

**THE CHANGING NATURE OF WORK: UNDERSTANDING PRECARITY AND
THE GENDERED INDIVIDUALISATION OF RISK IN POST-APARTHEID
SOUTH AFRICA**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of:

Master of Arts

at

Rhodes University

by

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June 2020

ABSTRACT

Against the backdrop of workplace restructuring globally, post-Apartheid South Africa is experiencing consistently high levels of unemployment, the deterioration of employment security, and limited improvements in earnings. This trend in the proliferation of low-paid, unstable and otherwise insecure employment has given rise to a segment of the literature that is centred on the growing precariousness of work in a number of different contexts. This thesis reviews empirical work on the changing nature of labour-intensive production in the past two decades, with particular focus on the trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment. Further, the thesis examines the shift in the gender structure of South Africa's manufacturing sector and how it affects the share in the benefits of employment, particularly with regard to social reproduction. In so doing, the thesis expands the critical theoretical narrative about the challenges of labour under neoliberalism by providing an intersectional perspective of precarious work in post-Apartheid South Africa.

For precarious workers everywhere

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Michael Rogan, without whom this project would not have been possible. His extensive knowledge, enthusiasm for his work, and generosity with his time have been greatly appreciated. In addition, Professor Rogan's supervision went far beyond what is expected and required of a supervisor. He has generously supported me in acquiring additional research experience throughout the time I worked on this project. These opportunities have enhanced my Masters experience and have greatly enriched my understanding of the changing nature of work and its implications on the livelihoods of workers, locally and internationally.

I would also like to acknowledge the Neil Aggett Labour Studies Unit (NALSU) at Rhodes University, for allowing me into their Masters programme, and for the financial support that funded my tuition, living, as well as in conference attendance and research costs throughout the course of this project. In particular, I would like to thank the NALSU team: Dr John Reynolds, Dr Laura Alfes and Mr Valance Wessels, for their grace, understanding and support throughout the years.

Thank you also to the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) Uitenhage and the NUMSA working group, for participating in this study. In particular, I would like to thank Mr Xolani Michael Tshayana (NUMSA education and training officer) and Mr Msimelelo Jantjies (NUMSA local chairperson) for facilitating access to the NUMSA working group and inviting them to participate in this study. Thanks also to Professor Lucien van der Walt, for his introduction/intervention, which enabled the qualitative phase of this research to take place.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, for their never-ending support throughout my academic journey. In particular, I would like to thank my mother, Koleka Mooi, for instilling in us the value of education at a young age and supporting us through it all. Words cannot express the gratitude I have for all of the sacrifices she has made for me to even dream of pursuing a Master's degree. Thank you also to my sister Olwethu Mhlana, for her kind words and encouragement when I needed it. Lastly, thank you to my partner Paddy O'Halloran, for his emotional and intellectual support, and for taking the time to read and discuss parts of this project with me throughout the years.

Chapter One – Introduction

1. INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades, neoliberal globalisation has consolidated a process of workplace restructuring in the form of an increase in informal and precarious employment (ILO, 2012). This trend in the proliferation of low-paid, unstable and otherwise insecure employment has given rise to a segment of the literature which is centred on the growing precariousness of work in a number of different contexts (Kalleberg and Vallas, 2018). Much of the literature approaches informal and precarious employment in comparison to the standard employment relationship and the regulatory frameworks that characterised employment in industrialised countries in the latter part of the twentieth century. However, under neoliberalism, non-standard, informal and precarious employment has become a widespread phenomenon in both relatively advanced and in developing countries. According to the ILO (2018), 61.2% of working people globally, work in informal jobs. Furthermore, in many countries, the rise of non-standard, informal and precarious work has become synonymous with the decrease in the benefits of employment and reductions in social welfare.

In South Africa, the irony of the post-Apartheid period is that the sanctity of work as government's main vision of a developed and democratic country has been undermined by the increasingly insecure, flexible and unprotected nature of work (Barchiesi, 2011). Trade liberalisation has not resulted in the expected increase in employment or decrease in the rate of poverty (NEDLAC, 2011 as cited in Webster, Joynt and Sefalafala, 2016). According to Marais (2011), companies are relying more on a reduced core of skilled full-time workers and a greater proportion of less-skilled, casual or outsourced labour with limited access to wages, benefits and rights. While many expected to find good jobs, employment security, wages, and benefits that would allow them to live better lives in the post-Apartheid period, this has not been the case. Furthermore, Di Paola and Pons-Vignon (2013:2) argue that the changes that have taken place in the post-Apartheid labour market have often “reproduced, rather than challenged the unequal relationship between capital and labour”. This ongoing casualisation and informalisation of employment has significant implications for both wages and working conditions. Moreover, the implications of precarious work are not only restricted to the workplace.

Important research has been done on the dynamic relationship between labour and development in the post-Apartheid period. This includes Webster and Von Holdt's (2005) insight on

“authoritarian restoration” and the post-Apartheid workplace and Di Paola and Pons-Vignon’s (2013) hypothesis of an ongoing “reproductive squeeze” among precarious workers in the forestry sector. However, the link between precarious work and gender in the post-Apartheid labour market has rarely been explored.

Despite the limited attention paid to the link between gender and precarious employment in the post-Apartheid labour literature, it has been argued that the effects of workplace restructuring are gendered and place social and economic limitations on female workers (Mosoetsa, 2005). Lund and Srinivas (2000) argue that the structural changes that have taken place as a result of neoliberal globalisation have also led to the defeminisation of certain sectors in the global market place. For example, the restructuring of South Africa’s clothing and textile industry has led to the retrenchment of hundreds of female workers (Carr and Chen, 2017). In addition, studies have illustrated the ways in which gendered shop floor practices can reproduce the historical inequalities of the workplace and have significant implications for the everyday conditions and practices of social reproduction (Hart, 2002). Moreover, labour market restructuring is shifting women who are already in the informal economy to more precarious segments of informal work (Carr and Chen, 2017). Hence, labour scholars also argue that the effects of workplace restructuring place social and economic limitations on female workers (Mosoetsa, 2005).

Earnings inequality has also increased in the post-Apartheid period (Wittenberg, 2014). According to Wittenberg (2014a), for the period 2000 to 2011, the gap between mean real earnings of men and women has widened with each year (Wittenberg, 2014a:13). At the same time, South Africa’s relatively sudden emergence into the global economy has led to a worsening disempowerment and marginalisation of women in the labour force (Van der Westhuizen, 2005). Van der Westhuizen (2005:338) argues that flexible employment is a “gendered construct” that links into racial and class-based oppression. “Black and working class women are more likely to be in low wage, low-skilled, low status, overwhelmingly non-unionised, inadequately regulated and flexible jobs that are traditionally viewed as women’s work” (Van der Westhuizen, 2005:338). Therefore, the experiences of labour precarity are not homogenous. They are shaped by “race, class, gender, age and/or citizenship” (Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly, 2016:14). Moreover, workplace structures reproduce the realities of the social system -- the dynamics of power, and the intersections of race, class and gender in the economy.

2. RATIONALE

This study is an attempt at expanding on the scholarship concerning the political economy of labour in the post-Apartheid period. In particular the goals of this research are to: 1) examine the changing nature of labour-intensive production in the post-Apartheid period, with particular focus on the trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment; and 2) investigate the gendered individualisation of risk associated with precarious or non-standard forms of employment. Furthermore, this research will investigate the shift in the gender structure of the manufacturing sector and how it affects the share in the benefits of employment, particularly with regard to social reproduction. Through a comparative approach on the gendered differences in the experiences of male and female workers with precariousness in the manufacturing sector, this thesis is an attempt at delinking questions about the crisis of labour from a narrow focus on skills and refocusing our understanding in terms of the inherent profit maximising nature of capital, often at the expense of labour, and the implications of work on the livelihoods of workers and their families. Moreover, by focusing on the relationship between job security and the conditions for the social reproduction of labour, this thesis seeks to show that the trends and experiences of informality are deeply gendered.

