. *The Political Economy of South Africa: From Minerals-Energy Complex to Industrialisation*. London: Hurst.

⁸ The supply of labour is relatively autonomous from the demand for labour because people do not have children in order to produce workers for the labour market. The reproduction of labour is social because it cannot be stockpiled when it is not needed and later retrieved. It is attached to human beings who have to breathe, eat, and lead lives, hopefully as fulfilled individuals. This process of reproduction takes place in households and communities. Karl Polanyi argues that, while labour becomes commoditized when it is bought and sold in the labour market, it is a fictitious commodity. See Polanyi, K. 2001 [1944]. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press; See also Pocock, B. 2006. *The Labour Market Ate My Babies*. Sydney: Federation Press.

⁹ See Peck, J. 1996. *Work-place: The Social Regulation of Labor Markets*. New York: Guilford.

social welfare. The migrant labour system defined the incorporation of labour in South Africa and remains an important feature of the labour market. Gender ideology impacts in this realm, and households often already make decisions about issues such as the education and socialisation of children, and whether they are burdened with household chores.

Allocation describes the matching of workers with jobs. In the real world, workers are often allocated to certain jobs because of ideology and social prejudice, as much as skill and proven qualifications. Moreover the lower segment of a labour market is drawn from vulnerable social categories that frequently are not empowered to make political claims.¹⁰ Labour market policies that impact on this process concern provisions of the EEA, and parts of the Labour Relations Act that regulate the rights of job applicants.

Whereas the processes of incorporation and allocation have to do with entry into the labour market, *control* has to do with how the employment relationship is structured, and the power relations that determine these structures. It also has to do with productivity and the determination of remuneration levels.

Reproduction relates to the way in which labour is incorporated, allocated, and the way in which the nature of labour control feeds back to the realm of labour supply. Labour reproduction refers to biological procreation, education and training, clothing and caring, and the like. It is anchored not only in the labour market, but in the household, the community and the state. It is important to note that the cost of labour reproduction is generally not carried in full by wages, since it is subsidised by domestic labour, as Peck argues: “The production of men as wage-labourers depends on the on the unpaid domestic labour of women and the wider systems of social reproduction through family, community and state.”¹¹

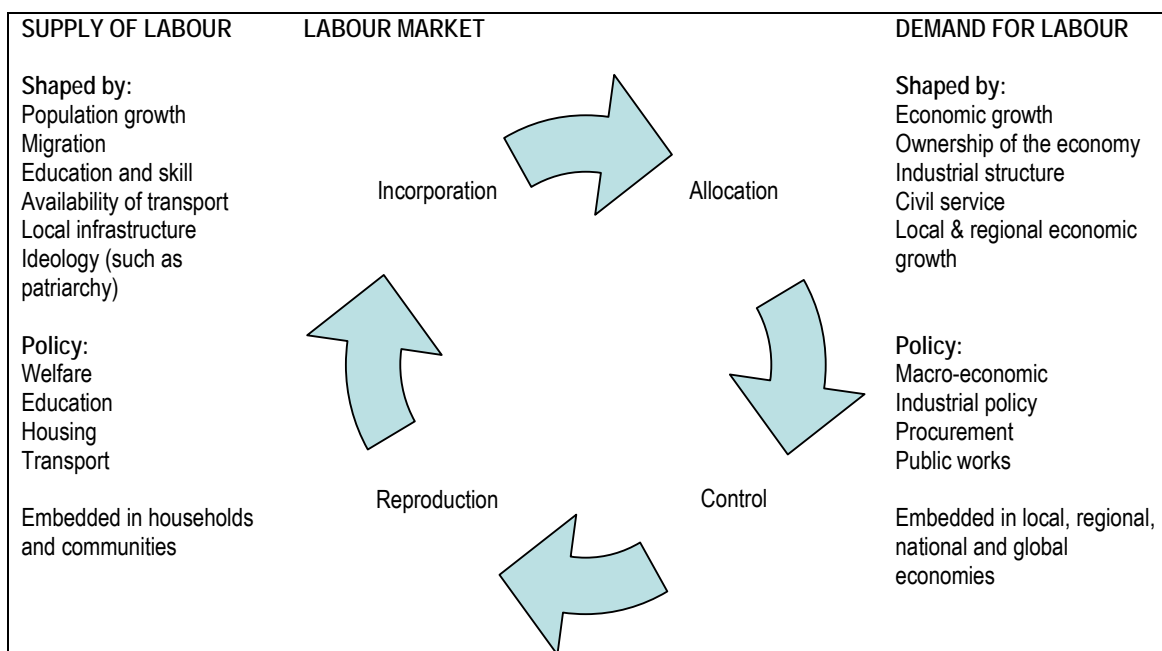
The success of the EEA and its related institutions can thus not be understood in isolation from these broader social processes. Our study is informed by this conceptual framework.¹²

¹⁰ Labour markets tend to be segmented, because labour market disadvantage is usually about ‘ascribed status’ based on characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, race, and the like. Ascribed status is contrasted with ‘achieved status’ such as qualifications and skill. Ascribed status is not created by employers, but often exploited by them.

¹¹ Peck, 1996, p. 39.

¹² Our discussion here draws on a wide literature on the functioning of labour markets, but more specifically the work of Jamie Peck. See also: Elson, D. 1999. ‘Labor Markets as Gendered Institutions: Equality, Efficiency and Empowerment Issues.’ *World Development*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 611-627; Ferber, M. and J. Nelson. 1993. *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Fine, B. 1998. *Labour Market Theory: A constructive reassessment*. London: Routledge; Gordon, D.M., Edwards, R. & Reich, M. 1982. *Segmented work, divided workers: The historical transformation of labor in the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Humphries, J & Rubery, J. 1984. ‘The reconstitution of the supple side of the labour market: The relative autonomy of social reproduction.’ *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, no. 8, pp. 331-346; Mingione, E. 1985. ‘Social reproduction and the surplus labour force: The case of Southern Italy.’ In: Redclift, N. & Mingione, E. (eds.). *Beyond employment: Household, gender, subsistence*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell; Reich, M., Gordon, D.M. & Edwards, R. 1973. ‘A theory of labor market segmentation.’ *American Economic Review*, no. 63, pp. 359-365.

Figure 1: The Functioning of the Labour Market



When we look at the supply-side of the labour market, the South African population has grown from 40.5m in 1996, to 44.8m in 2001 and 48.5 m in 2007. Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal are the provinces with the highest number of people, with 10.5m people living in Gauteng, and 10.3m in KwaZulu-Natal. The Northern Cape has the lowest number of people, at 1.1m. Overall black Africans constitute the majority of the population (79%), followed by white people (9.5%), coloured people (9%) and Indian or Asians (2.6%). Needless to say, people from these categories are clustered in different parts of the country, as can be seen from Table 1. It is important to consider the fact that labour markets operate in a regional and a local context.

Table 1: Population by ‘race’ and province

	Black African			Coloured			Asian/Indian			White		
	1996	2001	2007	1996	2001	2007	1996	2001	2007	1996	2001	2007
Eastern Cape	86,1	87,5	87,6	7,6	7,4	7,5	0,3	0,3	0,3	5,4	4,7	4,7
Free State	84,4	88,0	87,1	3,0	3,1	3,0	0,1	0,1	0,2	12,0	8,8	9,6
Gauteng	71,4	73,8	75,2	3,7	3,8	3,7	2,1	2,5	2,7	22,0	19,9	18,4
KZN	82,1	84,9	86,0	1,4	1,5	1,4	9,2	8,5	8,1	6,5	5,1	4,4
Limpopo	96,3	97,2	97,5	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,2	2,8	2,4	2,2
Mpumalanga	90,5	92,4	92,0	0,7	0,7	0,8	0,4	0,4	0,4	7,9	6,5	6,8
Northern Cape	44,4	35,7	39,8	43,1	51,6	50,0	0,3	0,3	0,2	11,0	12,4	10,0
North West	89,2	91,5	90,8	1,6	1,6	1,6	0,2	0,3	0,4	8,4	6,7	7,2
Western Cape	20,9	26,7	30,1	54,2	53,9	50,2	1,0	1,0	1,3	20,8	18,4	18,4
Total	76,7	79,0	79,0	8,9	8,9	9,0	2,6	2,5	2,6	10,9	9,6	9,5

Source: Statistics South Africa. 2008. *Community Survey 2007, Statistical Release*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Provinces with significant industrial hubs are attracting most internal as well as international migrants, with Gauteng and the Western Cape’s population increasing by 13.9% (Gauteng) and 16.7% (Western Cape) from 2001 to 2007. In their report on the 2007 Community

Survey, StatsSA point out: “Proportionally, Gauteng received most migrants followed by the Western Cape. The provinces that received least proportion of migrants were Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo with about 6.4% of the resident population being born in other provinces. Northern Cape has a proportionally higher percentage (29.3%) of out-migrants... [M]ost of the migrants into Gauteng are from Limpopo followed by individuals born in KwaZulu-Natal. The Northern Cape seems to be losing most people to the Western Cape followed by Gauteng.”¹³ The 2007 Community Survey also found that 2.7% of people residing in South Africa were not born in the country. Of these international migrants, 46.8% reside in Gauteng, followed by the Western Cape with 13.4%. These international migrants include documented and undocumented migrants.¹⁴

This clustering around Gauteng and the Western Cape becomes understandable when one considers provincial labour markets, which compares the economically active populations of each province to those actually employed (see Table 2).

Table 2: Employment Status by Province and Gender

Province	Employment status	Gender status		Total
		Women	Men	
Eastern Cape	Total EAP	26.2	22.8	24.2
	Employed	15.7	11.7	13.4
Free State	Total EAP	14.0	12.5	13.4
	Employed	5.7	6.6	6.2
Gauteng	Total EAP	46.4	53.0	49.9
	Employed	23.7	28.2	26.3
KwaZulu Natal	Total EAP	40.8	38.5	39.4
	Employed	19.2	16.5	17.6
Limpopo	Total EAP	17.4	15.2	16.3
	Employed	6.6	6.0	6.3
Mpumalanga	Total EAP	13.9	13.0	13.5
	Employed	6.2	6.7	6.4
North West	Total EAP	15.6	17.5	16.7
	Employed	6.1	7.9	7.1
Northern Cape	Total EAP	3.6	4.0	3.8
	Employed	1.8	2.1	2.0
Western Cape	Total EAP	22.3	23.5	22.8
	Employed	15.0	14.4	14.6

Source: Derived from Stats SA, Labour Force Survey, March 2006

Unfortunately the 2007 Community Survey sheds little light on the impact of emigration. Nevertheless, indications are that the trend is for highly qualified individuals to leave, particularly doctors, nurses, engineers and artisans. One estimate is that up to 300 qualified engineers leave South Africa every year. This estimation is based on the number of engineers who cancel their registration with the Engineering Council of South Africa before they emigrate. According to a report, in November 2005, about 14 900 engineers were registered with the Council. In November 2006, the number stood at 14 811, despite 1 290 engineers qualifying every year at South African universities.¹⁵

¹³ Statistics South Africa. 2008. *Community Survey 2007, Statistical Release*. Pretoria: Government Printers, p. 59.

¹⁴ *Community Survey 2007*, p. 60.

¹⁵ “Hundreds of engineers quit SA.” <http://www.24.com/news/?p=tsa&i=821446> [Accessed 24 Jan 2008]

A crucial aspect of the quality of labour supply is education. Quantitatively there have been vast improvements since the advent of democracy. The proportion of people with no schooling has declined from 19% in 1996 to 10% in 2007 and the proportion of people with some secondary schooling has increased from 34% in 1996 to 40% in 2007. The percentage of people between the ages of 5 and 24 years attending school has increased from 63% in 1996 to 74% in 2007.

Despite these general improvements, educational outcomes remain highly skewed by race and gender. For example, with regard to the percentage of people between the ages of 5 and 24 years attending school, white people still have the highest proportion (at 73%) and coloured people the lowest proportion (at 64%). Furthermore, the proportion of women over the age of 20 with no schooling is 12.1%, compared to only 8.4% of men. From Table 3 we can see that a much higher proportion of white people, and to some extent Indians or Asians, attain higher education. A further worrying trend is the stagnation in the proportion of black Africans who pass Grade 12. While this figure increased from 12% in 1996 to 16.8% in 2001, it declined to 15.4% in 2007.

Table 3: Education level by ‘race’, percentages

	Black African			Coloured			Asian/Indian			White		
	1996	2001	2007	1996	2001	2007	1996	2001	2007	1996	2001	2007
No schooling	24,1	22,3	12,8	10,0	8,3	5,6	6,4	5,3	3,6	1,1	1,4	0,6
Some primary	19,4	18,5	18,8	19,5	18,4	16,3	7,9	7,7	7,3	0,6	1,2	1,0
Completed primary	8,3	6,9	6,5	11,1	9,8	8,8	4,9	4,2	3,5	0,5	0,8	0,8
Some secondary	32,6	30,4	40,9	42,2	40,1	46,1	39,3	33,0	35,6	31,6	25,9	31,6
Grade 12/Std 10	12,0	16,8	15,4	12,3	18,5	17,4	29,9	34,9	33,3	39,3	40,9	35,0
Higher	3,6	5,2	5,6	4,9	4,9	5,6	11,6	14,9	16,6	26,8	29,8	31,0

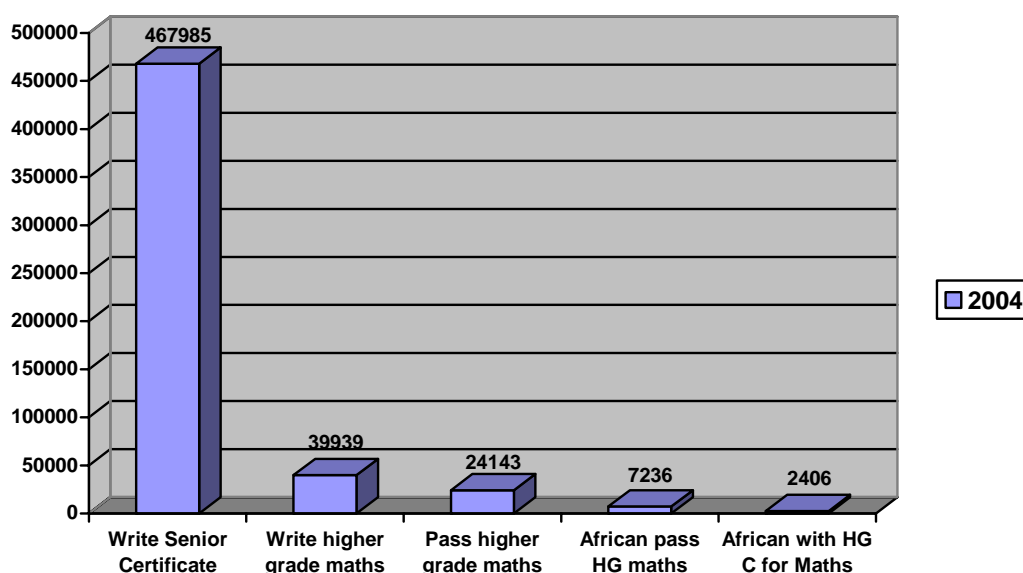
Source: Statistics South Africa. 2008. *Community Survey 2007, Statistical Release*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

The extent to which class differentials still impact on outcomes differentiated by race is clear from a paper published by Economic Research Southern Africa (ERSA) titled *Schooling as a lottery: Racial differences in school advancement in urban South Africa*. It found that “White students advanced by almost one grade per year; coloured students lagged behind white people and were about half a grade behind by the age of 14. Black learners started school later and advanced more slowly. At the age of 14 they were two grades behind white learners.” Part of the explanation for this, according to the study, is differences in pupils’ home conditions, which also includes income differentials. Furthermore, parents of black pupils had around five-years’ less schooling compared to white parents.

In addition to this, a major concern is the seeming inability of the educational system to improve on quality more generally. Of the 1 666 980 children that started Grade One in 1995, only 351 503 passed the senior certificate (matriculation) examination. This means that only one in five learners that currently enters the schooling system, passes Grade 12. In 2004, of the 467 985 learners who wrote the Senior Certificate, 39 939 (8.5%) wrote higher grade maths, 24 143 (5.1%) passed higher grade maths. Of these, 7 236 (1.5%) were black African, and 2 406 (0.5%) passed higher grade maths with a “C”, which is generally required for acceptance into the medical, engineering, scientific and accounting professions (see Figure 2).¹⁶

¹⁶ Bernstein, A., Simkins, C. & Rule, S. 2007. *Doubling for Growth: Addressing the Maths and Science Challenges in South Africa’s Schools*. Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise.

Figure 2: School Pass Rates in Maths



Furthermore, in 1999 only half of maths and science teachers had tertiary qualifications in these subjects. In 2006, only 4.8% of matriculants passed higher-grade maths, and only 5.7% passed higher-grade science. A national survey of performance of pupils in Grade 3 in 2001 showed that 30% did not achieve the required standard in numeracy, and 54% did not achieve the required standard in literacy. In 2005, the same survey of those in Grade 6 showed that only 28% performed at the required standard in numeracy. For literacy, it was only 38%.¹⁷

The lack of school leavers with a quality education has a knock-on effect in tertiary education and training. A survey conducted by the South African Institute of Civil Engineers found that 79 of the country's 231 local municipalities did not have civil engineers, technologists or technicians. There were more than 1 000 vacancies for these skills at municipalities countrywide. Eskom also had a significant shortage of skills. In 2005, Eskom already needed 400 engineers.¹⁸ A survey of Government Departments' annual reports and parliamentary portfolio committee documents found a vacancy rate of 10.4% or 40 594 posts in all 29 government departments. Highly skilled posts made up 12.9% or 26 257 posts of these vacancies.¹⁹

The scope of the project does not allow us to elaborate on this any further; suffice to say that a major intervention is required to address the educational aspect of the supply-side of the labour market and to bring about racial and gender redress. To be sure, the skills crisis is no longer primarily a crisis related to employment equity outcomes, but a general constraint on economic growth, as pointed out by the government's JIPSA programmes.

¹⁷ SAPA. "Report: SA education in crisis mode." http://www.mg.co.za/articlepage.aspx?area=/breaking_news/breaking_news__national/&articleid=331355 [Accessed 4 Feb 2008]

¹⁸ "Hundreds of engineers quit SA." <http://www.24.com/news/?p=tsa&i=821446> [Accessed 24 Jan 2008]

¹⁹ SAPA. "DA: 40 000+ jobs in govt depts." <http://www.24.com/news/?p=tsa&i=827715> [Accessed 31 January 2008]

With regard to the reproduction of labour in households, there were some improvements since the advent of democracy. The proportion of South Africans living in formal dwellings has increased from 64% in 1996 to 71% in 2007. The proportion of households who use electricity for lighting has increased from 58% in 1996 to 80% in 2007, those using electricity for cooking from 47% in 1996 to 67% in 2007, and those using electricity for heating from 45% in 1996 to 59% in 2007. Almost 11.2m people reported receiving social grants in the 2007 Community Survey.

According to the 2007 Community Survey, there are 1 916 219 persons (or 5% of the South African population) living with disabilities. The breakdown of this in terms of the historical apartheid population categories these include 1 525 751 (79.6%) black Africans, 183 288 (9.6%) coloured people, 57 196 (3.0%) Indians/Asians, and 149 983 (7.8%) white people.²⁰

In terms of the demand-side of the labour market, the South African economy has consistently grown since the advent of democracy. Nevertheless, the resulting increase in the demand for labour has not outstripped the supply of labour. There have also been a number of structural shifts, including a shift from labour intensive manufacturing (such as clothing, textiles and footwear) to capital intensive manufacturing (such as aluminium and iron smelters). There has also been a shift toward demand for higher levels of skill, particularly because of growth in sectors such as financial services, and construction to some extent. Trends toward externalisation, casualisation and informalisation in the labour market, especially of jobs that require less skill, have also led to a major structural shift. We do not wish to get involved in the debate about the lack of a coherent industrial policy or the failures of the macro-economic strategy here, suffice to say that economic liberalisation has put pressure on many industries, narrowing the scope for social experimentation.²¹

²⁰ According to StatsSA, “data that was collected in Census 1996, Census 2001 and CS 2007 indicate that there were 2 641 158, 2 255 982 and 1 916 219 people with various forms of disability respectively. The numbers constituted 6,5%, 5,0% and 4,0% of the total population respectively. When the people that were reported during Census 1996 as unspecified are excluded from calculations, the number of disabled persons during Census 1996 drop from 2 641 158 to 2 378 994 and the respective drop in percentage is from 6,5% to 5,9%.” Furthermore, “[o]f the 2 641 158 disabled persons, during Census 1996, 2 324 813 were Black African constituting a percentage of (88,0%), 127 967 Coloured (4,8%), 42 830 Indian/Asian(1,6%) and 145 548 White (5,5%). During Census 2001, disability proportions among Black Africans reduced slightly compared to Census 1996 and there was an increase among other population groups. The number for Census 2001 of disabled persons were, 1 854 376 (82,2%) Black African, 168 678 (7,5%) Coloured, 41 235 (1,8%) Indian/Asian and 191 693 (8,5%) were White.” The 2007 Community Survey “saw a further reduction in disability proportions among Black Africans and White people whereas there was an increase in disability proportions among the Coloured and Indian/Asian population group. The respective numbers and proportions were, Black African 1 525 751 (79,6%), Coloured 183 288 (9,6%), Indian/Asian 57 196 (3,0%) and Whites 149 983 (7,8%).”

²¹ Roberts, S. 2006. (ed). *Sustainable Manufacturing? The case of South Africa and Ekurhuleni*. Cape Town: Juta.

SECTION 3
ASSESSING IMPACT:
EQUITY TRENDS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR MARKET

The workplace order during apartheid has been referred to as the apartheid workplace regime. Its key characteristics were a racial division of labour, a racial structure of power, the racial segregation of facilities, migrant labour, and a bifurcated industrial geography.²² As stated by du Toit et al²³, “in a society characterised by legally entrenched inequalities and rigid socio-political stratification, discrimination in many forms became an engrained feature of employment relationships.” In order to overcome the historical structural and systemic inequalities inherent in the South African labour market, it has been necessary to implement wide-ranging affirmative action and anti-discrimination measures. This historical legacy must pose a formidable challenge to legislation which strives to eradicate unfair discrimination in the workplace and society at large.

Legislation

The principle pieces of legislation which seek to eradicate unfair discrimination and bring about redress in the workplace are:

EEA [No. 55 of 1998], with its various Codes of Good Practice. The purpose of the Codes is to serve as a guide to employers, employees and trade unions to understand and implement the key principles of the EEA on the employment of people across the designated groups. There are 7 codes namely:

- the “Preparation, Implementation and Monitoring of Employment Equity Plans”;
- the “Key aspects of HIV and AIDS and Employment”;
- the “Employment of People with Disabilities”;
- the “Integration of Employment Equity into Human Resource Policies and Practices”;
- the “Code of Good Practice for the Basic Conditions of Employment and Pregnancy”;
- the “Code of Good Practice on the Handling of Sexual Harassment Cases”;
- the “Code of Good Practice on the Arrangement of working time”.

To help stakeholders unpack the key aspects of the EEA, there are various Technical Assistance Guidelines (TAGs) and they include:

- “Preparing an employment equity plan”;
- “Key aspects of HIV/AIDS and Employment”;
- “Employment of people with disabilities”.

The TAGs complement and build on the Codes by detailing the practical guidelines and they provide examples on how to implement affirmative action measures, eliminate unfair discrimination and promote equality, diversity and fair treatment of people across the designated groups in employment. They are user friendly manuals intended to assist

²² Bezuidenhout. A. 2005. ‘Post-colonial Workplace Regimes in the Engineering Industry in South Africa’ in Webster. E. and Von Holdt. K (eds) *Beyond the Apartheid Workplace: Studies in Transition*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

²³ Cited in Daphne, J.2003. ‘The Potential of the South African Anti-Discrimination Model to facilitate the quest for substantive equality in the workplace?’, p8.

employers, employees and trade unions on how to understand the EEA and its accompanying Codes.²⁴

The EEA focuses on spelling out section 9 of the Bill Of Rights, dealing with equality.²⁵ The EEA replaces the section found in the Labour Relations Act (LRA), found in schedule 7, Part B, relating to residual unfair labour practices, which previously covered unfair discrimination. Only dismissals related to unfair discrimination are still covered in the Labour Relations Act. This is under section 187(1)(f) of the Labour Relations Act, where unfair discrimination is a ground for an automatically unfair dismissal.²⁶

A complementary set of legislation that deals with unfair discrimination outside of the workplace (except for those workers not covered by the Labour Relations Act or the EEA, like members of the National Defence Force, for example) is the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act [No. 4 of 2000] and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Amendment Act [No. 52 of 2002].

One specific issue covered in the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act that is not specified in the EEA is name-calling or “hate speech”. If it was racist though, it could count as race discrimination under the EEA.²⁷

Both the EEA and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act specify that harassment is unfair discrimination and the Labour Relations Act sets out a Code of Good Practice for dealing with sexual harassment.²⁸

For most cases of discrimination workers can use the EEA. Thus the purpose of the Act is to achieve equity in the workplace by firstly promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment via eradicating unfair discrimination and secondly by implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment, from access to occupations, pay, access to training and development, as experienced by historically disadvantaged designated groups. This is done to ensure these groups' equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce²⁹. It is argued that the purpose and structure of the EEA is a multiple Constitutional approach aimed at both formal and substantive equality³⁰. International experience demonstrates that striving for substantive equality is significant and it is this that highlights the strength of the South African model of anti-discrimination.

²⁴ Department of Labour. 2004. *Commission for Employment Equity Annual Report 2003 – 2004*. Pretoria: Government Printers, p. 3.

²⁵ Cooper, C. (2001). 'Key elements of unfair discrimination' in *Labour Law Updates*, 1(2), p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 2.

²⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁹ Daphne, J.2003. 'The Potential of the South African Anti-Discrimination Model to facilitate the quest for substantive equality in the workplace?', p7.

³⁰ *Ibid*.

Thus, unfair discrimination is covered by Chapter II of the EEA. It took effect on 9 August 1999 and as such has been in force for just under eight years, which makes it relatively new legislation.

The prohibition of unfair discrimination in Chapter II commences in section 5 which places a positive duty on every employer to “take steps to promote equal opportunity in the workplace by eliminating unfair discrimination in any employment policy or practice.” So employers are called on to proactively address unfair discrimination, which would include compelling employees to accommodate employees who may be HIV positive or disabled. The Codes of Good Practice give the employer practical guidelines on how to do this.

Section 6 of the EEA houses the main provisions that prohibit unfair discrimination and section 6(1) disallows direct and indirect unfair discrimination against an employee on any of the following grounds: race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, family responsibility, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, HIV status, conscience, belief, political opinion, culture, language and birth. Section 6(2) provides for those conditions where discrimination is fair; particularly where affirmative action measures are taken “consistent with the purpose of this Act” or where any person is distinguished, excluded or preferred “on the basis of an inherent requirement of a job.”³¹

The various courts in the country have played a significant role in developing South African anti-discrimination jurisprudence. Indeed some argue that the anti-discrimination legislation, particularly the EEA has posed challenges in how to interpret and apply the various sections contained in it. Compounding the matter is that the EEA itself “provides very little guidance as to the nature of discrimination and the way in which it is regulated as a legal phenomenon.”³² The way in which this is done has implications for those who are using the EEA for a discrimination claim.

Section 10 of the EEA contains the steps that parties to a dispute on unfair discrimination may take. Firstly the dispute has to be referred to the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) for conciliation within 6 months of the dispute arising, “after the act or omission that allegedly constitutes unfair discrimination” and the party who refers the dispute needs to have made a “reasonable attempt to resolve the dispute”, which means that the applicant must provide some evidence that he or she attempted to resolve the dispute internally first. If the dispute is not resolved via conciliation at the CCMA, it may be referred to the Labour Court for adjudication or to arbitration at the CCMA if all parties are in agreement.

