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Early school-leaving and occupations of native juveniles in Johannesburg.

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prejudice against urban juveniles exists. Most clubs have found that such few caddies as were in their employ proved unsatisfactory, and, in many cases, dishonest. Furthermore employment as permanent club caddies is distasteful to the majority of urban youths. They do not want to live in compounds and object to the discipline which has necessarily to be maintained. Above all they resent being registered on service contracts.

The following episode is illustrative of this attitude. Six juveniles living in Pimville implored me, on one of my visits there, to find jobs for them. I told them that I knew of several vacancies on a golf course and carefully explained the conditions of service and wages and stressed the fact that they would have to take out passes. They agreed enthusiastically, were engaged by the club, and within three days all but one had deserted. They were to be registered on the following day and their intense fear and dislike of registration had reasserted itself.

There does appear to be considerable justification in the complaints that club officials make regarding urban juveniles, especially on the grounds of unreliability and inconsistency. On the other hand, few clubs give urban Natives more than a very hasty trial and are apt to condemn all urban youths after one or two disappointing experiences of them.

The wages paid to caddies do not vary greatly from club to club. The median wage is 15/ per month plus quarters and rations and, in some cases, uniforms. One small club pays 10/- per month and one large club 12/6 per month as a commencing wage. The other clubs pay 15/- per month and then raise the wage to 20/- and, more rarely, 25/- per month according to the caddy's length of service, his aptitude and the amount of work which he does on the grounds.

/There

Three clubs allow the caddy 3d. on every caddy ticket which he returns - i.e. on every golf round. The other five clubs pay the flat rate only. But although the caddy depends on the club for a cash wage, rations and quarters, a considerable proportion of his earnings is derived from tips. One secretary, conservatively I believe, estimated tips to average 15/- per month. The one Pimville juvenile who remained on the course, inexperienced as he was, earned 7/3 in tips in ten days. On the whole I believe that 40/- per month is a fair estimate of the average takings, wages and tips combined, of caddies.

Casual caddies are paid per round. Some clubs pay half the caddy fee to the caddy, while the less expensive clubs deduct 6d. from the caddy ticket and pay the rest to the caddy. The median pay per round of 18 holes is 1/3 plus a minimum tip of 6d. although some players, especially if they have a favourite caddy, tip far more generously. Casual caddies to whom I have spoken in the locations stated that they earned from 5/- to 8/- over a week-end.

Casual caddies are predominantly urban and hail from every location and Native residential quarter in Johannesburg. The largest number of casual caddies appears to come from Alexandra Township, as is only to be expected by reason of the Township's comparative proximity to a number of large golf courses in the northern areas. Pimville and Orlando are very far from the larger courses and, as they can only conveniently serve a number of the smaller mine courses, fewer boys there appear to be casual caddies. Employment as casual caddies, although it offers no permanent outlet for the juveniles who have left school, is a convenient and comparatively well paid occupation for school-goers and helps a number of them to pay the expenses of schooling. It is also a most useful side-line to the

/non school-goer

non-school-goer who has no wish to take up permanent employment. All clubs report that the attendance of casual caddies falls off noticeably on week days during term time.

Full-time caddy employment, although its scope is limited to about six to seven hundred, is an important occupational opening for juveniles. It offers on the whole very little opportunity for advancement as the number of caddies greatly exceeds the number of groundsmen who are all adults. In the two golf courses which form part of country clubs with tennis courts, swimming bath and elaborately laid-out grounds, there is more opportunity for progression from caddy to groundsman or gardener with proportionate wage increase. But the fact that caddying is a dead-end occupation is offset by the fact that mature Natives, even though juveniles according to age criteria, can find many avenues of employment for unskilled work. For the young, physically immature, juvenile caddying is a useful stop gap until such time as he is fitted for heavy manual work.

The present position of the caddy labour force briefly is that nearly all the permanent caddies are rural while the casual caddies, with only rare exceptions, are urban. The fact that over two thirds of the permanent caddy force is directly recruited from the country does not offer any prospect of the greater future absorption of unemployed urban juveniles into this occupation. I feel that greater use should be made of this avenue of employment - essentially a stop gap activity which bridges the time between school-leaving and maturity - to place the urban juvenile. Undoubtedly both golf clubs and juveniles will protest if coercion or even persuasion is exercised in this respect. But with greater perseverance, coupled with the provision of better caddy training facilities, on the part

/of employers

of employers, and more understanding on the part of juveniles. In whose case ignorance is responsible for many misapprehensions, there is no reason why a greater number of urban juveniles should not replace rural juveniles in this occupation. A necessary preliminary to any step of this nature is the creation of a Native Juvenile Affairs Board to act in a consultative and advisory capacity to both employer and employee.

E. <u>Occupational opportunities for Native juveniles in skilled trades</u>. Considering that the Native adult has great difficulty in obtaining any but unskilled work, it is a natural corollary to find the juvenile similarly handicapped. The position in regard to the skilled trades is best summarised by the Secretary of the South African Trade and Labour Council who stated: "There are practically no openings for Natives in skilled trades". Although there is no explicit colour bar in the apprenticeship Act, there is in practice a very definite colour bar. The educational qualification of Standard VI, though it must necessarily greatly curtail the number of potential Native apprentices, does not in itself eliminate Natives. But every apprenticeship contract has to be submitted to an Apprenticeship Committee which consists of an equal number of employers and European employees with an official from the Department of Labour acting as secretary. Mr. Strachan who is acting in this latter capacity stated that not one Native had been apprenticed in industry in his twelve years' experience. The apprenticeship committees, by the powers vested in them and to the satisfaction of both European employer and European employee, are guardians of the colour bar principle.

The position of Natives who receive their training in an industrial school is likewise most unsatisfactory.

/To differentiate

To differentiate between juveniles and adults is unnecessary as both sections are subject to the same set of conditions. The two most important industries in which the qualified artisan must look for employment are the furniture and building industries. Natives employed in the building industry are entirely unorganised although attempts are now being made to form a trade union. The Native employees in the furniture and mattress industry are organised into a fairly strong trade union, which has received support and encouragement from the European trade union. But in neither industry are Natives admitted to the European trade union organisations and consequently they are debarred from obtaining skilled positions by the provision that members of employers' associations can only employ members of the recognised trade union as skilled workmen. The white workman, in all but a very few industries, is zealously guarding his privileged position and there does not seem to be any hope of the speedy future amelioration of the lot of the skilled Native workmen by being admitted to membership of European trade unions.

The position of the qualified Native workman is accordingly extremely precarious. He cannot be employed by a member of the employers association in other than unskilled work. If he wishes to practice the trade for which he is qualified he must work for a European who is not a member of the employers' association or for a Native employer. Although I have no definite proof, the available evidence of trade union officials, factory inspectors and location Natives suggests that Natives working for this section of European employer often work in collusion for a wage lower than the wage laid down by determination or agreement. That Native employers often underpay their employees

/is notorious.

is notorious. In their usually small concerns they evade penalty by maintaining that the employee is a partner, an assertion confirmed by the employee.

The following wages were paid by various classes of Native employers to their male juvenile employees at the Salisbury and Jubilee compounds in January, 1938.

No.	and occupation of employer	No. of juveniles	Average wage per month
5	Carpenters	7	24/-
1	Harnessmaker	1	40/-
5	Barbers	7	65/-
3	Eating House proprietors	3	20/-

In addition to the cash wage, the employers feed their employees and in some cases provide some kind of housing. Further, this training provides one of the few opportunities of learnership open to the juvenile who cannot afford industrial training or has not the requisite primary school training.(1) But the position in general of the skilled artisan working for a Native is frequently highly unsatisfactory. Hence many skilled Natives, finding avenues of skilled employment either closed to them or the remuneration disproportionate to their skill, set up on their own as independent carpenters or builders, relying chiefly on their own people for support. These concerns are usually small, often recruiting their employees from the extended family group. The European employer makes bitter complaints against these Native concerns alleging that they undercut. The independent Native workman naturally does undercut; he has to undercut to obtain commissions and by reason of his small overhead expenses and lower wage roll he can do so successfully. But to blame him for it, when other avenues

/of employment

(1) 2 of the 18 had no schooling
2 reached the sub-standards
2 reached Standard I
4 reached Standard II
5 reached Standard III
2 reached Standard IV
1 reached Standard VI

of employment are closed to him, is carrying illogicality to an extreme.

F. Occupational opportunities open to educated Natives.

For the educated Native - juvenile or adult - there are two main avenues of employment; they can become teachers or engage in some clerical occupation, the latter occupational scope not extending much beyond the employment offered by the Native Affairs Department, the municipalities and mines as clerks on their staffs. Many men are temperamentally not suited to be teachers and although the status accorded a teacher by the Native community is an attraction, the salary of a teacher is no inducement towards completing an education both lengthy and costly, judged according to Native standards. If there were not a considerable diversion of teachers into economically more lucrative occupations, such as shop proprietors, checkers in large firms, mine clerks and officials in the service of the municipality and Native Affairs Department, unemployment among teachers would be greater than it is now. And according to the statements of school supervisors, there is some unemployment among teachers at present.

Positions as mine clerks are much coveted although they are apparently difficult to obtain unless the applicant is in some way connected with the chief induna who is then prepared to press the applicant's candidature. It is hardly surprising, considering the milieu in which the urban Bantu live, that the "jobs for pals" principle has come to be - in varying degrees - accepted by them.

Avenues of employment for educated Bantu are now, as they have been in the past, very restricted and there does not appear to be any justification for increased confidence in their future prospects. The Ministry absorbs

/a number

a number of educated Bantu. This profession, however, requires of its members special qualities of character and it cannot be evaluated - as some Natives are to-day inclined to do - as a commercial opening. European solicitors absorb a small number as clerks at a wage of 20/- per week. Apparently they are also paid a commission on the work they bring in, but neither European solicitor nor Native clerk admit to this. "Touting" is - officially at any rate - a practice of the past. One of the St. Peters boys who had passed his Junior Certificate found employment at the Medical School as a laboratory boy, at a wage of £5.10.0 per month and is, according to reports, proving most efficient. But such openings are very rare. Recently, when a merchant of my acquaintance told me that he would be prepared to experiment with a Native office boy at a commencing wage of 15/- per week, I passed this information on to some educated Natives. The response, especially considering the small wage offered, was astounding and a number of Natives, all educated to and beyond Standard VI, offered their services.