3. DATA AND METHODS

Data

The abovementioned goals will be addressed using a mixed-method approach, combining aspects of survey-based quantitative research and a qualitative methodology. The study will make use of the bi-annual Labour Force Surveys (LFS) from 2002-2006 and the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys (QLFS) from 2009-2017 to analyse the gendered trends in precarious/non-standard employment in the manufacturing sector. Since these nationally representative data are collected annually they are suitable for determining how work has changed over a specific period of time. In addition, these data provide the necessary information on part-time, temporary, casual, non-unionised work as well as employment lacking social protection such as access to medical aid, pension, and the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) that will help to identify the gender differences in precarious employment in the manufacturing sector.

The broad statistical analysis will be complemented by a qualitative case study of workers from four Eastern Cape based manufacturing firms. The qualitative case study will be based on thirteen semi-structured interviews and will help to uncover the lived reality of non-standard, informal and

precarious work in the post-Apartheid period, thereby revealing experiences and consequences of the numbers presented in the quantitative analysis.

Sampling

The sampling method used to determine the interview participants for the qualitative case study was based on purposive selection. According to Etikan, Musa and Alkassim (2015), purposive sampling is a non-random selection of participants based on the qualities they possess. The qualitative case study involved in-depth interviews with workers (both women and men) that are engaged with ongoing struggles with their employer to negate the encroachment of flexibilisation in their firm. I identified this group of workers through ongoing engagement and work with a leading South African trade union. Since the study sought to examine the gendered implications of informal and precarious employment from a worker perspective, purposive sampling was most suitable for achieving this goal.

Ethical considerations

All interviews were conducted with the informed consent of each individual participant (see Appendix A for consent form). All participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that at any moment, and for any reason, they could decide to stop the interview. Participants were also given the option to decide how they wished to be identified in the resulting thesis. With the consent of each participant, all interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Ethical approval for the study was obtained through the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee (RUESC).

4. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into six chapters and is structured as follows. Chapter Two of this thesis offers a brief overview of the evolution of the concepts: informality and precarity. It reviews the theoretical and empirical work on labour market restructuring over the last two decades and summarises the cross-national variations of the experiences and effects of precarious work in both developed and developing countries. Moreover, the chapter explores several contributions to the gendered analysis of the crisis of employment under neoliberalism, with particular emphasis on social exclusion and the gendered individualisation of risk. The chapter also considers the political

economy of work in the post-Apartheid period, highlighting some of the key employment trends of the era, in particular: consistently high levels of unemployment, deteriorating employment security, low wages and the lack of/limited entitlements to social protections on the job.

Chapter Three of this thesis provides a brief description of the methods, procedures and techniques used for achieving the overall goals of this thesis. In the first section, this chapter reviews and juxtaposes several contributions to the theory of informality, in order to examine the potential causes of the growing precariousness of work. In the second section, the chapter reviews the nationally representative data sources for measuring the gendered trends in informal and precarious employment in the post-Apartheid labour market by sector and motivates for the reasons why Labour Force Surveys (LFS) and Quarterly Labour Forces Surveys are the most appropriate data sources for measuring non-standard, informal and precarious work in South Africa. The chapter then discusses the methodology applied in achieving the goals of this research. The techniques employed to analyse the empirical data presented in this thesis are also explained.

Chapter Four is the first chapter that has been devoted to presenting empirical data. It provides an overview of the total employment trends for the post-Apartheid period. Then it considers the trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment in the post-Apartheid labour market. In particular, the chapter makes use of the employment-based approach to examine the percentage of workers (men and women) without legal and social protections in the post-Apartheid period. Finally, the chapter provides an industry-level analysis, based on secondary materials, to consider whether or not the South African policy context has coincided with economic growth and employment throughout the post-Apartheid period.

Following the broad statistical analysis presented in Chapter Four of this thesis, Chapter Five narrows the analysis to focus on the implications of non-standard, informal and precarious employment on the livelihoods and strategies of survival of workers. It examines the gendered differences in the experiences and consequences of non-standard, informal and precarious employment amongst male and female workers in the South African automotive industry. It illustrates the experiences of workers with precarity within and outside of the workplace.

Finally, Chapter Six concludes this thesis with a summary of the main findings and contributions of the research. The chapter compares the findings observed in both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of this research. It argues that the growing precariousness of work in the post-Apartheid period is, in part, the result of a restructuring of global production networks with the aim of decreasing labour costs. In addition, due to a lack of structural and institutional power, the findings demonstrate that trade unions have, to a large extent, struggled to defend the rights and

dignity of workers in the post-Apartheid period. Based on these findings the chapter makes recommendations that would counter the encroaching strains on the livelihoods of workers within and outside of the workplace.

Chapter Two – The Evolution of Informality: A Literature Review

1. INTRODUCTION

Defining the concept

Originally, Keith Hart coined the term “informal economy” to describe the self-employed, “sub-proletariat” in the urban areas of Accra, Ghana (Hart, 1973). As such, the concept of the “informal sector” was used to establish a dichotomy between self-employment and wage employment (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013; Webster, Britwum and Bhowmik, 2017). The definition of the informal economy has since been expanded, from unregulated “enterprises” to unregulated “employment relationships” (Webster, Joynt and Sefalafala, 2016; Webster, Britwum and Bhowmik, 2017).

In 2002, the International Labour Conference (ILC) proposed the term informal economy as opposed to informal sector, taking into account all activities not sufficiently covered by traditional work arrangements (ILO, 2013). In 2003, the 17th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) broadened this definition by endorsing a job-based concept of informality that took into account types of informal employment outside of informal sector enterprises (Chen, 2012). According to Hussmanns (2004), based on this definition, workers would be considered to be in informal jobs if their work arrangements were, by law or practice, not subject to national labour laws, income tax, social protection or entitlement to the benefits of employment. Therefore, “informal economy” now defines both the informal sector and all forms of work without the regulatory frameworks and/or the social protections, of the standard employment relationship (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013; Webster, Joynt and Sefalafala, 2016). This includes: temporary, part-time, casual and flexible work that is characterised by informality or “formlessness” (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013; ILO, 2018).

Theron (2010) argues that the situation of workers under neoliberalism is best understood as two interrelated processes, “informalisation from above”, whereby workers are superficially located in the formal sector and “informalisation from below”, whereby workers are self-employed or try to make a living by creating survivalist type work. However, to better conceptualise the changing world of work, labour scholars suggest that the economy should be viewed as a continuum, characterised by the fragmentation of supply and production chains depending on race, gender and the type of work, with formality on one end and informality at the other end (Lund and Srinivas, 2000; Webster, Joynt and Sefalafala, 2000). Based on this approach, Lund and Srinivas (2000:12) suggest, “...people are grounded in a network of institutions which make them

vulnerable in different ways, and place them in structurally different positions in terms of being able to improve both their conditions of work, and their ability to get access to, or be reached by, systems of social protection.”

The discourse of precarity gained momentum in 2003 as the central reference point for mobilising a series of popular struggles in Europe (Nielson and Rossiter, 2008). While definitions of informal and precarious work vary, depending on context and country, precarious work has largely been defined as work for remuneration that is characterised by uncertainty, insecurity, risk, instability, low-wages, limited social benefits and reduced access to legislative entitlements (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013; Kalleberg, 2009; Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly, 2016). Much like informality, precarious work has been described as a continuum, characterised by the degree of certainty of continuing employment, control over the labour process, degree of regulatory protection, and income level (Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly, 2008). Standing (2014:16) further elaborates this definition, arguing that the “precarariat” are those people who live “through insecure jobs interspersed with periods of unemployment or labour-force withdrawal (misnamed as ‘economic inactivity’) and living insecurely with uncertain access to housing and public resources.” As such, Nielson and Rossiter (2008:55) rightfully contend that precarity is “an ontological experience and social economic condition with multiple registers that hold the potential to contribute to a political composition of the common.”