A key informant at the CCMA head office expressed his doubt as to the real impact the EEA has had since its inception as a low proportion of workers who are discriminated against in the workplace utilise the provisions of Act. Indeed, Table 4 provides statistics which supports his view: of the total number of cases referred, a very low proportion of cases (1%) for unfair

³¹ As cited in Daphne, J.2003. 'The Potential of the South African Anti-Discrimination Model to facilitate the quest for substantive equality in the workplace?', p9.

³² Van Niekerk cited in Daphne, J.2003. 'The Potential of the South African Anti-Discrimination Model to facilitate the quest for substantive equality in the workplace?', p11.

discrimination are actually referred to the CCMA. This very low referral rate for unfair discrimination is surely not representative of the reality in the workplace.³³

Table 4: EEA cases referred to the CCMA, 2002/3-2007/8

Issue	2002/ 2003	2003/ 2004	2004/ 2005	2005/ 2006	2006/ 2007	2007/ 2008*	Total
EEA (EEA) general referrals	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Medical testing	2	3	2	3	1	1	12
Prohibition of unfair discrimination	57	29	18	24	5	7	140
Protection of employee rights	9	20	18	9	2	2	60
Psychological testing and other similar assessments	2	3	0	0	0	0	5
Unfair discrimination	751	1021	1049	1020	1035	480	5356
Total EEA referrals	823	1076	1087	1056	1043	490	5575
Total referrals received	118123	127884	128152	125141	123551	57149	680000
% of Unfair discrimination cases	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%

Source: CCMA case management system

There are many reasons for the under-utilisation of the EEA, the key informant revealed that might address the low referral rate. In his view, there are major blockages that relate to the effective usage of the instrument, like the multitude of pit stops along the way, the obligation on the applicant to attempt to resolve the dispute internally first and provide proof of this, then the obligation on the applicant to refer the matter to the CCMA within the correct time period, to internal issues relating to CCMA capacity like its case management system and screening system. It is also most likely that the majority of EEA cases referred involve applicants who do not have representation and individually lack the requisite knowledge and capacity to effectively deal with the matter at conciliation. By nature, equity disputes too are complex and sensitive and most likely contain an element of fear, embarrassment and sometimes recrimination.³⁴

Added to this he contends that the majority of CCMA commissioners are most probably not adequately trained and poorly equipped to deal with the issues of equity. Clearly the CCMA has not developed its capacity to deal with equity cases and this of particular concern as the CCMA is the first port of call for cases relating to unfair discrimination in the workplace.

When the researchers examined all the hard copies of employment equity unfair discrimination cases (for the Gauteng region and for the three sectors under review) referred to the CCMA since 2002/2003 to date, we found the following trends on closer examination:

Table 5: Chapter II CCMA Cases (Unfair Discrimination)

Sector	Referred to the Labour Court	Settled at conciliation	Arbitrated at CCMA or at Bargaining Council
Mining	14	2	1
Engineering	10	3	1
Higher Education	15	4	2

Source: CCMA Case Operations

³³ Daphne, J.2003. 'The Potential of the South African Anti-Discrimination Model to facilitate the quest for substantive equality in the workplace?', p40.

³⁴ Daphne, J.2003. 'The Potential of the South African Anti-Discrimination Model to facilitate the quest for substantive equality in the workplace?', p39.

Table 5 indicates that most unfair discrimination cases were referred to the Labour Court by the CCMA commissioner at conciliation with very few cases being settled at conciliation or referred to arbitration. This is partly due to the fact that in the majority of cases reviewed, the respondent did not appear at conciliation. In most cases the employer is the respondent and one might naturally question the significance that employers attach to employment equity.

If the case is referred to the Labour Court for adjudication this necessitates further resources and capacity (like being able to access legal aid) on the part of the applicants. This turns the claim of unfair discrimination into a daunting legal task and this undertaking must be very onerous on the ordinary and single worker. Indeed, “the necessary steps and requirements for a successful unfair discrimination claim in the courts, are far from straightforward for the average applicant” and “central to meeting the requirements for an unfair discrimination claim is question of the burden and means of proof, which can constitute a serious impediment for applicants.” In addition, the EEA itself does not contain any detail on its legal regulation, it is “just a basic framework for unfair discrimination”³⁵ – in other words it acts as a guideline, as the 2004 *Lillian Dudley against the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Council* case law precedence proved.

Furthermore the EEA does not allow for class action suits, like PEPUDA does. Thus victims of discrimination in the workplace have to pursue individual complaints against the employer, via the CCMA. Yet international evidence has demonstrated how the method of class action law suits are far more effective in dealing with entrenched systems of discrimination and the where the victims are most often the most vulnerable, namely the poor, the historically disadvantaged and the powerless.³⁶ This could be one of the reasons as to why the EEA has also not been taken seriously by some employers?³⁷ A clear recommendation would thus be for class action to be permitted in cases of workplace unfair discrimination and perhaps a similar section that is found in PEPUDA could be inserted into the EEA³⁸ or make PEPUDA could be made applicable to all workplaces, where the deeply imbedded and historical nature of discrimination is a major factor.

To sum up at this point, clearly the EEA and its Codes are the most comprehensive interventions in the South African labour market after South Africa’s historical discriminatory past. Unfortunately what the reviews of the usage of the provisions of the EEA above highlight is that progress on the equity front has been very slow and difficult or quite near to impossible for the applicant to pursue an unfair discrimination claim as some labour law jurisprudence has revealed.³⁹

One can only assume that based on the evidence of the apparent under-utilisation of the legal instrument, the achievement of substantive equality in the workplace is still very low.

³⁵ Daphne, J.2003. “The Potential of the South African Anti-Discrimination Model to facilitate the quest for substantive equality in the workplace?”, p44.

³⁶ For example “class action” law suits in the United States of America.

³⁷ Mbabane, L.M. “Black Economic Empowerment, the lifeline for Employment Equity”, p 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ For more information please see Daphne, J.2003. “The Potential of the South African Anti-Discrimination Model to facilitate the quest for substantive equality in the workplace?”

Implementation and impact of legislation

Qualitative findings

In the previous section we looked at matters of labour jurisprudence and unfair discrimination, i.e. remedies that employees can seek to redress specific disputes in the workplace. But the EEA also has a pro-active component, which seeks to set up mechanisms to change processes of labour market allocation and control. In this section, we draw on our interviews with various stakeholders, to assess the impact of this aspect of the law.⁴⁰

The researchers asked the informants to give us their views on the impact and implementation of the EEA. They had the following to say:

Two of the informants at the regional office of the Department of Labour stated that it is most likely the case that when companies do not comply it is because they do not know how to or do not understand the law and he believed that at the regional level, the Department of Labour is able to address this issue by playing a great advocacy role in this respect. He strongly felt that most companies want to comply and learn about how they can better comply with the EEA. At present the most common issue identified by inspectors on employment equity at the workplace level is the fact that company Employment Equity Plan is not reflected at the workplace and in the make-up of the stakeholders in the employment equity forum. This informant did find that after the inspector had embarked on the process of advocacy that the companies used the information positively and many altered their plans accordingly. He felt that this is how he, as an official of the Department of Labour, was able to assist the companies in his particular region to unblock the barriers to employment equity at the regional level.

Indeed one of the commissioners on the Commission for Employment Equity is of the view that some companies do not have clear ideas on their Employment Equity Plan and often their Employment Equity Reports do not talk to the Plan. Additionally he says that if one attempts to compare two reports from consecutive years of the same company, often there is no continuity and “no application of mind” – he believes that companies comply as they “have to tick boxes”. He also believes that part of the problem internally is that Human Resource practitioners are inadequately equipped to deal with the issue of employment equity and there are cultural biases that are not being addressed by companies. The commissioner also believes that companies are not addressing the processes that inhibit the absorption of black people in particular into their companies. This same commissioner did admit though that there has been a breakdown in communication between the Department of Labour and the public and that this has impacted negatively on the Department’s campaigns on employment equity.

Indeed an informant at the head office of the Department of Labour admits that the Department of Labour has not seriously enforced the EEA since its inception. He said that the Department of Labour had only concentrated on cases of procedural compliance since 1998 – 213 to date – and had only embarked on the process of substantive compliance recently. Although the current system is designed to assist the Department of Labour in its enforcement role, this official did raise concern over the fact that there are a large number of companies the Department of Labour has to inspect. This numerical overload is combined with the fact that

⁴⁰ Please refer to Table B1 in Appendix B for a list of the interviews we conducted face-to-face with key informants.

he sees internal capacity problems within the Department of Labour in terms of staffing and the quality of staff – many cannot meaningfully engage with the relevant personnel of these companies (for example, CEOs).

Indeed the part of the problems related to efficacy on the part of the Department of Labour lies internally and is clearly illustrated by the regional office information we gathered. In this particular regional office, there are only seven inspectors in total and four supervisors/team leaders who are tasked with the inspection of occupational health and safety, the basic conditions of employment and employment equity for the entire vast region. The most time consuming part of the inspection by far was employment equity – one of the informants estimated that it could take an inspector the whole day to sit down and analyse the EE Reports at the workplace in order to assess whether all stakeholders in the company were equitably represented. In fact he said that at times, due to the size of the workplace, five inspectors were necessary for just one inspection of employment equity. In addition, many inspectors are still specialists in the respective arms of the labour legislation, although there are very few employment equity specialists. He did indicate that clearly his regional office was understaffed and thus under-equipped for the task at hand, there was a greater need for inspectors who are generalists and not specialists, inspectors who could handle the issues arising out of the employment equity inspection timeously and competently and inspectors who are better paid – he stated that the Department of Minerals and Energy inspectors were well paid by comparison. Although this may indicate that the capacity problem could be addressed by the recruitment of more inspectors to beef up the regional offices, a key informant at head office stated that this would not resolve the issue as he has experienced several problems with provincial competency – in his opinion many inspectors cannot deal with employment equity effectively at the company level as it “requires them to think on their feet” which most cannot do (it must be noted that even within his own head office team of 16 staff, 11 staff dedicated to the DG Review and only five staff members can competently deal with the issues of reports and analysis at the company level). Additionally as inspectors are generalists and need to have a broad spectrum of knowledge regarding all the relevant pieces of labour legislation, all the inspectors are thus required to do is tick a checkbox, even on the issue of employment equity. We had the opportunity to examine the inspector’s checklist at both the companies we visited and at the regional office and were surprised to note how small the section on employment equity is: there are 39 questions on occupational health and safety along with a checklist for physical inspection at the back of the inspection form, 37 questions on the Basic Conditions of Employment and only 16 questions with respect to Employment Equity and they are, as the informant at head office so correctly stated “things that are easy to see.”

The regional Department of Labour informant did express the view that if his regional office or one of his inspectors experienced problems regarding employment equity that necessitated a more substantial investigation, that he could contact the Provincial Office and Head Office could be contacted where necessary for support on employment equity issues but that even these offices were not supportive enough as the region is too big an area to cover comprehensively.

Also at the regional office this informant said that the front desk mostly handled race issues in relation to employment equity; in some cases the trade unions were quite vocal on employment equity in relation to race when they made an appearance at the regional office. The informant said that there were not many queries on employment equity relating to gender, even though in his region, more women than ever before have begun to be employed

underground in mining and in top management positions, for example. There were no queries relating to employment equity and disability. The other informant at the regional office noted that he has not seen people with disabilities being hired in the region, or people in other race groups, like Indians and coloured people for that matter.

What emerges here is that a regional focus has been quite useful in understanding the impact of the EEA – the informants were knowledgeable of the challenges in the sector and had tailored their advocacy in the form of training on the facets of EEA at the workplace level to the regional issues. These informants felt that this had a positive impact: it has helped companies understand how to implement employment equity in a more meaningful and legally acceptable manner, even though the impact of employment equity has been very slow but they both concluded that progress in the region is going to be more long term on the employment equity front.

In the majority of the workplaces we interviewed, disability is unfortunately overlooked as an issue in employment equity. One of the informants we interviewed said that in her experience of her role as a HR practitioner in a government department, she does not receive any applications for positions from disabled people. She says that of those potential employees who are disabled many do not disclose their disability. In addition when recruitment takes place for a position to be filled by a person with a disability, she does not receive any applications from this group. The reasons for this are many but she says that the main one is that people perceive that if the position is for a disabled person only then that job is perceived to be unimportant. The challenges that face many workplaces, she argues, including her own, for disabled people is that if workplaces want to incorporate this group into the environment, the company has to create a more supporting structure accordingly and one that allows that person to develop in his/her own position within the organisation – a clear career path needs to be mapped out. To overcome this present problem she sees the Department of Labour playing an intermediary role in this regard, with they can act as a placement agency for disabled people, as many workplaces within the sector that hers fall into experience great problems in filling vacancies whether or not the positions calls for a disabled person or not. The point is that people with disabilities are either not applying for jobs or do not get employed in some cases if they are classified as disabled.

Many of the workplaces we visited stated that they had never been visited by a representative of the Department of Labour in the form of an inspector. In most of the workplaces that formed part of the case studies for this report, the respondents indicated unanimously that they had never received any help from the Department of Labour on their EEA2 forms. Some did point out that they did not seek help from the Department of Labour though. Another informant said that her opinion of the Employment Equity reports and the Department of Labour is that it is a “black hole within which EEA2’s disappear into”. Furthermore she questions how the Department of Labour monitors and engages with what is submitted to them in a meaningful way, as companies devote resources and time to these reports. In her view the Department of Labour need to more to facilitate the EEA instead of just processing the information they receive – they need to really understand the information they receive and so far they have not demonstrated that they have. A key informant within the Department of Labour confirms this previous point – he acknowledges that firstly a lot of the analysis that the Department does right now is manual and that they need a system that allows them to interpret the data more effectively and staff who are skilled to interpret the data.

Another problem we encountered lies in the Employment Equity Registry itself. When we requested all the Employment Equity reports for the companies and organisations we looked at for this project and for the years under review, our experience was that the information supplied gave us an incomplete picture of the workforce profile of the companies or organisations. Often the EE Registry could not find all the EE Reports for the workplaces of the same company (for example the mining companies and their various operations) and there were gaps in the information over the years. Yet in every company and organisation we visited they could easily show us or even give us every single EE Report the company and its workplaces had submitted to the Department of Labour from 2000 to 2007 – there was a complete set of reports. In one case a respondent looked at the EE Reports we had received from the EE Registry and compared it to the EE Report she had submitted that year. We found that the EE Registry reports have been re-typed but contain many typos and, more significantly, incorrect information – the EE Registry reports do not match the original reports the company submitted for that year. This finding should raise concerns for the Department of Labour and the CEE: how accurate and complete is the processing of information, is it correct and have all the gaps been filled? This is the information that the CEE includes in their Annual Reports after all.

The problems with the data in the CEE Annual Reports will be identified now.

Firstly it must be pointed out that data from the March 2000 – March 2007 Labour Force Surveys have been used to understand the statistical trends in the labour market, which follows shortly, rather than the data as contained in the Annual Reports of the Commission on Employment Equity for particular reasons.

The LFS data were collected using a consistent and thus reliable measuring instrument, that of a national and representative survey whose samples have been drawn from the Census. Specifically for the LFS data, the Census frame is used to draw the sample of Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) for the Master sample and the Master Sample is a multi-stage stratified sample. Statistics South Africa also uses a “rotating panel methodology for the LFS, to ultimately obtain a better picture of movements in and out of the labour market over time. The advantage of using this type of design is that it provides the basis for monitoring changes in the work situation of members of the same household over time, while retaining the larger picture of the overall employment situation in the country. It also allows for both longitudinal and cross-sectional analysis.”⁴¹ Added to this the response rates at the national level have been 85% or higher for most rounds of the LFS.⁴²

Contrast the quality of data that the LFS has to offer to the information on the labour market in order to understand changes as opposed to the information contained in the Commission on Employment Equity’s (CEE) annual reports. The most important fact to bear in mind is that the data contained in the CEE reports are based only on a limited sample of the national labour market. Indeed, the Employment Equity Report for 2005-2006 only covers 2.4 million workers – or 14.6% of the 16.2 million economically active population.⁴³ This is due to the fact that the EEA requires employers with 150 or more employees to report annually and those with 150 employees and less to report biannually to the Department of Labour.

⁴¹ LFS, PO210, March 2007: xxii-xxiii.

⁴² LFS, PO210, March 2007: xxii.

⁴³ LFS PO210, March 2007: xxvi.

Clearly the data contained in the annual reports of the CEE are not representative of the national labour market. In 2005, the CEE Annual Report covered 2 085 employers employing 2 365 259 employees (with an average of 1 134 employees per employer).⁴⁴ The Employment Equity Reports cannot be viewed as surveys which are representative of the South African workplace. Conclusions about transformation in the labour market cannot be drawn from these reports, but they are, and done so by the CEE.

It has also been found that the number of reports submitted every second year varies greatly. Due to these different response rates one cannot draw any comparisons from the data sets, like the Commission for Employment Equity likes to do, from these differing sets of data. Indeed only around 1540 of the average of 5478 submitted reports, or 28%, of reports annually relate to the same employers. Based on this then if any comparisons are to be drawn, they need to be based on the regular 1 540 companies who submit their reports each year – in this way at least then the conclusions will be based on the same companies.

When employers do submit their reports, the CEE finds that a large number of the reports cannot be used as they contained too many errors. The CEE subsequently excludes these reports from their analysis. Table 5 below illustrates the EE reporting trends.

Table 5: EE Reporting Trends, 2000 - 2005

Year	Reports received	Reports excluded	Reports included in analysis	% reports for analysis
2000	12980	4730	8250	63.6
2001	2369	587	1782	75.2
2002	6990	0	6990	100
2003	3252	0	3252	100
2004	9389	3835	5554	59.2
2005	2762	677	2085	75.5

Source: CEE Annual Reports, 2000–2006.

Indeed by the third reporting cycle, the CEE themselves stated that that they were not getting a full picture of the “progress” made by employers in implementing their employment equity plans from the data contained in the EE Reports. The CEE thus embarked on workplace visits to gather qualitative information but understand substantive compliance at the workplace.⁴⁵ With the focus on substantive compliance the Department of Labour has not found the ranking employers in terms of performance useful, as a key informant at head office revealed but many informants we interviewed at the workplaces did.

Bearing in mind that a large amount of data are missing, as identified above, the CEE states that they have to visit workplaces to fill in the blanks. The CEE also highlight in their annual report of 2004-2005 that “it is of great concern to the Commission that such a large number (3835) of reports could not be included in the sample because they do not meet the minimum requirements for inclusion in the analysis. The effect of this is that the sample size has been diminished considerably. This may distort any interpretation and conclusions made about

⁴⁴ CEE Annual Report 2005-2006.

⁴⁵ CEE Annual Report, 2003-2004, p. 4.

representation of the designated group in the workforce”.⁴⁶ The CEE Annual Report of 2004 warns against making comparisons across the years due to the large number of reports it has to exclude from analysis but the CEE proceed to make the comparisons anyway in that Annual Report.

Added to the woes of the Commission of Employment Equity Registry, it is widely believed that a large number of employers simply do not submit their reports. In 2005, it was reported that 25 municipalities (for example the metropolitan councils like Tshwane and Johannesburg), 13 provincial government departments, 9 national government departments, the South African parliament and the director of public prosecutions failed to submit their reports to the Department of Labour that year.

These omissions by very public employers raise questions around both the representivity of the data in the reports and a possible distortion of the figures as contained in the CEE reports

An examination of African representation in the public service provides a good example of how incomplete a picture of employment equity the data in the CEE Annual Reports are:

Table 6: Representation of Population Groups in the Public Service

Population group	Number of employees	Percentage
African	890 661	75.96%
Asian	41 723	3,56%
Coloured	102 227	8,72%
White	137 860	11,76%
Total	1 172 471	100%

Source: DPSA (31/03/2007)

Indeed the Department of Public Service and Administration indicated to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee: Labour that race targets within the DPSA have been fulfilled, as Table 6 above illustrates (although the representation levels for women at the Senior Management level are low compared to men).

Table 7: Comparisons between LFS data and CEE data

	% Black (CEE Reports 2005)	% Black (LFS Sep 2005)
Legislators, senior officials and managers	40.2	44.8
Professionals	55.0	60.0
Technicians and associate professionals	55.7	69.3

Table 7 illustrates that if one examines the two sets of data more closely, one finds that in the Statistics South Africa LFS March 2005, 44.8% of legislators, senior officials and managers, 60.2% of Professionals and 69.3% of Technicians and associate professionals are black, compared to 40.2%, 55% and 55.7% respectively in the CEE Annual Report of 2005.

The above example clearly illustrates that the data in the CEE reports underestimate the number of black South Africans in the top three categories in the occupational hierarchy. Given that this is the pre-occupation of the CEE – that is, numerical transformation at the top, it is this very transformation that is being missed completely if the CEE rely on their own Annual Reports as the definitive source of information regarding Employment Equity. All the EE Reports reflect, at best, and what should be reflected on when the CEE conducts their

⁴⁶ CEE Annual Report, 2004.

analysis is just what is happening at the enterprise level. Yet it is the data from these Annual Reports that are currently being used as the measuring stick for trends in employment equity in South Africa and for drawing conclusions about black and female representation in the labour market in particular. Clearly there are problems in the current reporting process the CEE relies on for its information. It is not a reliable instrument for gathering information, and accordingly, the data that emanates from these reports have to be interpreted in a particular way whereby no firm statistical conclusions about the labour market must be drawn.

However whilst amendments can be made to on the procedural side, this is inadequate in dealing with the problems that have been identified, namely that the general levels of non-compliance amongst employers is still high, there is too much variability in the submission of EE reports annually to the Employment Equity Registry that allows for any comparisons to be made and lastly the quality of the information provided is questionable.

The point is that clearly there are numerous factors that impact on the labour market and the data from various kinds of research, such as an examination of the data from the Labour Force Survey will shortly show and the data in the EE Reports highlight how the information gathered can be subjected to many interpretations.

This leads one of to question, seeing that there is a clear lack of monitoring by the Department of Labour in EE compliance, a lack of enforcement and a problem with the data that is gathered, how seriously should companies take employment equity and what should their commitment be to the transformation process? Has employment equity been delegated to the bottom of the list in terms of business priorities? The instrument the Department of Labour can use to enforce compliance are to fine the non-complying company a set fee that has remained constant over the years. These fines are not substantial and unlike the fines levied by the Competition Commission, which is a certain percentage of the company's turnover – the recent bread price-fixing debacle and Tiger Brands being a case in point. Thus the EEA (it is an enabling Act after all) and lacks “sharp teeth” as most companies do not fear being fined and in fact, some companies within the mining sector, as a key informant in the Department of Minerals and Energy revealed, budget for the possibility of fines in the case of non-compliance as these have very little impact on the financial bottom line.

However, perhaps the developments in the Black Economic Empowerment legislation and the various sectoral charters provide a way forward. Within the various charters, for example in mining, the following employment equity targets have been devised “establish targets for employment equity, particularly in the junior and senior management categories. Companies agree to spell out their plans for employment equity at the management level. The stakeholders aspire to a baseline of 40 percent HDSA participation in management within 5-years”⁴⁷ (the first Mining Charter). It is via these sectoral charters that the employment equity, which may have been neglected by companies thus far, has now been placed firmly onto the agendas of companies as now there is a business rationale for companies to comply - for example, mining companies can lose their license to operate if they do not comply with the Employment Equity targets that have been set in the Mining Charter. The Department of Minerals and Energy has the authority to withdraw these licenses. After all these EE targets have been constructed through bargaining and negotiation and will be adhered to if the mining companies, for example, want to access government contracts or renew licenses. Even though these targets were set up outside of the Employment Equity process, the point is that unlike

⁴⁷ Broad-Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter for the South African Mining Industry, p4.

Employment Equity, these targets were set with top management and even Board commitment in some cases, and will be driven at the highest levels within the companies. These sectoral equity targets should not be ignored by the CEE or the Department of Labour when they assess compliance⁴⁸, as they complement the EE process. A key source within the Department of Minerals and Energy is of the view that the EEA and the Mining Charter both cover employment equity and are there to back each other up.

A key source within the Department of Minerals and Energy asserts that the relevant government departments within the sector need to start talking to each other about the “employment equity animal” – for example, within the mining sector, the Department of Minerals and Energy, which enforce Employment Equity according to the Mining Charter need to enter into a conversation within the Department of Labour to work out what each of these department's roles will be with regard to Employment Equity. He is in favour of a situation where, like in the mining sector, where employment equity targets have been set at the sectoral level (for e.g. the first five year plan, which is from 2004-2009, targets of 40% top management black and 10% women in mining), the Department of Minerals and Energy will be largely responsible for the regulation, monitoring and enforcing of compliance within this sector. The Department of Minerals and Energy will give the Department of Labour feedback on the state of employment equity within the sector. The source within the Department of Minerals and Energy argues that the fact that the Department of Minerals and Energy can hang the threat of the mining operation losing its license to operate over its head if they do not comply with the Employment Equity targets set gives the Mining Charter “sharp teeth” and a very real instrument that the Department of Minerals and Energy can wield companies take seriously.

It is argued that these sectoral driven targets of employment equity need to be taken into consideration by the CEE and the Department of Labour when they evaluate the performance of companies covered by these sectoral charters and assess their numerical goals and time frames in their attempt to achieve parity in the equity arena.

The report now turns to an overview of quantitative trends in the labour market.

General labour market participation rates

For the purposes of tracking change in workplace demographics, the Department of Labour classifies designated employers into nine main industrial sectors, which are

- Agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing;
- Mining & quarrying;
- Manufacturing;
- Electricity, gas & water supply;
- Construction;
- Wholesale & retail trade;
- Transport, storage & communication;
- Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services; and
- Community, social & personal services.

⁴⁸ Mbabane, L.M. “Black Economic Empowerment, the lifeline for Employment Equity”, p 3.

Whilst a universal employment equity policy has been necessary to kick start transformation in the country, an interesting point to consider is if it is employment equity that has contributed specifically to transformation within the labour market, or not.

It is to acknowledge that within the labour market there are sectors which are quite independent and they have separate labour markets each with different characteristics and different labour needs. Labour markets are characterised by workers (with a specific set of conceptual, applied and tacit knowledge and skills) who work under specific conditions for a specific reward.⁴⁹ However, despite this, vertical and horizontal movement within a labour market is seldom purely meritocratic. Upward mobility, in particular, is often dependent on access to workplace resources, access to workplace networks and the degree of fit between an individual and an organisational culture as well as extra-workplace resources.

Labour markets in the South African context are even more complex and were historically also segmented along the lines of race, gender, class and geography and to date still are despite a vastly different political, social and economic regime since 1994. Thus the aforementioned pieces of legislation seek to reconfigure both the formal and informal characteristics of labour market functioning; that is they seek to eliminate unfair discrimination in terms of access to workplace resources such as employment itself, promotions, training and workplace benefits as well as eliminating prejudice, intolerance and discrimination within the workplace.

This report instead looks to one of South Africa's key employment statistics, the October Household Survey and its successor the Labour Force Survey (LFS) to explore the movement in the labour market instead.

The LFS is a biannual household survey designed to measure key aspects of the labour market. This report draws mainly on these set of data as they provide reliable insight into the multitude of issues related to the labour market, including the level and pattern of employment, unemployment and the industrial and occupational structure of the South African labour economy.⁵⁰

Thus the focus here is mainly on general labour participation rates and employment statistics per sector and per occupation level cross-tabulated by the variables of race and gender (and not disability although this has to be taken into account).