The extreme limitation of their prospects is acutely realised (1) by Bantu boys in the higher standards of primary and in secondary schools. Some youths at St. Peters, the only secondary school for non-Europeans in Johannesburg, considered my attempt to ascertain the causes of early school-leaving among the Bantu ludicrous. It was self-evident, they asserted, that there was no reason to go to school. When they left school, they asked, would they earn more than the uneducated unskilled worker? And they

/definitely

(1) Cf. letter in Bantu World, 22-10-1938.
"There are no provisions for educated youngsters in this town or elsewhere.... We youngsters in Johannesburg find it difficult to get a job even as ordinary delivery boys despite the fact that we hold our high school certificates".

definitely answered the question in the negative. "We are at school", they stated, "because our fathers force us". In actual fact their explanation of the reason why they themselves attend school is an exaggeration lending emphasis to their assertions. They are, as far as I could judge, extremely happy and filled with a sense of great well-being in the pleasant and stimulating environment which that school offers. But their sense of present well-being and security is undoubtedly tempered by the anticipation of the disappointments and frustrations that await them. At present, their discontent with conditions expresses itself to a great extent in an intense interest in social conditions and political movements. Later, it may well turn into that ruthless individualism which is a prominent characteristic of many of the educated Bantu.

6. Occupations open to Native female juveniles. Practically no Bantu women are employed in industry. A negligible number are ironers in laundries, and I have heard of one or two openings for Native women to press frocks in a large bazaar. I also noticed two Native women employed in shredding tobacco leaves in a cigarette factory. But the total number of Native women employed in industry is completely negligible and I personally have not heard of a single juvenile finding employment in any industry.

There is gradually emerging a new opening for Native women, both adult and juvenile, as saleswomen in Native shops. In the eight large Orlando shops there are several female employees, and among them a few juveniles. In Pimville and Alexandra, where there are numerous small shops, the women are usually members of the family, seldom draw a regular wage and cannot properly be regarded as employees.

/The one

The one real opening for female juveniles is provided by domestic service. According to the Municipal Native Department figures there were, in September 1937, 13,000 females out of a total of 40,000 Native domestic servants living on employers' premises. It is impossible to estimate the proportion of juveniles among this number, or to compute the number of female domestic servants, both adults and juveniles, who are engaged in daily service (usually in flats) and reside at their own homes.

There is apparently little unemployment among domestic servants of all ages judging by the few complaints which I heard in the locations. Work is easily found by urban female juveniles who are either forced into employment by poverty or by a dual desire to escape home discipline and earn sufficient to satisfy their craving for clothes. The majority of urban juveniles have no desire for training in domestic service and are concerned to get out to work as soon as possible. They consequently receive a very low rate of pay, commencing at 20/- and seldom earning more than 40/- per month. It is usually the experienced adult women who earn higher wages. The labour turnover among the juvenile domestic servant class is extremely high. Great importance is not attributed to the permanency of a girl's employment. It is in accordance with this view that many location mothers, from whom I received most of my information, could give me no account whatsoever of their daughters' occupations while they could, with a fair degree of accuracy, trace the history of their sons' occupational activities. "Girls just change" was the usual answer to my queries. It is also accepted that girls should "rest" after a period of several months' domestic service.

There are two professional openings for educated

/and trained

and trained Native women; teaching and nursing. Very few women complete their training under the age of twenty. For the as yet numerically unimportant class of kindergarten teachers a different training is required. It is likely that, with the growing realisation of the need of the urban population for creches and nursery schools, this profession will increase in importance and prove to be a new professional opening for women.

Female juveniles who shew an almost astounding skill in knitting and crocheting, taking the paucity of their training into consideration, often earn a small amount by disposing of their products to location dwellers. But the profession of dressmaking is practised by adult women. In a very few cases is dressmaking a full-time occupation, but it is usually the part-time occupation of the housewife who thus complements a husband's inadequate wage. A very small number of juveniles do part-time washing for Europeans. Such as do have in the majority of cases taken over "bundles" from a sickly mother who finds herself unable to cope with the work. It is obvious that this activity, which is the main activity of the married woman, should not offer much scope to juveniles as the European householder is not inclined to entrust her washing to a young girl.

Although the scope for educated and uneducated female juveniles alike is so restricted, far less dissatisfaction is expressed or observable than in the case of male juveniles. Very occasionally an educated woman, feeling herself unsuited to nursing or to teaching and too educated and independent for domestic service, looks wildly for some other occupation and hesitantly expresses her belief that surely other and better occupational opportunities should exist for women of her calibre. But on the whole, Native

/women.

women, both adult and juvenile, acquiesce in their lot and [illegible], even if progressing along the path of economic emancipation fairly rapidly, too closely bound by the ideology of Bantu culture to be influenced by the Western stirrings of women's occupational emancipation.

iii. General.

A. The difficulty of finding work, occupations of non school-goers, etc. The foregoing review has, I believe, demonstrated that with the exception of occupations such as caddying and newspaper-selling, the occupational scope for Native male juveniles is extremely limited. Location experience has convinced me that there is a great deal of unemployment, more especially among male Native juveniles.(1) Although no figures of the actual extent of unemployment are available the figures given in Tables 38-39, page 103 are suggestive. Of the total number of [illegible] male juveniles or families either personally investigated or of families of whom reports were given by school-children, 22.4% of the 18 - 21 age group and 51% of the 14 - 18 age group were unemployed. The corresponding percentages - 33.3% and 56% respectively for the girls - may appear to be a direct contradiction of my statement that there is less unemployment among female than among male juveniles. But the term "unemployment" for girls in this context has a different connotation from the term in its application to boys. As already stated, girls often take "rests" from work; secondly, there is not the same onus upon a girl to

(1) "Girls find work more easily than boys, because they can go into domestic service after helping their mothers at home". p.11, "Survey of Bantu Education in Johannesburg in 1938". Non European Housing and Native Administration Department.

work as there is upon a boy. Real unemployment is more marked and more prevalent among male than among female juveniles.

In addition to the restricted scope of unemployment, both male and female juveniles are greatly handicapped by their lack of knowledge of available employment.(1) They trudge drearily from factory to factory, from business to business and from house to house in search of work. There is a general exodus of boys from the locations on Mondays as the most likely day on which to find work. Further, friends are on the constant alert for jobs for their unemployed pals. After a period of personal unsuccessful job-hunting many boys and girls stay at home and state that they are looking for work "through friends". For boys the search for employment is additionally complicated by their fear of being stopped by the police. They are well aware of their vulnerability in view of their lack of requisite papers. Take out a seven-days pass to look for work they will not, for fear of being sent to another labour district at the expiration of the pass and its two extensions.

Unsuccessful job-hunting has the most deleterious effects on the youth. He becomes accustomed to a life of idleness, drifts into the company of dissolute and irresponsible youngsters and gradually loses his initial desire for permanent employment. Youthful juveniles earn odd sixpences by acting as carriers. They construct rough carts out of old packing cases and discarded wheels and carry

/washing

(1) The extent to which European juveniles are assisted in finding employment is revealed by the following figures given in a Labour Department memorandum submitted to the Transvaal Education Commission:
"Of 11,243 juveniles in the 12 bigger towns who left school at the end of 1937,
19% found work without recourse to employment exchanges or did not enter the labour market;
68% were placed in employment by juvenile affairs boards,
13% had not been placed in employment at the end of the year". Star, 11.7.1938.
See also appendix 7.

washing bundles for the women to and from the railway stations. Some sell oranges on the trains or at the stations. Others peddle fruit, vegetables and milk in the locations. Others occasionally assist in a Native shop weighing out sugar and mealie meal or doing an odd job of sweeping and cleaning. The older boys aged seventeen and over seem carrying, a few sell milk and peddle, but the larger number drift into more questionable activities. I believe that many are connected with the very large location trade in stolen goods, but I have no definite proof of this. A number become "izibamgothi" to liquor-brewers. The boy buries the brew and fetches it from its hiding place according to requirements and takes upon himself all risks consequent upon these illegal activities. In return he is given drink, often food, rarely a cash remuneration. A small number of the older age group become fah-fee (1) runners for the Chinese who run this game, a species of card lottery, but on the whole older and more trustworthy men are preferred as the bringing in and paying out of the monies makes considerable demands on the integrity of the runner. There is an enormous amount of gambling by male juveniles of all ages. Many parents, hard pressed by want or else increasingly indifferent to ethical standards, ask no questions concerning the derivation of their children's money. Some even go so far as to finance the gambling ventures of their sons. On a Sunday morning in Pinville a whole line of youthful gamblers take up their positions in a main street, dispersing temporarily at the appearance of the police.

These activities lead to gradual degeneration. The experience that some money can be earned by these part-time activities makes boys unwilling to accept low-paid

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(1) See Phillips. Appendix F, page 429 for a description of this game.

employment. In 1937 a mine addressed a request to the Superintendent of the Eastern Native Location for 40 boys to sort stones from conveyor belts. Not a single boy was forthcoming, although many more than the required number were unemployed. The pay offered was 1/- per day plus food. A wage of 5/6 per week plus a ration of food which is not considered attractive can hardly be expected to draw boys from a life of freedom which offers opportunities of earning an equal amount of money in more adventuresome ways to full-time routine work, dull and uninteresting as it is.

These youths have no inherent criminal tendencies. But the lack of any machinery to harness their energies, effectively to direct and advise them, and the lack of recreational opportunities combine to create conditions which must inevitably produce the juvenile delinquent. Such conditions, until they are rectified will continue to bear their crop of youngsters who are considered and who potentially are "a menace" to the community, both European and Bantu.

To answer the oft-reiterated question, "Won't urban male juveniles work, or can't they find work?", by a complete affirmation or negation is impossible. There are juveniles of both orders. Many juveniles who were initially eager to find work lose heart in vain attempts to obtain employment, gradually become accustomed to the irregular life of occasional jobs, perhaps illegal activities, great freedom and leisure, and lose their desire for a permanent routine occupation. That many of the boys who belong to the idle groups congregated around most location shops want work is undeniable. Wherever I went in the location, I was overwhelmed by requests for work from juveniles. On one occasion I interviewed a group of boys in the house of an informant, and for weeks after these boys approached my informant

/practically

practically daily to know if I had managed to find work for them. Not one of the employers whom I visited complained of a Native labour shortage. They all stated that they received applications far in excess of available vacancies. The concerns which employ Native juveniles all stated that they were inundated by a continuous stream of juvenile applicants. Concerns which do not employ juveniles had very few juvenile applicants for work. Juveniles, in the course of their search for work, apparently gradually get to know where they are most unlikely to find work and so do not apply.