Most of the literature on precarity originates from relatively advanced capitalist countries in the global North. However, for many Southern countries, non-standard, informal and precarious work has been a defining feature of work throughout capitalist and colonial history. According to the ILO (2018), developing countries represent 93% of the world’s informal employment. Moreover 69.6% of those employed in developing countries are in informal work (ILO, 2018). In Southern Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean, non-agricultural informal employment, comprises: 77.6%, 76.8%, 63.9%, and 49.0%, respectively, of total employment (ILO, 2018). Moreover, in Northern Africa, non-agricultural informal employment accounts for 56.3% of total employment (ILO, 2018).

Conversely, at 20.9%, Europe and Central Asia have the lowest levels of non-agricultural informal employment (ILO, 2018). According to Arnold and Bongiovi (2013), in the European context precarity encompasses the disappearance of stable jobs and the questions of housing, debt, welfare and time for developing personal relationships. A recent study by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) of 26 European countries, revealed that for the period 2007 to 2013, 60% of the jobs created were non-standard jobs, i.e. casual, part-time

and temporary jobs (OECD, 2015 as cited in Kalleberg and Vallas, 2018). Furthermore, coupled with overall job insecurity, the United States and other industrial countries have seen a decrease in social and legislative protections associated with the benefits of employment (Kalleberg and Vallas, 2018). Hence, Standing (2014) argues that, in the North, precarity has led to the *denization*¹ of flexible and insecure labour.

This ongoing casualisation and informalisation of employment has significant implications on the livelihoods of workers within and outside of the workplace. Moreover, it has intensified the traditional challenges of labour under capitalism, including poor working conditions, low wages and constraints on workers' ability to organise. Furthermore, the implications of precarious work are not only restricted to the workplace. Hence, it has been argued that precarity also has consequences for notions of citizenship and places constraints on redistributive social policies and rights (Hart, 2002; Kalleberg and Vallas, 2018; Razavi and Pearson, 2004; Standing, 2014) which, *inter alia*, include: individual health and well-being, family formation and, more broadly, social life (Kalleberg and Vallas, 2018).

This chapter attempts to synthesise the scholarship on the political economy of labour in the post-Apartheid period and to position it within the broader global literature. Accordingly, it reviews the empirical work on labour market restructuring in the last two decades and outlines the cross-national variations of the impact of precarious work in Africa, North America and Europe. The chapter's core concern is to set the context for the shift in the gender structure of South Africa's manufacturing sector and how it affects the share in the benefits of employment. Thus, the chapter explores several contributions to the analysis of the crisis of employment under neoliberalism, with particular emphasis on social exclusion and the gendered individualisation of risk.

The chapter is structured as follows. The following section summarises several contributions to the theory of labour markets that have been used to explain the possible causes of labour market restructuring in the form of low paid and insecure work in the economy. Section Three then provides a brief overview of the theories that have attempted to explain labour market restructuring and the growing precariousness of work globally. Then, in sections Four and Five, the chapter reviews and juxtaposes the empirical findings on work done on the experiences and consequences of precarious work in developed countries, in the global North, and developing

¹ The concept of a denizen dates back to the early fifteenth century, whereby foreign migrants could be granted limited rights of citizenship by a country (Harper, 2020). While denizens had a limited range of rights, they also had a weaker entitlement to those rights than citizens (Standing, 2012). Therefore, by law, a denizen is neither a citizen nor a foreigner. The growth of precarious work has perpetuated this system of "insider-outsiders". Hence, Standing (2012:590) argues that today, "hundreds of millions around the world are effectively denizens."

countries, in the global South. As mentioned above, the chapter's core concern is to illustrate how gender affects the share in the benefits of employment. Thus, section Six of this chapter discusses the gendered implications of precarious work within and outside of the workplace. Finally, section Seven concludes the theoretical discussion with an overview of the political economy of work in the post-Apartheid period, with particular focus on the employment trends of the era; and explores several reasons why the South African labour market has failed to bring meaningful transformation under the democratic dispensation.

2. GLOBAL ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING AND THE CREATION OF PRECARIOUS WORK

The history of economic thinking, and particularly the belief that neoliberal globalisation and the restructuring of production systems are the cause of precarious employment, differs in the global North and South. In the North there is a strong assumption that neoliberalism has led to labour market “fixes” designed for the subordination and control of labour. While there are similarities in the struggles of the working class globally, the politics of labour, and the determinants and consequences of precarious work often differ in the South. Scholars have identified four interrelated forces that are responsible for the growth of precarious work in recent years. These include: globalisation, financialisation, de-unionisation and the digital revolution/technological advancements (Kalleberg and Vallas, 2018).

Many literatures define globalisation in relation to the process of opening up national economies to global actors such as multinational corporations and international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. According to Kalleberg and Vallas (2018), globalisation has resulted in an increase in global competition between workers and has accelerated capital mobility, especially in the manufacturing industries. For many countries in the global South, structural adjustment and integration into the global economy have been associated with macroeconomic instability and numerous adverse consequences, including increasing levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality, along with an increase in the precariousness of work (Adler and Webster, 2000; Bond, 2006; Barchiesi, 2010; Saray, 2019). Furthermore, scholars argue that globalisation has led to reduced state autonomy with respect to workplace strategies, or to national development goals such as domestic capital accumulation, job creation or product innovation (Webster and Von Holdt, 2005). Moreover, Fine (2016) suggests that this has brought about a subordination of the capacities for social compacting, which are necessary for the realisation of developmental policies, to financialisation and the internationalisation of capital.

Financialisation has been linked to the growing power of institutional investors and the rise of what has been termed the “shareholder’s conception of the firm” (Kalleberg and Vallas, 2018). As such, Fine (2014) argues that the role of finance is to limit the prospects of development. This is because it is associated with the strengthening and/or the emergence of national elites and their integration into the realm of global finance (Fine, 2014). This results in reduced levels and efficacy of investment, not only to subordinate policy to short run financial gains, but also to transform the nature in which policy is established, with the shift towards the interests of capital and forms of governance that reflect this (Fine, 2014). Therefore, Kalleberg and Vallas (2018) argue that financialisation greatly diminishes the value placed on workers and exposes them to the risks associated with the growing informalisation and precariousness of work.

According to Kalleberg and Vallas (2018), the rise in non-standard and precarious work can also be attributed to the growing de-unionisation of workers. As a result of declining union density, traditional trade unions have been unable to consolidate their power. Hence, Kalleberg and Vallas (2018) argue that de-unionisation has undermined workers’ legislative protections, giving employers more freedom with respect to wage determination and the use of non-standard work arrangements.

Lastly, technology has also been influential in the growth of precarious work globally. According to Kalleberg and Vallas (2018) the “digital revolution” has aided the abovementioned trends by reducing labour costs, accelerating capital mobility and the management of global commodity chains. Furthermore, technology has allowed firms to reimagine their organisational structures, redefining workers as independent contractors that are expected to manage the risks of the production process previously handled by the firm (Kalleberg and Vallas, 2018).

Taken together, the abovementioned trends provide a compelling explanation of the changes and challenges that have taken place in the global economy to make way for non-standard, informal and precarious work. However, on their own, these trends do not adequately explain the longstanding inequalities that have allowed for the instabilities of the labour force to persist throughout the capitalist world. Hence, in the following section, I consider the explanations that institutional theory and critical labour theory have offered with regard to the creation of non-standard and insecure work, with particular emphasis on race, class and gender in the labour market. I argue that a historical, multi-disciplinary approach allows for a broader understanding of the structuring of the labour market in post-Apartheid South Africa.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Scholarly accounts of labour market restructuring rely on four theoretical perspectives: Employment Systems (Fligstein and Byrkjeflot, 1996), a Varieties of Capitalisms framework (Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson, 2013, Hien-Mai, 2018, Pulignano, 2018), Power Resources Theory (Korpi, 1985), and various perspectives within the broader field of Labour Economics (Bielby and Baron, 1986; Schwab, 1986; Humphries and Rubery, 1986; Berg, 2010; Pons-Vignon, 2013). The first two theoretical perspectives are concerned with institutional theory and comparative capitalism scholarship. While the last two are associated with critical labour theory and the literature on industrial relations. These approaches serve as theoretical grounds for empirical examinations of precarity, gender inequality and occupational segregation under neoliberalism.