General labour participation rates by race and gender

A comparison between general population statistics and the economically active population illustrates that in terms of race-based equity, coloured and Indian people are fairly represented in the national labour market whilst white people are over-represented and African people are under-represented. When men and women's participation rates are assessed, we find that men are over-represented and women under-represented. Assessing employment equity in terms of both race and gender reveals that in fact all racial and gendered groups are either fairly or over-represented in the national labour market except for African women who are very much under-represented as they account for 40.4% of the population of South Africa but only 34%

⁴⁹ Fevre. R. 1992. 'Labour Markets and Sociology' in Fevre. R (ed) *The Sociology of Labour Markets*. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, pp. 10-13.

⁵⁰ LFS PO210, March 2007: i.

of the economically active population (see Tables B2-B5, Appendix B).⁵¹ These figures vividly illustrate the pervasive legacy of apartheid and highlight the need for redress in the form of affirmative action measures.

Employment statistics per sector

The top five sectors in terms of the number of economically active people involved as at March 2007 are: wholesale and retail (23.4%); community, social & personal services (18.3%); manufacturing (13.9%); financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services (10.4%) and agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing (8.5%).

These five sectors are crucial to examine further as collectively they represent more than three-quarters of all economically active people (see Tables B6-B8, Appendix B). As Table B8 shows, looking back over the past six years only, the sectors that have expanded their labour force significantly are: community, social & personal services, financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services, construction and manufacturing. On the other hand, agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing; mining & quarrying and wholesale, retail trade & catering & accommodation services have experienced varying trends in both expansion and contraction of their labour markets over the past six years.

In terms of formal sector employment, as Table B9 illustrates, private households with employed persons; agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing; construction; wholesale and trade and transport, storage & communication are the sectors with the smallest proportions of their labour force in the formal sector. As these sectors refer the most number of cases to the CCMA and as the majority of cases have to do with unfair dismissal (81%) and unfair labour practice (7%), it is important that we see class as an aspect of equity.⁵²

The review of labour market statistics at this point has highlighted key labour patterns within specific sectors before examining employment equity statistics. This has been done deliberately in order to emphasise the argument that employment equity needs to be understood as part and parcel of wider labour practices and not as something isolated or separate. In this way, cases of non-compliance with provisions of the EEA and cases of workplace discrimination will not be seen as micro or individual cases but will be grounded within the macro structural and systemic practices and forces.

From this point a shift in focus will take place in order to evaluate how specific sectors are doing in terms of race and gender-based employment equity (see Tables B6 to B10, Appendix B).

Table B10 clearly illustrates that each of the main industrial sectors is predominantly staffed by black employees. However, sectors such as private households with employed persons; construction and agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing are still almost exclusively black, whilst the financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services sector has a proportion of the labour force that are still white. In terms of gender-based equity, only private households with employed persons; community, social & personal services; and

⁵¹ LFS, PO210:1,7 and March 2007 LFS data.

⁵² Department of Labour. 2005. *Labour Market Review 2005*. Pretoria: Government Printers, p. 14.

wholesale & retail trade have or are near to achieving gender parity. Mining & quarrying; and construction remain the two sectors with the least proportion of women in the labour force.

Interestingly, sectors with relatively large proportions of trade union membership are also male-dominated sectors with the exception of community, social & personal services. Therefore, this suggests that trade unions may not be actively pursuing employment equity within their sectors; and perhaps that where they do act as a catalyst for change it may only be for race-based not gender-based change. In other sectors the impact of workplace restructuring has had a negative impact on the ability of trade unions to actively pursue progressive labour policies as they are struggling just to survive. Furthermore, private households with employed persons (domestic workers) constitute mainly black women and remain unorganised as a sector (see Table B9 in Appendix B).

Thus employment equity has to be thought of more broadly and in conversation with wider labour processes.

Table 8 illustrates that, excluding private households and construction, where African women and men respectively are concentrated at, black people particularly African women are least represented in sectors requiring high levels of education and skill; with the exception of the community, social & personal services sector which has historically been the preserve of the black middle class, especially women. In addition these sectors with low participation rates of African women are dominated by white people. There are especially significant proportions of white and Indian women (see financial intermediation, insurance, real estate and business services) and African men which may illustrate that significant change has occurred within these categories. In continuity with the past, black especially African and coloured men are concentrated in agriculture and manufacturing whilst retail, followed closely by community, social and personal services has the most gender parity.

Table 8: Demographic Statistics for the Top Five Sectors: March 2007, Proportions

Industrial sector	African			Coloured			Indian			White			Total Black		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	Total	M	F
Wholesale, retail trade & catering & accommodation services	68.8	34.4	34.3	9.9	4.4	5.5	4.5	3.1	1.4	16.3	9.4	6.9	83.2	42.0	41.2
Community, social & personal services	64.8	29.8	35.0	12.0	5.1	6.9	2.7	1.3	1.4	20.4	7.1	13.2	79.5	36.2	43.3
Manufacturing	64.2	42.9	21.3	15.1	9.1	6.0	5.2	3.6	1.6	15.2	10.9	4.3	84.4	55.5	28.9
Agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing	76.5	46.0	30.5	14.0	9.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.6	6.4	2.1	90.5	55.0	35.5
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services	54.6	37.6	17.0	9.0	4.2	4.8	4.2	2.0	2.3	32.0	16.2	15.8	67.9	43.8	24.1

Source: LFS March 2007

Table 9 also illustrates how the sector-specific analysis is useful as it demonstrates that there are multiple labour markets and therefore the need for a complex, multi-faceted and a sector-specific approach to the continued transformation, even in employment equity, of the main industrial sectors. Furthermore, by combining an understanding of the nature of work with equity, we are able to transcend a pre-occupation with change in the high-end of the labour market and to also see the continuity and worsening labour conditions of those in low-end jobs who continue to be black men and women.

Table 9: Summary Checklist of Race and Gender Representation in the Top Five Sectors

Industrial sector	Heterogeneity ranking	African			Coloured			Indian/Asian			Total Black			White		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Wholesale & retail trade	1		√			√	√	√	√	√		√		√	√	√
Community, social & personal services	3		√			√	√		√			√		√	√	√
Manufacturing	2	√			√	√	√	√	√	√				√		
Agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing	4	√		√	√	√	√				√		√			
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services	5							√	√	√				√	√	√

Source: LFS March 2007

Key: √ Denotes where the number of workers are at/above threshold of economic activity for race and/or gender category

However, the short-coming of the sector-based approach is that it does not demonstrate the inequality that exists within the labour market hierarchy. Therefore, the discussion now shifts to an examination of race and gender demographics per occupation category.

Employment statistics per occupation category: general trends

From Table B12 (Appendix B) it is clear that in 1997, the top five occupations for people in South Africa were elementary occupations; craft & related trades workers; domestic workers; service workers, shop & market sales workers and plant and machine operators and assemblers, making the majority of people employed in the low-end jobs.

As of March 2007, the picture has changed somewhat slightly. At the low-end of the spectrum, the top two occupations for people in South Africa remain elementary occupations and craft & related trades. Domestic work and plant and machine operators and assemblers have fallen off and have been replaced by the next top occupations that include service workers, shop & market sales workers; clerks; and technical & associate professionals. This means that more people are now employed in middle range jobs.

Table B13 (Appendix B) demonstrates that over the past six years, legislators, senior officials & managers; craft & related trades workers; clerks and professionals were growth occupations. Skilled agricultural & fishery workers; service, shop and market sales workers; technical and associate professionals and plant and machine operators and assemblers have contracted. Thus whilst there is a marked expansion in high-end jobs there has been alongside this a decrease in middle range jobs which could potentially have a negative impact on income inequality within the national labour market. Similarly too, low-end jobs are also less likely to be in the formal sector with an accompanying increase in income insecurity for these workers.

Employment statistics per occupation category: race and gender trends

A most useful exercise would be to examine race and gender demographics per occupational category using the data of the LFS to understand where the shifts towards race and gender parity have occurred if at all within the labour market.

Thus this section of the report now turns to an examination of the occupational categories and then skill levels by race and gender. The variables of the datasets of LFS have been cross-tabulated by occupational categories and race and gender for the labour force.

Particularly, tables B14 to B44 (see Appendix B) very clearly show that the hierarchy of the national labour market is still very much racialised; occupations at the lower-end and lowest end are almost exclusively filled by black people and African women respectively, whilst the very top-end occupation has the smallest proportion of black people and especially African people. Coloured people are clustered from middle of the range to lower end occupations whilst Indian people and white people are predominantly located in middle to high end occupations.

As at March 2007 if one compares the percentage of the labour force per racial categorisation in each occupation category (see Table B40 in Appendix B) to the percentage of economically active population per racial categorisation (see Table B5 in Appendix B), one will see that African people are under-represented in every occupation category except elementary occupations. Coloured people are fairly or over-represented in each occupational category except legislators, senior officials and managers, technicians and associate professionals and professionals. Indian people are over-represented in every category except skilled agricultural & fishery workers; and elementary occupations. Lastly, white people are substantially over-represented in all occupations except service and sale workers, craft and trade related workers and elementary occupations.

Similarly with regard to gender, women are under-represented in all occupations except professional, technical & associate professionals; clerks and skilled agricultural and fishery workers occupations and men are over-represented in all occupations except these.

If one looks at the intersection of both race and gender (see figure 7 below), it is possible to identify semi-permeable glass ceilings above which under-representation occurs and stone floors below which under-representation also occurs. For African men the glass ceiling is at the occupational category of clerks whilst African women experience a glass ceiling for all occupations except elementary occupations. Coloured men also experience a glass ceiling at the level of clerks whilst Coloured women have a glass ceiling at the level of professional and somewhat of a stone floor below service workers, shop & market sales workers.

Indian men do not appear to have any glass ceilings but do have a stone floor when it comes to skilled agricultural and fishery workers and elementary occupations; whilst Indian women also appear to only have a stone floor below service workers, shop & market sales workers (with the exception of plant & machine operators & assemblers).

White men appear to also have no glass ceilings and only a stone floor below craft & related trades workers (with the exception of clerks and sales and service workers) and white women also only experience a stone floor below clerks and craft & related trades workers.

Figure 3: Glass Ceilings & Stone Floors

Occupation	African			Coloured			Indian			Total Black			White			Total	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Legislators, senior officials & managers							S	S	S				S	S	S		
Professionals							S	S	S				S	S	S		
Technical & associate professionals						G	S	S	S				S	S	S	E	I
Clerks						G	S	S	S				E	S	S	E	I
Service workers, shop & market sales workers	G								S	S			S		S		
Skilled agricultural & fishery workers	G	E	G									E	G	S			
Craft & related trades workers	G		G	G		G				G		G	S				
Plant & machine operators & assemblers	G		G	G		G	S			G		G					
Elementary occupation	G	G	G	G	E	G				G	G	G					

Source: LFS March 2007, StatsSA

The figure shows all workers at/above threshold of economic activity for race and/or gender category

Key:

G Workers below a glass ceiling

S Workers above a stone floor

E Workers spread throughout labour hierarchy

E Exceptions to major trend

I Irregular labour pattern with clustering of workers at the middle

To sum at this point, the trend is that white and Indian people are as a collective employed in middle range to top end jobs and coloured and African people as a collective are employed in low end to middle range jobs. However what figure 8 also illustrates is that the distribution of race and gender amongst occupation levels is inherently complicated.

The data in Tables B40 & B41 (see Appendix B) suggests that whilst the very top and the lowest end of the labour market remain racially polarized, skilled technicians and professionally qualified workers (to less an extent) are more heterogeneous.

Turning to the top two positions in the occupational hierarchy, namely legislators, senior officials and managers and professionals, an examination of the trends in 2007 and in 2000 (see Tables B40 & B41 in Appendix B) indicate African men and Indian men have increased in proportion in the occupational category of legislators, senior officials and managers over the last seven years but coloured men and white men have decreased.

African men and Indian men have increased in proportion in the Professional category whereas white men and coloured men have decreased in proportion over the past seven years.

At the top of the occupational hierarchy, namely legislators, senior officials and managers and professionals, an examination of the trends in 2007 and in 2000 (see Tables B40 & B41 in Appendix B) indicate that African women, Indian women and white women have increased in proportion at the very top too over the last seven years but coloured women have decreased.

African women and coloured women have increased in proportion in the Professional category whereas white women and Indian women have decreased in proportion over the past seven years.

What is interesting to note is that African men followed by white women, when one compares their proportions, are more numerous in the top occupational category in 2000 and 2007. In

the Professional category, African men have overtaken white women in 2007 when compared to the figures for 2000.

Table 10: Occupation Categories by Race and Gender; Total Workforce, %

Occupation	Black		Women	
	2000	2007	2000	2007
Legislators, senior officials & managers	2.6	3.3↑	1.5	2.4↑
Professionals	1.8	2.8↑	1.7	2.2↑
Technical & associate professionals	6.3	6.7↑	5.4	5.2↓
Clerks	5.7	7.2↑	6.6	6.7↑
Craft & related trades workers	10.9	13.6↑	2	2.1↑

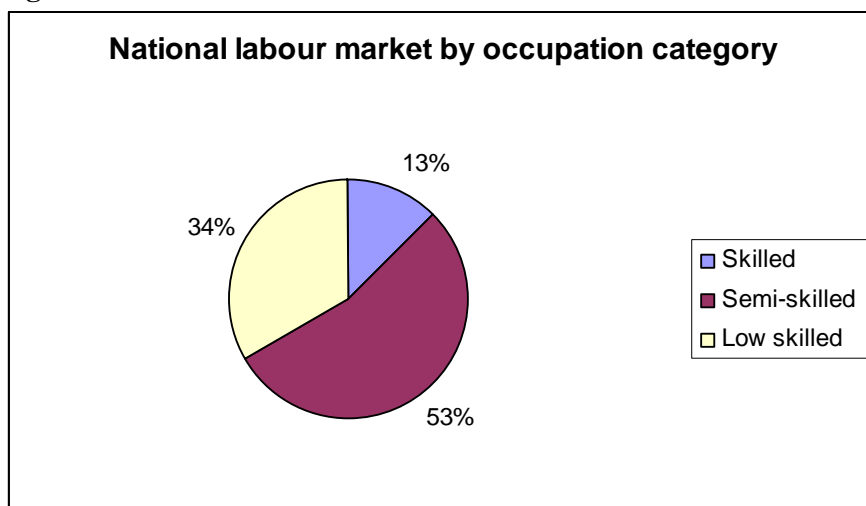
Source: LFS Data, 2000 and 2007

Table 10 indicates that, as of 2007 as a percentage of the total working population, collectively black people (6.1%) followed by women (4.6%) have a higher proportion in 2007 in the top positions of legislators, senior officials and managers and professionally qualified when compared to the statistics in 2000 (3.2% for women and 4.4% for black people). In those jobs within the middle range of the labour market, namely the technical and associate professionals, the clerks and craft and trade related workers, more black people (27.5%) have moved into these positions when compared to 2000 (22.9%) whereas the rate of women in these positions has remained stable, although within each occupation there has been an increase in women namely the clerk and craft and related trades workers positions in 2007 when compared to 2000, with the exception of technical and associate professionals where there has been a slight decrease over the years.

On the one hand the change has been vividly illustrated and shows that of the supposed employment equity beneficiaries in the top of the hierarchy in terms of occupation, collectively women and black people have increased in proportion over the last seven years as the LFS data suggest.

On the other hand the LFS data for 2000 and 2007 for professionally qualified do suggest some potentially problematic trends exist. Across all race and gender categories there is a degree of instability with both expansion and contraction. The explanation for this pattern needs to be further investigated to determine whether black professions are upwardly mobile and have moved into the top end categories or whether they have moved to smaller non-reporting companies or whether they have emigrated as a feature of brain drain. Equally important to investigate, is why the labour market seems not to have been able to replace this loss and the implications this has long-term.

Figure 4: National Labour Market



Source: LFS March 2007, StatsSA

Figure 4 above shows that the majority of workers are semi-skilled (53%), unskilled workers are 34% and low skilled workers are 13% in 2007.

Table 11: Distribution of Employment by Skill, Race & Gender; March 2000 & March 2007, %

	Mar-00		Mar-07	
	Black - %	Women - %	Black - %	Women - %
Skilled (Legislators, senior officials and managers and Professionals)	4.3	3.2	6.5↑	4.9↑
Semi-skilled (Technical and associate professionals, clerks, service workers, skilled agricultural and fishery workers and craft & trade related workers)	49.1	28.4	44.3↓	23.0↓
Low skilled (labourers)	28.2	11.2	32.3↑	10.7↓

Source: LFS March 2000 & March 2007, StatsSA

Turning briefly to skills, the skill patterns over the past seven years as demonstrated by the collective figures for race and gender as illustrated in Table 11, that there has been an increase in the skilled occupations by both Black people and Women with a decrease for both groups in the middle level occupations.

The data in Tables B43 & B45 (in Appendix B) highlight the skewed nature of the labour market when one looks across the race and gender categories but also illustrate exactly where the increase or decrease in proportion has taken place in terms of the race and gender groups over the last seven years. The majority of workers are still semi-skilled, with the majority of semi-skilled people being African men and women, with more men than women being semi-skilled. The majority of low skilled people are African men and women too with more men than women being low skilled.

White men and African men (the latter slightly more so than white women) are the highest in proportion that any other race and gender group at the skilled level.

To sum, the use of LFS data has clearly illustrated the extent of change at the top of the labour market hierarchy by race and gender categories. The analysis has also shown that for the extent of the change to be fully appreciated, it is also quite useful to look at the general labour market occupational category distributions within the race and gender categories.

This report thus argues that at present the Department of Labour and officials of the CEE are better placed relying on the occupational category data as provided in the LFS as it gives a far more statistically accurate and complete picture of the movement towards race and gender equity across occupational categories within the South African labour market, or to take a more sectoral approach to the analysis of employment equity as illustrated in the sectoral analysis section.

It is noted that there has been neglect of an examination of data for workers with disabilities. To a great extent, workers with disabilities remain excluded from the South African labour market and this presents a very real challenge to Employment Equity and has been noted by the many stakeholders.

The picture that emerges from an overview of the trends in the labour market over the years in the period under review does strongly indicate that employment equity remains a challenge. In the very top occupational category and professional post these positions are still held by white men. The positive changes within the demographics of the labour force were noted - there is a trend towards parity at the top end and at the middle part of the occupational hierarchy amongst the historically disadvantaged groups, namely black people and women, although this has been slow over the years under review.

On the whole, the data highlight the complexities of the labour market – it is still very much racialised and gendered at the different occupational categories. What cannot be concluded though from the LFS data is whether the policies of employment equity have affected the movement – even when it is both positive in the form of an increase in proportion amongst the HDSA or is negative in the form of a decrease in proportion of white men, for example. Equity in the labour market is not only dependent on policies that have been developed to target the area specifically, like the EEA. It is more complex than that as the changes in the labour force are due to a multitude of factors, such as market pressure in the form of demands by the various sectors of the major industries and the availability of labour coupled with the appropriate skills on the supply-side.

SECTION 4

CASE STUDIES FROM HIGHER EDUCATION, ENGINEERING AND MINING

HIGHER EDUCATION

We have included the higher education sector for a number of reasons. An important one is the fact that it has been neglected as far as debates on employment equity do, up to the point where the minister of Education had to appoint a Commission of Enquiry into racial discrimination at universities. We also see our contribution here as feeding into that debate. The South African higher education labour market is still very much racialised and gendered in terms of all higher educational staff – especially academic staff, their overwhelmingly junior status in the occupation hierarchy and their research output. Mouton noted that in 1996, black academics published merely 6.6% of all research output and women academics published only 19% of all research outputs. A decade later, the research output of black academics and women academics is still less than 25% of all research output (counted separately).⁵³

The national higher education landscape under apartheid

Higher education in South Africa has a relatively long history with the first six major universities (Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Free State, Rhodes, Fort Hare and Witwatersrand) dating back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Higher education was then established with the view of advancing either the English or Afrikaans colonial projects and was largely geared towards the white middle to upper classes, with the exception of Fort Hare which was to cater for the emergent African middle classes.

In 1959, the apartheid government passed the Extension of University Education Act that legislated the establishment of “separate ethnic university colleges for ‘non-white’ students and prohibited black people from registering at the ‘white’ universities, except with ministerial permission”.⁵⁴ This led to the establishment of university colleges for coloured people in the form of the University College of Western Cape; for Indians in the form of the University College in Durban; the University College of Zululand for Zulu and Swazi speaking Africans and the University College of the North for mainly Sotho speaking Africans.⁵⁵ This reinforced and further entrenched the ethnicisation and racialisation of higher education in South Africa, not only for students but also for staff.

Although job reservation was never formally applied to institutions of higher education, it was often used by the apartheid government as a threat to keep institutions in line. In addition, more often than not the employment practices within institutions of higher education, effectively constituted job reservation in everything but name. Similar to other workplaces, the apartheid higher education workplace had a racial division of labour, a racialised power structure, racial segregation of facilities and their location reinforced the bifurcated industrial

⁵³ Mouton (2003) quoted in CHE. 2007. Review of Higher Education in South Africa: Selected Themes. Pretoria: Council on Higher Education.

⁵⁴ Murray, B. K. 1982. Wits: The Early Years: A History of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and its Precursors 1896 – 1939. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, p. 113.

⁵⁵ South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). 1961. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. 1961. Johannesburg: SAIRR, pp. 228–229.

geography. Therefore, in many respects higher education was the quintessential apartheid workplace.

White staff dominated all higher education institutions especially in academic and administrative posts, whilst support posts were allocated to coloured and African workers. As the numbers of black graduates increased, the historically disadvantaged institutions (HDIs) became the primary employers of black academic staff. By 1966, 22 % of academics at HDIs were black whilst historically advantaged institutions (HAIs) employed negligible amounts of black academics.⁵⁶ By 1976, 23% of all black academics at HDIs were African.⁵⁷ Protests at the University of the North facilitated the national transformation of academic staff by becoming the first university to formally Africanize both academic and executive posts.⁵⁸

The higher education workforce was not only segregated along racial lines, but gender also proved to be a powerful fault line that differentiated workers experiences. Apartheid legislation required women, once married to give up full-time employment, as well as limited their seniority within the institution and legalized lower rates of remuneration for women. Hence the higher education workplace was both segmented along the lines of race and gender with workers encountering an informal gender and colour bar as well as experiencing much discriminatory labour practice within institutions of higher education. Like most workplaces, higher education was also almost the exclusive preserve of able-bodied workers with little accommodation for those experiencing disability.

The context of higher education post-apartheid

As discussed above, the higher education sector in South Africa emerged from the apartheid period very much embedded within and shaped by the philosophy of ‘Bantu education’. That is, ‘separate but [un]equal’ education, and certainly not for all. Therefore, post-apartheid policy planners were confronted with a disparate, very much unequal and inefficient higher education system that contained 36 so-called institutions of higher education.

After a period of extensive restructuring, comprising largely of institutional mergers, amalgamations and takeovers, as well as the closure of some campuses, there are now 23 public institutions of higher education. These institutions now comprise three main variants: universities (of which there are 11), universities of science and technology (of which there are six), and comprehensive universities (of which there are also six). In addition, there are two newly formed National Institutes for Higher Education (NIHE), designed to provide higher education to the people of Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape as the only provinces to still be without formal, institutionalised higher education, post-apartheid.

Private higher education is also a feature of the South African higher education landscape with the majority of these being vocational training colleges in commerce, business and theology. In the post-apartheid period, South Africa has also become host to several campuses of international universities such as the Australian university, Monash.

⁵⁶ South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). 1967. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. 1967. Johannesburg: SAIRR, p. 272.

⁵⁷ South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). 1977. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. 1977. Johannesburg: SAIRR, p. 367.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

The restructuring of higher education was designed to ensure that the sector would be more accessible, more socially responsible, more equitable and more efficient than it had been during apartheid. However, much criticism has been levelled at the national and institutional level as the social justice imperatives initially thought to be driving change have often been supplanted by a form of narrow and authoritarian managerialism. As will be elaborated on later in this chapter, this has serious consequences for employment equity within the sector and society more generally.

An overview of progress towards employment equity in the higher education sector

In order to understand employment equity fully, it is necessary to examine the broader contextual employment dynamics of the higher education sector as a whole. To do this, the Department of Education's HEMIS database has been utilised as this allows for an analysis of the broad trends within the sector over a 20 year period (1986–2006). Ultimately this will allow for an examination of the degree of change within the sector post-apartheid, especially post the implementation of the EEA (EEA).

General occupational trends: implications for class

The higher education sector has expanded by a total of 8 515 permanent staff (or 25%) over the 20 year period. In 1997, the number of permanent staff peaked at 46 501 employees, and has since declined to 42 926 permanent employees in 2006. The post-apartheid period has signified extensive restructuring within the further and higher education sectors (including amalgamations, incorporation and mergers of institutions as well as the closure of some institutions⁵⁹ and extensive shifts within the labour force of higher education institutions themselves.⁶⁰

A constant over the 20 year period, is that there are more non-professional staff than professional permanent staff employed within the sector. However, an unmistakable trend is that the number of non-professional staff has declined since 1997 whilst the number of professional staff has conversely experienced a slight increase.

This restructuring process led to the closure of a substantial number of departments and units nationwide and thus the retrenchment of workers from across the three labour markets (academic, administrative and support staff) within the higher education sector. Over the last ten years, there has been a nett loss across the higher education sector of approximately 3 500 permanent jobs. However, a comparison of relative growth patterns by occupational category within the higher education sector illustrates that it is the non-professional craft and trade workers and non-professional service workers who have borne the brunt of the retrenchments and worsening of conditions of service within this sector.

The table below provides a snapshot of permanent employment within the higher education sector (at the national level) in 1986, 1996 and 2006 so as to illustrate the aforementioned changes. The occupational category to have shed the most jobs is the service workers which after an initial increase has since declined by 7 505 jobs between 1996 and 2006. The categories of non-professional administrators, instruction/research professionals and specialist

⁵⁹ See: Wyngaard, A. and Kapp, C. 2004. 'Rethinking and reimagining mergers in further and higher education: a human perspective' in SAJHE, Vol 18, No 1.

⁶⁰ See: Lewins, K. [forthcoming]. Employment Equity in Higher Education, *South African Labour Bulletin*.

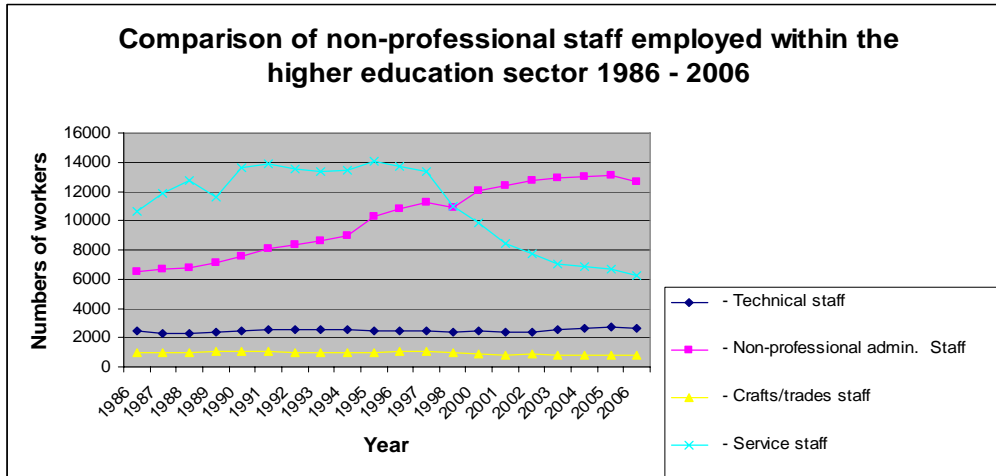
support professionals have all increased substantially. The significant increase in upper to middle level positions within the higher education sector do certainly appear to suggest that there may be an increase in the class position of higher education workers. Preliminary interviews have confirmed that in the late 1990s academic and administrative salaries did actually increase. Whilst this is a positive effect for these workers, the other side of the coin has been that this has been related to the growing inequality within the higher education sector.