The juveniles (1,215 in number) registered at Johannesburg pass offices from September 16th to October 25th (see Table 31) formed 6.81% of the total number of Natives (17,841) taking out service contracts during that period. According to the 1936 census, in the Johannesburg Magisterial District Native males aged 16 - 20 years (25,623) formed 18.4% of the total number of Native males (138,683) aged 16 years and over.(1)

Details of birthplace were only given in regard to 1,110 juveniles and of them the surprisingly small number of 76 or 6.9% gave Johannesburg as their birthplace. To take this as proof of the frequently expressed conviction that urban juveniles do not want to work would be totally unwarranted. In the first place, a very large proportion of juveniles who were reared in Johannesburg or some other urban centre and have those undefined characteristics which stamp a youth as "urban" and so place him in the category of urban juveniles, were born in the country and consequently gave their rural birthplace as "place of origin". Secondly, the unwillingness of urban juveniles to take out service contracts must be borne in mind. Many relinquish work rather than

/agree

agree to registration. This opposition to registration naturally in no way influences the managers of large concerns and the recalcitrant juvenile is promptly dismissed or else himself deserts. But a number of owners of small shops are not so scrupulous and can be prevailed upon to desist from registering a Native juvenile, the saving of the monthly pass fee being an additional inducement to them. These factors have a very direct bearing on the small number of Johannesburg-born juveniles shewn in the Pass Office returns.

The Johannesburg Native Affairs Department plans to establish an Employment Bureau for Natives in the near future. This will probably assist a number of Native juveniles to find work, to a certain extent, limit the present wastage which occurs between school-leaving and finding employment, and perhaps even help to stem the tide of degeneracy which sets in after the young male Native has left school and drifts around the locations. But unless separate departments are established for adults and juveniles, and unless the fears which will undoubtedly influence juveniles with consequent reluctance to risk registration are allayed, the employment bureau will not, I venture to predict, greatly alleviate the situation in regard to juveniles. (1) The establishment of a Native Juvenile Affairs Board is essential if the problem of the urban Native juvenile is to be seriously tackled. This Board will have to requisition the co-operation of the school, and in order to make this co-operation at all valuable the whole system of withdrawing

/school-children

(1) By October 1936, although the Johannesburg Non-European Employment Bureau had registered over 4,000 Natives seeking work and had placed about 1,000, very few juveniles had applied for work. The Bureau could not, because of its lack of juvenile applicants, fill those vacancies for juveniles which were offered. These vacancies called practically solely for caddies (who were required to live in the club compound) and domestic servants, both being occupations which the urban juvenile dislikes.

school-children from the attendance roll will have to be revised. A vigorous system of home visiting will have to be inaugurated and a much greater contact between parents and teacher established. A long overdue revision and modification in the application to urban juveniles of the present seven-days pass system will have to be undertaken with a view to affording them greater security of domicile. And (1) apart from the infinite patience, tact and perseverance which will be demanded of the officials in charge of the Board, effective propaganda to explain the purpose of the Board will have to be broadcast or else those misapprehensions on the part of the Natives which have clogged the beneficial working of many institutions designed for their assistance will likewise wreck the Native Juvenile Affairs Board.

B. Internal factors affecting employment. In reviewing the occupations open to male juveniles, I was chiefly concerned with a discussion of the external factors affecting their chances of finding employment. A number of factors - summarised in the succeeding section - over which they have no control were found to militate against the extensive employment of juveniles. But there are also factors over which the juveniles exercise control detrimentally affecting their chances of employment which, following the example of the Report of the Cape Coloured Commission, I call internal factors.

The assertion of a large number of employers that male juveniles - especially urban born or bred juveniles - make unsatisfactory workers calls for consideration. It is true that in some industries, such as the Canvas Shoe

/and Rubber

(1) "Complaints are made by employment officers in their reports submitted to the Johannesburg Juvenile Affairs Board yesterday that boys leave their place of employment without giving Notice and that girls accept situations and then fail to report for duty". Rand Daily Mail, 12.9.1957.
Cf. the situation in regard to European juveniles.

and Rubber industry, where a large porportion of the Native labourers consists of juveniles nearly all of whom are urban they are proving very satisfactory. It is also true that the employers whom I visited showed far greater unanimity of opinion in their forthright condemnation of European male juveniles than in their evaluation of urban Native juveniles. But nevertheless, the consensus of opinion designates urban juveniles as unreliable, unpunctual, inconsistent, and inclined to slacken on their work the moment active supervision is relaxed. Many Native employers confirm the estimate of urban juveniles given by Europeans. Such Natives, when engaging male juveniles, prefer to avoid the "urban" youngster. The occupational histories of location juveniles reveal great labour mobility. They are undoubtedly more impatient of slow progress as reflected in their wages than are rural juveniles. Not bearing the responsibilities of a father of a family, they can afford to leave their occupation when they feel they are inadequately paid even when they have no prospects of better paid or even any other employment. Time and again I met youths in the location who had thrown up their jobs "because of wages". On the whole the urban juvenile does not like working for less than 15/- per week. Many of those who commence at a lower wage expect rapid, almost monthly, increments. This fluctuation is a source of great irritation to the employer and leads him to condemn urban juveniles as a class. Furthermore, employers have very little patience with their Native juvenile employees. They show much greater patience and perseverance towards their European male juveniles, encouraged, no doubt, by avowed Government policy.

The majority of employers, whether they themselves have or have not employed urban Natives, consider them to be

/"too

"too educated" and consequently "cheeky". "They know too much" is the usual form in which this generalised condemnation is expressed. Urban juveniles are believed to exhibit these undesirable characteristics to a more marked degree than the adults. There is no doubt that this attitude influences employers greatly and when an urban juvenile behaves in the way in which employers - often quite automatically - have been led to expect of him, the belief that all urban juveniles are useless is further strengthened. The fact that, with few exceptions, there is no direct progression for the Native juvenile from school to employment complicates and hinders his eventual adjustment to the ordered discipline demanded by permanent employment. Boys who leave school because they do not like school have usually been playing truant off and on for a considerable period. They have become accustomed to the type of life led by the so-called "location loafer'. A further period elapses before they find employment, by which time many of them require remoulding. The very doubtful standards of morality, especially in their condonation of theft - a condonation primarily of theft from Europeans and, sometimes, by extension of theft in general - prevailing among these groups influence the boy and often make of him a dishonest employee. Many times adult location dwellers assured me that urban juveniles want factory work because in factories they have many opportunities of stealing.(1) The boys who leave school because of poverty also often drift around for some time before they find employment. The general laxity of Native life in regard to punctuality and routine is accentuated by these factors

/and leads

(1) Whether factories offer greater opportunities for theft than other businesses is very questionable. My location contacts have led me to believe that warehouses offer the best field. But it is the adults' attitude - not their factual statement - that is instructive.

and tends to produce - in some but certainly not in all cases - an unreliable juvenile labourer. The rural juvenile comes to Johannesburg with great respect for and fear of his European employer. Greater familiarity with Europeans and their ways on the part of the urban juvenile has certainly undermined his respect for, even if not his fear of, the European. Employers, where their knowledge of their Native employees is great enough, all assert that the juvenile who comes to them immediately after leaving school is very much preferable to the juvenile whose history shows gaps between school-leaving and employment.

As I have already indicated in previous sections, opposition to registration is often a deterrent to permanent employment. That this intense fear is often irrational does not make it any the less operative. Many boys believe that registration involves payment of poll tax. In the case of boys aged 18 and over, refusal to register often means direct evasion of tax payment. A valid reason for the refusal to register is the fact that, once a contract has been terminated, the juvenile must take out a seven-days pass to look for work. This pass is usually extended for two further weeks and thereafter the applicant is sent either to his place of origin or to another labour district. In practice this means that a Johannesburg boy may be sent to such places as Krugersdorp or Springs where he is unlikely to be more successful than in a town he knows and where he has friends looking for likely employment for him. To many urban juveniles registration means briefly, that the authorities have docketted and labelled him and that his future security is imperilled by the power of the authorities to send him away, arrest him or treat him in any fantastic way decreed by their unfathomable d states. Safety, such boys believe, lies in anonymity.

C. Summary of the main factors affecting juvenile occupational opportunities.

(a) External

1. Physical inability to undertake heavy manual work excludes all but mature juveniles - and certainly those under 18 years - from employment in industries, such as brick-making, most branches of engineering, etc.

2. A minimum wage, while there is no scarcity of adult labour, makes it unprofitable for industries to employ juveniles.

3. In industries in which wages have not been regulated, the low average Native wage does not make the savings which can be effected on the wages of juveniles sufficiently marked to offset the additional supervision which juveniles require.

4. The implicit colour bar in the application of the Apprenticeship Act completely excludes juveniles from entry into skilled trades.

5. The prejudice of employers and employees, sanctioned by the civilised labour policy of the government, prevents the acceptance of Native juveniles into occupations for which they would be suitable.

6. The absence of any machinery enabling juveniles to ascertain where they can obtain work leads to a fruitless and protracted search for work with consequent discouragement and apathy.

7. Most Natives are unskilled labourers earning a more or less standardised unskilled labourer's wage. There is accordingly little, if any, inducement for the juvenile to commence working at an early age in the hope that his industry will be rewarded by periodic wage increments. The man who, at the age of 26, has been working for ten years is seldom able to command a better position and better wage than the man of 26 who has been idling around. In other words, the absence of a graduated wage scale and the inability of most Natives, under South African industrial conditions, to progress even from unskilled to semi-skilled work influences the attitude of the juvenile in that no stimulus towards perseverance and industry is offered.

8. The absence of recognition for educational attainment and the limitation of occupational scope for the educated juvenile fail to encourage the educated juvenile to enter the labour market as speedily as possible. His educational qualifications are of no use to him; such employment as he can obtain will likewise be open to him in the future.

(b) Internal

1. The inconsistency and unreliability of many urban juveniles, due to upbringing and environmental influences has caused widespread dissatisfaction among employers and has led to a general condemnation of juveniles as a class.

2. Opposition - both reasonable and unreasonable - to registration on the part of some juveniles causes them to

/refrain

refrain from taking employment which is obtainable.

3. The demand of juveniles who are earning low wages (more marked among urban juveniles) for rapid increments and advancement, and the labour mobility consequent upon this attitude imperils their chances of permanent employment.

iv. Occupational aims and ambitions of school-goers and non school-goers and actual occupations followed.

In the light of the foregoing occupational review, the answers of 284 school-children and of 53 children who had left school either temporarily or permanently to questions regarding their post-school intentions and wishes are illuminating. 122 children in standards VI to Form III wrote essays on "What I intend to be when I leave school", the emphasis being placed on intention and the means of fulfilling that intention. Despite this emphasis on feasibility, a large proportion of the children either overlooked the financial implication or else, after stating that their parents were poor and would hardly be able to afford an expensive and lengthy college training, shelved the problem and expressed the hope that "with God's help" their aims would be realised. A small number of children wrote their essays in a practical vein. They stated their real ambition and then explained that, in accordance with their parents' financial status or in order to comply with the wishes of their parents, they would eventually follow a career different from the one they desired. 162 school-children filled in questionnaires which contained the question "What would child like to do". These questionnaires were filled in, some by me and some by teachers, for the 53 children who had left school. Although the essay title and the question in the questionnaires were quite differently worded, the emphases differing greatly, most of the children answered both in the same spirit.