3.1. Employment Systems

The premise of employment systems lies in the interaction of actors with varying resources (Fligstein and Byrkjeflot, 1996). Through a political compromise, these actors unite to form social units, e.g. industries, trade unions and professions (Fligstein and Byrkjeflot, 1996). However, Marxist theorist, Leon Trotsky, argued that the inherent nature of capitalist economies and their need to expand is rooted in uneven development. Hence, in capitalist economies, structural and institutional power is held primarily in private hands (Fligstein and Byrkjeflot, 1996). As such, the owners and managers of capital exercise complete control over employment systems (Fligstein and Byrkjeflot, 1996).

In contrast, the “new institutional theory” suggests that action in organisations takes place in *organisational fields*. According to Fligstein and Byrkjeflot (1996), organisational fields come into existence when actors recognise their interrelatedness and foster stability through the active consideration of each other’s behaviour. One of the critical challenges of employment systems is establishing a stable set of understandings in the organisational fields. While the most powerful actors in the field have an advantage over the less powerful, oftentimes, they are unable to create stability on their own (Fligstein and Byrkjeflot, 1996). Therefore, strategic actors must build and foster a political coalition that brings together key organisational actors towards a given social order (Fligstein and Byrkjeflot, 1996). Once a system of employment relations is established, legislated, and institutionalised, the expectation is that it will greatly influence the possibilities of new employment systems that emerge (Fligstein and Byrkjeflot, 1996). Hence, it is argued that

employment systems are “conceptions of control certified by the state and institutionalised at crucial junctures in history” (Fligstein and Byrkjeflot, 1996:21).

3.2. *Varieties of Capitalisms*

Similarly, the varieties of capitalisms framework is concerned with the manner by which institutional factors shape precarious work. This approach, as used by several scholars, is rooted in the distinction between coordinated market economies and liberal market economies (Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson, 2013; Hien- Mai, 2018, Pulignano, 2018). Countries belonging to these capitalist market economies follow different logics in formulating and implementing their production regimes (Hien-Mei, 2018). Much like employment systems, a core principle of this framework is that institutional disparities emerge on the basis of deeply rooted expressions of cultural and institutional patterns (Pulignano, 2018). According to Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson (2013), the liberal market economies (e.g. United States and United Kingdom) are characterised by greater stock market capitalisation, lower levels of union density, less employment protection legislation, and more general education and skills requirements. Moreover, liberal market economies promote a deregulated labour market with a limited role of the state (Hien-Mai, 2018).

In contrast, coordinated market economies (e.g. Germany, Japan and Sweden) are associated with rigid labour market institutions, higher degrees of coordination, collective bargaining and long term cooperative relations (Hien-Mai, 2018). Coordinated market economies encourage engagement at company and industry level with the state (Hein, 2018). Based on the logic of organisational fields, the varieties of capitalisms framework views labour market regulations as efforts toward societal coordination and stability. Moreover, based on the *varieties of capitalisms* approach, societal coordination and stability are necessary for addressing the institutional needs that organisations face (Pulignano, 2018).

3.3. *Power Resources Theory*

The power resources explanation of precarious work suggests that non-standard and insecure work is rooted in a “relative lack of structural and institutional power” (Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson, 2013:1055). Its approach is that employment systems depend on the societal power relations between capital and labour. Based on this analysis, individual and collective actors possess attributes that enable them to reward or punish other actors (Korpi, 1985). The greater

the disparity in power resources between actors, the lower the motivation of the less powerful actor to exercise pressure on the most powerful actor (Korpi, 1985). For example, workers in tight labour markets possess a specific type of structural worker power that enables them to reward or punish capital, i.e. “marketplace bargaining power” (Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson, 2013). However, those in relatively slack labour markets do not possess this power and are more likely to be in insecure employment relationships (Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson, 2013). According to Korpi (2006, cited in Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson, 2013), workers can leverage their power resources through associational means. For example, through trade unions and worker organisations, workers can influence employment protection legislation, social protection and job quality (Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson, 2013). Hence, Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson (2013) argue that while institutional factors such as unemployment can heighten insecurity, associational factors such as trade unions can mitigate it. Moreover, through a political compromise, strong worker power can lead to greater benefits for both workers and employers, and thus less insecurity in the labour market (Dixon, Fullerton and Robertson, 2013).

3.4. Labour Economics: Heterodox vs. Neoclassical Perspectives

There is still a debate within the economics literature as to whether labour markets function according to the same supply and demand principles as commodities/product markets. The neoclassical explanation for non-standard and precarious work includes the assumption that the economy is unbiased, for example in terms of race, gender or ethnicity, in the creation of low-wage work (Humphries and Rubery, 1984). Its approach is that low wages are explained by lower productivity (due to less human capital investment or inherently lower productivity), imperfect mobility, or by discrimination which distorts the profit maximisation process (Humphries and Rubery, 1984). Moreover, based on this approach, precarity and unemployment are a consequence of the simultaneous existence of a skilled labour shortage and an unskilled labour surplus (Pons-Vignon, 2013:3). However, heterodox economists have argued against the assumption that the economy is neutral in its provision of decent work. Instead, they argue that it is the industrial structure, not the supply of high and low quality labour that determines the supply of good or bad jobs (Humphries and Rubery, 1984). Therefore, unemployment can be attributed to sluggish growth, declining labour intensity of growth, and the continued dominance of capital intensive sectors (Pons-Vignon, 2013).

According to Berg (2010), institutions such as labour movements and collective bargaining processes can also influence the type of jobs an individual pursues. This is demonstrated by the

over-representation of women, minorities and immigrants in low-skilled and low-wage jobs (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013; Kalleberg, 2009). Furthermore, Bielby and Baron (1986) argue that oftentimes, the occupational structure is divided according to gender lines. Even in instances where women and men perform similar work, they are assigned different titles (Bielby and Baron, 1986). This is explained by the theory of *statistical discrimination*. Statistical discrimination is a labour market discrimination model that is rooted in the belief that employers use average characteristics of groups to predict individual worker attributes (Schwab, 1986). Based on this approach, employers perceive that on average the marginal productivity of labour for men and women differs (Bielby and Baron, 1986). Furthermore, rather than train new employees or ascertain the validity of this assumption, profit maximising employers will reserve certain jobs for the group which has the greater expected productivity (Bielby and Baron, 1986). This model produces inequities between men and women in terms of wages and the types of jobs women pursue. As a result, women are more likely to be in low wage and insecure jobs. Hence, Pons-Vignon (2013:3) argues that the suggestion that skills development is the key to reducing unemployment is “profoundly flawed”.

4. POLITICISING PRECARIETY: NORTHERN EXPLANATIONS

To a large extent, the northern literature has used precarity as an “accusation” against reductions in welfare and stable employment which were common features of formerly Keynesian states following the Great Depression (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013:300). However, many scholars argue that if we look at capitalism from a broader historical and geographical perspective, we will discover that precarity has a long genealogy in the history of capitalism (Nielson and Rossiter, 2008; Munck, 2013). Common elements of debates about precarity often attempt to identify precarious work as a new sociological phenomenon. According to Nielson and Rossiter (2008:52), in these debates, precarious workers are identified as “a new kind of political subject, replete with their own forms of collective organisation and modes of expression.” However, the notion of a new political subject has been rejected by many scholars in the global South.

While most of the scholarship on precarity tends to focus on the crisis of capitalism in the United States and Europe from the late 1960s and 1970s, Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly (2016) argue that this is a narrow historical frame and misses the greater narrative of precarious work globally. Indeed, there is evidence that precarious work has existed everywhere throughout the history of capitalism. According to Webster, Bhowmik and Britwum (2017), the concept of precarity can be traced to Pierre Bourdieu’s (1973) description of the colonial Algerian working class in the

1950s; where he distinguished between the precarious, flexible workers and the permanently employed workers. Furthermore, van der Linden traces precarious work to ancient Greece, where workers sought out informal work independently of the household (Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly, 2016). Many scholars have also noted the existence of precarious work, in the United States and Europe, during the early periods of industrialisation, a time when work was characterised by unemployment, insecurity and low wages (Kalleberg, 2009; Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly, 2016). Thus, Patterson (2001:11) argues that both before and after heavy industrialisation “casual labour, low wage work and underemployment in commerce, transportation and retail trade contributed mightily to poverty in the United States and elsewhere.”