Table 12: Snapshot comparison of permanent employment per occupational category within the higher education sector

Occupational category	Select years for snapshot comparison						Nett growth (within occupational category)	
	1986		1996		2006			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	% of size in 1986
Professional category subtotal	13804	40.1	17704	38.6	20555	47.9	+ 6751	+ 48.9
Instruction / research professionals	11358	33.0	14029	30.6	15552	36.2	+ 4194	+ 36.9
Executive administration / management	976	2.8	1057	2.3	1445	3.4	+ 499	+ 48.1
Specialist support professionals	1516	4.4	2618	5.7	3558	8.3	+ 2042	+ 134.7
Non-professional category subtotal	20561	59.8	28114	61.3	22371	52.1	+ 1810	+ 8.8
Technical workers	2435	7.1	2433	5.3	2644	6.2	+ 209	+ 8.6
Non-professional administrators	6524	19.0	10853	23.7	12691	29.6	+ 6167	+ 94.5
Craft/trade workers	944	2.7	1071	2.3	784	1.8	- 160	- 16.9
Service workers	10658	31.0	13757	30.0	6252	14.6	- 4406	- 41.3
Total	34411		45818		42926		+ 8515	+ 24.7

Source: Derived from the Department of Education's HEMIS Database

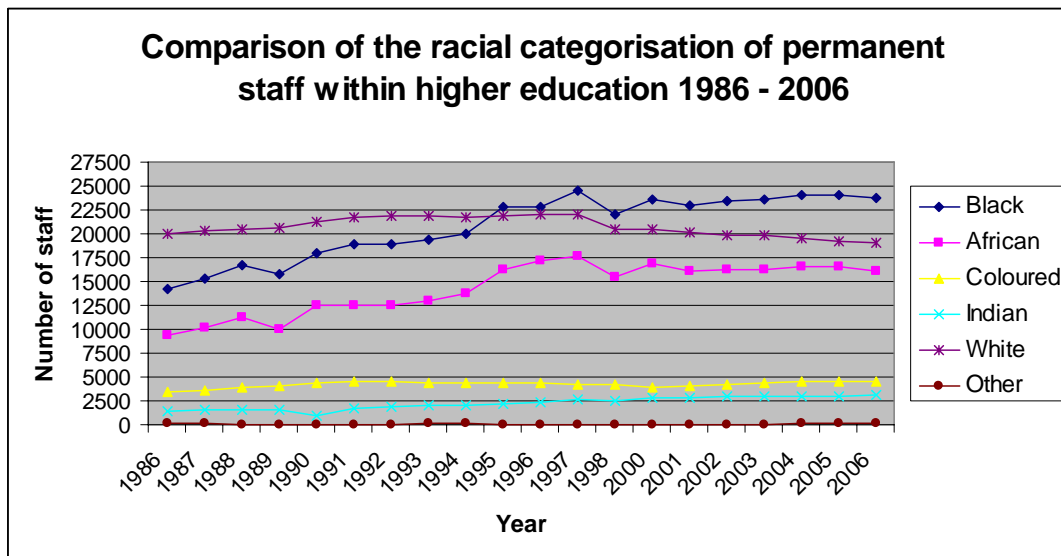
Lewins has stated that in terms of intra-institutional inequality, the higher education sector has been at the forefront of the growing inequality in post-apartheid South Africa. The dimension of labour discrimination and inequality on the grounds of class is a factor that legislatively is not covered by the EEA but is an increasingly important dimension that post-apartheid South Africa needs to take cognisance of. The continued patterns of exploitation and discrimination meted out against the working poor illustrates that the post-apartheid transition has continued to fail an important societal constituency. The recent denigration and dehumanising experience that African women cleaning staff at the University of the Free State were subjected to is laced with racial, gendered and class-based constructs that the EEA and PEPUDA have deliberately sought to undo. It is working class people such as these that the current prescription of transformation and employment equity has failed with its preoccupation with the professional and managerial occupational categories and levels.



Source: Derived from the Department of Education's HEMIS Database

General race and gender trends in the higher education sector

The higher education labour market has historically been both a racialised and gendered labour market. As a starting point, if one compares the number of white and black permanent staff within higher education as an aggregate total, it was only in 1995 that the numbers of white and black staff began to reach numerical parity. Despite this, in 2005, white staff continued to be the majority of those employed permanently within institutions of higher education. The graph below, presents a broad overview of the racialised nature of the higher education labour market.



Source: Derived from the Department of Education's HEMIS Database

The table below reflects on the same years in order to make a snapshot comparison about change in the racial demographics of the higher education labour market.

Table 13: Snapshot comparison of permanent employment per racial category within the higher education sector

Racial categories	Snapshot comparison across the sector						Nett change (within racial category)	
	1986		1996		2006			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Black staff	14 261	41.5	22 797	49.8	23 688	55.2	+9 427	+66.1
African staff	9 361	27.2	17 135	37.4	16 029	37.3	+6 668	+71.2
Coloured staff	3 487	10.2	4 384	9.6	4 580	10.7	+1 093	+31.3
Indian staff	1 418	4.1	2 278	5.0	3 079	7.2	+1 661	+117.1
White staff	19 986	58.2	22 013	48.0	19 128	44.6	- 858	- 4.3
Other	118	0.3	8	0.01	110	0.3	- 18	-6.8
Total	34 365	-	45 818	-	42 926	-	+8 561	+24.9

Source: Derived from the Department of Education's HEMIS Database

The table shows that, despite being the only racial staffing complement to be smaller than it was 20 years ago, white staff within higher education institutions, continue to predominate at 44.6% in 2006. As a collective, the number of black permanent staff has increased by 66.1% although this largely reflects an increase in both African and Indian staff whilst proportionally the increase in coloured staff has been less significant. The proportion of black staff as a collective has increased by 13.7% over the 20 years at an average growth rate of 471.4 black staff per year.

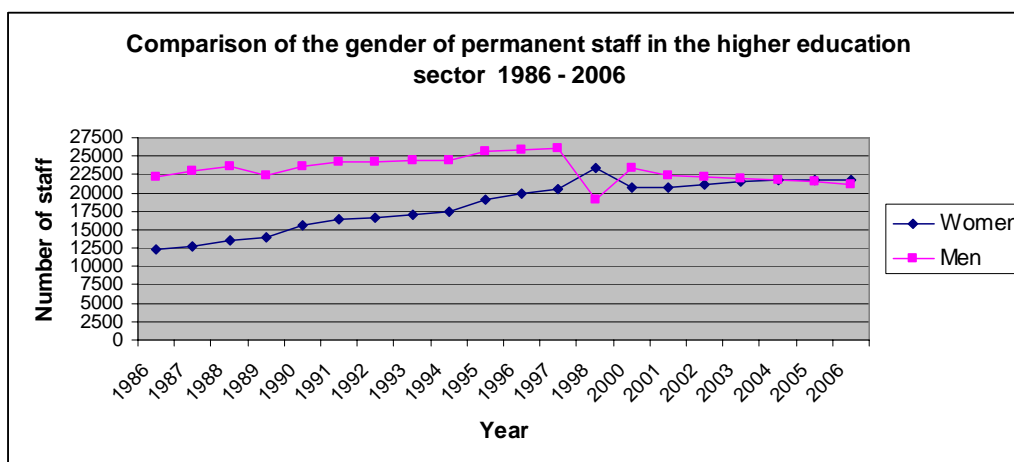
However, a comparison of 1986 – 1996 data with 1996 – 2006 data depicts a less positive transition post-apartheid. In the first ten years, the sector expanded at a rate of 853.6 black staff per year, meanwhile in the second ten year period, the rate of expansion decreased substantially to only 89.1 black staff per year. This decline in growth rate may be explained by a number of factors. Firstly, the higher education sector itself is in a period of retraction. Secondly, the retrenchment of large numbers of service workers may account for part of the decline. Thirdly, the external labour market outside of higher education has been under greater pressure to absorb more black staff since the passing of the EEA. Lastly, given both the pull-out and push-out factors discussed later in this chapter, higher education may no longer be as an attractive sector to work in as it was previously.

In terms of gender, women as a category have superseded the category of men in terms of representativity in the sector as women accounted for 50.8% of the workforce in 2006. Over the 20 year period, women increased their representation by 15% or an average growth rate of 479.4 women staff per year. During the decade preceding the EEA, the growth rate was an average of 777.7 women staff per year per year. However, in the next decade, the average growth rate declined to 181 women staff per year. The table and graph below illustrate the aggregate change in gender of the higher education labour market.

Table 14: Snapshot comparison of permanent employment by gender within higher education

Gender categories	Snapshot comparison across the sector						Nett change (within gender category)	
	1986		1996		2006			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Women staff	12 214	35.8	19 991	43.6	21 801	50.8	+9 587	+78.5
Men staff	22 197	65.1	25 827	56.4	21 125	49.2	- 1 072	- 4.8
Total	34 111	-	45 818	-	42 926	-	+8 815	+25.8

Source: Derived from the Department of Education's HEMIS Database



Source: Derived from the Department of Education's HEMIS Database

Similar explanations may account for the reduction in the absorption rate of women staff as were provided for the reduction in absorption rate for black staff. In order to develop a more informed understanding of what is happening in the higher education sector with regards to employment equity, disaggregated statistics per racial, gender and occupational category need to be analysed.

In order to have some insight into historical trends, we have included a snapshot analysis of the higher education occupational categories by race and then by gender for the years of 1986, 1996 and 2006 as this will give us a better, although not complete, understanding of the different labour markets within higher education itself. This analysis will be done on two levels. Firstly, by occupational level so that the proportion of black staff and women staff can be compared across time (For more detail, see Tables B46-B51, Appendix B). Secondly, the analysis shall use racial category and gender category as the units of analysis in order that improvement per category, rather than by individuals, can be inferred.

Table 15: Snapshot comparison by occupational category: examining the proportion of black staff and women staff amongst higher education staff in 1986, 1996 and 2006 (percentages by row)

Higher education occupation designation (permanent staff only)	% black staff			% women staff		
	1986	1996	2006	1986	1996	2006
Professional Staff Sub-total	9.2	22.1	37.7	26.6	36.0	44.0
Instruction/Research Professional	9.0	21.8	36.2	25.3	33.9	42.2
Executive/Administrative/Managerial Professionals	7.8	22.1	37.8	8.0	13.1	31.5
Specialist/Support Professionals	11.6	23.8	44.4	47.8	56.4	57.1
Non-Professional Staff Sub-total	63.2	70.7	71.2	41.5	48.5	57.0
Technical Employees	33.7	42.8	61.5	32.6	32.5	39.3
Non-professional Administrative Employees	24.9	45.2	60.7	71.9	70.2	72.1
Crafts/Trades workers	37.3	47.7	68.5	5.0	12.2	17.3
Service Workers	95.6	97.6	97.2	28.2	36.9	38.7
TOTAL	41.5	51.9	55.2	35.5	43.6	50.8

Source: Derived from the Department of Education's HEMIS Database

Table 16: Snapshot comparison by racial and gendered category per occupational category in higher education 1986, 1996 and 2006 (percentages by column)

Higher education occupation designation (permanent staff only)	% black staff			% women staff		
	1986	1996	2006	1986	1996	2006
Professional Staff Sub-total	8.9	16.4	32.7	30.1	31.9	41.5
Instruction/Research Professional	7.1	12.8	23.5	23.5	23.8	30.1
Executive/Administrative/Managerial Professionals	0.5	1.0	2.3	0.6	0.7	2.1
Specialist/Support Professionals	1.2	2.6	6.7	5.9	7.4	9.3
Non-Professional Staff Sub-total	91.1	83.6	67.3	69.9	68.1	58.5
Technical Employees	5.8	4.4	6.9	6.5	4.0	4.8
Non-professional Administrative Employees	11.4	20.6	32.5	38.4	38.1	42.0
Crafts/Trades workers	2.5	2.2	2.3	0.4	0.7	0.6
Service Workers	71.5	56.4	25.6	24.6	25.4	11.1

Source: Derived from the Department of Education's HEMIS Database

The above table illustrates that in 1986, just over nine of every ten black workers in the higher education sector were non-professionals and more than two-thirds of black staff were service workers. By 2006, although two-thirds of black staff were still classified as non-professional, the majority of these were now in administrative jobs rather than in service work. Another significant shift in the statistics, is that just under a quarter of black staff in the higher education sector were in instruction/research professional categories. The trends illustrated by the gender part of the table are interesting as women appear to have moved out of the lower occupational categories, but have not moved into the higher categories at the extent that may have been expected – especially relative to the extent of change by black people in that same occupation and during the same time period.

Unfortunately, the statistics released by the Department of Education, only focus on race and gender as aggregate categories but are useful in setting the context of race and gender segmentation and change prior to the EEA. In addition, these statistics do not include disability as a variable. In the higher education sector, many institutions have access to educational and basic service facilities as most institutions at least “attempt to make reasonable accommodation” for students and staff with disabilities. And yet most employers comment that “applications from disabled staff seldom come in for higher education jobs.” Furthermore, a supervisor who had a disabled person in her unit for three years, said in an interview, “it has taken me three years to convince them they need this special toilet and now they install it ten years after he has been worked here.” At another university, a physically disabled man was inconvenienced for six months before a bathroom near to his office was converted to be wheelchair friendly. Although, at the national level, 5% of the population has a disability; a survey of 12 institutions of higher education in 2006 showed that on average only 0.8% of permanent staff has a disability. The institution that employed the most disabled staff employed 5.8% whilst all others employed less than 1% (Hemis data).

The discussion thus far has shown the broad trends for the sector as a whole, namely the racialised and gendered division of labour and by default the racialised and gendered hierarchy of power and authority over decision-making in the higher education sector. It has also begun to show what types of occupational categories under go equitable change without much direct intervention and which occupational categories (perhaps because of skill [qualification or previous experience or both] required) need multiple interventions for numerical parity to be achieved. It is suggested that these interventions are needed on all three fronts [labour supply, labour market regulation and demand for labour]. A few differential successes have also emerged between race-based and gender-based equity. The challenge for

the higher education system is to make sure that these two types of employment equity do not become competing in the long run. At a sector level, the notion of competing equities seems to be less pronounced than one may have expected. It is suggested that this is largely because of a third and fourth factor which have yet to be explored in the analysis: these factors are the impact of the bifurcated industrial geography as created by apartheid and institutional dynamics themselves.

The racialised policies of apartheid also had spatial effects which affect the higher education sector in two main ways. Firstly, the bifurcated industrial geography meant that the country would have to consider regional dynamics in post-apartheid redress, dynamics that affect all three aspects of the labour market – supply, demand and the market itself. This is particularly pertinent in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal where large populations of coloured and Indian (respectively) people live – with some historic labour preference and social privileges but also with discrimination, exploitation and in some instances in abject poverty. In these cases, the narrow managerialist intervention of labour market regulation has proved not to be sufficient and re-emphasises the point that a multi-fold approach to intervention is necessary if equity is to be lasting and substantive in nature.

Of added significance, is the rural/urban divide that has left particularly the Northern and Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga without many economic and social services. The provinces of Northern Cape and Mpumalanga have historically not had access to provincial higher education institutions, which makes integration into the post-apartheid labour market more complicated and more difficult for the people who live and work in these provinces.

The second element that disturbs the image of moving forward on employment equity in higher education is the historic differences in institutional type which continue to be a pertinent force shaping the equity profile of most higher education institutions. Using Department of Education data on the sector as a whole and individual institutions' profile, some of the very real intra-sector differences begin to emerge. In this report, the names of institutions have not been disclosed as a report of this nature seeks to discuss broad sectoral trends in order to allow for a more nuanced understanding of employment equity within the higher education sector and thereby allowing for more responsive policy interventions to be developed. It is not the intention of the report to 'name and shame' particular institutions within the higher education sector as a sectoral focus illustrates the complexity, the specifics, strengths and challenges of employment equity in this specific context and the need for a more nuanced approach.

Intra-sectoral diversity in race-based and gender-based equity profiles of professionals in higher education institutions

Using 2006 data from the Department of Education, the following main trends about sectoral and institutional equity within the category of professionals has been established. Whilst this analysis needs to utilise disaggregated data in order to be most useful, the discussion here at least begins to show the utility of a sector-specific approach.

This data draws on 22 of the 23 higher education institutions in the country and although limited by the aggregate nature of the data is about the most up to date and comprehensive data available on professionals in the higher education sector. Black professionals across the sector account for 37.7% of all sector-based professionals with African professionals accounting for 23.6%, coloured professionals 6.2% and Indian professionals 7.9% of all

professionals within the sector. Undoubtedly, this particular occupational category is still overwhelmingly white with 61.9% of all sector-based professionals being white professionals. However, the institutional range is exceptionally diverse. In the institution with the largest proportion of black professionals 91.1% of all of its professionals are black. Two institutions (in total) have black professionals that account for 75% or more of all professionals; a further seven institutions have black professionals being between 50% and 74% of all professionals; a further three institutions have black professionals accounting for between 49% and 37% (as the average) of all professionals and the remaining nine institutions have less than 36% of professionals who are black; with the institution that has the least proportion of black professionals at 14.2%.

The table below summarises this information and also provides similar data for each racial and gendered category with the professional occupational category. This table shows us that there is very little variation amongst institutions in terms of the gender of professionals as only two institutions have achieved or exceeded 50% parity for women professionals. However, there is still much variation amongst institutions when it comes to professionals' race. Approximately one-third of institutions are racially exclusive in this regard with three-quarters or more professionals being categorised as white or black; a further two-fifths have slight racial heterogeneity but are fairly homogenous; and the remainder of institutions have a large amount of heterogeneity in the racial categorization of their professional staff. The impact of historic regional labour (preference) policies is also clearly evident from the assessment provided in the table.

Table 16: Equity benchmarking; 2006 comparison of professionals by race and gender profile within higher education institutions

Bench-marking criteria	Racial categorisation					Gender	
	Black	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Women	Men
100% - 75%	2*	1	0	0	5	0	0
74% - 50%	7	4	0	0	9	2	20
49% - 25%	7	4	2	2	6	20	2
24% - 0%	6	13	20	20	2	0	0
Total	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Sectoral average	37.7%	23.6%	6.2%	7.9%	61.9%	44%	56%
Sectoral range	14.2 - 91.1%	2.5 - 88.9%	0.6 - 36.8%	0.7 - 41.4%	8.9 - 85.8%	31.4 - 54.8%	45.2 - 68.6%

* Numbers reflected in cells = number of institutions falling into each category

Towards a synthesis on emerging qualitative trends on employment equity in higher education

This section of the report is informed by the qualitative findings that emerged from the five principle case studies of higher education institutions in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng. It is informed by interviews and focus groups conducted with both management and workers within the case study institutions as well as experts in the field. It contains a number of important insights that a purely quantitative overview would have missed.

Different conceptualizations of employment equity

All higher education institutions in South Africa have a sizeable workforce and therefore are large employers that report to the Department of Labour on employment equity on an annual basis. In terms of the legal framework, the EEA and the Education White Paper 3 are the two foundational pieces of legislation which set out the purpose and intention of employment

equity and how these objectives should be realised. Employment equity in higher education covered a wide range of dimensions, including legal, political, economic social, moral, and cultural conceptualisations and perceptions.

A number of staff felt the primary driver of employment equity was the aforementioned pieces of legislation. Hence in an effort to be a compliant citizen and compliant institution, “staff just did what the act required of them”. For some interviewees, the legal imperative was an overwhelming motivator, such that it was the unstated perception that the government was the authority to defer to and one ought not to be seen to be doing wrong in the eyes of the law. This perception and understanding of one’s relationship to the state and to authority contains some strengths and weaknesses when it comes to the implementation of employment equity and dealing with contestation within the institution (both of which will be discussed later).

Another abstract conceptualisation that was articulated was ‘employment equity as a form of social justice and a moral imperative’. In this sense, interviewees often saw employment equity as a ‘corrective measure’ for the wrongs of the past, the wrongs of today with the intention of limiting the wrongs of the future. This largely unspoken perception was the basis of how individuals and institutions responded to post-apartheid legislation and especially the EEA.

In political terms, a number of interviewees articulated a sense of attack on two fronts, as institutional autonomy and their individual right to self-determination seemed to be being attacked. This conceptualisation was more commonly articulated by white interviewees and black interviewees who were explaining their white colleagues responses, “you know they don’t want to do themselves, or their children out of a job and so they resist change”. A number of workers critiqued management and colleagues for ‘playing the numbers game’ for seeing employment equity as a form of racial accounting and for responding as though this were just another regulation-compliance exercise. Particularly in this sector, there seems to be a general experience of over-regulation and policy fatigue because of the large number of systemic and procedural changes that have occurred post-apartheid. Hence, some interviewees spoke of ‘feeling tested and tired’, not necessarily because of the legislation itself, although this was often a part of it, but also because of the policy context in general.

There was an overwhelming conceptual focus by all interviewees on employment equity as being about race. For some, it was narrowly conceived of as a form of numerical black advancement whilst for others it was also about systemic, structural and cultural shifts in how we deal with race, racialised identities, racialised experiences and interactions. In higher education, institutional culture has become a ‘buzzword’ to denote the subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination that continue the perpetuation of a racialised and gendered social order and in this case, labour segmentation.

For almost all interviewees, employment equity was not something that could be easily compartmentalised, ticked off a checklist and filed away. This was because employment equity was understood as being part and parcel of transformation. Despite this employment equity itself “tended to bring people’s backs-up”. Some workers explained that employment equity was seen and felt to be cutting to the heart of white existence and was therefore to be resisted. Other forms of resistance to employment equity that emerged during the fieldwork were that “employment equity was seen as oppositional to excellence” and was therefore an economic cost as one was ‘being forced to settle for second-best’, the effects of which were

felt to make bad business sense as well as to do harm to an institution's status and prestige both locally and internationally.

However, these perceptions were by no means homogenous throughout the case studies. Many interviewees described their individual beliefs and the institutional practices as holding employment equity as key to the attainment of excellence and competitive advantage; whilst others believed that employment equity had to be one of many means to substantive transformation and not become an end in itself.

The discussion here illustrates that employment equity is a socially embedded concept and practice and hence policy makers and change agents need to consider the ways in which society and institutions think about whether change is necessary, what kind of change is necessary, how and why such change is desirable or undesirable and how such change can be effected.

Different ways of implementing employment equity

The social context of an institution and the social relationships within that organisation are responsible for the different ways that higher education institutions respond to employment equity. Across the case studies, three different types of institutional responses to employment equity were observed depending on whether employment equity was seen as something that “had been imposed”, something that “had to be managed” or something that was or could be “collectively owned and participated in”.

The more narrowly employment equity was defined and the more responsibility was externalised to a centralised bureaucracy either in the form of the state or the “HR ivory tower”, the more likely staff were to feel disgruntled by the process, imposed upon and that employment equity had become ghettoised. In such cases the outcome is often that institutions are doing very little to even meet minimum compliance requirements, in some cases flouting their non-compliance with the legislation; or that institutions are meeting administrative compliance, and in some cases with impressive efficiency, and yet fail to make the transition to substantive compliance. In other cases, substantive compliance is being pursued with commitment from both managers and activists on the ground and yet this substantive commitment is not as yet readily producing quantifiable outputs as required by the institution or state.

The typology (see Table 17) below presents a summary of some of the key features of institutions which either facilitate or impede their pursuit of employment equity and transformation.

What the typology shows us is that in addition to having legislation and institutional policies that make employment equity a requirement; there is also a need for institutional commitment, leadership at all levels of the institution and governance practices that allow for the articulation of stakeholder voices and their participation in decision-making. The following discussion which profiles examples of poor practices in the higher education sector provides evidence of some of the serious flaws with the current process – either institutionally, sectorally, and/or nationally. In addition, the discussion also profiles some of the best practices in the sector much to the credit of those involved. The following discussion has been arranged thematically as opposed to institutionally in order to profile strengths and

weaknesses in the sector with minimal repercussions to individuals and institutions concerned – as agreed during the research process.

Table 17: Typology of institutional responses to employment equity

	Employment equity as imposed	Employment equity as highly managed	Employment equity as collectively owned & participated in
Leadership style	Disconnected Self-serving Authoritarian Rule bound Punitive	Connected → disconnected Highly managerialist Technocratic Top-down approach Rigid hierarchy	Connected Engaging Participative Offer guidance & facilitation
Stakeholder process	Neglected Limited reach & interests served Workings non-transparent nor accountable Seen to be 'cliquey' Co-option	Space but highly managed & filtered Procedural precision rather than genuine commitment	Provide space for genuine engagement Process driven at top & ground Stakeholders hold each other accountable Transparency
Nature & extent of employment equity process	Narrow conception of EE Limited Defensive & resistant Bare compliance No ownership or accountability Apathetic disengaged staff Active interest often stifled	Narrow → extending conception of EE Limited → potential for substantive change Administrative compliance (start) Good policies sometimes without follow through Participation but often highly controlled	Extended conception, EE as part & parcel of transformation Substantive systemic, structural, procedural and institutional culture change Ripple effect through organisation
Brief summary	Passive → active resistance	Passive response	Active and negotiated change

Examples of best and worse practice

From the aforementioned typology, it can be seen that individual and institutional responses to employment equity are varied ranging from doing very little to forward employment equity to administrative compliance to serious attempts at substantive change. The typology emerged from a set of criterion was developed from the standard EEA2 form in order to determine whether an institution could be said to implementing the EEA.

The criteria included the following key concerns

- Have employment equity reports been filed every year since 2000 to the Department of Labour?
- Does the institution have a current employment equity plan?
- Was the development of each year's employment equity report (and 3 year plan) a consultative and participative process? Who participated in this process?
- How familiar was the person to whom responsibility for employment equity lay, with the contents of the institutional employment equity report and plan?
- Was the employment equity forum, institutional forum (alternative) up and running?
- How active were non-management constituencies in these forums – e.g. unions, disability representatives, HIV/AIDS unit, SRC, etc
- Were employment equity policies and procedures formalized or in formalized?

- Did these policies extend to selection, remuneration, retention, promotion, etc of candidates?
- To what extent do policies achieve their aims and objectives in practice?
- Did the institution have any mechanisms of redress (grievance procedures, employment equity rewards, employment equity infringement penalties, etc)?
- Have there been cases of discrimination, prejudice and unfair treatment – how have these been dealt with by the institution
- Does the institution have plans to diversify its pool: training – funding – supernumerary posts, etc
- Do additional interviews (with key stakeholders besides university officials) support, corroborate or refute what has been presented by institutional officials and/or institutional documents and policies?

Based on the above criteria, each institution had a number of strengths and weaknesses. No institution could be said to be perfect just as no institution could be said to be doing nothing. Therefore, rather than profile the best and worst institutions this discussion will profile a series of good and poor practices throughout the case study institutions.

The issue of compliance

In some cases the researchers were not able to obtain employment equity reports from the Department of Labour who informed us that none had been submitted. Indeed, the researchers were told whilst on case study visits that during some years ‘exceptions were made and hence employment equity reports were never submitted. Researchers were also informed about compliance orders that had been “made to disappear”. In one case researchers were informed that a senior manager did not read the employment equity reports but just signed the form. Data capturers also informed the researchers that reports sometimes come in identical to previously submitted reports.

Despite these examples, most case study institutions do appear to comply with the formal administrative requirements. However, we are concerned that formal administrative compliance does not necessarily translate into substantive outcomes. To be sure, there are a number of different models in terms of where employment equity is directed or managed from – in some instances this does appear to have an impact on delivery. Regarding staff participation in the equity process, there are a number of worrying tendencies. In many cases there has been a de-unionization (in numbers and effectiveness) of particularly professional staff with the effect that there are sometimes few employment equity champions on the ground. However, in other cases there is much mobilization around equity issues with some institutions having interest groups such as Black Staff Forum and Women’s Academic Solidarity Association as independent grass roots initiatives that spearhead change from the bottom (as well as top). Most institutions have employment equity committees or forums with a few having other committees that fulfil this function. Again there is variable participation by trade unions, staff associations and other university constituencies. This variation ranges from activism to non-participation to obstruction/frustration of institutional change.