/the following

The following, in Table form, are the results obtained.

Column A represents the answers given in essay form by children in Standards VI to Form III.

Column B represents answers to questionnaires given by children in Standards VI to Form V.

Column C represents the answers to questionnaires of a miscellaneous group of children who had left sch... The children in this group are on the average ... age than the children in the other two groups.

TABLE XI.

BOYS.

Career desired.	A.	B.	C.	
Teacher	16	20	2	
Doctor	14	17	1	
Lawyer	1	2	-	
Minister	-	3	-	
Clerk	3	4	-	
Interpreter	-	1	-	
Politicians & leaders	9	5	-	
Mechanics & drivers	3	1	4	
Professor	-	1	-	
Policeman	-	1	-	
Astronomer	-	1	-	
Musician	-	1	-	
College (unspecified)	2	5	-	
Back to school	-	6	2	
Carpenter	5	1	4	
Tailor	3	1	-	
Builder	-	1	-	
Shoemaker	-	1	-	
Workers (unspecified)	1	2	3	
Farmers	3	3	-	
Chief	1	-	-	
Shopkeeper	-	1	-	
	1			
TOTAL	62	78	16	

GIRLS.

Nurse	27	41	7
Teacher	5	12	-
Dressmaker	14	6	-
Doctor	2	3	1
Vet. surgeon	-	1	-
Musician	1	1	-
College (unspecified)	1	-	2
Back to school	-	2	3
Industrial school	2	-	-
Farmer	1	-	-
Work (unspecified)	-	-	5
	2		
TOTAL	55	66	17

On the whole the children showed a keen realisation of ... restrictions which debar Natives from obtaining skilled ...

/Apart

Apart from the small number of mechanics (14 out of 198) most of whom aimed at working for a European long enough to accumulate sufficient money to buy a car and thereafter earn a lucrative living as taxi-drivers, the 18 realistic male and 6 female unspecified workers, and a very small group of miscellaneous employees, such as clerks and interpreters, the remainder of the children chose either professions or trades in which they would be independent craftsmen. Teaching, which profession nearly one quarter of the boys chose, and nursing, which was the choice of over one half of the girls, are considered to offer far more freedom and prestige than other employment involving a definite employer-employee relationship.

About one quarter of the children who wrote essays gave the desire to help the oppressed and suffering Bantu peoples as the main motive influencing their choice of career. The greater number of essays of this compassionate type were written by scholars, most of whom are boarders, attending St. Peters. The majority of the children expressed a sense of obligation to their parents and a keen sense of their duty to shoulder the future responsibility of supporting their ageing parents. Many children were frank in describing the motives which prompted their choice of career. The most important motive was earning a good wage, and it makes pathetic reading to see how greatly these juveniles, many of whom are 17 - 20 years of age, overestimated the salaries to which they would be entitled. As nurses and teachers they estimated that they could earn £10 to £15 per month. The second important motive influencing their choice was the desire to gain prestige and to appear important and impressive. A boy who intended being a clerk stated his intention of going to his office with a newspaper in his pocket so he knew how great a man he was. Many boys showed a keen

/appreciation

appreciation of such careers and do not involve manual work. Teaching appealed because of this reason and also because of the long holiday periods it offers. The girls, on the other hand, showed themselves to be fully aware of the hardships of nursing and were eager none the less, to face them. The importance of dressmaking as a career is due to the fact that it offers an occupation which will be useful as a part-time activity after marriage.

In the light of these aims and desires of the children in higher standards, it is interesting to note the number of boys who had reached Standard V or above among the 1,215 juveniles registered at Johannesburg pass offices during the specified test period. Of this number, 115 or 9.5% had reached to and above Standard V and 67 or 5.51% had reached Standard VI or a higher Standard.(1) 15 of the 67 had reached a standard higher than Standard VI. These 67 juveniles were distributed as follows:

TABLE 34.

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Domestic	14	20.9
Commercial & distr.	17	25.4
Labourers	32	47.8
Miscellaneous	4	5.9

In the following wage Table,
A = total number of juveniles registered
B = juveniles with educational qualification of Std.V or higher
C = juveniles with educational qualification of Std.VI or higher
D = juveniles born in Johannesburg.(2)

(1) In 1935, 7.22% of all Native school-children in the Union were in and above Std. V, and 4.01% were in and above Std.VI U.G. 29/1936, par. 514.

Boys who had no schooling formed the following percentages of the various occupational groups:

Kitchen boys	64.2	Commercial & distrib.	29.1
House "	60.8	Labourers	68.0
Garden "	55.5	Caddies	84.8
		Messenger callers	9.1

(2) Johannesburg born juveniles formed a higher percentage of the better educated group than of the total number of juveniles.

The born juveniles formed 19.7% of the Std.V or higher group.
" " " " 19.8% " " " VI " "

TABLE 35.

Occupation	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
Kitchen P.S.	22/6	22/6	23/6					
House "	22/11	22/6	23/6					
Com.& Dist.p.w.	21/-	21/-	22/6	24/6	27	27	28	30
Labourers "	14/9	15/4	16/8	18/2	20	20	23	25
					25	30	37	39

It will be noticed that the wages paid to the more educated group are higher than those paid to the less educated group. But the differences, apart from the domestic servant class, are not sufficient to offer any real economic reward as inducement to higher education.

The following Table shows the percentage the age group aged under 16 and the percentage the age group aged under 18 formed of the various occupational groups of boys registered at the pass office:

TABLE 36.

	Under 16	Under 18
Domestic servants	13.%	
Labourers	10	
Commercial & distributive	8	
Newspaper sellers	19	
Caddies	45	

It will be noticed that only in the case of the labourers' occupational group does the class aged under 18 form less than one half of the whole occupational group. Caddying and newspaper selling show the highest percentage of juveniles aged under 16 and under 18, with domestic service next.

TABLE 37.

The average wages of the group under 16.

Domestic servants	29/- per month
Labourers	12/3 per week
Commercial & distributive	9/1 " "
Newspaper sellers	9/4 " "
Caddies	£1/4 per month

These wages, when compared with the general average for all registered juveniles, show considerable decreases - 22% for domestic servants, 17% for labourers, and 31% for juveniles occupied in the commercial and distributive trades. In the

/case

case of caddies and newspaper sellers there is barely any difference as is only to be expected in occupations which are very largely the preserve of juveniles only.

The following Table shows the percentage occupational distribution of 142 boys aged 18 - 21 and of 56 boys aged 14-18 of families who were investigated:

TABLE 38.

	18 - 21	14 - 18
Unemployed	28.4	21
Domestic servants	8.5	10.4
Laborers	34.6	18.6
Commercial & distributive	21.8	15.4
Newspaper sellers	1.4	3.2
Caddies	1.4	1
Teachers	2.1	
Clerks	7	
Miscellaneous	2.8	

The older age group differs from the occupational distribution of the registered boys in a number of ways (excluding the number of unemployed which would obviously not be reflected in a group of boys registering contracts of service) which are very largely explained by factors which have already been mentioned. Thus the small number of domestic servants in this group is no doubt due to the urban male juvenile's dislike of this type of work. This reason probably likewise explains the smaller percentage of caddies. The commercial and distributive group shows an increase of 5%, which could be expected as this occupation absorbs a large number of urban juveniles.

In the following Table the percentage occupational distribution of 199 girls aged 18 - 21 and of 91 girls aged 14 - 18 of the families investigated is given:

TABLE 39.

	18 - 21	14 - 18
Unemployed	23.2	20
Domestic servants	49.3	51.9
Washerwomen	12.6	7.7
Dressmakers	3.1	
Teachers	4.5	
Nurses	.5	
Shop assistants	.6	1.1
Newspaper sellers		1.1

/I could

I could not obtain the wages earned by all these juveniles, but only for a number of them and a number of the adult wage-earning children of the families investigated. An indication of the difference between juvenile (under 21 years) and adult wages and between the wages of educated (passed Standard V or a higher standard) and uneducated is given in the following Table, based on the records of only the wage-earning children of the families investigated.

TABLE 40.

Wages earned by male wage-earning children of families investigated.(1)

	ALL MALES		Males passed Std.V or higher	
	Under 21	Over 21	Under 21	Over 21
No. cases	100	165	[illegible]	[illegible]
Shillings				
10-20	5	1.2	2.1	
20-30	9	1.2	4.2	
30-40	9	1.8	6.4	
40-50	23	4.7	18.9	1.9
50-60	8	9.1	10.5	1.9
60-70	16	20.9	18.9	7.5
70-80	8	14.5	6.4	16.9
80-90	12	24.2	14.7	22.6
90-100	3	9.7	6.4	16.9
100-110	5	9.1	8.4	15.1
110-120	1	3.6		7.5
120-130	1	3	2.1	5.7
130-140		1.8		3.8
140-150		.6		
150-160		2.4		3.8
160+		1.8		3.7

This Table shows a difference in favour of both the juvenile and adult educated groups as against the total juvenile and adult groups. But although the percentage distribution of the more educated group is larger in the higher wage category it must be borne in mind that these opportunities, largely professional and semi-professional such as teachers and clerks are restricted and by no means offer wide scope to educated youths. For the general run of Native labourers it remains true, I believe, that wages show no correlation with educational qualifications.

There is likewise a difference in the distribution

/into

into wage categories of male adults and juveniles, in favour of the former. In the only two occupations in which there were sufficient numbers represented to justify tentative comparisons adult wages are roughly 20/- per month higher than juvenile wages. In the commercial and distributive trade the monthly wages of 29 juveniles averaged 55/3 and of 24 adults 74/10. The monthly wage of 49 juvenile labourers averaged 62/3 and of 86 adult labourers 88/1.

The wages of female wage-earners show a smaller range of variation than male wages as is shown by the following table:

TABLE 41

Wages earned by female wage-earning children of families investigated (metropolitan).

	ALL FEMALES		FEMALES PAYING OVER 5/- PER MONTH BOARD MONEY.	
	Under 21	Over 21	Under 21	Over 21
No. cases	62	69	%	%
WAGES UNDER				
10-20	11.3	2.9	2.9	
20-30	35.5	15.9	32.4	13.7
30-40	25.8	29	29.4	13.7
40-50	12.9	20.3	14.8	18.8
50-60	6.4	8.7	8.8	24.3
60-70	1.6	5.8	2.9	20.6
70-80	1.6	8.7	2.9	5.9
80+	4.8	8.7	5.3	87.2

In the juvenile group the difference between the educated group and the total juvenile group is not great. In the adult group the difference is appreciable, nearly all the higher wage earners in the educated group being teachers and nurses, professions for which women can seldom qualify before reaching the age of 21. The wages of 57 juvenile domestic servants averaged 38/7 per month and of 57 adult domestic servants 44/- per month, a much smaller difference than is found between adult and juvenile wages of male labourers. But, as I have repeatedly stressed, female unemployment, both adult and juvenile, does not constitute a serious problem. And the low wage level, both for adults

/and juveniles

and juveniles is, I believe, largely the result of the extreme mobility of the female labour force. The women are continually in and out of employment, which gives them little opportunity of acquiring greater skill or of earning wage increments.