In the half century prior to the Great Depression of the 1930s, poor people suffered from a range of social and economic problems (Patterson, 2001). A few examples from the papers of social workers, progressive journalists and reformers of the time show that the poor suffered mainly from low wages, poor working conditions, insecure work, ethnic and racial discrimination (particularly towards black people and immigrants), and the lack of and/or inadequate access to social protection (Patterson, 2001). Hence Patterson (2001:6) argues that, “the basic causes of poverty were not personal weakness, but two deeper problems: an economy insufficiently abundant to provide subsistence for all the able-bodied, and a social order that inequitably distributed what wealth there was.” Moreover, poverty was then and continued to be a structural issue, not a moral matter (Patterson, 2001).

According to Patterson (2001), the Depression drove unemployment to catastrophic proportions. Based on official government estimates, between 1929 and 1933, unemployment in the United States increased by 12.5% (excluding the so-called “unemployables”, i.e. the aged, the sick, the disabled, and children in female-headed households; as well as those who worked irregularly or at low-wages) (Patterson, 2001). Low-paid and insecure employment continued to be major causes of poverty in the United States. Thus, “[poverty] was concentrated amongst the same groups that had always suffered the most: unemployables; disadvantaged minority groups; workers in unstable or low-paying jobs; and displaced employees in depressed areas or trades,” (Patterson, 2001:38). In 1936, the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB), reported that 18.3 million families and single people (approximately 60 million people) in the United States received less than \$1000 in income in that year (Patterson, 2001). Moreover, 6.7 million families and single people, received less than \$500 per year (Patterson, 2001). Hence, based on the accounts of activists and social workers at the time, many lacked adequate and safe shelter; hygienic living conditions; and a nutritious diet (Patterson, 2001).

During the first three years of the Depression, progress in public aid was slow (Patterson, 2001). Moreover, Patterson (2001) argues that government spending fell far short of the need. However, growing class consciousness, amongst the poor; and a new social philosophy amongst social workers, experts and activists - the idea that government aided economic growth and redistribution of income were fundamental to dealing with the issue of poverty and unemployment in the United States – made the changes necessary for improving the livelihoods of the poor and working class unavoidable (Patterson, 2001). Hence, in 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal moved to relieve stress by implementing a series of programs, public work projects and financial reforms in an attempt to address poverty and unemployment and the implications that these issues had on the livelihoods of the American society at the time (Patterson, 2001).

Amongst other things, the early Welfare State addressed issues pertaining to working conditions, public health, water quality and food safety (Breman and van der Linden, 2014; Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly, 2016). According to Breman and van der Linden (2014), a prominent feature of the labour reforms at the time was regular and regulated employment based on a formal labour contract. These included: a living wage; social insurance provisions, such as unemployment insurance and pension benefits; protection against hazardous work; a ban on arbitrary dismissals; as well as other measures that were favourable towards the working class and which gave labour a stronger bargaining position (Breman and van der Linden, 2014). At the same time, the introduction of social security provisions, such as disability benefits, widows and orphans support (supplemented by child benefits and an old age pension following the Second World War) benefited the greater population (Breman and van der Linden, 2014). Between 1936 and 1946, the average personal income of families and single people increased (Patterson, 2001). As such, the plight of the poor began to improve, partly due to welfare, but also due to economic growth and increased government spending during the Second World War (Patterson, 2001). Hence, Breman and van der Linden (2014:921) argue: “For the working classes...the third quarter of the twentieth century was a time of social emancipation.”

However, it is argued that by the late 1960s, several social and economic factors made the Keynesian social compact unsustainable (Silver, 2014; Daguerre, 2014). In particular, the rise of “disconnected capitalism”, or the lack of cohesiveness between the objectives in the spheres of work and employment and the increased failure of employers to uphold their end of the bargain, brought about a crisis in capitalism in the United States (Silver, 2014; Thompson, 2003). The United States' position as the capitalist world leader was challenged from several directions, namely: rising international competition, rising energy prices, declining productivity, declining

profitability, rising inflation, and increased levels of unemployment (Reuss, 2009). In response to this crisis, North American and European elites launched the neoliberal counter-revolution, abandoning social compacts at all levels and causing the gains from technological change to flow back to the wealthiest, by the end of the twentieth century (Silver, 2014). Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the neoliberal project accelerated into the 1990s alongside globalisation. The Washington Consensus dominated the public policy of the time. This thinking proposed that social needs could be met more adequately by the markets than by the government and that the scope of government activity should be decreased (Webster and Von Holdt, 2005). These neoliberal policies included: the liberalisation of interest rates, a competitive exchange rate, trade liberalisation, liberalisation of inward foreign direct investment, privatisation, deregulation, and the development of property rights (Bond, 2006; Saray, 2019).

The effects of these changes were not solely economic in nature (Breman and van der Linden, 2014). These changes had, and continue to have, huge implications for the poor and the working class (Daguerre, 2014). In the European context, precarious work manifested itself through the process of “regime competition” (Pulignano, 2017). According to Pulignano (2017), under the guise of European integration, policy makers, employers and trade unions neglected to safeguard the legislative protections of workers. Instead, social protection and good working conditions were seen as challenges to economic growth (Pulignano, 2017). However, Silver (2014) argues that historically, capital has always responded to strong labour movements by adopting various strategies to decrease labour costs and increase production control. These have included, amongst other things: the “spatial fix”, geographic relocation of capital in search of lower cost and more docile labour; and the “technological fix”, the restructuring of production processes and the introduction of new labour saving technologies. (Silver, 2014). In so doing, capital is able to shift the burden of what is arguably a dysfunctional economic system onto workers and households, inducing declining income and employment security globally. Hence, Breman and van der Linden (2014:932) argue: “What is called a crisis of capitalism does not harm capital in general, which is bailed out at the public cost and by workers’ sacrifices, but should be seen as a crisis caused by the refusal to adhere to decent labour standards and social security arrangements.” Moreover, Silver (2014) argues that there are underlying differences between the age of neoliberalism and the “Golden Age” of Keynesianism. In particular, Silver (2014) argues that the differences are that, during the so-called “Golden Age”, the labour and production fixes were in collaboration with the trend towards the redistribution of income in favour of labour, while in the neoliberal age the fixes were designed for the subordination and control of labour.

5. TRACING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRECARIOUS WORK IN AFRICA: EXPERIENCES OF CASUAL LABOUR SINCE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Although many literatures associate the commodification of labour and livelihoods with the neoliberal era, in the global South, the commodification of labourers emerged much earlier. By the mid-twentieth century, state-led development aimed to nurture capitalist expansion by reducing workers' access to land and non-wage income, and by relocating labour from its rural and agricultural settings to urban and industrial nodes (Ashman, 2009). Thus, Ashman (2009) argues that the removal of surplus value in the production process depended on the separation of labour from its environments of production. However, due to the market's inability to absorb the excess supply of labour in the urban areas, large segments of the population engaged in economic activities outside of the formal labour force (Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly, 2016).

However, while this form of informal employment is common throughout the Global South, Freund (1988) argues that it is an error to assume that wage labour only began with the colonial system. There are specific regional patterns in regard to how precarity emerges. In Africa, the development of precarious work clearly began before the imposition of colonialism in the nineteenth century. According to Freund (1988), this is evident in the growing numbers of wage labourers, between the sixteenth and nineteenth century, as the commercialisation of the economy was intensifying and some form of monetary exchange increasingly became important to Africans.