The issue of skills

The skills crisis is referred to continually as academia, in particular, is an aging profession and one that is suffering from a critical inability to reproduce itself. A number of explanations are cited for this crisis:

- The lengthy time that it takes to ‘produce’ an academic both in terms of the acquisition of the required qualifications and the length of time it takes to emerge as a recognized scholar in one’s field.

- Uncompetitive salaries. There is a wide differentiation in salary scales within, in particular, academia. To such an extent that the bottom quartile of academics⁶¹ earn less than half of the top quartile. Despite this differentiation there is much less differentiation between what junior and senior academics earn.
- Many highly skilled professionals are both lured out of academia because of better salary packages and more recognition and status elsewhere. In contrast, many are also pushed out of academia because of the rigid occupational hierarchy, the dominance of systems of patronage and networks (in some cases) and cases of discrimination, prejudice and inequality on the grounds of race and gender (primarily).
- There is surprisingly little being done by institutions to grow the pool of potential academics. Most institutions are directly and actively involved in developing and enhancing the pool of skilled graduates for the labour market in general; but surprising only a few seem to have initiatives in place for growing their own supply.

Initiatives set up to assist with enhancing the equity profile and improving the institutional culture

- Most institutions have a number of strategies in place to develop the skills of academics. The outcome is variable depending on the programme and who is targeted.
- Initial programmes contributed to post-graduate students getting higher degrees and academic experience but many of these were conceptualized separately from the budgetary planning and hence could not be retained by the institution.
- A number of new initiatives target existing staff members and assist them to obtain their higher degree but in most cases few allowances are made that provide the headspace (i.e. relief from current workload) and therefore, these candidates often have to accomplish even more than fulltime staff members and fulltime higher degree students.
- Most equity-related funding for higher education is highly competitive and most institutions apply to a very narrow pool of funders for their projects.
- The ETDP SETA, the SETA responsible for skills development in this sector does not appear to be doing much in terms of creating, developing or retaining a skills base for the higher education job market.

Key role players in the Higher Education Sector

The national Department of Education (DoE) is the main regulator of affairs within the higher education sector. Although a number of other national departments also play crucial roles such as the Department of Labour, the Department of Science and Technology, the Department of Health, the Department of Home Affairs, etc. Therefore necessitating the imperative for cooperative governance as envisioned by the Inter-Ministerial Agreement and the call for 'Joined up Government' in order to prevent the duplication of control and regulation of the higher education sector.

⁶¹ Here, we are referring to academics as ranked by their earning capacity.

In interviews with key stakeholders, an often-articulated complaint was the lack of cooperation between these different national departments. In a number of cases, interviewees mentioned ‘policy fatigue’. This was especially common amongst human resource practitioners within the sector who often were called upon to be on numerous committees to oversee the restructuring of institutional governance, to implement and monitor employment equity, to prepare the institution and its documents for the institutional audit, etc. Whilst all institutions expressed an understanding of the need for policy reformulation and realignment, many felt over-regulated in terms of the amount of themselves or their staff that they had to “give over to audit”.

In areas where there appear to be competing or blurred lines of jurisdiction between different national departments, interviewees often felt frustrated at having to supply very similar, if not the same, information to an array of sources. For example in the case of higher education, information on the demographics of an institution’s staff as well as its skill base and skills training received is reported to the relevant SETA as well as the Department of Labour and the Department of Education. A recommendation that came from the interviewees was that government at least standardizes the reporting form on employee skill and demographics to ease the burden borne by institutions. It is furthermore suggested that this ‘policy-fatigue’ may also contribute to institutions merely complying with the lowest common-denominator of administrative compliance – rather than using legislation as a tool for more substantive, long-lasting and wide-ranging change.

In terms of statutory bodies that oversee issues of employment equity, transformation and skill development within the higher education sector: the Council on Higher Education (CHE), the Commission on Employment Equity (CEE) and the Education and Training Development Practices: Sector Education Training Authority (ETDP-SETA) are probably the most crucial as each are actively involved in the conceptualisation, implementation and monitoring of the higher education sector (although the role of the Department of Labour is perhaps less focused on the specifics of the higher education sector given that its focus is to oversee the implementation of employment equity across the labour market as a whole). Nonetheless, each of the aforementioned statutory bodies has a crucial role to play, none the least because some of these have direct access to the respective Ministers of Labour (CEE) and Education (CHE) and have a statutory role to play in terms of advising Ministers about policy.

In addition to these statutory bodies, there are also a number of research and policy entities, either independent or located within institutions of higher education that conduct research into the state of higher education, the reproduction of the academic labour market, the crisis in transformation and knowledge production, as well as a number of institutes that study the efficacy of policy interventions and make recommendations for change.

The CREST research entity at the University of Stellenbosch, the Center on Higher Education Transformation (CHET) and the numerous Education Policy Units (EPUs) at universities themselves, are important stakeholders to engage in the process of institutional change (to mention merely a few). Perhaps one of the gaps in South African research into employment equity in higher education is that it is seldom studied from a labour perspective as often engaged the field of Higher Education Studies (HES) is the predominant focus, exploring educational issues as opposed to labour issues per se.

Other key stakeholders in the higher education sector are: the employers and employees. With the restructuring of the higher education sector, the previous employers associations

(SAUVCA & CTP) have now amalgamated into the new employers' organisation HESA. Higher Education South Africa, has branded itself as "the voice of higher education leadership" in South Africa and is the association of Vice Chancellors and Vice Principals of South African higher education institutions. HESA has made a number of interventions in relation to transformation and employment equity. HESA has a number of training initiatives to strengthen leadership amongst current and potential higher education leaders, HESA has also commissioned research into employment equity within higher education institutions as well as a variety of studies into challenges experienced by women leaders, HESA has also instituted a number of 'communities of practice' where by specific sets of leaders and managers meet annually or biannually to discuss the issues that they confront in their work. Communities of practice that are up and running include the Vice Chancellors' Forum, the Deans Forum, the Employment Equity Manager Forum, the Finance Forum, etc. Through these forums, HESA hopes to build capacity and experience amongst those leading institutions of higher education and to develop innovative strategies to some of the specific challenges facing South African higher education institutions because of our past and present context. With the much-publicized incident of racism at the University of Free State, HESA has also followed in the Department of Education's lead and has developed its own task team to look into issues of racism within higher education.

The extent and role of trade unions in the higher education sector

Through statutory requirements, trade unions and staff associations are legally required to play a role in the institutional governance of higher education institutions through involvement in council and senate and are required to participate in equity-related decision-making through institutional forums and/or employment equity forums (Department of Labour, 1998 and Department of Education, 1997). In 2005, there were over 25 trade unions or staff associations, based at 16 institutions, representing approximately 20 681 employees in the higher education sector.⁶²

It was estimated that between 35% and 52% of the sector were unionized, depending on the extent to which union members were on contract or permanent staff. Seven of the unions were considered national with membership at several different higher education institutions and together these unions accounted for 60% of the unionized higher education workers.⁶³ Therefore, at that time the unions that would perhaps have been able to play an instrumental role in formulating, implementing and monitoring employment equity within the sector would have been Nehawu, Saptu, Nutesa, Ntesu, Solidarity, Nupsaw and Meshawu.⁶⁴

Workers' perceptions and experiences on employment equity were actively sought through trade union representatives. Of the seven aforementioned national unions, the researchers spoke to representatives from five of these unions. Representatives from an additional three unions located at only one institution also participated in the research process. All of the unions that participated have recognition agreements with the higher education institution and hence are meant to fulfil statutory obligations for the institution as well as their trade union membership mandate.

⁶² Naledi. 2005. *Higher Education Sector Bargaining and Working Conditions*. Johannesburg: NALEDI, p. 19.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

As with other stakeholders, trade unionists do not hold uniformly supportive views of employment equity, neither do they always act in the best interests of their constituencies and the contexts within which they engage management also differ and hence the participation and impact of unions on employment equity are also variable.

Interviews with a variety of stake holders have shaped the following list of existing relationships between unions and management in higher education:

Table 17: Relationships between unions and management in higher education

Type of relationship	Characteristics	Examples
Collaborative	Management and unions both committed change agents	Effect strong EE structures, forums and institutional changes
Joint Up unionism	Unions work together to overcome institutional barriers to change	Create own space for engagement & increased size = have to be heard
Patron-client	Management buys-out union rep to drop union mandate	Retrogressive – reinforces class inequality: retrenchment of non-core workers
Ineffective union strategy	Technocratic managerial strategies – rule bound	Only engage union, on management’s terms Misrepresent workers
No union strategies	Disinterested and disaffected union	Defunct institutional forum, no participation
Political hot-bed	Infighting between different unions or within a union Management inspired divide and rule	Resolution of union dispute becomes primary goal – others displaced / suspended
Critical unionism combined with authoritative management	Management bullies & humiliates union into submission Or institutes disciplinary action – loss of strong union leader	Union less capacity to push forward agenda Explosive tension leads to further disciplinary action

Whilst these management strategies are not particular to the interaction had around employment equity, they certainly are used in some institutions with great effect to alienate and exclude unions and critical engagement; whilst some have been utilised by unions to great effect to move from administrative to substantive change. In addition, a number of strong leaders within institutions (at various organisational levels) have union backgrounds which has meant that they have strong networks, are skilled negotiators and have sufficient understanding of key equity issues.

However, in many cases, unions find they are able to canvas support from members only for “bread and butter issues”. In many cases, unions report that members are largely apathetic or fear persecution from management and hence drop equity-related complaints; others mentioned affective sidelining of critical members of staff and hence had to make a calculated decision as when to raise issues and when not to. Other examples of management coercion included the supplying of bribes, instigation of disciplinary action and making union activity a career limiting move, etc. Lastly interviewees also spoke about unions that aggravated and stalled the institutions’ attempts to ensure a more equitable workforce.

In addition to ‘traditional’ staff association or trade unions, a number of other contemporary collectivities of staff have formed around grass-roots struggles around transformation and equity-related issues at higher education institutions: A few examples would include variants of the Black Caucus, Black Staff Association, Women’s Academic Solidarity Association (WASA), Higher Education Crisis Committee (HECC), etc. In addition, because of

contemporary challenges and the fairly isolated way in which constituencies respond to these issues, a number of cross-constituency networks are being forged within and between higher education institutions. For example, at a number of institutions, there has been increased support of student and outsourced workers struggles by university staff, and recently student leaders have pledged to support workers in their demands for decent working salaries and conditions (including the abolishment of patriarchal and racism).

Employers Associations, principally HESA in this case, has also set up sectoral communities of practice for staff in higher education for example for employment equity officers (or their equivalents), where common problems, challenges and innovative solutions can be sought to address employment equity and transformation issues in higher education.

ENGINEERING

We have chosen the household appliance (or white goods) manufacturing industry as a sub-sector of the engineering industry for a number of reasons. First, the industry is a typical manufacturing sector that is sensitive to fluctuations in local demand, trade, and input costs such as steel and electricity. Second, the workplace regimes of these factories have historically been well documented, starting with Webster's seminal study *Cast in a Racial Mould*,⁶⁵ as well as a range of more recent studies.⁶⁶ In addition to our interviews, we are able to draw on a rich body of existing literature. A major setback was a major manufacturer's refusal to participate in the study. We therefore have to rely on the reports this firm submitted to the Department of Labour. Fortunately the other major player in the sector, a multi-national corporation and the only other local manufacturer, was willing to participate in the study.

White goods include products such as refrigerators, freezers, washing machines, cookers, and microwave ovens. In the South African context, the structure of the industry reflected the broader dynamics of racial Fordism, where consumers were mainly the white urban market, and producers were mainly black. White goods manufacturers emerged out of the foundries, and were often involved in the manufacturing of munitions during the Second World War. The consumer boom of the 1960s created a vibrant manufacturing industry, albeit limited by apartheid South Africa's relatively small consumer markets. Brands such as Univa, Ocean, Defy, Kelvinator and Barlows became household names.

The workplace regime in white goods factories under apartheid can be classified as racial despotism. Webster showed how white craft unions maintained their dominance over the control of the labour process. With the introduction of mechanisation, these unions lost much of their power in the workplace, but used their access to the state and apartheid legislation to maintain a colour bar in the workplace. Nevertheless, mass manufacturing led to the emergence of militant black industrial unions such as the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) who challenged apartheid in the workplace. But the emerging unions found it particularly difficult to organise the industry, in part because some of the companies had on-site hostels. Losing your job also meant losing your place of residence in the city. Also, firms responded by moving new operations to the industrial decentralisation zones located in Bantustans. Here unions were further prevented from organising by ethnic-nationalist groupings such as the Inkatha-linked vigilante union UWUSA.

In terms of its ownership structure South Africa's economic isolation under apartheid meant that foreign firms withdrew from the sector and factories were taken over by large diversified South African conglomerates linked to finance and mining capital. By the end of formal apartheid in 1994, South Africa had a significant white goods manufacturing industry that

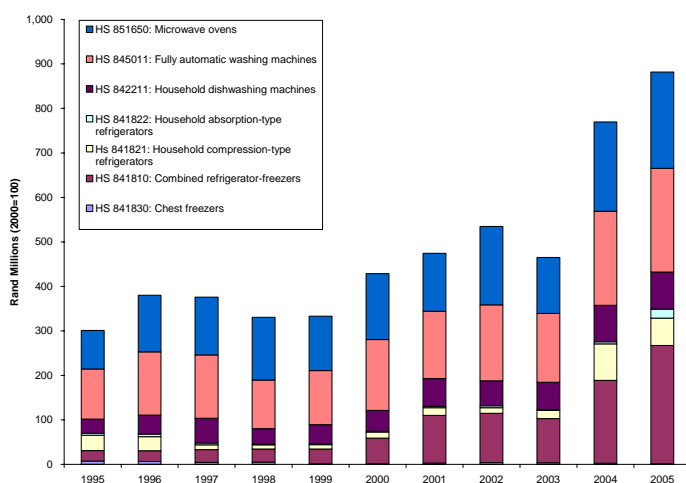
⁶⁵ Webster, E. 1985. *Cast in a Racial Mould: Labour Process and Trade Unionism in the Foundries*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

⁶⁶ Bezuidenhout, A. 2004. *Post-Colonial Workplace Regimes in the White Goods Manufacturing Industries of South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe*. Doctoral thesis, Faculty of Humanities. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand; Bezuidenhout, A. 2006. What Happened to Kelvinator? The Road from Alrode to Ezakheni and Matsapha. In S. Roberts (ed.) *Sustainable Manufacturing: The Case of South Africa and Ekurhuleni*. Cape Town: Juta; Bezuidenhout, A. and Webster, E. 2008. [forthcoming] Contesting the New Politics of Space: Labour and Capital in the White Goods Industry in Southern Africa.' In A. Herod, A. Rannie, and S. McGrath-Champ (eds) *Handbook of Employment and Society: Working Space*. London: Edward Elgar; Webster, E., Lambert, R. & Bezuidenhout, A. 2008. [forthcoming] *Grounding Globalization: Labour in the Age of Insecurity*. Oxford: Blackwells.

employed a substantial workforce in places like Johannesburg, Durban, Ezakheni, Isithebe, and East London. The end of apartheid would lead to restructuring and plant closures. Local manufacturing became a major casualty when the conglomerates built up under apartheid unbundled and sold off less profitable units. Mining capital shed many of its manufacturing operations and concentrated instead on globalizing its mining operations. The industry was also affected by trade liberalisation and an increase in the cost of steel, a major input. These increases were in part a result of the privatisation of ISCOR in spite of its position as a monopoly in the market. Arcelor-Mittal, the new owner, has been prosecuted by the Competition Tribunal for its policy of charging import-parity pricing, which implies using its position as a monopoly to charge local clients as if they are importing steel (which would include extra costs, such as the cost of shipping steel). White goods manufacturers have been particularly hard hit by this.

Hence, the liberalization of trade, along with corporate restructuring and rapid increases in input costs, have all led to severe pressure on the industry. Its weak position also meant that local manufacturers were not in a position to benefit from the growth of the black middle class and ESKOM's electrification programme. To be sure, liberalization led to a rapid increase in imports, as can be seen in Figure 5.

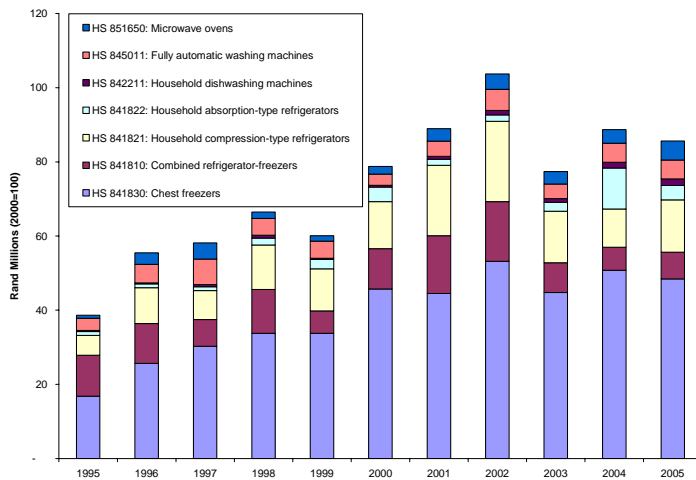
Figure 5: Aggregate imports by value, all appliances⁶⁷



Trade liberalisation also led to some increases in exports, particularly of chest freezers. However, firms were largely unsuccessful in achieving export economies of scale, as can be seen from Figure 6.

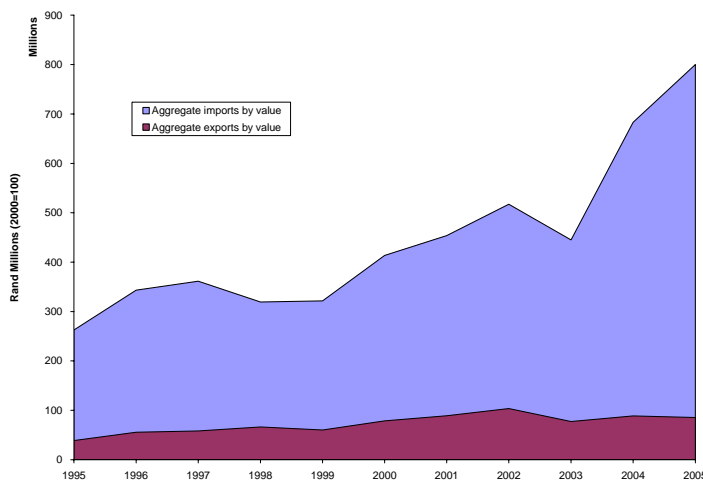
⁶⁷ Mohamed, S. and Roberts, S. 2006. Report on the White Goods Industry to the Department of Trade and Industry. Corporate Strategy and Industrial Development Research Unit. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Figure 6: Aggregate exports by value, all appliances⁶⁸



On balance, the trade deficit for the industry has grown substantially. We import more than we export, with local firms coming under increasing pressure to maintain their domestic market share. Figure 7 shows the widening trade deficit. There were several casualties in the industry, with Kelvinator’s operation in Johannesburg the most prominent of these.

Figure 7: Exports versus imports, widening trade deficit⁶⁹



The context in which white goods manufacturers have to implement employment equity programmes can be described as hostile. Players in the industry are acutely aware of the failures of the state’s industrial policy – or rather the absence of a coherent industrial policy. The Engineering Sector Summit that was supposed to follow through on some of the commitments made at the Jobs Summit in 1998 never materialised, mainly due to a lack of concrete action by the Department of Trade and Industry.

⁶⁸ Mohamed & Roberts, 2006.

⁶⁹ Mohamed & Roberts, 2006.

Research in the industry in the early 2000s showed that very little progress on employment equity was being made at the time. While black employees were promoted to supervisory positions, some responsibilities were taken away from these positions. In the sociological literature this is known as an upward floating colour bar. While trade unions, particularly NUMSA, were able to organise freely, companies introduced a layer of non-permanent employees on fixed-term contracts, which acted as a disciplining element. Nevertheless, NUMSA challenged these practices, in particular what the union described as wage anomalies – cases where white and black employees in similar grades received unequal wages and benefits. Also, in isolated cases there was evidence of facilities that were informally segregated.⁷⁰

In spite of the hostile climate in which the industry operates, the EEA seems to be making an impact in the longer run, at least in the company that agreed to be interviewed for our study. The case involves a black HR manager who seems to be driving the process, as well as a head-office in Europe that actively monitors progress. The local operation has to send monthly diversity reports to Italy, and officials from the head-office come twice a year to check. The company is doing well on improving the proportion of black South Africans in positions of responsibility, but the same can not be said for sex and disability. Only three of the eleven top managers at the manufacturing operation are white males.

According to both HR managers at the company, the biggest challenge is sourcing and retaining employees with engineering skills. The company's strategy is to attempt to attract young talent – both women and black people – which achieved some success. However, the firm is situated in a rural area, and as soon as employees have experience, they are poached by bigger companies in the area, including a huge aluminium smelter which is located to the north, and a manufacturing hub in the city to the south. An HR manager mentions a black woman with a postgraduate qualification in mechanical engineering, who stayed for a year and then moved on. A particular problem is the shortage of artisans. The company put considerable effort into employing particularly black millwrights, but again fails to retain them. "Richards Bay is up the road, we can't compete with their salaries," says the HR manager. Another problem is that white artisans are emigrating. Last year three artisans emigrated to Australia and New Zealand. The shortage of artisans is therefore not only related to those from designated groups, but a general skills shortage. Indeed, according to the HR manager, some vacancies remain open for months. Because of the fierce competition in the sector, firms are reluctant to recruit from each other. There is also very little cooperation in terms of joint procurement and logistics.

The company is currently looking for a financial manager, a logistics manager and an asset manager. One of the HR managers interviewed expressed the need for a service from government to source qualified staff, such as a centre with a list of people from designated groups with critical skills. Critical skills in this sector include industrial engineers, product engineers, logistics and finance managers. The interviewee remarked that it was even hard to find a suitably qualified HR practitioner. One was appointed by the firm in October, but he was already looking for another job in January.

⁷⁰ Bezuidenhout, A. 2005. 'Post-colonial Workplace Regimes in the Engineering Industry in South Africa' in Webster, E. and Von Holdt, K (eds) *Beyond the Apartheid Workplace: Studies in Transition*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

The company struggles with massive staff turnover. Of the 93 white collar staff, 21 left in 2007. The majority were from designated groups. The situation justified an HR manager presenting a new retention strategy to the head office in Italy, which includes a decision to subsidise rent for key staff.

In addition to new retention strategies the company has an active mentoring programme. When white managers are appointed, they have to groom successors who can take over when they leave or are appointed to employment in overseas subsidiaries.

While the firm is doing well on filling race targets, gender is a major issue. Of the foremen (this word is still used to describe the position), 24 are African males and three are Indian males. As mentioned previously, the company employed an industrial engineer who was an African woman in the past, but she was “poached by Richards Bay.” Females tend to be appointed in contract positions and permanent employees are recruited from that pool. This principle has taken time to get accepted by the mainly male workforce. There was even resistance from male shop stewards. Women are placed in certain processes, often assembly jobs. One of the HR managers interviewed felt that there were cultural barriers to women being employed in positions of authority. Supervisors were appointed on the basis of their traditional positions in the past, but now merit is used as the sole basis. Previously there were also issues of money for jobs, or sex for jobs. However, women protested against these practices. In general, the union has played a positive role in this regard. The union also agreed to change the LIFO [last in, first out] principle to facilitate the employment of more women in the factory.

On disability the firm is also not doing well. There was one person reported on in earlier EE reports to the Department of Labour. However, this person left after retirement. One of the biggest barriers is that the firm is involved in manufacturing. People with disabilities would have to be office-bound, according to one of the HR managers we interviewed, and the firm would have to attract people with appropriate skills.

MINING

The mining industry was included because it is one of the corner stones of the apartheid labour regime. It is also an industry where the employment of women is a relatively new phenomenon, mainly due to the introduction of the EEA. We have decided to focus mainly on platinum mining, since it is the growing sector in mining. Last year, platinum overtook gold as the most significant employee. We have included two mining companies, a platinum mining operation and a mining contractor, as our main case studies for the qualitative analysis.

An examination of the role and structure of the South African mining industry has been central to analyses of relationship between capitalism and apartheid. The system of labour control that included migrant forms of labour supply, contract labour, racial despotism and single-sex hostels; is seen as one of the corner stones of race and gender relations, as well as spatial engineering under apartheid. In essence, the system externalised the cost of social reproduction onto the rural households where migrant mineworkers came from and had to return to at the end of their contracts.

The growth of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) from 1982 onwards was a significant challenge to despotism in the industry, and many of the union's successes in the 1980s were consolidated in the 1990s when a new industrial relations dispensation, and reformed health and safety legislation, were introduced. Campaigns to convert single-sex hostels into family units were also partially successful and at some mines living-out allowances are now the norm rather than the exception.

With the decline in the gold price, the mining industry was increasingly seen as a sunset industry. The share of mining exports as a percentage of South Africa's total exports shrunk from over 70% in 1983 to 35% in 1999. In 1983, gold accounted for over 50% of all mining exports, but this declined to 15% in 1998. Mining's contribution to the country's gross domestic product declined from 15.6% in 1986 to 6.5% in 1999. In the 1980s the mining sector employed almost 800 000 employees. As the gold price declined, this number was slashed in half, to just more than 400 000 at the beginning of the 2000s.⁷¹ The social impact of this decline in employment in mining towns and labour sending areas was devastating.⁷²

To dismiss the South African mining industry as a sunset industry ignores a number of key points. Firstly, whilst there has been a decline in gold mining, the industry has seen a substantial expansion in platinum mining. This is partly driven by the demand for minerals from China and the expanding global manufacturing industry. Since the early 2000s, employment in the mining industry has increased to 444 362 employees. Of these 155 769 are employed on platinum mines, almost equal to the 160 620 gold mining employees.⁷³

⁷¹ The decline was from 792 742 employees in 1980 to 411 653 in December 2001, Statistics South Africa. 2001. 'Discussion Paper 2: Comparative Labour Statistics, Survey of Employment and Earnings in Selected Industries, March 2001.' Pretoria: Government Printers.

⁷² Seidman, G. 1993. 'Shafted: The Social Impact of Downscaling on the Free State Gold Fields.' *South African Sociological Review*, vol. 5, no. 2; Ngonini. X. 2002. 'The Impact of Mining Retrenchments on the Survival Strategies and Livelihoods of Rural Homesteads: A Case Study of Two Villages in the Mbizana Municipal District, Eastern Cape.' MA Research Report, Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

⁷³ These figures are the averages for 2005 supplied by the Department of Minerals and Energy.

Nevertheless, the crisis in the Middle East has led to a re-appreciation of the gold price, which breathed new life into the industry. Secondly, many South African mining firms have become significant global players, especially in other parts of Africa. They have globalised their operations and ownership structures when several firms shifted their primary listings from Johannesburg to London and New York. Thirdly, the mining industry was one of the first sectors where black empowerment deals were struck, creating billionaires such as Cyril Ramaphosa, Patrice Motsepe and Tokyo Sexwale. It is thus seen as one of the key drivers of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE).⁷⁴

Both companies we interviewed clearly complied with the letter of the EEA. The mining contractor even met the requirements of the Mining Charter for being classified as a BEE company. Their competitive advantage was their lower wage rates, and the NUM only recently succeeded in organising employees of this firm. Clearly employment equity goes further than just complying and having a plan and certain committees in place; as one of our interviewees from the Department of Minerals and Energy said: “As far as I’m concerned, for some employment equity is about number crunching. It is a public relations exercise for companies. They aggregate or disaggregate their figures; it depends on what makes them look good... Where you find black people employed, they are in IR, HR and government relations, but not in technical positions or on the boards of directors...”