But the problem of unemployment among male juveniles is acute. As my review of various industries showed, there is little scope for them. Such occupations as caddying and newspaper selling, which do offer employment to them, are blind alley jobs and caddying, with its insistence on compound existence and rigorous discipline, is highly distasteful to urban juveniles. The low level of Native wages as a whole offers no economic inducement to the employer to take on juvenile workers. There is no inducement in the form of more attractive and better paid work for higher educational qualifications to inspire the juvenile to over-time his schooling. There is no social agency whatsoever to step in at this time of aimless drifting in the adolescent's life to direct him and assist him into employment. The low wage of the adult and the unskilled nature of his work is a perpetual guarantee to the juvenile that he too will start at that low grade, there to remain, when he no wishes. There is no healthy recreational outlet for his energies. There are, on the other hand, diversions, such as gambling and drinking, to which these juveniles turn in the absence of other distractions; there are ways of earning a living by part-time work, both legal and illegal, which may unfit them later for the discipline of regular employment. They are not deterred by the ineffective sanctions of their own society floundering in a chaotic transition period. The laws of the European they fear but by no means respect. Unless energetic and sympathetic action is rapidly taken,

/I believe

I believe that this rising generation will in the years to come constitute an ever-growing menace to the whole community, both white and black.

At the conference on Bantu Juvenile Delinquency convened by the Johannesburg Municipality in October, 1936, this same sombre picture was delineated by the delegates. The findings and recommendations of this conference stress throughout the imperative necessity of improving the economic status of the Bantu population and of providing social services for them. Conference also stresses that this urban population can no longer be treated as a fluctuating labour population and that this fact must be recognised and the problems arising therefrom faced. I submit that in the very mobility of the urban population danger lies, and that in order to achieve social order in the urban African community that community must be a relatively stable one.

V. Recommendations.

1. I consider the establishment of a Native Juvenile Affairs Board to be the prime requisite for reducing unemployment and curtailing idleness among juveniles, and for bridging the difficult time between school-leaving and employment. It is after leaving school that so many juveniles, wandering the streets in an undirected search for occupation, fall into habits of shiftlessness and idleness which often persist throughout their lives. The most important function of this Board will be to establish contact with the children who are leaving school so as to prevent the deterioration which often takes place between school-leaving and settlement in employment.

2. A modification of pass laws ensuring for urban juveniles, both of whose parents live in Johannesburg, security of domicile is essential to allay the fears of juvenil-

/and

and to cope with their furtiveness.(1)

3. The age at which Natives become liable to pay Poll Tax, i.e. 18 years, keeps many juveniles from looking for employment in the towns. Natives under the age of 21 years should be exempt, as Europeans are, from paying Poll Tax. I am confident that if Native juveniles are granted relief from tax payment and are given reasonable security of domicile by modification of pass laws that their sense of injury and grievance will lessen and that, once they are granted some of the privileges of citizenship, they will shoulder the responsibilities too.

4. As regards industrial conditions, I do not regard myself as competent to make definite recommendations. It is furthermore impossible to isolate Native juveniles and make recommendations regarding wage scales, representation on industrial councils and increasing their occupational scope for them as a class apart. They are part and parcel of the Native working class and must be considered in that context.

I therefore propose tentatively and briefly [illegible] to indicate the lines along which, in my opinion, reforms seem most urgently to be needed.

The urgent necessity for a minimum wage for Native labourers, born of the realisation that inadequate wages are the root cause of many unsatisfactory conditions of Native life - both economic and social - has been urged by

/authorities

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(1) The recommendations of the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans for submission to the Native Affairs Commission that all existing Pass Laws be repealed, that each male Native be issued with a certificate called an Identification Certificate and that it shall not be compulsory for a Native to carry this certificate on his person would clearly meet the case.
See "The South African Outlook", January 2nd, 1939, page 3, for a full exposition of these recommendations.

(2) I emphasise again that the material upon which this investigation is based is very far from exhaustive & suggest that further enquiries dealing specifically with industrial conditions be undertaken.

authorities more competent to deal with this question than I am.(1) It is also generally accepted that a survey must be made of all industries and a minimum wage established for each, as a general minimum, based upon the ability to pay of the lowest paying industry, would probably result in a lowering rather than in an increase of wages. I am in whole-hearted agreement with the view that a minimum wage is the primary step towards readjustment. Apart from all other considerations the increased employment of juveniles cannot be effected while the average Native wage remains at its present low level. In other words, unskilled wages must rise if the Native juvenile is to find a place for himself in our economy.(2)

But a general minimum wage would probably have the effect of further restricting the scope of employment for juveniles unless the supply of adult labour were deliberately to diminish. Hence I am forced to the conclusion that a differential wage scale - one for adults and one for juveniles (under 18 years of age) - must be established. In

(1) Cf. the Findings and Recommendations of the Native Juvenile Delinquency Conference held in Johannesburg in October 1938, which particularly stress the low level of Native wages and the restrictions upon the use of Native labour in skilled and semi-skilled work. Although the conference does not specifically recommend a minimum wage it recommends, inter alia,
"That their (Natives') intelligence, skill and energy can be properly utilised in employment, and that their wages are brought into closer relationship with the cost of living. That this "closer relationship" can be brought about without wage regulation seems to me to be improbable if not impossible. The history of the advance, economic, social and cultural, of the town labouring class in England since the end of the eighteenth century is the history of its increasing success in forming effective trade unions.

(2) Cf. the findings of the Bantu Juvenile Delinquency Conference: "Satisfactory employment for the boy is difficult to obtain as a man's wages are so little more than a youth can earn that a man will in most cases be employed in preference as he has greater bodily strength."

In order to avoid the displacement of adults by juveniles and to avoid exploitation, ratios of juveniles to adults will have to be carefully laid down.(1)

A further necessity for the improvement of Native industrial conditions is the adequate representation of Natives on industrial councils. That they should be represented by a liason officer whose functions it shall be to safeguard Native interests and to mediate between employer and Bantu employees is one suggestion. An alternative method suggested is that Native workers should be represented by a member of the European trade union delegation. Certainly some method of safeguarding and supervising the labour conditions of Natives must be devised. I quote as one example of an untenable state of affairs the Bespoke Tailoring industry. On the whole, Native trade unions seem to favour representation by a member of a European trade union. They are, very understandably, fearful that a liason officer appointed and paid by the Government and responsible to the Government, might not have the freedom or, possibly, the desire adequately and forcefully to represent them. As Professor Grey states: "No body of workers can give their free and full assent to conditions accepted on their behalf by others, over whom they have no control".(2)

/It must

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(1) The African Brush and Broom Employees' Union (Transvaal) in the Terms of Agreement submitted to the employers in the industry asks for 30/- per week as a starting wage for semi-skilled labourers, a wage of 25/- per week for adult labourers, 18/- per week for juvenile labourers (workers under 18 years of age) with a ratio of one juvenile to four adults. This is the only memorandum submitted by a Native trade union which concerns itself with the position of the Native juvenile.

(2) Professor S.L.Grey. "The Case for Native Trade Unions". The Forum. November 7th. 1938.

It must, however, be recognised that even if one of these two courses is adopted, it will merely be a temporary palliative but no permanent solution to a completely unsatisfactory situation.

In England the Combination Laws of 1799 and 1800 were deliberately designed to prevent the organization of the worker in his battle for better wages and better working conditions.(1) In South Africa, the Native worker is hindered in the same way, even if the laws are more ambiguously worded. Furthermore, Natives are obstructed in their drive forward not only as a class but also as a caste.(2) Not only the European as an employer wishes to be protected from the demands of Native labourers, but the European as an employer himself wishes to protect his own privileged position from Native encroachment. But this policy simply cannot work and conditions must inevitably arise when strikes and labour unrest will make its discontinuance imperative. "As I interpret the growth of industrialism in South Africa" states Professor Grey, "nothing in the world will prevent Africans from concertedly withdrawing their labour in the attempt to redress grievances or resist wrongs. It would be foolish in the extreme to brand such action in advance as criminal to do so would only exacerbate industrial and racial relations". Further he says: "The history of British trade-unionism amply proves, only free collective bargaining will save an industrial country from bitter and ceaseless industrial strife.... Everywhere they (trade unions) are institutions making for stability and evolutionary progress, not

/for revolution

(1) See "The Town Labourer", chapter 7. J.L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond.

(2) For an elaboration of this concept of a two caste three class society, see John L. Dollard, "Caste and Class in a Southern Town".

for revolution. More than that. As urban Africans are situated in the Union, trade unions are institutions which will rescue their manhood and enable them to rehabilitate themselves as a law-abiding community". (1) These are strong and confident assertions. That they will also prove to be correct I, for one, do not doubt. The present policy of allowing Native trade unions to be formed while at the same time denying them legal recognition and administrative facilities can only lead to disaster. It increases resentment against Europeans and also that friction among Africans which lack of progress entails. It prevents the emergence of institutions which will bring the unity and social stability so sorely needed by urban Africans.

Even if it is not politic at present to urge the unrestricted entry of Natives into skilled trades on an equal competitive footing with Europeans, ways and means should be explored of defining the difference between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled for Bantu as for European workers in each industry. Definite periods of learnership with the requisite ratios in suitable industries should be laid down. The Witwatersrand Central Juvenile Affairs Board has for many years [illegible] the desirability of defining a class of labourer, intermediate between skilled and unskilled, who is to be known as an "operative". It is envisaged that especially in the engineering industry, in view of the increased use of mechanical devices which require responsible but not necessarily highly skilled handling, there would be considerable scope for such operatives. Such openings, which will offer the Native an outlet for his legitimate aspirations, are needful if the Native is to acquire those habits of industry

/and of

(1) Professor W.L.Grey. "The Case for Native Trade Unions". The Forum, November 7th, 1938.
See this whole article for a very clear account of the situation.

and of steady perseverance which are prime requisites in the making of a settled social order.