Several scholars have identified a number of examples where informal and precarious work has played a crucial role in the development of early productive systems (Freund, 1988; Swindell 1984; Rockel, 1997; Frost, 1999). One example is the history of West African – Kru – ship labourers and seafarers of the nineteenth century. According to Frost (1999), the Kru established contacts with European merchants and shippers and became involved in two types of work related to shipping, namely as: ships labourers, during coastal voyages in West Africa; and as articulated seamen on foreign-going voyages. The Kru's earliest experience as workers on European ships dates back to the slave trade era, where they were essential for such work as linguists, tradesmen, and navigators in the loading and discharging of cargo (Frost, 1999). Furthermore, there is evidence that West African labour was employed in the British mercantile trade at least as early as the eighteenth century (Frost, 1999). Initially, West African labourers were employed to protect European sailors from exposure to the sun and malaria (Frost, 1999). Moreover, research suggests that West African sailors were also employed as a replacement to fill the shortages left by European sailors as a result of illness or death, in order to ensure the adequate supply of labour (Frost, 1999). However,

increased trade with Africa resulted in an increase in the number of Africans employed on board European ships (Frost, 1999).

According to Frost (1999), for the Europeans, there were several advantages for using West African labourers. In particular, West African labour was cheaper than European labour (Frost, 1999). Furthermore, a skilled labour force could be relied upon with the advantage (for employers) of being classified as “casual” (Frost, 1999). Thus, labourers were only employed for as long as the trip lasted (the average duration of employment being approximately six weeks). As such, work on board ships was neither continuous nor regular (Frost, 1999). According to Frost (1999), workers could work on board for two to three days and then remain idle for two to five days. As a result, workers experienced frequent periods of unemployment, often only working a total of twelve to fourteen days in a month (Frost, 1999). Moreover, employers were under no obligation to either re-employ, or provide paid sick leave or health insurance (Frost, 1999).

For West African ship labourers and seafarers, work was unregulated and lacked the social protections often associated with the standard employment relationship. Amongst other things, employment lacked proper written agreements regarding wage rates, food allowance and repatriation after the duration of employment (Frost, 1999). While wage rates depended on a number of factors (including the type of ship a worker was engaged on), West African workers tended to be paid lower rates than European seamen for doing the same work on the same ship and port (Frost, 1999). Further, wage rates were low in relation to the amount and the intensity of work carried out and there were no guarantees that once wage rates were established that they would stay the same (Frost, 1999). As a result, wage reductions were implemented on a number of occasions (Frost, 1999). Moreover, workers would often have to fill gaps in other departments and perform tasks outside of their job description without an increase in wages (Frost, 1999).

In regard to social protections, while the nature of work was arduous and dangerous (having one of the highest industrial accidents and deaths at the time), there was no compensation or remuneration for injury or illness resulting from work (Frost, 1999). Moreover, arbitrary rules made it difficult for West African seamen who worked on war ships to claim pensions and there were no regulations for pensions for merchant ship labourers (Frost, 1999).

Meanwhile, life on board had a heavy toll on the health of workers (Frost, 1999). Characterised by “exposure to all weathers; overcrowding; inadequately ventilated accommodation; poor food and negligible medical provision”, many of the illnesses or deaths of West African ship labourers were the direct and/or indirect result of their work (Frost, 1999). Moreover, Frost (1999) argues that racism and xenophobia justified the greater exploitation of African labourers. As such, compared

to their white counterparts, black labourers faced unfair and bad treatment, often in the form of physical abuse, from officers and captains on board (Frost, 1999).

Another example of informal and precarious work, is the case of dry season migrant labourers, particularly the activities of the Hausa and Fulani, during the nineteenth century (Swindell, 1984; Freund, 1988). According to Swindell (1984), the Hausa trading diasporas were associated with trade in kola nuts, rice, salt, cotton, dried tobacco, leather goods and other European imports. Hence, by the end of the nineteenth century, there was considerable demand for human and animal portage (Swindell, 1984). Porters were responsible for the northward movement of European imports and the southward movement of cattle and grains into the urban areas of southern Nigeria (Swindell, 1984). Moreover, as with other forms of informality, trading could either be a permanent occupation, involving established entrepreneurs; or a seasonal one, involving casual traders and labourers (Swindell, 1984). In addition, migrants engaged in a variety of dry season occupations and activities and were essential for such work as construction, repairing, carrying water, firewood cutters, and the droving of cattle, sheep and horses (Swindell, 1984). Many small merchants involved in trade employed a maximum of fifty labourers on a permanent basis, but required additional labourers on a seasonal and temporary basis (Lovejoy, 1974 as cited in Swindell, 1984). In a space of only a few months, “farmers became labourers, or drovers, then traders, and back to being farmers again,” (Swindell, 1984:10). Moreover, while there were regional differences in wage rates, dry season migrants earned low wages compared to other forms of migrant labour at the time (Swindell, 1984). Thus, for the purpose of supplementing their daily wages, migrants took on additional work in the evenings as porters in the markets or would use their wages to purchase goods such as rice or sheep and goats for resale, or to add to their domestic flocks (Swindell, 1984).

Similarly, Rockel (1997) argues that prior to the colonial era, caravan porters were crucial to the functioning of trade and transportation in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to Freund (1988), in the nineteenth century, slave and ivory caravans crucially relied on the labour of free porters employed as wage labourers. Hence, Rockel (1997) argues that the assumption that free migrant labour emerged only as a result of the colonial system, needs to be modified. Porters were the first migrant labourers in East Africa (Rockel, 1997). As early as the seventeenth century, the Yao from northern Mozambique became the first “professional” porters of mainland Tanzania (Rockel, 1997). Initially, the Yao began as local and regional traders in iron and other related goods (Rockel, 1997). However, as the demand for imported products grew, they later became involved in a second localised trading system and would travel to the coast for goods such as salt, cloth and beads (Rockel, 1997). By the mid-eighteenth century, Yao were one of the major players in the supply of slaves and ivory to the coast (Rockel, 1997).

At the same time the arrival of migrants in western Tanzania stimulated Nyamwezi and other traders from the interior to become involved in the trade of ivory and other goods at the coast (Rockel, 1997). However, much like the Yao, Nyamwezi porters had long been involved in the local and regional trade of items such as salt and iron (Rockel, 1997). According to Rockel (1997), the first great journey of Nyamwezi, from the interior to the coast, can be traced back to as early as 1800. However, it is also said that the mainland had already been receiving goods from the east coast as early as the 1780s (Rockel, 1997). Moreover, by the early nineteenth century Swahili and Arab traders and porters had already accessed the trade system in the far western interior of Tanzania (Rockel, 1997).

As with West African portering, pre-colonial portering in East Africa involved both large corps of professional porters as well as seasonal traders and porters (Rockel, 1997). Moreover, the predominant pattern of employment was dry season travel (Rockel, 1997). However, by the mid-1800s, the rise of a Nyamwezi merchant class and the surge in ivory exports from East Africa to Great Britain led to a change in the organisation of portering, as many East African porters took up regular wage work as hired caravan porters with coastal traders and Europeans (Rockel, 1997). Thus, with increasing involvement with Europeans from the late 1870s, the nature and conditions of work also began to change. As such, by the mid-nineteenth century, the extent to which porters could defend their interests was greatly influenced by the regularised procedures and processes that were utilised by those in the business of trade and portering at the time (Rockel, 1997). In particular, the use of third-party employers or recruitment agencies in the supply of labour at the coast emerged with a considerable amount of power to influence the labour market, often at the expense of workers (Rockel, 1997). Baumann (1894 as cited in Rockel, 1997:165) described the recruitment methods of Sewa Haji, an Indian trader and major player in the recruitment and hiring of porters at the time:

“Sewa Haji recruits porters for all, for Germans, British, French and for the Congo state Whereas he gives even to the coastman at the most 10 Rps. per month, to the Mnyamwezi and Msango only a few yards of cloth, the European [employer] must pay 15-20 Rps. monthly. Through small sums which Sewa advances to the Blacks in their leisure time, and then extortionately charges interest on, he knows that there will always be people on hand. He wins influential caravan leaders by high payments, for which the others' hard earned wages are so much reduced. In addition to the advances, which increase with interest and compound interest to infinity, still more 'charges' are subtracted from them, particularly if it is a question of dealing with naive interior people.”