Both companies had employment equity structures, but referred to these in the language of transformation. The mining company has a transformation blueprint, which includes strategies for skills transfer to people from designated groups, space creation (which includes the early retirement of white males), and the placement of engineers in positions where they can gain experience. The company also audited all its procedures for barriers to transformation. The transformation “steercom” has to report to a subcommittee of the board, which was set up in 2006, on a regular basis. The brief of the subcommittee was to ensure implementation and compliance with legislation. Unions were represented in both cases, and in the case of the mining company the union felt that the procedures and structures were in place, but that the challenge was in the realm of implementation. Indeed, as an official from the Department of Minerals and Energy said, transformation would include a “cultural change”. This would include new language policies, issues of gender sensitivity, and moving away from using ethnicity as a marker for job delineation.

A number of more specific findings have emerged from the research.

A first is the constraint to employment equity as a result of a lack of skills; especially mining engineers. There is also dissatisfaction among employers with the inability of the Mining Qualifications Authority to disburse funds entitled to by employers. One of the companies interviewed has taken the MQA to court to recover money that is due to them. A number of interviewees have also raised the fact that there was an industry-wide initiative to address the lack of skills by the previous Minister of Minerals and Energy, which involved the Departments of Labour, Education, Minerals and Energy and a number of statutory bodies. This initiative seems to have fallen by the wayside. Frustration about the lack national skills planning for the industry runs deep. The result is that firms tend to poach top talent from each other instead of training new candidates from designated groups. Many mining companies

⁷⁴ Bezuidenhout, A. & Buhlungu, S. 2006. ‘Old Victories, New Struggles: The state of the National Union of Mineworkers.’ In: Buhlungu, S., Daniel, J., Luttmann, B. & Southall, R. (eds.). *The State of the Nation, 2006-2007*. Pretoria: HSRC Press.

provide students with bursaries, but many of those do not want to work in the remote areas where mines are. They prefer to move to head offices in Johannesburg, or even move to other industries to escape rural life. One mine manager, who argued that there was “a massive skills challenge”, said that the skills pipeline was getting narrower, especially in technical positions. The poaching of staff was a severe problem. There were discussions between the National Business Initiative and JIPSA structures to address the problem. The company had as part of its social responsibility programmes maths and science lessons in communities and labour sending areas. They had also arranged meetings with the MEC for Education to raise their concerns and devise joint strategies to address the problem.

A second finding relates to the obstacles to employing women on the mines. Participants raised a whole range of issues, including the fact that women do not tend to pass the heat tests set as a condition to being employed in underground operations. The pass rate for women is around 10% as opposed to 99% for men. There are some who argue that the test was designed for men, and involves levels of heat tolerance appropriate to machinery no longer used in underground work. One of the companies is currently working with the CSIR, who devised the test, to see if it could be adapted to increase the pass rate of women.

A range of other obstacles, such as a lack of ablution facilities underground and the prevalence of sexual harassment were also raised. A regional official of the NUM pointed out that there was also resistance from mineworkers, especially older ones who have worked in the industry for a long time: “Men in mining are not used to living with women, so there are lots of problems and allegations. Some asked the NUM to request separate shafts for women... But others, especially the younger township-based ones don’t have problems.”

Both companies we interviewed have “women and mining” programmes. The women in mining programmes are not seen as a response to the EEA, but rather the Mining Charter, which has a clear target (set at 10% by 2009) linked to sanctions.

There were ten women involved in the mining contractor’s programme. They were being trained as rock drillers. They work underground for six to eight months, to gain general experience. They are then assessed along a 360 degree process, after which they embark on learnerships. The contractor raised the issue of women not passing heat tolerance tests, as well as the perception that women tend to fall pregnant as soon as they are employed, or “within the first three months”, as a contractor stated. They are then moved to surface jobs.

The mining company’s initiative started in 2004. They have a pre-employment induction programme for women. They also raised the issue of heat tolerance tests. They had to develop new policies on pregnancy and sexual harassment, and had to design new uniforms. They also reported that women are given different jobs and four month pregnancy leave when they are pregnant. Women working underground now constitute 5% of the workforce, and the company’s EE forum actively works to change the culture on the mine to accept. A major challenge is for women to stay on in underground jobs. Women often apply for office jobs after working underground for a while.

A third finding is the impact of the externalisation of work in the industry. Indeed, an often overlooked structural shift in the industry is the fact that of every three mineworkers, one is now employed by one of many outside contractors. New forms of externalisation – in the case of the mining industry, the re-emergence of various forms of non-standard employment – is reintroducing a key aspect of the apartheid labour regime; that of externalising the burden of

social reproduction onto households. Any attempt to consider redress in the industry; whether this refers to a narrow focus on ownership, or a broader one that includes changing patterns of ownership, changes in employment equity, skills development and issues of health and safety; would be incomplete without an in-depth consideration of the impact of this structural shift in the mining labour market.

Very little progress has been made on the issue of disability. Obviously work in the mining industry puts some limitations.

An NUM official spoke frankly about union weaknesses: “NUM has a weakness in terms of driving employment equity. The union is not hands-on to ensure implementation. In some workplaces there are committees, but employers take advantage of NUM’s weaknesses.” He argued that the NUM lacked a coordinated campaign-driven approach throughout the union. Workers focus on “issues that bring money into the pocket; that is the mentality”. He also contrasted employment equity structures to health and safety structures, where there is a real partnership between the union and employers.

There was a general perception that employment equity in the mining industry is not driven by the Department of Labour. Rather, the Department of Minerals and Energy is seen as more engaging and supportive on the matter. A representative from a mining company mentioned in one of our interviews: “The DME and the DoL need to speak to one another about employment equity. The DME is better at guiding us and providing information. The Department of Labour is not talking to us about employment equity at all.” An NUM official was also very critical of the Department of Labour: “The Department of Labour is also to blame. I’m not even sure that they read and check the employment equity reports that are submitted.” Union representatives at the mining company also expressed their irritation with a lack of engagement and feedback from the Department of Labour.

An official from the DME pointed out that they also ask mining companies for their employment equity reports. When the Department of Labour inspects the mines, they do not speak to the DME, he said. The DME is in a better position to dig in and enforce employment equity. Asked about possible coordination between government departments, he said that the DME has not raised the issue of a division of labour with the Department of Labour. The DME questions mining companies when they cheat on their EE reports. They do not have EE inspectors, but they have a social and economic plan that has an employment equity element. He felt that companies were able to budget for the fines imposed by the Department of Labour, but the DME has real teeth in the regulation of mining licences.

SECTION 5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The issue of employment equity has become a major national debate. Various competing positions have emerged in the media and policy circles.

There are those who argue that the major obstacle to employment equity is continued racism in companies and a failure to comply with and implement legislation. The fact that there are high levels of graduate unemployment, especially among Africans, shows that there is bad faith.

Others are of the opinion that the major obstacle to employment equity is the lack of skill among designated groups. Companies that have aggressively implemented targets, such as Eskom, have had to suffer the consequences of rising levels of incompetence.

Finally, some are concerned that the EEA re-entrenches apartheid obsessions with race. There is the need for an approach that moves beyond notions of race. This can be achieved by focusing on class, rather than race.

There is ample evidence to support each of these positions. What is clear from our data is that progress at the national level has been lacklustre. Our data points to the fact that there is a need for an approach that is sensitive to the dynamics of very specific sectoral dynamics, as well as local contexts. Phasing white women out of employment equity altogether, for instance, takes away an opportunity for such women to advance in industries such as engineering, where they are still underrepresented. The polarised positions set up at the level of the nation as a whole are often not sensitive to the peculiarities and particularities of the local.

Our case studies have shown that to a large extent, the EEA is being superseded by sectoral charters, such as the Mining Charter. Also, the language has shifted from a focus on “employment equity” to one that emphasises “transformation”. Indeed, many of the firms and organisations we interviewed no longer have employment equity structures. These have been incorporated into transformation structures, which seek to integrate issues equity with broader issues of organisational culture as well as training, mentoring, and retention strategies.

Our case studies have also shown that formal organograms, and changes in the demographic profile of a workforce, do not necessarily translate into real changes of power. An example is the “upward floating colour bar”, where layers of authority that are filled by people from designated groups become disempowered, as authority is moved elsewhere in the organisation. This also happens when “consultants” are appointed from outside to do the real work in cases of cynical window dressing. The point is that power is dynamic. It can shift vertically, but also horizontally in organisations. For law to penetrate and shape these dynamics is nearly impossible. For inspectors to address these matters, would require immense sophistication and infinite time and resources. It is unrealistic to expect the EEA to directly transform their power dynamics. Rather, the approach of creating an enabling framework for trade unions and interested parties within organisations to draw on resources, and to take their own initiative is more realistic. The case of the engineering firm in our case

study points to this, where a black HR manager has succeeded in changing the 'racial' composition of management in a very short time.

Where the government can make a real difference, is in changing the power dynamics in the labour market. In this regard, the coordinating role of the Department of Labour would be crucial. There is a need to intervene decisively on the supply-side of the labour market. The slow progress is often due to real constraints, such as the absence of skills. Several HR managers, who were committed to the goals of the EEA, expressed frustration with the lack of a pool of skilled people from designated groups. The view from Johannesburg often misses this point. Companies in rural areas, such as mining houses, universities, and some manufacturing organisations, face real pressures.

A major issue of concern is the highly uneven quality produced by our education system. The quality of school leavers as well as graduates varies greatly, depending on the institution they attended. The de-accreditation of BComm programmes by some of our universities by industry bodies is a case in point. The fact that that these institutions enrolled students in programmes without informing them that they were not accredited is a serious indictment on the democratic state and it is counterproductive to attempts to achieve employment equity. Most of the learners who end up with school certificates and degrees that do not lead to employment are from poor, working class backgrounds. The problem is graduate unemployment is linked to this inequity related to the fact that we have substandard schools and low grade universities in our system. A range of serious interventions to address this problem is required.

The failure of some companies to submit employment equity reports at all, in addition to the decline in the rates of submission (see Table 5) is an obvious case in point that compliance levels are not optimal. This is clearly a matter of serious concern. There is also a perception that the enforcement strategy of the Department of Labour is top heavy. High profile cases are taken on, without the base of general enforcement being in place. It almost becomes like a lottery of enforcement. While some of our interviewees found the inspections from the Department of Labour supportive and not punitive, our overall observation is that the quality of inspection is often questionable. Also, some firms do not take the fines seriously. In fact, one of our informants observed that the fines are so low that some companies even budget for them, rather than taking the EEA seriously.

Employment equity as practiced in South Africa at the moment does not take disability seriously. In fact, a lot of lip service is paid, but there is no real pressure and no demonstrable progress on this front across the sectors of the economy. There is a need for a serious intervention in this regard. Again, interventions in the supply-side of the labour market are important.

Overall, the role trade unions is disappointing. This may be because of the narrow focus in national debates on employment equity on managerial positions. Indeed, debates have been dominated by the professional and elite classes in society. Unions have not made any headway in intervening in those debates and have conceded the terrain to these social forces. What we found in the various institutions that we have visited is that shop stewards are finding it extremely difficult to define a role for themselves. Local, regional and national structures provide little training to their shop floor representatives. In the case of the engineering firm we interviewed, the shop stewards were last trained in 1996. In fact, they were requesting the HR manager in their company to train them to be effective representatives

in matters of employment equity; they had little knowledge of their rights as enshrined in the EEA.

In spite of the assertion by some that there are no cases of best practice, we found a number of examples of firms who are genuinely attempting to bring about redress in their organisations. Surely, there are many shortcomings, especially at the level of real changes in organisational culture, and sometimes due to constraints in the labour market. But at the level of administrative compliance, we do feel that there are best practice cases that can be recognised, awarded, and publicised by the Department of Labour. Therefore, punitive measures should be applied hand in hand with awards, to give companies something to aspire to. This will also improve the media image of the Department of Labour.

This brings us to the point of the public perception of the Department of Labour, as well as the Commission for Employment Equity. The current chair has succeeded in raising the profile of the CEE. In spite of this commendable achievement, we found that our interviewees were confused about mixed messages emanating from the Department and its agencies. The issue of white women was raised consistently as a matter of concern, as it was not clear what process had led to the public messages that had been sent out. The matter of the “skills myth” also did not resonate well with those HR managers who were genuinely seeking qualified candidates from designated groups to appoint. Some pointed to vacancies that could not be filled. The role of the CEE needs to be clarified and their approach to employment equity data has to be revised as their Annual Reports are not always a useful analytical tool for the interpretation of trends in employment equity in the South African labour market.

We would describe the Department of Labour’s current approach to the enforcement of the EEA as a broad administrative approach that is inadequate. Clearly, the fact that social partners agreed to the EEA at NEDLAC would lead one to expect more commitment from business on this front. However, the general political and business climate has changed since. Also, as we mention earlier on, some developments have overtaken the promulgation of the act. Steps have recently been taken as far as there is high profile corrective action by the Department of Labour. We would however argue for a more radical rethink, which includes qualitative methods in addition to the current approach which is largely quantitative. This can get to substantive matters.

Nevertheless, a number of concerns were raised about the capacity of the Department of Labour to implement the EEA. To be sure, concerns were expressed by companies and organisations in our case studies, as well as a range of other role players, including members of the CEE. A major issue seems to be the capacity of the registry to manage, file and analyse the vast amounts of paper generated by organisations complying with the EEA. For us as researchers it was quite insightful requesting reports from the Department of Labour and then comparing these records to the reports in the files of the organisations themselves. Sometimes, we were not able to get reports required for the research, and were often surprised to find reports that were seemingly not filed by organisations with the Department of Labour in their own records. We also found various inconsistencies between the public records and the records that firms had submitted. Unfortunately we have to report that we have little faith in the current systems in the registry.

In addition to this very basic, but fundamental shortcoming in the current systems of administration, role players raised the following matters, which have serious implications for the ability of the Department of Labour to implement the EEA:

Response from Department of Labour to submissions

- Some of the organisations interviewed said that they usually received no response from the Department of Labour, sometimes no confirmation when they submit their reports. However, in some years they do get acknowledgments in writing, but that this was inconsistent.
- We were surprised to find many HR managers who were not even aware of the EE Code of Good Practice.
- Organisations felt that occupation levels can easily be translated onto the EE reports from their grading systems, but the actual occupational categories on the EEA2 form are not always that clear. These tend to fluctuate from year to year in their reporting. They requested more clarity on this – particularly occupational categories that were applicable to their industries.

Feedback from the Department of Labour to organisations

- One organisation once received their score, but this was not explained. The organisation did not know how to interpret their score.
- One organization submitted its reports online. They receive an automated acknowledgement when this is done. However, they pointed out that the server tends to “bomb out” on the final day of submission. More than one company raised this problem. One HR manager put forward a request that there should be a function to save data already put in online, because this is lost when the server fails.
- One organisation said that employment equity was becoming a “paper exercise”. Companies are committed to transformation, they said, which becomes part of everyday activities. “The Department of Labour is just an entity we report to, there is no reciprocal relationship,” they said. “It feels like we’re operating on an island,” said another.
- Several interviewees wanted to see more pro-activity where there are industry-specific problems. Employment equity is seen as a one-sided thing. “We comply, but what else can we do? There is no reciprocation or feed-back at forums,” said one.
- On the Employment Equity Commission, an HR manager said the following: “Why don’t they call a conference and report back to the companies? We only hear them when they criticise...”

Quality of inspections

- Firms interviewed were quite critical of inspectors from the Department of Labour. While some felt that inspectors were supportive and not punitive in their approach, others who have been audited pointed out that inspectors take “an hour at most” and just use a checklist approach without giving concrete feedback.

Contacting the Department of Labour

- Several interviewees were deeply frustrated by the fact that it was very difficult to get hold of Department of Labour officials telephonically. “You don’t get hold of people you’d like to talk to,” remarked one HR manager. Another said: “The communication needs to be improved. It’s like a black hole. You can never get hold of the people who have to help you.” A transformation officer said that it took two weeks to get hold of someone at the Department of Labour.

Points about other state organs

- Some managers were extremely critical of what they called “bloated bureaucracy” at the SETAs, as well as the levels of remuneration paid to SETA employees. “They’re more interested in eating their KFC than assisting us to get workers trained,” said one training manager.
- A major theme is the lack of inter-departmental coordination by the Department of Labour. This is acute in sectors such as mining and higher education, where the DME and DoE also have responsibilities and reporting mechanisms related to matters of equity.

Recommendations

In addition to several suggestions and recommendations made in the body of our report, we would like to highlight the following more specific recommendations:

- There is a need for a shift from formal administrative compliance to active labour market interventions, specifically on the supply-side of the labour market. The notion that affirmative action can be implemented without these supply-side interventions is mistaken. Where some of these measures exist, they are largely delinked from employment equity policies and initiatives.
- In order to do the above, the Department of Labour has to shift away from the current macro-approach to a sectoral approach, where policy interventions are oriented towards addressing equity at industry level. As we showed, labour markets are often sector-specific. The categories used to guide reporting often have little bearing on the specificities of sectors and hence it becomes extremely difficult to compare, say, higher education with agriculture or mining. This would help to establish benchmarks where apples are compared with apples.
- Furthermore, in addition to a sectoral approach, there has to be a shift to put more time and resources into providing organisations with support, advice and feedback. Doing this by sector would enable the Department of Labour to build expertise to give more specialist support, rather than the current generalist approach.
- The Department of Labour needs to produce a revised index scorecard as a result of this more focused analysis. The current weightings are inappropriate. This revised index can be used as a tool for analysing, benchmarking, and tracking progress in sectors.

- Clearly, the Department of Labour would have to invest considerable resources into boosting capacity. This implies upgrading levels of skill among officials, as well as expanding the number of staff directly involved in the enforcement and implementation of the EEA. Building this capacity would entail, among others, sourcing high level analytical and research skills, with the right balance between quantitative and qualitative methods.
- A sectoral approach also requires more effective inter-departmental coordination within government, involving departments such as Education, Trade and Industry, and Minerals and Energy. This implies following through on the existing emphasis on joined-up government.
- The current levels of non-compliance and diminishing submissions needs to be addressed. Coordination with the South African Revenue Service may be an avenue to explore. When companies submit their tax returns, their compliance with the EEA may be tracked. For example, a tracking device may be added to tax return submissions.
- The current levels of fines for non-compliance are too low. This needs to be revisited. This should include investigating the possibility of an annual escalation of the fine.
- The existing dispensation that allows for the recognition of good practice through incentives and awards should be implemented.
- The Department of Labour should enter into discussions with the CEE in order to devise a more sophisticated media strategy. Such a strategy should seek to avoid the sending out of mixed or contradictory messages by the CEE and the Department of Labour.
- A clear practical step is for the Department of Labour to compile and update a register of people from designated groups, specifically those with critical skills, from which organisations can head-hunt. This would particularly be useful for people with disabilities, since the process of advertising for such positions can be extremely sensitive.
- The capacity of CCMA commissioners to deal with EEA cases should be improved. This may involve actual training, or manuals containing appropriate policies and procedures.
- The introduction of compulsory arbitration for EEA cases by the CCMA should be explored, since employers seem to be abusing the fact that EEA cases not resolved at the CCMA (often just because they do not pitch for the hearing) are referred to the Labour Court. This escalates the cost for complainants and discourages them from taking the case further.
- As in the case of Black Economic Empowerment, the current focus on the apex of organisations regarding employment equity makes the concept largely irrelevant for and distant from ordinary shop floor workers. The case of women in mining shows how employment equity can become relevant for a wider spectrum of citizens. We

recommend that a broad-based approach which avoids becoming an elite strategy of redress be investigated systematically.

- The above point also implies that the Department of Labour engage unions on training of shop stewards and officials on the implementation of the EEA and the opportunities provided by this for unions to contribute to a more productive and egalitarian workplace.

APPEDIX A METHODOLOGY

For our analysis, we draw on a range of methods and data sources, including documentary sources, interviews and existing databases.

Documentary sources

Documentary sources we are drawing on include the following:

- Existing studies on Employment Equity;
- Minutes and reports, such as minutes from company employment equity committees, as well as employment equity reports submitted to the Department of Labour. These documents are used to track changes in the workforce profile of the case studies – this allows inter-institutional comparisons to be made within the sector. In addition to this, the qualitative sections of the reports are also used to get a basic idea of the challenges and initiatives that institutions have put in place to facilitate a more equitable workforce profile and a more conducive institutional culture. The researchers analysed all of the Employment Equity Reports for the workplaces selected for study in the research. At the workplaces the researchers requested access to Employment Equity plans, Organograms and Employment Equity Committee's/forum's/bodies' minutes;
- CCMA awards and documents related to the EEA, with a specific focus on the three sectoral case studies;
- Judgements of the Labour Court related to the EEA. Every case relating to Employment Equity was gathered, whether it be from the CCMA, the Labour Courts, the Labour Appeal Courts, the High Courts, the Constitutional Court and the Equality Courts;
- Labour Market Reviews and the Commission for Employment Equity Annual Reports from 2000 to 2007 emanating from the Department of Labour.

Interviews

- Interviews were held with key stakeholders in the form of employment equity officers or managers (and their human resources equivalents) as well as with members of the employment equity forums, representatives from trade unions, staff associations and interested groups. These interviews formed the basis for a more thorough understanding of employment equity within the sector;
- A range of interviews were conducted with government officials and other role players for an overall perspective on the impact and implementation of the EEA.

Databases

- The October Household Survey and the Labour Force Survey data matrixes. We ran our own analyses, specifically for the section of the report that looks at overall trends;
- The Department of Education's HEMIS database that provides a twenty-year overview of race and gender demographics within the higher education sector;
- Statistics on Engineers collected by the Engineering Council of South Africa;
- The dataset of statistics of employment as collected by the Statistics unit of the Department of Minerals and Energy.

In order to assess the scope and nature of administrative compliance and the key strengths and weaknesses of the enforcement procedures and mechanisms, the researchers conducted an audit of administrative compliance relating to the rate of employer compliance, compliance procedures (namely the rate of follow-up on non-compliance, administration on fines, to name a few) and the inspectorate as an enforcement mechanism. To do this the researchers drew on existing Annual Reports from the Department of Labour and conducted interviews with key personnel in the Department of Labour, including the officials of the Commission for Employment Equity, the Employment Equity Registry and the Inspectorate.

Interviews were also conducted with the key officials of the Departments of Education, Minerals and Energy and the Public Service and Administration. These interviews were supplemented by interviews at selected workplaces, which formed the basis of the researcher's case studies, which is discussed now.

In order to move to an understanding of the best practices and lessons of the companies and institutions in terms of their conceptualisation, operationalisation and compliance of Employment Equity plans, the researchers conducted primary research. This included interviews with key informants at the workplaces of the companies and institutions selected for study within the three key sectors of the economy. The interviewees ranged from trade union representatives to management to management consultants in some cases. The insight gathered from these interviews allowed the researchers to reflect on the concerns and challenges in the current Employment Equity practices of these companies and institutions.

Particularly eight in-depth case studies were conducted of selected companies and institutions included. The analyses of these workplaces focused mainly on comparing best-practices and factors that hinder or enhance the capacity to conceptualise, implement and sustain EE. From these trends were drawn.

The following sectors were chosen to draw case studies from:

- Higher Education: Two regional case studies comprising five institutions in total were conducted. This sector was chosen because of the importance of the sector in the transformation of the labour market. At each institution, personal interviews were conducted with key personnel in the Human Resources departments in all cases. These personal interviews lasted between one and half to two hours each. In some cases, focus groups were conducted with members of the institutions' various Employment Equity committees/forums. These included both management representatives as well as representatives from the various staff associations and trade unions at the institution. These focus groups lasted between one and half to two hours each.
- Metal/engineering sector. This sector was chosen because of the importance of downstream manufacturing in terms of the government's industrial policy. One of the two major manufacturers agreed to participate in the study.
- Mining. This sector was chosen because of the historical importance of the mining industry in the formation and dismantling of apartheid labour policies. The participating companies included a major mining group and a mining contractor, with substantial operations in the North-West province. Interviews were conducted at both the mines and the companies' headquarters. At each institution, personal interviews were conducted with key personnel in the Human Resources department and in one

case with the General Manager. These personal interviews lasted between one and half to two hours each. In some cases, focus groups were conducted with members of the various Employment Equity committees/forums. These included both management representatives as well as representatives from the various staff associations and trade unions at the institution. These focus groups lasted between one and half to two hours each and took place at each workplace – namely the mines in Rustenburg.

In order to assess what impact the implementation of EE plans have in the medium to long-term for companies, in relation to workplace relations, skills development, productivity and other indicators, the researchers will now draw on the existing studies, available data and case studies to evaluate the impact.

APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL TABLES

TABLE B1: KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED

Sector	Department of Labour ⁷⁵	Commission for Employment Equity	Department of Education	DPSA	Department of Minerals and Energy	CCMA
Higher Education: 5 Universities, 3 in Gauteng and 2 in the Eastern Cape; Interviews conducted with HR Directors, trade union/staff representatives, members of the Employment Equity Forums	The acting DG of the DoL; A Senior Executive Manager; Data capturers in the EE Registry; Regional Manager of a Regional Office; A labour inspector at the Rustenburg Labour Centre	4 commissioners, including the Chair of the CEE	3 officials in the Higher Education Planning unit	1 official	3 officials	1 official
Mining: 2 companies in Rustenburg; HR Directors, Transformation Managers, Payroll officials, members of the Employment Equity forums						
Engineering: 1 company in Kwa- Zulu/Natal; Interviews were conducted with HR managers in Johannesburg and KZN, as well as union office bearers						
1 Employment Equity Consultant						

⁷⁵ Please note that we only managed to interview two officials within the Department of Labour for our project. We tried to establish interviews with the officials in the Ministry, the Labour Relations, Labour Policy & Labour Market Policy unit and the ESDS: Seta Performance Management unit. In some instances, our requests were either declined but largely ignored. One official in the ESDS: Seta Performance Management unit stated by e-mail that “Regret what I know about EE is limited to the need for all learners on skills development programmes to be 85% black, 54% women and 4% PWD”, for the record.

TABLE B2: TOTAL POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA BY RACE AND GENDER 1996-2007

Race	1996	1997	1998	1999	Sep-00	Feb-01	Feb-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
African Total	31346000	32106000	32832000	33716000	34359000	34379000	34879000	36605000	37609000	37038000	37490000	37888000
African male	15010000	15421000	15787000	16261000	16445000	16487000	16657000	17419000	17791000	18118000	18359000	18525000
African female	16336000	16686000	17044000	17447000	17910000	17888000	18220000	19184000	19805000	18900000	19130000	19260000
Coloured Total	3700000	3751000	3804000	3862000	4091000	4195000	4002000	4096000	4194000	4131000	4180000	4224000
Coloured male	1796000	1821000	1846000	1872000	1941000	2028000	1887000	1923000	1991000	2052000	2070000	2029000
Coloured female	1904000	1931000	1958000	1988000	2149000	2167000	2115000	2172000	2203000	2077000	2110000	2193000
Indian Total	1031000	1065000	1077000	1114000	1149000	1129000	1400000	1161000	1152000	1150000	1160000	1169000
Indian male	504000	522000	529000	547000	559000	545000	703000	561000	584000	596000	571000	588000
Indian female	527000	543000	548000	566000	590000	582000	697000	599000	568000	550000	589000	580000
White Total	4506000	4521000	4521000	4568000	4349000	4605000	4716000	4252000	4222000	4380000	4365000	4348000
White male	2195000	2208000	2213000	2235000	2160000	2257000	2392000	2105000	2105000	2194000	2224000	2198000
White female	2310000	2313000	2307000	2322000	2190000	2344000	2321000	2143000	2112000	2186000	2138000	2150000
Total	40583000	41444 000	42279000	43325000	44043000	44365000	45080000	43136000	47195000	46755000	47238000	47707000
Total male	19505000	19971000	20405000	20948000	21158000	21347000	21687000	22020000	22482000	22991000	23247000	23486000
Total female	21078000	21473000	21874000	22355000	22882000	23009000	23388000	24110000	24694000	23739000	23986000	24214000

Source: LFS Sep 2000, Feb 2001-2002, Mar 2003-2007, October Household Survey 1996-1999.