In general, a more sympathetic and, to the employer encouraging rather than as at present discouraging attitude on the part of the Department of Labour would do much to help solve the problem of Native juvenile unemployment, juvenile idleness, with their threat of juvenile delinquency. For the unskilled juvenile, occupational openings not yet exploited could be opened to him without the displacement of other sections. There is great scope both for the exploitation of wider fields of labour for the educated Bantu and for the education of employers in regard to the greater efficiency produced by an increase in education. The placing of European juveniles has been and still is a field of activity to which the Department of Labour has painstakingly and resolutely applied itself.(1) It is futile to expect the problem of Native juvenile employment to solve itself by means of haphazard measures and the efforts of well-meaning but ineffective isolated bodies. The forceful sanction of the Government, its administrative facilities and its [illegible] are needed.

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(1) See Appendix 7.

School Teachers Name

Childs Name Address

Age Sex Birthplace Tri

Language Religion

How long at this school?
Entered at Std. Left at Standard
Any Previous Schooling?

Where? and how long?

Why did child leave school?
Parents reasons
Childs reasons
Teachers impressions

Was child a good scholar?

Was child a Pathfinder or Wayfarer?

Was child ever in Juvenile Court?
What Charge?

What is child doing now?

What is child going to do?

What would child like to do?

Is child earning at present? How

Has child earned in past? At what?

Had child any occupation while at school?
(e.g. wage earning, work at home)

	Of Father
Birthplace	
Tribe, chief.	
Religion	
Occupation (state whether unemployed of late.) Also whether beer sold.	
Earnings.	
Education, passed Std. How long at school. Where.	
How long in town.	

How long have father and mother lived togeth

Was Lobola passed?
How much?

Are they married by civil and/or Christian r

Were they married?

How long has father lived in town?

How long has mother lived in town?

How long has child lived in town?

Where do they come from?

Has father land and/or cattle in cou

Where?

Short history of families movements

Are there other children in family?

	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

Any other relatives living with famil

In family living in Municipal cottage or own house?

For how long?

What rent?

Remarks:

	4. Alive	5. Birth Place	6. Tribe	How Long in Johannesburg	Education	Occupation		
H.								
W.								

HOUSING	14. Hired		15. No. of Rooms		16. Rent Paid		17. Own		18. No. of Rooms		19. No. of Rooms Sublet		20. Rent Received

MARRIAGE	21. Civil		22. Christian		23. Church		24. N.C.U.		25. Money		26. Cattle		
	27. Children Living		28. Under School Age		29. Children Dead		30. Children Baptised			31. Children Not Baptised			

OTHER DEPENDENTS

	32. Sex	33. Sex	34. Age	35. How Long in Jhbg?	36. Where Living	37. Standard	38. How Long in Present School?	39. How Long in Schools?	40. How Many Schools?	41. Occupations While at School	42. Earnings per Month	43. School-leaving Age	44. Reason for Leaving	45. Present Occupation	46. Earnings per Month	Supports Family
At School																
Left School																
Never went to School																

51.	52. Civil	53. Christian	54. N.C.U.	55. Money	56 Cattle

15. No. of Rooms		16. Rent Paid		17. Own		18. No. of Rooms		19. No. of Rooms Sublet		20. Rent Received	

22. Division		23. Church		24. N.C.V.		25. Money		26. Cattle	

28. Under School Age		29. Children Dead		30. Children Baptised		31. Children Not Baptised	

36. Where Living	37. Standard	38. How Long Resident in S.L.	39. How Long Resident in S.	40. Age Leaving School	41. Occupations While at School	42. Summer Jobs Taken	43. School Ages	44. Reason for Leaving	45. Present Occupation	46. Earnings per Month	47. Supports Family	48. Post Graduates

What is your address?
How old are you?
Where were you born?
How long have you lived in Johannesburg?
How long have you been at this school?
Have you been at any other schools?
If so, which other schools?

Name of school.	How long
a)	
b)	
c)	

Have you ever worked for money?
If so, what did you do? and how much did you get

Are you working now?
If so, what are you doing? and how much do you ge

Is your father alive?
What work does your father do?
How much does your father get paid?
Have you a step-father?
Is your mother alive?
What work does she do?
How much does she get paid?
Have you a step-mother?
Do you live with your parents?
If you do not live with your parents, with whom d

Did your father buy the stand on which you live?
How many rooms are on your father's stand?
How many rooms has your father rented to lodgers?
If you live in rented rooms, state
a) How many rooms your family lives in:
b) What rent you pay per room:

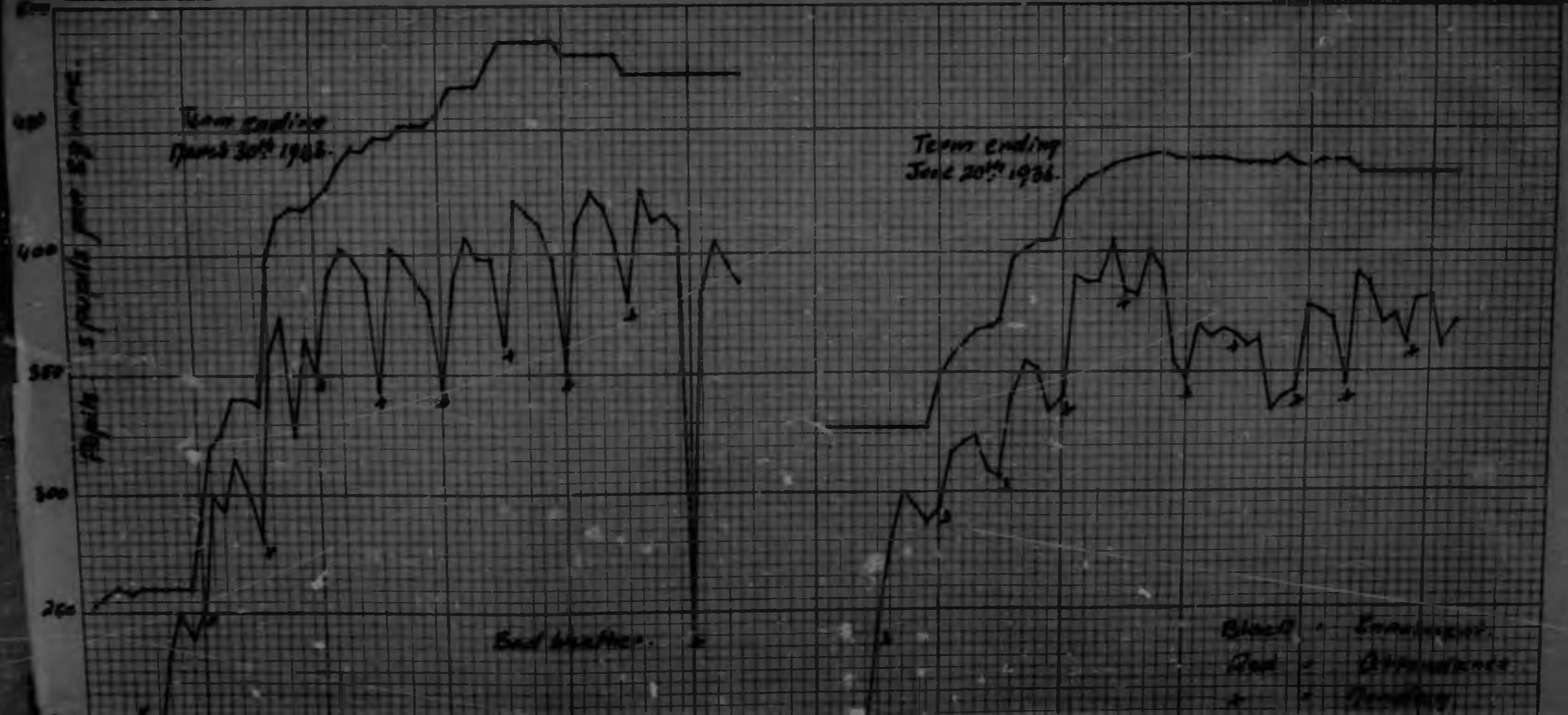
Are there other children in your family?

	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	Earnings	Remarks
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						

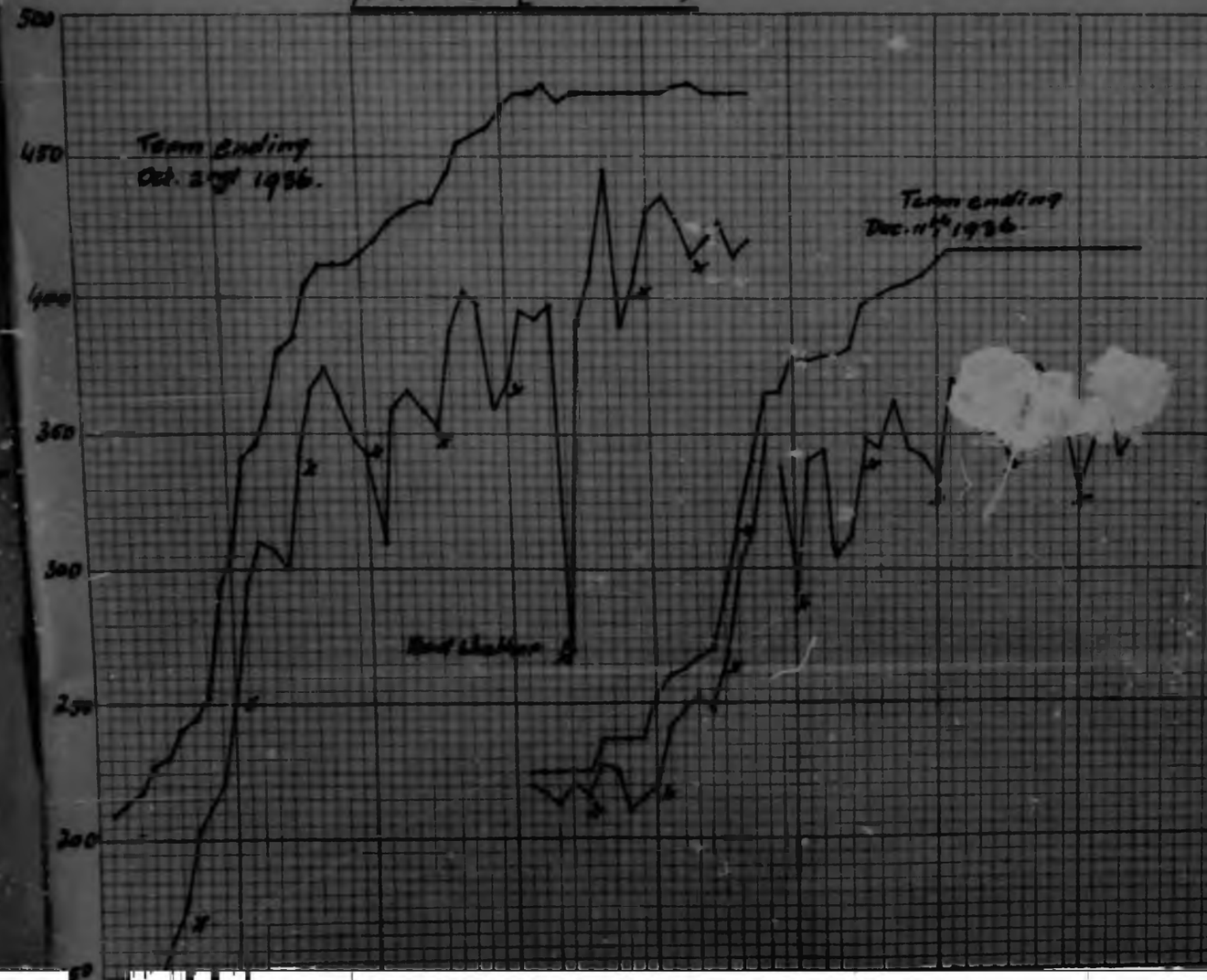
Which other relatives live with your family?