Moreover, Rockel (1997) argues that colonial rule brought about a reduction in the bargaining power of porters as European employers could use the coercive authority of the colonial state to

undermine the traditional system of portage and impose their definitions and patterns of work on African traders and labourers (Rockel, 1997). As such, increased militarisation along the routes meant that European authorities could punish “rebellious” porters with imprisonment, physical abuse and forced labour (Rockel, 1997). In addition, Rockel (1997:174) argues that the imposition of written contracts was a useful weapon for controlling African workers and could be interpreted as “part of the process of developing a more efficient exploitation of labour, with the aim of securing African resources.” Further, while wages could be influenced by a number of factors, evidence suggests that in the late 1880s colonial oppression brought about a decline in real wages (Rockel, 1997). Moreover, through the gradual deskilling of the labour force and the substitution of free wage labourers for a forced labour force, particularly under the German administration, wages were further suppressed during the late 1890s and early 1900s (Rockel, 1997). Thus, as with other forms of precarious employment, for East African porters, colonial portage was synonymous with the gradual loss of control over crucial elements of their trade, particularly the ability to bargain with their employers over better wages, rations, employment conditions and discipline (Rockel, 1997).

Therefore, in contrast to the dominant narrative of a “Golden Age” of Keynesianism, it is clear from these examples that precarity is not a new phenomenon. In Africa, precarity, as a defining feature of work, existed long before neoliberalism in the late twentieth century. Hence, Munck (2013:752) argues that “the changing nature of work as a result of the erosion of the welfare state is but one modality of precarity, others have been in existence for a long time in the fraught relations between workers, the state and society in the South, marked by limited forms of citizenship.” Rather, Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly (2016:6) suggest that what we have witnessed in the last two decades is the “return of precarious work after a three decade interruption during the Fordist era in some parts of the world.” Furthermore, some scholars argue that the recent rise of precarious work in the North, in some ways, resembles patterns of precarity that have already existed in the South (Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly, 2016). Thus, to better understand anti-precarity labour politics, contemporary precarity needs to be located within the historical struggles of labourers of the global South (Scully, 2016) alongside a return to precarity in the North. As such, the growth and forms of precarious employment in the global South provide an opportunity to develop a more nuanced understanding of labour market restructuring globally. Moreover, Mosoetsa, Stillerman and Tilly (2016:8) suggest that analysing precarious work from this perspective allows us to observe that the social contract of work has *always* excluded “women, racial and ethnic minorities, immigrants and youth”.

6. SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND THE GENDERED INDIVIDUALISATION OF RISK

According to Kalleberg (2009:10), an individual's vulnerability to precarious work depends on their "personality dynamics, levels and kinds of education, age, family responsibilities, type of education and industry, and the degree of welfare and labour market protections in society." As such, further debates have emerged regarding the gendered nature of precarious work and the status of non-citizen migrants as precarious workers (Nielson and Rossiter, 2008; Standing, 2014). While the theories mentioned previously in this chapter provide a comprehensive analysis of the structuring of labour markets, they fail to adequately capture the relationship between precarity and gender. Thus, a gendered perspective is crucial to understanding the relationship between precarity and the conditions for the social reproduction of labour.

The informalisation of employment has not been gender neutral. In many contexts, the increase in female labour force participation has taken place alongside employment flexibility, market liberalisation and the reduction of social welfare (Razavi and Pearson, 2004). Hence, women are disproportionately represented in non-standard and informal work all over the world (Lund and Srinivas, 2000). Furthermore, according to Lund and Srinivas (2000), men and women experience different types of risks in different sectors, at different stages of their life cycles. This is dependent upon their working status and the regulatory conditions within which they are employed (Lund and Srinivas, 2000). Oftentimes, the experiences of women under neoliberalism differ from the experiences of their male counterparts. Lund and Srinivas (2000) argue that there are common risks that women workers are likely to experience. These include: ill health, reproductive and child rearing risks, death or disability, loss of assets, unemployment and increased expenditure for social events (e.g. cultural and religious events) (Lund and Srinivas, 2000). However, women in the informal economy are more vulnerable to the experiences and consequences of such risks. For example, self-employed women are often excluded from capital and product markets, while informal wage workers face unfavourable terms of inclusion and the risk of exclusion in the labour market (Carr and Chen, 2017).

The effects of precarious work are not limited to the workplace. For most women, workplace issues and household issues are often inseparable. According to Benya (2016), in a situation where every day human practices, such as the necessary labour of feeding people, taking care of the ill, taking care of the family, keeping safe and warm, and maintaining a sustainable environment, are not provided for publicly; the burden often falls on women to provide such services. Hence, Berg (2010) argues that women either outsource these services, if they can afford to, or withdraw from the labour market to perform these reproductive tasks. Alternatively, women pursue professions

that will allow them to balance their work and family responsibilities, or work in part-time or informal employment, often characterised by differences in wages, hours and benefits (Berg, 2010; Carr and Chen, 2017). Furthermore, Carr and Chen (2017) suggest that there are also traditional barriers to the type of work a woman pursues. Prevailing gender norms may prevent women from pursuing work outside of the household (Carr and Chen, 2017). Hence, Humphries and Rubery (1984) argue that women's dependence on family income for their consumption needs has made them a source of cheap labour supply. As such, feminist-Marxists argue that the family and women serve as "pillars for the market and women as cushions and shock absorbers in times of crises" (Benya, 2016:547).

While proponents of neoliberalism suggest that the adverse consequences of its processes are not permanent, evidence of growing inequality and unemployment suggest otherwise. The problems created by neoliberal processes are not "temporary". They are long lasting and hurt the majority of the population, especially those in developing countries. Hence, critics argue that the erosion of the nation state has exacerbated the need for social protection (Lund and Srinivas, 2000). Neoliberalism does not afford governments the means to provide for those who have been disadvantaged by the process, because its ideology is premised in the belief that the government must bear minimal responsibility for social welfare, and that government intervention will distort the benefits associated with free markets (Chang and Grabel, 2004). As such, structural changes in both the North and South have meant that fewer people, especially women, have access to social security or social protection (Lund and Srinivas, 2000); a phenomenon that many scholars have conceptualised as *social exclusion*, the exclusion of citizens from social, political and economic development as a consequence of the erosion of standard and secure employment (Carr and Chen, 2017). Therefore, while it has been argued that public policies do not explicitly impose the unequal, and gendered, capital-labour relationship, it can be understood that governments have facilitated authoritarian restoration and the social exclusion of women through the liberalisation of the economy and the globalisation of productive systems.

The following section provides a South African perspective of the impact of neoliberal globalisation on developing countries, particularly unemployment and the deteriorating remuneration and employment security in the post-Apartheid period.

7. LABOUR MARKET RESTRUCTURING AND THE CRISIS OF EMPLOYMENT IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Over the past two decades the South African labour market has been characterised by consistently high levels of unemployment and the persistence of a long-run legacy of inequality (Leibbrandt, Woolard and Woolard, 2007; von Holdt and Webster, 2008). While there have been significant political gains since the fall of the Apartheid regime; it has been argued that the achievements in economic well-being have been less notable (Leibbrandt, Levinsohn and McCrary, 2005). Evidence suggests that in the post-Apartheid period, a significant number of South Africans are either unemployed or employed in low-wage, informal and precarious jobs (Stats SA, 1998; Valodia, et al., 2006; Muller, 2009; Festus, et al. 2015; Stats SA, 2020). According to Statistics South Africa (1998), for the period 1995 to 1997, the first two years of the democratic establishment, the official unemployment rate increased from 16.9% to 22.9%. At the same time, the total share of the workforce employed in the informal sector grew from 15% in 1994 to 24% in 1997 (Stats SA, 1998).

Following this earlier trajectory, unemployment has continued to increase throughout the post-Apartheid period. The official unemployment rate now stands at 29.1% (Stats SA, 2020). Moreover, for the years 2000 and 2019, the number of people employed in non-agricultural informal sector jobs increased from 2 026 065 to 2 995 000 (Festus, et al., 2015; Stats SA, 2020). However, despite growing levels of informality, scholars argue that compared to other countries in the developing world, in the South African labour market, informal employment is relatively low (Heintz and Posel, 2008; Rogan and Skinner, 2018). In the fourth quarter of 2019, the informal sector comprised only 14.68% of the total South African labour force (Stats SA, 2020). Therefore, since the recent ILO (2018) estimates placed non-agricultural informal employment at 76.8% of total employment in Sub-Saharan Africa, the South African informal sector appears to be an outlier in the region.