TABLE B3: TOTAL POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA BY RACE AND GENDER 1996 – 2007: PROPORTIONS

Race	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
African Total	77.2	77.5	77.7	77.8	78.0	77.5	77.4	84.9	79.7	79.2	79.4	79.4
African male	37.0	37.2	37.3	37.5	37.3	37.2	36.9	40.4	37.7	38.8	38.9	38.8
African female	40.3	40.3	40.3	40.3	40.7	40.3	40.4	44.5	42.0	40.4	40.5	40.4
Coloured Total	9.1	9.1	9.0	8.9	9.3	9.5	8.9	9.5	8.9	8.8	8.8	8.9
Coloured male	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.6	4.2	4.5	4.2	4.4	4.4	4.3
Coloured female	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.9	4.9	4.7	5.0	4.7	4.4	4.5	4.6
Indian Total	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.5	3.1	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5
Indian male	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2
Indian female	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
White Total	11.1	10.9	10.7	10.5	9.9	10.4	10.5	9.9	8.9	9.4	9.2	9.1
White male	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.2	4.9	5.1	5.3	4.9	4.5	4.7	4.7	4.6
White female	5.7	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.0	5.3	5.1	5.0	4.5	4.7	4.5	4.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total male	48.1	48.2	48.3	48.4	48.0	48.1	48.1	51.0	47.6	49.2	49.2	49.2
Total female	51.9	51.8	51.7	51.6	52.0	51.9	51.9	55.9	52.3	50.8	50.8	50.8

Source: LFS Sep 2000, Feb 2001-2002, Mar 2003-2007, October Household Survey 1996-1999.

TABLE B4: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY RACE AND GENDER 1996-2007

Race	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Mar-06	Mar-07
African Total	7255000	7528000	8715000	9420000	12019000	12283000	12014000	12409000	11470000	11834000	12369000	12684000
African male	4023000	4237000	4984000	5196000	6453000	6514000	6412000	6506000	6296000	6448000	6610000	6852000
African female	3232000	3291000	3731000	4223000	5565000	5769000	5601000	5903000	5197000	5381000	5758000	5833000
Coloured Total	1379000	1363000	1397000	1519000	1638000	1679000	1731000	1775000	1696000	1693000	1714000	1750000
Coloured male	763000	767000	778000	829000	878000	894000	916000	912000	898000	908000	927000	903000
Coloured female	617000	596000	619000	689000	759000	786000	815000	863000	798000	785000	787000	846000
Indian Total	376000	399000	402000	465000	485000	492000	509000	547000	504000	516000	484000	474000
Indian male	238000	253000	261000	280000	306000	302000	306000	324000	323000	326000	304000	300000
Indian female	138000	145000	140000	184000	179000	190000	203000	223000	180000	187000	180000	174000
White Total	1930000	1862000	2024000	2103000	2229000	2210000	2241000	2072000	2129000	2121000	2140000	2049000
White male	1099000	1079000	1159000	1170000	1269000	1273000	1289000	1166000	1224000	1206000	1212000	1141000
White female	831000	783000	865000	928000	959000	935000	952000	904000	905000	915000	926000	908000
Total	10940000	11151000	12553000	13527000	16400000	16688000	16514000	16815000	15807000	16190000	16726000	16984000
Total male	6122000	6336000	7195000	7488000	8926000	8999000	8937000	8914000	8721000	8908000	9066000	9215000
Total female	4818000	4815000	5358000	6031000	7474000	7687000	7577000	7898000	7082000	7276000	7658000	7769000

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B5: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY RACE AND GENDER 1996-2007: PROPORTIONS

Race	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000*	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
African Total	66.3	67.5	69.4	69.6	73.3	73.6	72.8	73.8	72.6	73.1	74.0	74.7
African male	36.8	38.0	39.7	38.4	39.3	39.0	38.8	38.7	39.8	39.8	39.5	40.3
African female	29.5	29.5	29.7	31.2	33.9	34.6	33.9	35.1	32.9	33.2	34.4	34.3
Coloured Total	12.6	12.2	11.1	11.2	10.0	10.1	10.5	10.6	10.7	10.5	10.2	10.3
Coloured male	7.0	6.9	6.2	6.1	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.4	5.7	5.6	5.5	5.3
Coloured female	5.6	5.3	4.9	5.1	4.6	4.7	4.9	5.1	5.0	4.8	4.7	5.0
Indian Total	3.4	3.6	3.2	3.4	3.0	2.9	3.1	3.3	3.2	3.2	2.9	2.8
Indian male	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8
Indian female	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.0
White Total	17.6	16.7	16.1	15.5	13.6	13.2	13.6	12.3	13.5	13.1	12.8	12.1
White male	10.0	9.7	9.2	8.6	7.7	7.6	7.8	6.9	7.7	7.4	7.2	6.7
White female	7.6	7.0	6.9	6.9	5.8	5.6	5.8	5.4	5.7	5.7	5.5	5.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total male	56.0	56.8	57.3	55.4	54.4	53.9	54.1	53.0	55.2	55.0	54.2	54.3
Total female	44.0	43.2	42.7	44.6	45.6	46.1	45.9	47.0	44.8	44.9	45.8	45.7

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B6: GENERAL EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS PER MAIN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR 1996-2007

Industrial sector	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing	759000	716000	935000	1099000	2517000	1577000	1739000	1288000	1258000	1170000	1318000	1075000
Mining & quarrying			434000	476000	513000	566000	543000	558000	558000	426000	399000	455000
Manufacturing		1499000	1384000	1497000	1247000	1619000	1598000	1585000	1594000	1652000	1726000	1759000
Electricity, gas & water		112000	112000	78000	86000	101000	82000	86000	106000	125000	103000	100000
Construction	1932000	509000	547000	566000	544000	639000	578000	591000	659000	813000	864000	966000
Wholesale, retail trade & catering & accommodation services		1532000	1787000	2078000	2148000	3052000	2318000	2327000	2355000	2649000	2996000	2962000
Transport, storage & communication		524000	551000	539000	461000	580000	571000	580000	582000	593000	555000	576000
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services	2600000	704000	854000	930000	634000	1009000	1038000	1038000	1070000	1141000	1194000	1320000
Community, social & personal services	2819000	1777000	1847000	1983000	1715000	2017000	2009000	2119000	2158000	2235000	2183000	2310000
Private households	*	989000	771000	966000	1194000	1036000	1082000	1088000	1025000	1075000	1087000	1108000
Exterior organisations and foreign government	*	*	*	0	5000	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Activities not adequately defined	607000	338000	125000	105000	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Unspecified	*	*	36000	37000	21000	78000	59000	45000	27000	29000	28000	18000
Total	8716000	8700000	9389000	10369000	11085000	12274000	11617000	11305000	11392000	11908000	12453000	12649000

Due to rounding numbers do not necessarily add up to totals

*not reported

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B7: GENERAL EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS PER MAIN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR 1996-2007: PROPORTIONS

Industrial sector	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing	8.7	8.2	10	10.6	22.7	12.8	15	11.4	11	9.8	10.6	8.5
Mining & quarrying		0	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.9	4.9	3.6	3.2	3.6
Manufacturing		17.2	14.8	14.5	11.2	13.2	13.8	14	14	13.9	13.9	13.9
Electricity, gas & water		1.3	1.2	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.9	1	0.8	0.8
Construction	22.2	5.9	5.8	5.5	4.9	5.2	5	5.2	5.8	6.8	6.9	7.6
Wholesale, retail trade & catering & accommodation services		17.6	19	20.1	19.4	24.9	20	20.6	20.7	22.2	24.1	23.4
Transport, storage & communication		6	5.9	5.2	4.2	4.7	4.9	5.1	5.1	5	4.5	4.6
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services	29.8	8.1	9.1	9.0	5.7	8.2	8.9	9.2	9.4	9.6	9.6	10.4
Community, social & personal services	32.3	20.4	19.7	19.1	15.5	16.4	17.3	18.7	18.9	18.8	17.5	18.3
Private households	*	11.4	8.2	9.3	10.8	8.4	9.3	9.6	9	9	8.7	8.8
Unspecified	*	*	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
Activities not adequately defined	7	3.9	1.3	1.0	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100.0	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Due to rounding numbers do not necessarily add up to totals

*not reported

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B8: ANNUAL CHANGE IN EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY - MARCH 2001 - MARCH 2007

Industrial sector	March 2001-2002	March 2002-2003	March 2003-2004	March 2004-2005	March 2005-2006	March 2006-2007
Agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing	162000	-451000	-30000	-88000	147000	-243000
Mining & quarrying	-23000	15000	*	-132000	-27000	56000
Manufacturing	-21000	-13000	9000	58000	74000	32000
Electricity, gas & water	-19000	4000	20000	19000	-22000	-2000
Construction	-61000	13000	68000	154000	51000	102000
Wholesale, retail trade & catering & accommodation services	-734000	9000	28000	294000	347000	-34000
Transport, storage & communication	-9000	8000	2000	11000	-38000	21000
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services	29000	-1000	32000	71000	53000	126000
Community, social & personal services	-8000	110000	40000	76000	-52000	127000
Private households	46000	7000	-63000	50000	11000	21000
Unspecified	-19000	-14000	-18000	2000	-1000	-10000
Total	-658000	-314000	88000	515000	544000	197000

Source: LFS March 2007, StatsSA, * not reported

TABLE B9: LABOUR FORCE UNIONISATION RATES AND FORMAL SECTOR WORKERS RATES AS AT MARCH 2007

Industrial sector	% of labour force unionised at March 2007	% of workers in formal sector at March 2007
Agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing	8.1	56.2
Mining & quarrying	73	99.3
Manufacturing	34.8	85
Electricity, gas & water	43	92
Construction	9.4	65.7
Wholesale, retail trade & catering & accommodation services	20.6	66.9
Transport, storage & communication	28.5	76
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services	25.9	95.8
Community, social & personal services	55.5	88.7
Private households	2.1	1
Total	29.7	71.4

Source: LFS March 2007, StatsSA

TABLE B10: RACE AND GENDER DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS PER SECTOR, MARCH 2007

Industrial sector	Percentage Black	Percentage Women
Agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing	90.4	37.8
Mining & quarrying	86.8	4.8
Manufacturing	84.4	33.3
Electricity, gas & water supply	80	23
Construction	91.8	8.8
Wholesale & retail trade	83.2	48.3
Transport, storage & communication	85.6	18.2
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate & business services	67.9	39.9
Community, social & personal services	79.5	56.6
Private households with employed persons	99.1	79.3
Total	84	42.5

Source: LFS March 2007, StatsSA

TABLE B11: NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES WITHIN EACH OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL 1996 – 2007

Occupation level	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		621000	728000	684000	556000	633000	708000	708000	834000	798000	852000	906000
Professionals		775000	509000	554000	351000	463000	477000	554000	534000	533000	603000	590000
Technicians and associate professionals	2020000	746000	906000	1042000	878000	1185000	1207000	1131000	1132000	1129000	1176000	1179000
Clerks		773000	943000	1071000	858000	1071000	1108000	1100000	1172000	1198000	1207000	1266000
Service and sale workers	1880000	904000	1152000	1225000	1179000	1670000	1325000	1291000	1347000	1460000	1557000	1631000
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	*	198000	227000	469000	1698000	951000	1055000	428000	311000	432000	644000	417000
Craft and related trades workers		1170000	1314000	1355000	1349000	1559000	1417000	1405000	1417000	1642000	1708000	1770000
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2046000	847000	947000	1092000	1054000	1168000	1160000	1198000	1158000	1172000	1095000	1164000
Elementary occupations	2237000	1423000	1668000	1901000	2142000	2679000	2241000	2561000	2624000	2670000	2738000	2771000
Domestic worker	*	989000	749000	799000	1014000	843000	877000	884000	847000	850000	850000	936000
Unspecified	533000	255000	246000	39000	100000	52000	43000	44000	15000	24000	20000	17000
Total	8716000	8700000	9390000	10369000	11181000	12274000	11618000	11304000	11391000	11908000	12450000	12647000

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B12: NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES WITHIN EACH OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL 1996 – 2007: PROPORTIONS

Occupation level	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		7.14	7.75	6.60	4.97	5.16	6.09	6.26	7.32	6.70	6.84	7.16
Professionals		8.91	5.42	5.34	3.14	3.77	4.11	4.90	4.69	4.48	4.84	4.67
Technicians and associate professionals	23.18	8.57	9.65	10.05	7.85	9.65	10.39	10.01	9.94	9.48	9.45	9.32
Clerks		8.89	10.04	10.33	7.67	8.73	9.54	9.73	10.29	10.06	9.69	10.01
Service and sale workers	21.57	10.39	12.27	11.81	10.54	13.61	11.40	11.42	11.83	12.26	12.51	12.90
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	*	2.28	2.42	4.52	15.19	7.75	9.08	3.79	2.73	3.63	5.17	3.30
Craft and related trades workers		13.45	13.99	13.07	12.07	12.70	12.20	12.43	12.44	13.79	13.72	14.00
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	23.47	9.74	10.09	10.53	9.43	9.52	9.98	10.60	10.17	9.84	8.80	9.20
Elementary occupations	25.67	16.36	17.76	18.33	19.16	21.83	19.29	22.66	23.04	22.42	21.99	21.91
Domestic worker	*	11.37	7.98	7.71	9.07	6.87	7.55	7.82	7.44	7.14	6.83	7.40
Unspecified	6.12	2.93	2.62	0.38	0.89	0.42	0.37	0.39	0.13	0.20	0.16	0.13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B13: EXTENT OF CHANGE, MARCH 2001 – MARCH 2007

Occupation level	Mar 2001- Mar 2002	Mar 2002- Mar 2003	Mar 2003- Mar 2004	Mar 2004- Mar 2005	Mar 2005- Mar 2006	Mar 2006- Mar 2007	Extent of change between Mar 2001- Mar 2007	% of workers in formal sector as at March 2007
Legislators, senior officials and managers	75000	0	126000	-36000	54000	54000	+273000	92.3
Professionals	15000	76000	-19000	-2000	71000	13000	+128000	96
Technicians and associate professionals	21000	-76000	1000	-4000	48000	3000	-7000	90.2
Clerks	37000	-8000	71000	27000	8000	59000	+194000	97.5
Service and sale workers	-346000	-34000	56000	113000	97000	74000	-40000	76.6
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	105000	-627000	-117000	121000	212000	-227000	-533000	18.9
Craft and related trades workers	-142000	-13000	13000	224000	66000	62000	+210000	68.1
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	-8000	39000	-40000	14000	-78000	69000	-4000	86.5
Elementary occupations	-438000	320000	63000	45000	69000	33000	+92000	64.4
Domestic worker	34000	7000	-37000	3000	0	86000	+93000	-
Unspecified	-10000	1000	-28000	8000	-3000	-4000	-36000	-
Total	-658000	-314000	88000	515000	544000	197000	+396000	71.4

Source: Labour Force Survey, March 2007, StatsSA: viii&13.

TABLE B14: NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES WITHIN EACH OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL 2000 – 2007 BY GENDER

Occupation category	Sep-00		Mar-01		Mar-02		Mar-03		Mar-04		Mar-05		Mar-06		Mar-07	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Legislators, senior officials and managers	441000	133000	504000	128000	529000	179000	538000	170000	618000	216000	564000	234000	609576	259003	630889	302357
Professionals	314000	273000	248000	215000	276000	201000	309000	244000	281000	253000	282000	251000	322191	294326	316554	279681
Technicians and associate professionals	526000	608000	578000	607000	597000	609000	533000	598000	553000	579000	512000	617000	574651	609791	533956	649423
Clerks	365000	691000	328000	743000	348000	760000	371000	730000	365000	806000	400000	797000	400204	807150	409438	861531
Service and sale workers	824000	646000	863000	807000	720000	604000	713000	578000	778000	569000	834000	625000	894097	685307	925880	717569
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	633000	570000	556000	394000	624000	431000	241000	187000	192000	119000	222000	210000	349936	383732	254320	220742
Craft and related trades workers	1367000	220000	1297000	262000	1225000	192000	1207000	198000	1230000	188000	1400000	242000	1472942	259520	1522442	267854
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1053000	166000	1006000	162000	987000	173000	1022000	176000	1019000	140000	1033000	137000	961374	141784	1018940	163108
Elementary occupations	1349000	1072000	1330000	1348000	1237000	1004000	1503000	1058000	1555000	1069000	1606000	1064000	1650336	1134375	1704467	1111868
Domestic worker	40000	890000	43000	800000	35000	842000	54000	830000	40000	807000	45000	805000	7365	849839	71596	888995
Unspecified	32000	28000	34000	19000	27000	15000	30000	14000	11000	*	13000	*	10570	10912	10174	7760
Total	6943000	5295000	6788000	5485000	6606000	5011000	6520000	4782000	6640000	4752000	6911000	4991000	7253242	5435739	7398656	5470888
Grand total	12238000		12275000		11617000		11304000		11392000		11907000		12688981		12869544	

Source: LFS September 2000 and March 2001- 2007, StatsSA

TABLE B15: NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES WITHIN EACH OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL 2000 – 2007 BY GENDER - PROPORTIONS

Occupation category	Sep-00		Mar-01		Mar-02		Mar-03		Mar-04		Mar-05		Mar-06		Mar-07	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Legislators, senior officials and managers	3.6	1.1	4.1	1.0	4.6	1.5	4.8	1.5	5.4	1.9	4.7	2.0	4.8	2.0	4.9	2.3
Professionals	2.6	2.2	2.0	1.8	2.4	1.7	2.7	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.4	2.1	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.2
Technicians and associate professionals	4.3	5.0	4.7	4.9	5.1	5.2	4.7	5.3	4.9	5.1	4.3	5.2	4.5	4.8	4.1	5.0
Clerks	3.0	5.6	2.7	6.1	3.0	6.5	3.3	6.5	3.2	7.1	3.4	6.7	3.2	6.4	3.2	6.7
Service and sale workers	6.7	5.3	7.0	6.6	6.2	5.2	6.3	5.1	6.8	5.0	7.0	5.2	7.0	5.4	7.2	5.6
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	5.2	4.7	4.5	3.2	5.4	3.7	2.1	1.7	1.7	1.0	1.9	1.8	2.8	3.0	2.0	1.7
Craft and related trades workers	11.2	1.8	10.7	2.1	10.5	1.7	10.7	1.8	10.8	1.7	11.8	2.0	11.6	2.0	11.8	2.1
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	8.6	1.4	8.2	1.3	8.5	1.5	9.0	1.6	8.9	1.2	8.7	1.2	7.6	1.1	7.9	1.3
Elementary occupations	11.0	8.8	10.8	11.0	10.6	8.6	13.3	9.4	13.6	9.4	13.5	8.9	13.0	8.9	13.2	8.6
Domestic worker	0.3	7.3	0.4	6.5	0.3	7.2	0.5	7.3	0.4	7.1	0.4	6.8	0.1	6.7	0.6	6.9
Unspecified	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.4	*	0.4	*	0.1	*	0.6	*
Total	56.7	43.3	55.3	44.7	56.9	43.1	57.7	42.3	58.3	41.7	58.0	41.9	57.2	42.8	57.5	42.5
Grand total	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	

Source: LFS September 200 and March 2001- 2007, StatsSA

TABLE B16: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (AFRICANS) - 1996 – 2007

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		202000	228000	199000	179598	168758	198927	162290	218374	214626	252993	280715
Professionals		376000	154000	204000	145713	173635	166737	206616	210885	223717	275319	269407
Technicians and associate professionals	851000	337000	440000	541000	552385	644758	612601	585078	596044	607798	621585	652747
Clerks		321000	369000	451000	385012	420080	460984	457102	493941	512416	541565	625455
Service and sale workers	1016000	586000	812000	839000	939699	1269341	936006	929031	978779	1064688	1170402	1261441
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		144000	187000	368000	1795928	941996	1045852	438558	304080	439270	674151	399568
Craft and related trades workers		747000	887000	933000	992866	1109578	1009115	975596	1013509	1199427	1262325	1347503
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1352000	647000	736000	842000	889849	951732	944100	981708	914566	920779	876921	940733
Elementary occupations	1786000	1026000	1310000	1493000	1710552	2260800	1817237	2114879	2175729	2261879	2308556	2372300
Domestic worker	*	872000	663000	697000	914149	755975	787966	793877	759144	771541	781662	871560
Occupation not adequately defined	0	0	0	82000	7456	0	0	14078	5718	2911	798	1461
Unspecified	303000	143000	136000	19000	15154	19025	7329	6938	2261	14589	5683	9814
Total	5308000	5401097	5922098	6668099	8530361	8715678	7986854	7665751	7673030	8233641	8771960	9032704

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B17: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (AFRICANS) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF RACE GROUP IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	16.0	3.7	3.8	3.0	2.1	1.9	2.5	2.1	2.8	2.6	2.9	3.1
Professionals		7.0	2.6	3.1	1.7	2.0	2.1	2.7	2.7	2.7	3.1	3.0
Technicians and associate professionals		6.2	7.4	8.1	6.5	7.4	7.7	7.6	7.8	7.4	7.1	7.2
Clerks	19.1	5.9	6.2	6.8	4.5	4.8	5.8	6.0	6.4	6.2	6.2	6.9
Service and sale workers		10.8	13.7	12.6	11.0	14.6	11.7	12.1	12.8	12.9	13.3	14.0
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	25.5	2.7	3.2	5.5	21.1	10.8	13.1	5.7	4.0	5.3	7.7	4.4
Craft and related trades workers		13.8	15.0	14.0	11.6	12.7	12.6	12.7	13.2	14.6	14.4	14.9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		12.0	12.4	12.6	10.4	10.9	11.8	12.8	11.9	11.2	10.0	10.4
Elementary occupations	33.6	19.0	22.1	22.4	20.1	25.9	22.8	27.6	28.4	27.5	26.3	26.3
Domestic worker	*	16.1	11.2	10.5	10.7	8.7	9.9	10.4	9.9	9.4	8.9	9.6
Occupation not adequately defined	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unspecified	5.7	2.6	2.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B18: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (AFRICANS) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF TOTAL WORKFORCE IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	96	97	98	99	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	9.8	2.3	2.4	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.8	2.2	2.2
Professionals		4.3	1.6	2.0	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.4	2.1
Technicians and associate professionals		3.9	4.7	5.2	4.9	5.3	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.2	5.4	5.2
Clerks	11.7	3.7	3.9	4.3	3.4	3.4	4.0	4.0	4.3	4.4	4.7	4.9
Service and sale workers		6.7	8.6	8.1	8.4	10.3	8.1	8.2	8.4	9.2	10.1	10.0
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	15.5	1.7	2.0	3.5	16.0	7.7	9.0	3.9	2.6	10.3	5.8	3.4
Craft and related trades workers		8.6	9.4	9.0	8.9	9.0	8.7	8.6	8.7	10.3	10.9	11.6
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		7.4	7.8	8.1	7.9	7.8	8.1	8.7	7.9	7.9	7.5	8.1
Elementary occupations	20.5	11.8	14.0	14.4	15.3	18.4	15.6	18.7	18.7	19.5	19.9	20.4
Domestic worker	*	10.0	7.1	6.7	8.2	6.2	6.8	7.0	6.5	6.6	6.7	7.5
Occupation not adequately defined	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unspecified	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Total	57	60	62	65	76	71	69	68	66	77	76	76

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B19: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (COLOURED PEOPLE) - 1996 – 2007

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	210000	60000	59000	60000	65844	41887	40682	46910	73323	70262	80238	69385
Professionals		64000	47000	35000	30886	32755	25233	34009	32005	16943	45559	45713
Technicians and associate professionals		85000	88000	102000	103643	126229	126308	114946	118943	132483	127723	139670
Clerks	281000	108000	146000	153000	175094	158547	169139	174302	201456	173628	207503	215723
Service and sale workers		109000	117000	133000	131888	154919	140120	144264	135516	171634	154784	163170
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	322000	25000	18000	54000	44696	38111	43516	15474	17511	10805	12684	17054
Craft and related trades workers		180000	171000	173000	174503	169785	148560	176927	174167	197215	210543	210473
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		110000	114000	142000	143593	128096	136132	130574	152438	143453	128202	129547
Elementary occupations	370000	292000	299000	317000	354480	386853	388182	398640	396403	368912	352700	337461
Domestic worker		96000	78000	98000	105332	90496	100005	98465	93232	81235	73485	79516
Occupation not adequately defined	0	0	0	13000	5036	0	0	846	209	60	0	0
Unspecified	32000	25000	40000	6000	813	1777	1803	1339	1798	922	2330	3049
Total	1215000	1154097	1177098	1286099	1337808	1329455	1319680	1336696	1397001	1367552	1395751	1410761

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B20: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (COLOURED PEOPLE) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF RACE GROUP IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	17.3	5.2	5.0	4.7	4.9	3.2	3.1	3.5	5.2	5.1	5.7	4.9
Professionals		5.5	4.0	2.7	2.3	2.5	1.9	2.5	2.3	1.2	3.3	3.2
Technicians and associate professionals		7.4	7.5	7.9	7.7	9.5	9.6	8.6	8.5	9.7	9.2	9.9
Clerks	23.1	9.4	12.4	11.9	13.1	11.9	12.8	13.0	14.4	12.7	14.9	15.3
Service and sale workers		9.4	9.9	10.3	9.9	11.7	10.6	10.8	9.7	12.6	11.1	11.6
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	26.5	2.2	1.5	4.2	3.3	2.9	3.3	1.2	1.3	0.8	0.9	1.2
Craft and related trades workers		15.6	14.5	13.5	13.0	12.8	11.3	13.2	12.5	14.4	15.1	14.9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		9.5	9.7	11.0	10.7	9.6	10.3	9.8	10.9	10.5	9.2	9.2
Elementary occupations	30.5	25.3	25.4	24.6	26.5	29.1	29.4	29.8	28.4	27.0	25.3	23.9
Domestic worker	0.0	8.3	6.6	7.6	7.9	6.8	7.6	7.4	6.7	5.9	5.3	5.6
Occupation not adequately defined	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unspecified	2.6	2.2	3.4	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B21: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (COLOURED PEOPLE) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF TOTAL WORKFORCE IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07	
Legislators, senior officials and managers	2.4	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	
Professionals		0.7	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.4	
Technicians and associate professionals		1.0	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.1	
Clerks		1.2	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.5	1.7	1.7	
Service and sale workers		1.3	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.3	
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0.3	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	
Craft and related trades workers		2.1	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.7	
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		1.3	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.0	
Elementary occupations		4.2	3.4	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.1	2.8	2.7
Domestic worker		0.0	1.1	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6
Occupation not adequately defined		0.0	0.0	0.0	7.5	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unspecified		0.4	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total		14	13	13	20	15	11	11	12	12	12	11	11

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B22: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (INDIANS) - 1996 – 2007