Remarks:

APPENDIX 5. GRAPH I. ATTENDANCE & Employment at an Orlando Store

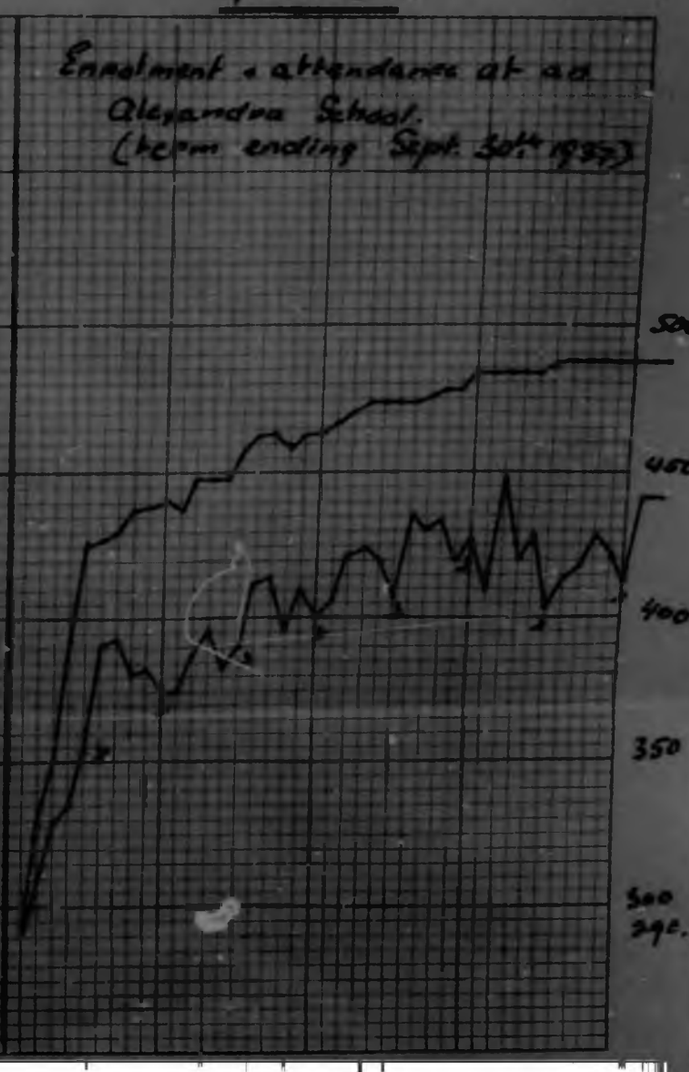


GRAPH I (Continued.)



GRAPH II.

Enrolment & attendance at the Alexandra School. (Term ending Sept. 30th 1937)



APPENDIX 6.

Sample survey of caddy farms of a Johannesburg golf course.

The following figures are taken from a brief survey of 42 caddies employed at one of the three golf courses which do not recruit labour from the country. The Club at the time of the survey, in October 1937, employed 96 caddies. But 14 of these were only prepared to give the desired information under compulsion and I was not prepared to exercise compulsion by calling in the club secretary's assistance.

A. AGE (APPROX. only)

Age	No.
22	1
20	5
18	1
17	6
16 & below	21

B. EDUCATION

To Std. 3	1
To Std. 2	1
To Std. 1	1
Sub-stds. 1-24 yrs.	1
Sub-stds. 1-12 mths.	1
No schooling	36

C. TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

Venda	31
Shangaan	5
Fedi	4
Zulu (1)	2

D. PLACE OF ORIGIN

Native reserves in N.Prov.	38
Locations	1
Native reserve, Natal	1

E. LENGTH OF TIME SPENT IN JNB. AND OF SERVICE AT CLUB.

Months	1-2	3-4	5-6	6-8	8-10	10-12	12+
In Jnb.	10	1	6	11	4	2	1
At Club	11	1	6	9	4	2	1

F. NO. OF VISITS TO JNB.

1st visit	35
2nd visit	6
3rd visit	1

G. TIME UNEMPLOYED AFTER ARRIVAL IN JNB.

1-2 days	25
3-7 days	13
1-3 weeks	4

H. WITH WHOM CADDIES CAME TO JNB.

With brother	15
With other relative	7
With friends	10
Alone	6
On contract	5

---

(1) The majority of the caddies who refused information were Zulu. But it is noteworthy, and there are probably historical explanations therefore, that the majority of Johannesburg caddies come from the Northern Transvaal. 4 out of the 5 clubs which pursuit their labour indentured their caddies from reserves in the Louis Trichardt and Sibasa districts.

I.

At place of origin: 14		In Johannesburg: 20 (2 had 2 previous jobs.)	
Herdboys	6 @ 5/- p.m.	Caddies	13
Garden boys	4 @ £/- p.m.	Domestic servants	7
Domestic servants	4 @ 15/- p.m.	Commercial & distributive	4

This sample analysis bears out the often-made assertion that the majority of caddies are juveniles below the age of 17 years. About 70% of this sample had no schooling whatsoever, and of the remaining 13 only 4 progressed beyond the sub-standards. This evidence, together with the facts that only 5 out of the 42 fathers of the boys had any schooling and that only 2 out of 40 stated that they were baptised, indicate that the majority of the caddies under consideration come from backward tribal areas. Over half of them support their families, practically all of whom are resident at their place of origin. Eleven caddies definitely stated that they spent all their money on themselves, while six had been in Johannesburg too short a time to judge. Very few of them experienced any difficulty in finding employment. This is due to the fact that, with the exception of nine, all the others came to Johannesburg with friends or relatives, many of whom had either worked at this club themselves or had knowledge of the type of work it offered. All the boys, bar one whose father brought him to attend a school, came to Johannesburg to work, some impelled by the desire for change and new experience, the majority prompted by scarcity and want in their homes. On the whole the caddy labour force, as represented by this sample, appears to be a very mobile one and of an impermanent character.

APPENDIX 7.

Juvenile Affairs Boards.

The following Table shows the number of registrations and placements effected by the Witwatersrand Central Juvenile Affairs Board from 1926 to 1937:

TABLE 42.

Year	Registrations	Placements	Percentage registrations placed in employment.
1937	4091	2855	69.7
1936	4913	3068	62.4
1935	4104	2315	56.4
1934	2390	1258	53.2
1933	2779	1129	40.6
1932	3060	1072	35
1931	3142	1158	37
1930	3206	1891	59
1929	3579	1529	43
1928	4211	1650	39
1927	3182	1481	46
1926	2802	958	34
(1925		483	
1924		636)	

From this Table a steady rise with minor fluctuations due to industrial depression in the percentage of registrations placed in employment is apparent. This increase is due not only to the greater prosperity which South Africa, and especially the Reef, has enjoyed since the worst depression year in 1932 but also to the increased efficiency of the officials in finding new openings and in making their propaganda more effective. Thus, although 1937 was for the business and industrial community a less prosperous year than 1936, the percentage of placements to registrations rose by 7.5%.

The following Table shows the number of boys registering for certain occupations and the number who were placed in various occupations.

/Table 43

TABLE 43.

WITWATERSRAND CENTRAL JUVENILE AFFAIRS BOARD

	July 1st.-June 30th. 1937 1938				Jan.1st-Dec.31st. 1928				Jan.1st-Dec.31st. 1927			
	Reg.	Plac.	Reg.	Plac.	Reg.	Plac.	Reg.	Plac.	Reg.	Plac.	Reg.	Plac.
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
Mining	13	3			13	3			19	7		
Engineering	803	260			564	62			418	54		
Building	177	45			352	32			240	22		
Printing	36	40	28	19	29	3	30	5	15	4	41	6
Clerical	608	379	288	200	612	368	372	122	450	306	191	59
Professional & Semi	108	80	19	12	32	8	2	1	9	2	10	
Food Industries	41	47	63	93	49	31	17	6	60	63	32	40
Clothing & Textile	13	24	114	106	3	6	407	213	2	6	337	224
Boot-making	29	20										
Woodworking	73	19			149	31			134	77	1	
Diamond cutting	1	1										
Shop assistants	19	9	199	58	76	41	263	36	39	27	224	46
Farm & Garden	7	6			61	57		1	89	59	3	
Domestic	1	2	62	20	26	8	126	61	18	17	148	104
Messengers	585	709			282	213			206	173		
Misc.	993	469	106	74	506	204	214	109	168	106	171	88
TOTAL	3507	2102	879	582	2788	1099	1429	556	2041	925	1148	567

Although the disparity between the two is very great, it is apparent that a certain occupational scope does offer itself to the European juvenile, and a comparison of the year July 1st. 1937 to June 30th. 1938, with the years 1927 and 1928 shows an increased occupational diversity.

The record of the Coloured Juvenile Labour Exchange, conducted by a committee and subsidised by the Government reads sadly by comparison:

TABLE 44.

Year	Registrations	Placements	Percentage registrations placed in employment.
1935	58	48	82
1937 (1)	121	82	67
1st.Jan.-31st June 1938	55	27	49

(1) Figures for 1936 not available.

Not only are the numbers of registrations and placements very small, indicating that the Exchange either does not function satisfactorily or that by its very nature it cannot, on account of racial discrimination help in the solution of the problem which is its aim, but the percentage of placements to registrations shows a yearly decrease, in marked contrast to the European records.

An occupational classification is not available, but the Secretary stated that most of the boys were placed as messengers (15/- per week) and as unskilled labourers and handymen in factories (12/6 to 17/6 per week). The girls were placed in millinery and clothing factories (15/- to 20/- per week) and, especially since 1936, when unemployment in clothing factories became marked, in domestic service. The educated juvenile, the Secretary stated, seldom even registered in the knowledge that the Labour Exchange would not be able to assist him in obtaining work above the unskilled level.(1)

That the Witwatersrand Central Juvenile Affairs Board did not attain its present efficiency - and at that an efficiency which it is hoped greatly to improve - without much difficulty is borne out by a perusal of the Annual reports, which tell their tale of set-backs, disappointments and of persistent effort.

If a Native Juvenile Affairs Board is to be established it must be established under Government auspices. I am strongly of opinion that if it is run under private auspices it will suffer the same fate as the Coloured Labour Exchange. If it has to struggle unaided against the present policy of racial discrimination, both legal and social, in the economic field, its efforts will be completely

/stifled.

(1) U.G. Annual Reports, 1937. Witwatersrand Central Juvenile Affairs Board: "A large number of vacancies could not be filled owing to a shortage of the right type of applicant on the books."

stifled. And, furthermore, if a spirit of unhealthy rivalry (1), of attempting to improve the position of one section of the community at the expense of the other, is to be avoided, then the same department must be in charge of both European and Native Juvenile Affairs Boards.

---

(1) The following extracts are taken from various Annual Reports on the Witwatersrand Central Juvenile Affairs Board:

1927. Another potential avenue is the employment of white youths on delivery vans in the Baking Industry instead of Natives. The Divisional Inspector undertook to press this matter with employers and as an introductory measure sent out circulars to the latter, urging the employment of white youths in this capacity and wherever practicable instead of Natives, with a view to opening up an additional and much needed channel for employment. It was intended that this should be followed up by personal appeals during visits of inspection. The Supreme Court decision, however, declaring the Wage Board Determination in this industry to be invalid owing to a technical defect, resulted in many of the employers re-engaging Natives and the whole question has had to remain in abeyance pending the publication of the new determination.

1930. It would be an ideal position if all foodstuffs were handled by white labour.

"Pass-bearing Natives", who are employed in engineering operations, now come under the Industrial Agreement and must receive the rates of wages provided for in that agreement, with the inevitable result that more Europeans are employed.

1931. The extension of Industrial Council Wage Agreements to Natives augurs well for white labour in the future, notably in the wholesale meat trade, the baking and engineering industries, where the tendency will no doubt be to prefer white labour, since no differentiation is now made in the wages fixed on the grounds of colour.

The members of the staff have spared no effort in canvassing employers in Johannesburg industries in order to persuade them to employ white youths wherever possible, particularly in occupations in which Natives were engaged in work on which juveniles could be suitably employed.

1933. The important question of the employment of a satisfactory percentage of European labour in industries, which enjoyed the benefits of a protective tariff, as a quid pro quo for a tariff benefits was raised.....

The Board has endeavoured to secure a better percentage of European labour in industries enjoying a protective tariff and should like to repeat the remarks of the Hon. the Minister of Labour when he recently met the Board - viz. "Regarding protected industries, the Department was already acting on the lines indicated by the Board - industries which enjoyed protection must do their duty by employing Europeans - he was not going to lose his grip on this question but would strengthen it".

/Among

Among the Board's many activities during 1933 were... the Employment of Natives in the handling of Passen... and in employment as conductors and motor-drivers. ...

These speak for themselves. I feel that ... unnecessary to comment on the means employed to find ... here for white youth. There is no obligation in the ... colonists. But I do wish to stress the fact that ... perseverance was and is being used to place European ... live, while the Native juvenile is at present entire... aided.

APPENDIX 8

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Sophiatown
Environment

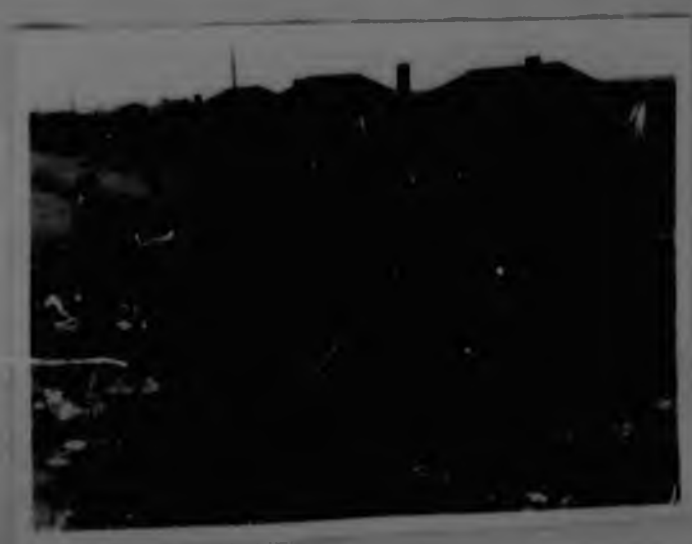






Location
Leisure.





A group of
Non-School-goers
Pimoille.



Pimoille Play.





Fruiterers at Orlando.



Playing "Shop" Orlando.



Recreation. Alexandra.



- Nurse.



Helping to settle in at Orlando.

Waiting
for a fare.



Gambling. Pimville-





Types



Pimville.



gambling.



Orlando.



Draggi
the Incar
to Scho



Classes at Alexandra.



Dragging the truant to School.





Classes at Alexandra.





The Creche.



Orlando-



Boys waiting to enter the play Club.







The
day
Cl
Orla



APPENDIX I.

AVERAGE AGES PER STANDARD OF CHILDREN ON REGISTERS OF VARIOUS SCHOOLS

(Ages and months)

| | OAKLANDS | | | | | | INFANTILE MORBI- | | SCARLATINA | | | | | | -XALA- | | | | | |

H.M.V. & CO.

MARRIED CHILDREN

	Sex 19.	Married 20.	Type 21.	Civil 23.	Christian 23.	N.C.U 24.	Money 25.	Cattle 26.
School Went To Next								

OTHER DEPENDENTS

Children Living 27.		Under School Age 28		Children Dead 29.		Children Baptized 30.		Children Not Baptized 31.	

MARRIAGE

Civil 31.		Christian 32.		Church 33.		N.C.U. 34.		Money 35.		Cattle 36.	

HOUSING

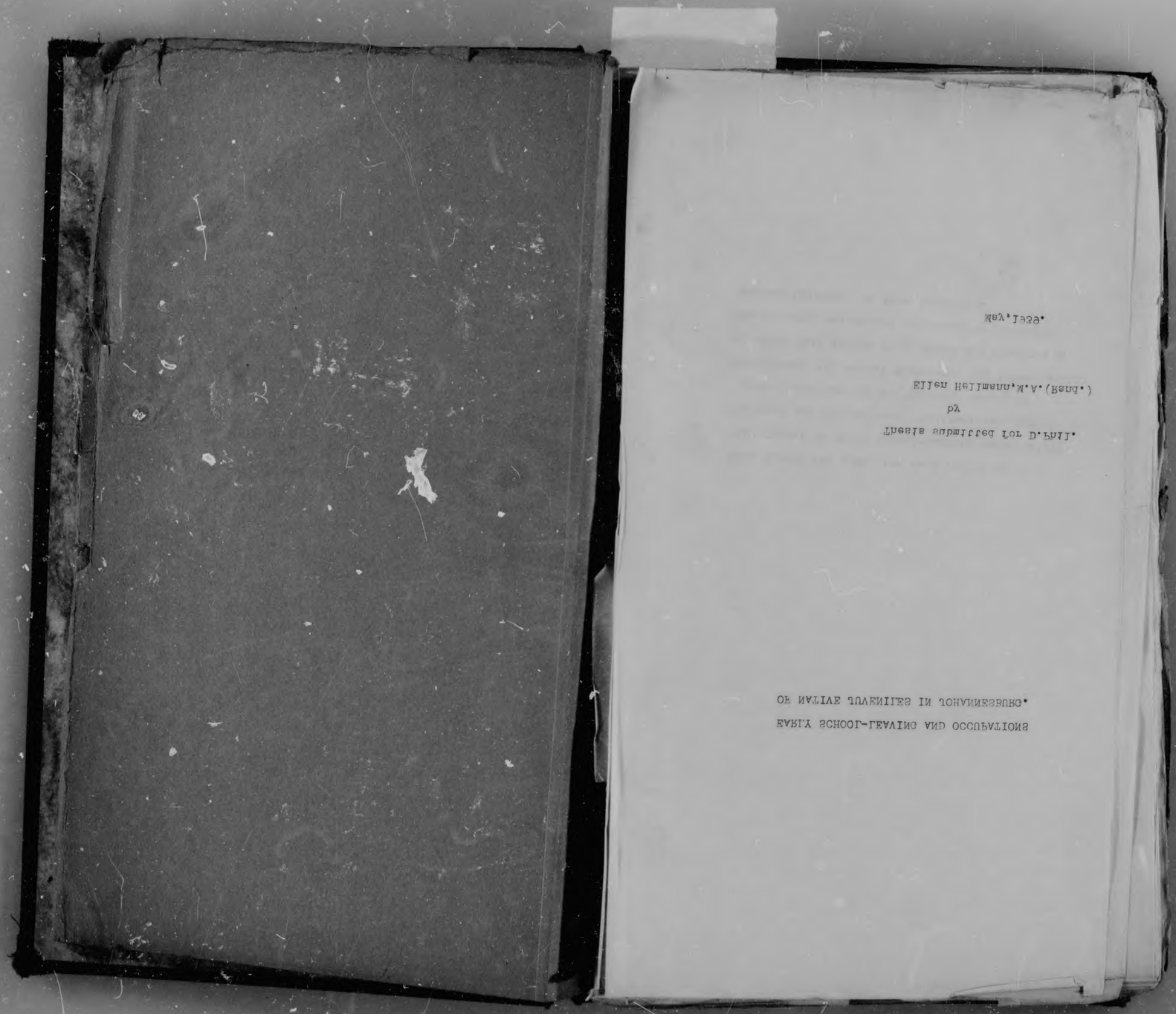
Hired 14.		No. of Rooms 15.		Rent Paid 16.		Own 17.		No. of Rooms 18.		No. of Rooms Sublet 19.		Received 20.		

No. .....

	1. Where Living		2. How Long		3. Before That							
	4. Alive	5. Birth Place	6. Tribe	7. How Long in Johannesburg	8. Education	9. Occupation	10. Earnings per Month	11. Age at	12. Church	13. Married Previously
H.										
W.										

	14. Reason for Leaving	15. Present Occupation	16. Earnings per Month	17. Hours Worked	18. Hours Travelled	19. Past Occupations
H.						
W.						

	20. Where Living	21. Distance	22. How Long there	23. How Long Stopped	24. Occupations While at School	25. Hours Worked	26. Hours Travelled	27. Age	28. Sex	29. Grade
H.										
W.										



EARLY SCHOOL-LEAVING AND OCCUPATIONS
OF NATIVE JUVENILES IN JOHANNESBURG.

Thesis submitted for D.PHIL.
by
Ellen Hellmann, M.A.(Rand.)

Author Hellmann E
Name of thesis Early school-leaving and occupations of Native juveniles in Johannesburg 1939

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