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07	
Legislators, senior officials and managers	123000	53000	55000	47000	45790	46742	56738	59610	76337	83269	85290	75013	
Professionals		41000	27000	29000	26075	32756	32520	31624	41882	30813	20229	37585	
Technicians and associate professionals		37000	47000	52000	61427	51762	62276	57446	62109	44392	60129	49763	
Clerks		66000	56000	81000	76450	88860	96504	90438	94842	89789	97239	80095	
Service and sale workers		43000	40000	45000	51922	56235	52469	61790	47799	53245	44662	39530	
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0	0	3000	8960	3290	1982	473	1407	1934	1219	6771	
Craft and related trades workers		46000	44000	44000	46096	48690	37945	43066	29926	55827	52303	42615	
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		27000	42000	48000	55200	44977	42486	41619	48304	42574	36763	39327	
Elementary occupations		21000	31000	22000	28000	31751	38506	27681	25545	19559	21503	33758	29193
Domestic worker		0	0	2000	1637	615	0	1198	368	503	345	7673	
Occupation not adequately defined		0	0	0	11000	0	0	740	0	318	0	0	
Unspecified		19000	11000	0	2000	0	699	269	0	0	2703	1408	4105
Total		336000	355097	333098	392099	407308	413132	410870	413549	422533	426870	433345	411670

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B23: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (INDIANS) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF RACE GROUP IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	36.6	14.9	16.5	12.0	11.2	11.3	13.8	14.4	18.1	19.5	19.7	18.2
Professionals		11.5	8.1	7.4	6.4	7.9	7.9	7.6	9.9	7.2	4.7	9.1
Technicians and associate professionals		10.4	14.1	13.3	15.1	12.5	15.2	13.9	14.7	10.4	13.9	12.1
Clerks	29.2	18.6	16.8	20.7	18.8	21.5	23.5	21.9	22.4	21.0	22.4	19.5
Service and sale workers		12.1	12.0	11.5	12.7	13.6	12.8	14.9	11.3	12.5	10.3	9.6
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	22.3	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.2	0.8	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.3	1.6
Craft and related trades workers		13.0	13.2	11.2	11.3	11.8	9.2	10.4	7.1	13.1	12.1	10.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		7.6	12.6	12.2	13.6	10.9	10.3	10.1	11.4	10.0	8.5	9.6
Elementary occupations	6.3	8.7	6.6	7.1	7.8	9.3	6.7	6.2	4.6	5.0	7.8	7.1
Domestic worker	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.9
Occupation not adequately defined	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Unspecified	5.7	3.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.3	1.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B24: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (INDIANS) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF TOTAL WORKFORCE IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	1.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6
Professionals		0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3
Technicians and associate professionals		0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4
Clerks	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.6
Service and sale workers		0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Craft and related trades workers		0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.3
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
Elementary occupations	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2
Domestic worker	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Occupation not adequately defined	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unspecified	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	3.9	4.1	3.5	3.8	3.6	3.4	3.5	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.3

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B25: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (WHITE PEOPLE) - 1996 – 2007

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		306000	384000	375000	355309	385667	426324	456443	482284	446311	449338	508133
Professionals		294000	281000	283000	248469	230898	261157	287521	253082	262632	275410	243530
Technicians and associate professionals	836000	286000	328000	345000	355194	378147	414967	384051	366330	353731	375121	341199
Clerks		279000	371000	383000	425338	404505	388835	378951	387042	426910	361198	349696
Service and sale workers	484000	165000	177000	204000	257808	232069	214608	172269	197368	185048	210046	179307
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		27000	23000	44000	49287	83560	86156	44598	46075	46103	45434	51669
Craft and related trades workers		197000	210000	204000	248525	249251	235638	224238	211060	202795	207292	189705
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	297000	63000	54000	59000	71160	49572	44650	53789	50175	77144	61272	72441
Elementary occupations	60000	74000	37000	61000	64703	55056	40501	58373	61223	48173	89938	77381
Domestic worker		19000	0	2000	1122	4532	958	2248	1583	730	1712	1842
Occupation not adequately defined	0	0	0	32000	3100	0	0	9254	2578	64	528	0
Unspecified	179000	76000	62000	12000	8048	15981	12122	12600	3572	6217	12061	966
Total	1856000	1786097	1927098	2004099	2090063	2089238	2125916	2084335	2062372	2055858	2089350	2015869

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B26: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (WHITE PEOPLE) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF RACE GROUP IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	45.0	17.1	19.9	18.7	17.0	18.5	20.1	21.9	23.4	21.7	21.5	25.2
Professionals		16.5	14.6	14.1	11.9	11.1	12.3	13.8	12.3	12.8	13.2	12.1
Technicians and associate professionals		16.0	17.0	17.2	17.0	18.1	19.5	18.4	17.8	17.2	18.0	16.9
Clerks	26.1	15.6	19.3	19.1	20.4	19.4	18.3	18.2	18.8	20.8	17.3	17.3
Service and sale workers		9.2	9.2	10.2	12.3	11.1	10.1	8.3	9.6	9.0	10.1	8.9
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		1.5	1.2	2.2	2.4	4.0	4.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.6
Craft and related trades workers	16.0	11.0	10.9	10.2	11.9	11.9	11.1	10.8	10.2	9.9	9.9	9.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		3.5	2.8	2.9	3.4	2.4	2.1	2.6	2.4	3.8	2.9	3.6
Elementary occupations		3.2	4.1	1.9	3.0	3.1	2.6	1.9	2.8	3.0	2.3	4.3
Domestic worker	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Occupation not adequately defined	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unspecified	9.6	4.3	3.2	0.6	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B27: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (WHITE PEOPLE) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF TOTAL WORKFORCE IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	9.6	3.5	4.1	3.6	3.2	3.1	3.7	4.0	4.2	3.7	3.6	4.0
Professionals		3.4	3.0	2.7	2.2	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.2	1.9
Technicians and associate professionals		3.3	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.6	3.4	3.2	3.0	3.0	2.7
Clerks	5.6	3.2	4.0	3.7	3.8	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.6	2.9	2.8
Service and sale workers		1.9	1.9	2.0	2.3	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.4
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Craft and related trades workers	3.4	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.5
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.6
Elementary occupations		0.7	0.9	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.7
Domestic worker	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Occupation not adequately defined	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unspecified	2.1	0.9	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
Total	21.3	20.5	20.5	19.3	18.6	17.0	18.3	18.4	18.1	17.3	16.8	15.9

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B28: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (AFRICAN WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		55000	53000	40000	53869	35597	41691	36793	55568	62318	75260	91386
Professionals		211000	77000	97000	69243	90269	93166	100811	114722	107879	138929	128900
Technicians and associate professionals	442000	181000	255000	313000	319971	341868	321226	312401	313791	336119	328379	354597
Clerks		172000	189000	243000	196988	230008	270283	245418	302709	311615	310682	368618
Service and sale workers	423000	211000	328000	337000	449111	642822	410592	399221	406415	437373	485038	541508
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		37000	50000	100000	992843	434860	450202	203929	127456	233373	373732	207084
Craft and related trades workers		152000	137000	144000	164956	207977	163425	155619	147520	191961	211771	212526
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	213000	59000	65000	91000	107700	108290	113970	117876	86384	83894	100126	113993
Elementary occupations	996000	385000	539000	688000	886907	1208519	844946	895776	892634	919211	955143	954918
Domestic worker	0	674000	570000	665000	870930	714936	755281	742732	720175	728681	774297	806330
Occupation not adequately defined	0	0	0	20000	726	0	0	2456	546	2451	0	0
Unspecified	106000	41000	37000	7000	4760	7644	2735	3475	1397	5451	1865	4080
Total	2180000	2178097	2300098	2745099	4154590	4022790	3467517	3216507	3169317	3420326	3755222	3783940

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B29: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (AFRICAN WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF RACE/ GENDER GROUPS IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		8.9	7.2	5.9	8.3	5.5	5.7	5.1	6.5	7.6	8.6	9.7
Professionals		27.2	15.1	17.9	15.4	19.2	19.2	18	21.3	20.1	22.5	21.5
Technicians and associate professionals	20.3	24.2	28.1	30	30	28.5	26.4	27.3	27.4	29.5	27.7	29.9
Clerks		22.3	20	22.6	18.6	21.4	24.2	22.2	25.7	25.9	25.7	30
Service and sale workers	31.5	23.3	28.5	27.5	32.5	36.4	30.5	30.5	30	29.6	30.7	32.8
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		18.7	22	21.3	52.3	40.8	38.2	40.9	34.5	46.9	50.9	43.6
Craft and related trades workers		13	10.4	10.6	11.3	13.2	11.4	11	10.3	11.6	12.2	11.9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	55.7	7	6.9	8.3	9.3	9.2	9.8	10	7.4	7.1	9.1	9.6
Elementary occupations	35.3	27.1	32.2	36.2	41	44	37.1	34.5	33.6	34	34.3	34
Domestic worker	*	68.2	76.1	83.2	85.2	84	84.9	83	84.3	85	90.3	83.9

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B30: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (AFRICAN WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF TOTAL WORKFORCE IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		0.6	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7
Professionals		2.4	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.0
Technicians and associate professionals	5.1	2.1	2.7	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.8
Clerks		2.0	2.0	2.3	1.8	1.9	2.3	2.2	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.9
Service and sale workers	4.9	2.4	3.5	3.3	4.0	5.2	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.9	4.3
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0.4	0.5	1.0	8.9	3.5	3.9	1.8	1.1	2.0	3.0	1.6
Craft and related trades workers		1.7	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.7
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2.4	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.9
Elementary occupations	11.4	4.4	5.7	6.6	7.9	9.8	7.3	7.9	7.8	7.7	7.7	7.6
Domestic worker	0.0	7.7	6.1	6.4	7.8	5.8	6.5	6.6	6.3	6.1	6.2	6.4

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B31: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (COLOURED WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	111000	22000	20000	16000	16024	10551	11205	13894	17511	21509	25735	21084
Professionals		34000	19000	14000	14376	15321	9567	15539	14689	10558	22548	24890
Technicians and associate professionals		45000	53000	53000	55070	73024	64965	64162	56456	84494	75890	88216
Clerks	149000	74000	96000	105000	136908	119659	118531	127460	153425	118942	137704	155285
Service and sale workers		54000	59000	77000	62901	81168	78135	79040	68166	94325	90331	84344
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	73000	0	0	13000	7279	6398	8192	5399	5411	2731	3108	4192
Craft and related trades workers		36000	20000	24000	30113	26588	11822	27684	28512	28816	32324	32413
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		29000	34000	40000	45901	37829	40939	40964	35760	39671	29894	34999
Elementary occupations	176000	105000	112000	123000	172387	150869	154695	151961	165917	142437	142932	129458
Domestic worker	0	75000	69000	94000	100417	88543	97235	95849	92285	78782	73485	77079
Unspecified	20000	0	18000	3000	813	560	626	913	1353	482	254	1829
Total	529000	474097	500098	568099	642189	610510	595912	622865	639485	622747	634205	653789

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B32: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (COLOURED WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF RACE/ GENDER GROUPS IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	5.5	3.5	2.8	2.3	2.5	1.6	1.5	1.9	2.1	2.6	2.9	2.2
Professionals		4.4	3.4	2.5	3.2	3.3	2	2.8	2.7	2	3.7	4.2
Technicians and associate professionals		6	5.9	5.1	5.1	6.1	5.3	5.6	4.9	7.4	6.4	7.4
Clerks	7.9	9.6	10.2	9.8	13	11.1	10.6	11.5	13	10	11.4	12.2
Service and sale workers		6	5.1	6.3	4.6	4.7	5.8	6	5	6.4	5.7	5.1
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	3.6	0	0	2.8	0.4	0.6	1	1.1	1.5	0.5	0.4	0.9
Craft and related trades workers		3.1	1.5	1.8	2.1	1.6	0.8	1.9	2	1.7	1.9	1.8
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		3.4	3.6	3.7	4	3.2	3.5	3.4	3.1	3.3	2.7	3
Elementary occupations	7.9	7.4	6.7	6.5	8	5.5	6.8	5.9	6.2	5.3	5.1	4.6
Domestic worker	*	7.6	9.2	11.8	9	10.4	10.9	11	10.8	9.2	8.5	8

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B33: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (COLOURED WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF TOTAL WORKFORCE IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Professionals		0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
Technicians and associate professionals	5.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.7
Clerks		0.9	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.2
Service and sale workers	7.9	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.7
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Craft and related trades workers		0.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	3.6	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3
Elementary occupations	7.9	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.0
Domestic worker	*	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B34: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (INDIAN WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		0	0	8000	8053	6826	10563	14446	10551	18978	19386	16868
Professionals		18000	14000	14000	11114	15640	13044	15539	15173	11001	11772	9982
Technicians and associate professionals	44000	17000	22000	22000	31941	17078	26277	20266	18371	20555	20074	19701
Clerks		37000	31000	49000	48182	51908	58228	58703	55304	50757	62245	54788
Service and sale workers	48000	18000	0	21000	12688	25449	22601	25268	15249	18277	18408	12210
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0	0	1000	2652	836	973	0	718	0	533	874
Craft and related trades workers		15000	0	8000	1474	9617	3827	6043	6389	8934	6750	7054
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	17000	0	11000	17000	17647	12735	11851	12986	14656	9778	8366	8096
Elementary occupations	0	0	0	9000	14492	11947	7308	4694	5611	6378	15314	8286
Domestic worker	0	0	0	2000	1637	615	958	1198	368	0	345	3744
Occupation not adequately defined	0	0	0	2000	0	0	0	370	0	0	0	0
Unspecified	0	0	0	1000	0	204	0	0	0	1278	0	1368
Total	109000	105000	78000	154000	149880	152855	155630	159513	142390	145936	163193	142971

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B35: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (INDIAN WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF RACE/ GENDER GROUPS IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		*	*	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.5	2	1.2	2.3	2.2	1.8
Professionals		2.3	2.8	2.5	2.5	3.3	2.7	1.2	2.8	2	1.9	1.7
Technicians and associate professionals	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.1	3	1.4	2.2	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.7
Clerks		4.8	3.3	4.6	4.5	4.8	5.2	5.3	4.7	4.2	5.1	4.3
Service and sale workers	2.6	2	*	1.7	1	1.4	1.7	1.9	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.7
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0	0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0	0.2	0	0.1	0.2
Craft and related trades workers		1.3	*	0.6	0.1	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.8	*	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.1	1	1.1	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.7
Elementary occupations	0	*	*	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.3
Domestic worker	*	*	0	0.3	0.2	0.1	0	0.1	0.04	0	0.04	0.4

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B36: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (INDIAN WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF TOTAL WORKFORCE IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
Professionals		0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Technicians and associate professionals	2.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Clerks		0.4	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4
Service and sale workers	2.6	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Craft and related trades workers		0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.8	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Elementary occupations	0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Domestic worker	*	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B37: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (WHITE WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	354000	89000	86000	106000	92407	78948	117143	108609	135068	133162	138622	173019
Professionals		125000	113000	128000	97236	93616	86192	121939	109658	123098	121077	115909
Technicians and associate professionals		150000	166000	164000	187641	181014	198458	204499	193269	177339	185448	186909
Clerks	319000	222000	309000	300000	355824	341446	317828	296909	297997	319645	296519	282840
Service and sale workers		65000	81000	104000	115926	103900	100842	82799	83747	84699	91530	79507
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	38000	0	0	6000	8760	7706	18405	6280	4453	4711	6359	8592
Craft and related trades workers		20000	17000	26000	20298	24054	14904	13278	10652	14742	8675	15681
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		0	10000	10000	3637	4654	6234	4612	3474	4869	3398	6020
Elementary occupations	19000	17000	0	15000	16922	16777	11293	18069	13700	7252	20986	19206
Domestic worker	0	10000	0	2000	1122	4532	958	2103	1583	730	1712	1842
Occupation not adequately defined	0	0	0	15000	0	0	0	1243	0	64	243	0
Unspecified	66000	32000	24000	6000	4373	8458	5037	6093	1196	1341	8793	483
Total	796000	730000	806000	882000	904146	865105	877294	866433	854797	871652	883362	890008

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B38: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (WHITE WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF RACE/ GENDER GROUPS IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers	17.5	14.3	11.8	15.5	14.2	12.2	16.1	15	15.9	16.2	15.9	18.4
Professionals		16.1	22.2	23.1	21.6	19.9	17.7	21.8	20.3	22.9	19.6	19.4
Technicians and associate professionals		20.1	18.3	15.7	17.5	15.1	16.3	17.9	16.9	15.6	15.6	15.8
Clerks	17	28.7	32.8	28	33.5	31.8	28.5	26.9	25.3	26.6	24.5	22.2
Service and sale workers		7.2	7	8.5	8.4	6.1	7.5	6.3	6.2	5.7	5.8	4.8
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.9	*	*	1.3	0.5	0.7	1.6	1.3	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.8
Craft and related trades workers		1.7	1.3	1.9	1.4	1.5	1	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.5	0.9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers		*	1.1	0.9	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.5
Elementary occupations	0.9	1.2	*	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.7
Domestic worker	*	1	*	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B39: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION (WHITE WOMEN) - 1996 – 2007 – PROPORTIONS (OF TOTAL WORKFORCE IN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY)

Occupation category	1996	1997	1998	1999	Mar-00	Mar-01	Mar-02	Mar-03	Mar-04	Mar-05	Mar-06	Mar-07
Legislators, senior officials and managers		1.0	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.4
Professionals		1.4	1.2	1.2	0.9	0.8	0.7	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9
Technicians and associate professionals	4.1	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5
Clerks		2.6	3.3	2.9	3.2	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.2
Service and sale workers	3.7	0.7	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers		0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Craft and related trades workers		0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Elementary occupations	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
Domestic worker	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: LFS March 2000 - March 2007 and October Household Surveys 1999-1996, StatsSA.

TABLE B40: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION, RACE AND GENDER 2007

Occupation category	African			Coloured			Indian			Total Black			White			Total	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Legislators, senior officials and managers	20.2	9.7	29.9	5.1	2.2	7.3	6.2	1.8	8.0	31.5	13.7	45.2	35.7	18.4	54.1	67.2	32.1
Professionals	23.5	21.5	45.0	3.5	4.2	7.7	4.6	1.7	6.3	31.6	27.4	59.0	21.3	19.4	40.7	52.9	46.8
Technicians and associate professionals	25.1	29.9	55.0	4.3	7.4	11.7	2.5	1.6	4.1	31.9	38.9	70.8	13.0	15.8	28.8	44.9	54.7
Clerks	20.2	29.0	49.2	4.8	12.2	17.0	2.0	4.3	6.3	27.0	45.5	72.5	5.3	22.2	27.5	32.3	67.7
Service and sale workers	43.6	32.8	76.4	4.8	5.1	9.9	1.7	0.7	2.4	50.1	38.6	88.7	6.0	4.8	10.8	56.1	43.4
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	40.5	43.6	84.1	2.7	0.9	3.6	1.2	0.2	1.4	44.4	44.7	89.1	9.1	1.8	10.9	53.5	46.5
Craft and related trades workers	63.3	11.9	75.2	9.9	1.8	11.7	1.9	0.4	2.3	75.1	14.1	89.2	9.7	0.9	10.6	84.8	15.0
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	69.9	9.6	79.5	8.0	3.0	11.0	2.6	0.7	3.3	80.5	13.3	93.8	5.6	0.5	6.1	86.1	13.8
Elementary occupations	50.2	33.8	84.0	7.4	4.6	12.0	0.7	0.3	1.0	58.3	38.7	97.0	2.1	0.7	2.8	60.4	39.4

Source: LFS March 2007, StatsSA.

TABLE B41: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION, RACE AND GENDER 2000

Occupation category	African			Coloured			Indian			Total Black			White			Total	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Legislators, senior officials and managers	19.0	8.0	27.0	7.6	2.5	10.1	5.8	1.2	7.0	32.4	11.7	44.1	40.3	14.2	54.5	72.7	25.9
Professionals	16.9	15.4	32.3	3.7	3.2	6.9	3.3	2.5	5.8	23.9	21.1	45.0	32.4	21.6	54.0	56.3	42.7
Technicians and associate professionals	21.6	29.8	51.4	4.5	5.1	9.6	2.7	3.0	5.7	28.8	37.9	66.7	15.6	17.5	33.1	44.4	55.4
Clerks	17.7	18.6	36.3	3.6	12.9	16.5	2.7	4.5	7.2	24.0	36.0	60.0	6.5	33.5	40.0	30.5	69.5
Service and sale workers	35.5	32.5	68.0	4.9	4.6	9.5	2.8	0.9	3.7	43.2	38.0	81.2	10.3	8.4	18.7	53.5	46.4
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	42.3	52.3	94.6	1.9	0.4	2.3	0.3	0.1	0.4	44.5	52.8	97.3	2.1	0.5	2.6	46.6	53.3
Craft and related trades workers	56.6	11.2	67.8	9.9	2.1	12.0	3.1	0.1	3.2	69.6	13.4	83.0	15.6	1.4	17.0	85.2	14.8
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	67.4	9.3	76.7	8.4	4.0	12.4	3.2	1.5	4.7	79.0	14.8	93.8	5.8	0.3	6.1	84.8	15.1
Elementary occupations	38.1	41.0	79.1	8.4	7.9	16.3	0.8	0.7	1.5	47.3	49.6	96.9	2.2	0.8	3.0	49.5	50.4

Source: LFS March 2000, StatsSA.

TABLE B42: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY SKILL, RACE AND GENDER – MARCH 2007

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Skilled	329836	220286.0	69124	45974	85748	26850	462735	288928
Semi-skilled	2602381	1684333.0	381640	389340	124147	94627	537867	573709
Low skilled (plant and machine assembly operators & elementary)	2244122	1068911.0	302551	164457	52138	16382	124596	25226
Total	5176339	2973530	753315	599771	262033	137859	1125198	887863

Source: LFS- March 2007, StatsSA

TABLE B43: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY SKILL, RACE AND GENDER – MARCH 2007 - PROPORTIONS

	African		Coloured		Indian		White		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Skilled	2.8	1.8	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.2	3.9	2.4	12.8
Semi-skilled	21.8	14.1	3.2	3.3	1.0	0.8	4.5	4.8	53.5
Low skilled (plant and machine assembly operators & elementary)	18.8	9.0	2.5	1.4	0.4	0.1	1.0	0.2	33.4
	43.4	25.0	6.3	5.0	2.2	1.2	9.4	7.5	100.0

Source: LFS- March 2007, StatsSA

TABLE B44: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY SKILL, RACE AND GENDER – MARCH 2000

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Skilled	202019	123292.0	66330	25000	52698	19167	409250	189643
Semi-skilled	2542021	2123869.0	337553	292271	147918	96937	647703	688449
Low skilled (plant and machine assembly operators & elementary)	1605794	994607.0	279785	218288	54812	32139	115304	20559
Total	4349834	3241768	683668	535559	255428	148243	1172257	898651

Source: LFS- March 2000, StatsSA

TABLE B45: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY SKILL, RACE AND GENDER – MARCH 2000 - PROPORTIONS

	African		Coloured		Indian		White		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Skilled	1.8	1.1	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.2	3.6	1.7	
Semi-skilled	22.5	18.8	3.0	2.6	1.3	0.9	5.7	6.1	
Low skilled (plant and machine assembly operators & elementary)	14.2	8.8	2.5	1.9	0.5	0.3	1.0	0.2	
	38.5	28.7	6.1	4.7	2.3	1.3	10.4	8.0	100.0

Source: LFS- March 2000, StatsSA

TABLE B46: HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR - 1986 DATA BY OCCUPATION AND RACE

1986 PERMANENT STAFF BY OCCUPATION	BLACK	AFRICAN	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
Professional Staff Sub-total	1267	514	318	435	12500	37	13804
Instruction/Research Professional	1015	424	243	348	10263	34	11312
Executive/Administrative/Managerial Professionals	76	22	30	24	900	0	976
Specialist/Support Professionals	176	68	45	63	1337	3	1516
Non-Professional Staff Sub-total	12994	8842	3169	983	7486	81	20561
Technical Employees	821	351	248	222	1609	5	2435
Non-professional Administrative Employees	1627	819	444	364	4887	10	6524
Crafts/Trades Employees	352	95	193	64	591	1	944
Service\Employees	10194	7577	2284	333	399	65	10658
TOTAL	14261	9356	3487	1418	19986	118	34365

TABLE B47: HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR - 1996 DATA BY OCCUPATION AND RACE

1996 PERMANENT STAFF BY OCCUPATION	BLACK	AFRICAN	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
Professional Staff Sub-total	3911	2399	617	895	13791	2	17704
Instruction/Research Professional	3053	1905	439	709	10975	1	14029
Executive/Administrative/Managerial Professionals	234	131	69	34	823	0	1057
Specialist/Support Professionals	624	363	109	152	1993	1	2618
Non-Professional Staff Sub-total	19886	14736	3767	1383	8222	6	28114
Technical Employees	1042	379	319	344	1389	2	2433
Non-professional Administrative Employees	4902	3116	1156	630	5947	4	10853
Crafts/Trades Employees	511	263	183	65	560	0	1071
Service\Employees	13431	10978	2109	344	326	0	13757
TOTAL	23797	17135	4384	2278	22013	8	45818

TABLE B48: HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR - 2006 DATA BY OCCUPATION AND RACE

2006 PERMANENT STAFF BY OCCUPATION	BLACK	AFRICAN	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
Professional Staff -Sub-total	7750	4856	1274	1620	12724	81	20555
Instruction/Research Professional	5624	3531	803	1290	9856	72	15552
Executive/Administrative/Managerial Professionals	546	330	120	96	899	0	1445
Specialist/Support Professionals	1580	995	351	234	1969	9	3558
Non-Professional Staff -Sub-total	15938	11173	3306	1459	6404	29	22371
Technical Employees	1626	886	388	352	1014	4	2644
Non-professional Administrative Employees	7701	4749	2028	924	4967	23	12691
Crafts/Trades Employees	537	344	161	32	247	0	784
Service\Employees	6074	5194	729	151	176	2	6252
TOTAL	23688	16029	4580	3079	19128	110	42926

TABLE B49: HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR - 1986 DATA BY OCCUPATION GENDER

1986 PERMANENT STAFF BY OCCUPATION	Women	Men	Total
1.0 Professional Staff -Sub-total	3676	10128	13804
1.1 Instruction/Research Professional	2874	8484	11358
1.2 Executive/Administrative/Managerial Professionals	78	898	976
1.3 Specialist/Support Professionals	724	792	1516
2.0 Non-Professional Staff -Sub-total	8538	12023	20561
2.1 Technical Employees	795	1640	2435
2.2 Non-professional Administrative Employees	4690	1834	6524
2.3 Crafts/Trades Employees	47	897	944
2.4 Service\Employees	3006	7652	10658
9.9 TOTAL	12214	22197	34411

TABLE B50: HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR - 1996 DATA BY OCCUPATION AND GENDER

1996 PERMANENT STAFF BY OCCUPATION	Women	Men	Total
1.0 Professional Staff -Sub-total	6369	11335	17704
1.1 Instruction/Research Professional	4755	9274	14029
1.2 Executive/Administrative/Managerial Professionals	138	919	1057
1.3 Specialist/Support Professionals	1476	1142	2618
2.0 Non-Professional Staff -Sub-total	13622	14492	28114
2.1 Technical Employees	790	1643	2433
2.2 Non-professional Administrative Employees	7620	3233	10853
2.3 Crafts/Trades Employees	131	940	1071
2.4 Service\Employees	5081	8676	13757
9.9 TOTAL	19991	25827	45818

TABLE B51: HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR - 2006 DATA BY OCCUPATION AND GENDER

2006 PERMANENT STAFF BY OCCUPATION	Women	Men	Total
1.0 Professional Staff -Sub-total	9053	11502	20555
1.1 Instruction/Research Professional	6568	8984	15552
1.2 Executive/Administrative/Managerial Professionals	455	990	1445
1.3 Specialist/Support Professionals	2030	1528	3558
2.0 Non-Professional Staff -Sub-total	12748	9623	22371
2.1 Technical Employees	1039	1605	2644
2.2 Non-professional Administrative Employees	9153	3538	12691
2.3 Crafts/Trades Employees	136	648	784
2.4 Service\Employees	2420	3832	6252
9.9 TOTAL	21801	21125	42926