According to Heintz and Posel (2008:26), the surprisingly low rates of informal employment, despite increasing levels of unemployment, can be explained by patterns of labour market segmentation that prevent employed people from “maximising the returns of their labour” by switching to more remunerative forms of employment. Contrary to dualist theories concerning labour market segmentation, the informal sector has been unable to mitigate against the loss of jobs resulting from labour market restructuring in the formal sector (Heintz and Posel, 2008). Rather, evidence suggests that barriers to entry, such as significant earnings differentials, in both the formal labour market and the informal labour market, may be contributing factors to the low

rates of informal employment while unemployment appears to be on the rise (Heintz and Posel, 2008). Furthermore, while studies that define informality using the enterprise based approach have argued that informal employment in South Africa has been relatively low compared to global standards; those that employ the broader, employment-based definition, indicate that informal employment may be more prominent in the South African labour market than earlier studies have suggested.

According to Valodia, et al., (2006), the South African labour market has not been shielded from the growing global trend of workplace restructuring. Labour market restructuring and the restructuring of global production networks have led to rising unemployment (von Holdt and Webster, 2008). Moreover, several scholars argue that this has facilitated the casualisation and/or externalisation of labour into informal and precarious jobs that are unregulated and lack the social protections necessary for the social reproduction of labour (Valodia, et al., 2006; von Holdt and Webster, 2008). Hence, Valodia, et al., (2006) suggest that, as a result of the growing informalisation of work, a large proportion of the South African labour force is employed in the informal economy. Using the broader, employment-based approach, Valodia, et al., (2006) show that from the beginning of the post-Apartheid period, the informalisation of work has been on the rise. For the period 1997 to 2003, employment in the informal *economy* grew by 50.80% (Valodia, et al., 2006). Moreover, in the mid-2000s, 58% of the labour force was employed in low wage jobs (Valodia, et al., 2006). In addition, using a relatively conservative cut-off of R2500 per month, Valodia et al., (2006), show that for the years 2000 and 2004, over 80% of those considered to be in low-wage jobs were black. Similarly, Wittenberg (2014) shows that these racial disparities in earnings have persisted throughout the post-Apartheid period. Thus arguing that for the period 1994 to 2012, white people were at the top of the racial order of earnings, while black people remained at the bottom (Wittenberg, 2014).

Studies also suggest that the gender wage gap has continued throughout the post-Apartheid period (Muller, 2009; Wittenberg, 2014). For the period 1995 to 2006, Muller (2009), found that women in both part-time and full-time employment, were more likely to earn less than their male counterparts. Furthermore, for the same period, women were also more likely to be in inferior jobs, which lacked social protection compared to males (Muller, 2009). Thus, in 2006, only 7% of women in part-time jobs received medical aid or health insurance contributions from their employer, compared to 11% of males; and only 50% of women in full-time jobs reported to be receiving pension fund contributions from their employer, compared to 55% of males (Muller, 2009). Likewise, Wittenberg (2014) shows persistent gender disparities in earnings throughout the post-Apartheid period. For the period 2000 to 2012, rather than a missing or narrowing gender

wage gap, Wittenberg (2014) finds that throughout the post-Apartheid period, the gap in earnings between women and men has widened.

According to Di Paola and Pons-Vignon (2013), combined with the ongoing crisis of unemployment in South Africa, there has been an increase in the commodification of basic services, such as healthcare and transport. Furthermore, they argue that this has forced workers into a “reproductive squeeze”, the condition by which workers require more cash for the social reproduction of labour at the same time as the benefits associated with employment are declining (Di Paola and Pons-Vignon, 2013). In accordance with these trends, Liebbrandt, Levinsohn and McCrary (2005) show a significant decrease in real incomes at the beginning of the new democratic dispensation. For the period 1995 to 2000, real incomes, for both men and women fell by 40% (Liebbrandt, Levinsohn and McCrary, 2005). During this period, black people, and especially black women, suffered larger declines in real incomes, since their incomes tended to be smaller than their white and/or male counterparts (Liebbrandt, Levinsohn and McCrary, 2005). Moreover, while income poverty decreased between 1993 and 2008, mostly as a result of large increases in social grants, Liebbrandt, et al., (2010), argue that inequality has persisted well into the 2000s. For the period 1993 to 2008, black people were the poorest amongst all racial groups (Liebbrandt, et al., 2010). In contrast, for the same period, white people were the least poor amongst all racial groups (Liebbrandt, et al. (2010). Moreover, in line with the trends already discussed, Posel and Rogan (2012) show that gender differences in the incidence of poverty have also increased in the post-Apartheid period. For the period 1997 to 2006, women were more likely to be poor compared to their male counterparts (Posel and Rogan, 2012). Moreover, evidence suggests that female-headed households were more likely to be poor compared to male-headed households (Posel and Rogan, 2012). Hence, it is argued that neoliberal globalisation and the restructuring of labour markets in the post-Apartheid period has perpetuated inequality between labour groups and has increased the requirement for social welfare (Roderik, 1997 as cited in Webster and Adler, 1999).

Several scholars have offered explanations for the changing nature of work in the post-Apartheid period. Most notably von Holdt and Webster (2008) suggest that the growing precariousness of work in the post-Apartheid labour market can be explained by the replacement of stable, full-time jobs, by low-wage, unstable and insecure jobs in the informal economy. According to von Holdt and Webster (2008), precarity manifests through the processes of differentiation in the workplace. Through these processes, the workforce is divided into three major zones, namely: the core, the non-core, and the periphery (von Holdt and Webster, 2008). According to them, the *core* consists of workers in relatively stable jobs in the formal sector (von Holdt and Webster, 2005). These workers have wages and benefits, and have access to collective bargaining institutions, such as

trade unions (von Holdt and Webster, 2008). In contrast, the *non-core* comprises workers in non-standard, informal and precarious jobs that are often unregulated and lack access to social protection or entitlement to the benefits of employment (von Holdt and Webster, 2008). Finally, the *periphery* is where people “make a living” through activities in the informal sector which often range from subsistence to full unemployment (von Holdt and Webster, 2008). Thus, von Holdt and Webster (2008) argue that in the post-Apartheid period the trend has been towards the erosion of the core and the expansion of non-core and peripheral work. Moreover, they argue that through the informalisation and casualisation of work, South African employers have engaged in a process of “unmaking and remaking” the working class, placing workers in a position of weakened power at a time when unemployment is rising and the benefits of employment continue to fall (von Holdt and Webster, 2008).

Despite the long-standing curiosity in the literature concerning the seemingly low rates of informal employment alongside rising unemployment in the post-Apartheid period, there is very little scholarship on the extent to which the South African labour market is being informalised. Furthermore, while some studies have explored the size and structure of the informal *sector* in the post-Apartheid period, there have been very few studies that outline the incidence of informal and precarious work using the broader, employment-based definitions of informality. In addition, few studies have explored the link between gender and precarious work in the post-Apartheid period. Therefore, this thesis expands on the existing literature on the changing nature of work in the post-Apartheid period, by using the broader, employment-based definition of informality to outline the incidence of informal and precarious work in the South African labour market. Furthermore, investigating the gendered individualisation of risk associated with informal and non-standard forms of work, allows for a more nuanced understanding of the extent and depths of precarity in the post-Apartheid period.

8. CONCLUSION

This chapter has offered a multidisciplinary analysis and an overview of key debates on the historical impact of neoliberal globalisation on the labour market. I have compared several contributions to the analysis of precarity and the crisis of employment in the economy, particularly critical labour theory and the literature on industrial relations. The chapter began with a historical overview of the discourse of precarious work and the evolution of mainstream theories and considerations of the social and economic impact that neoliberalism has had on labour markets globally. The argument

was that a historical and multi-disciplinary lens would allow for a better understanding of the structuring of the labour market in post-Apartheid South Africa.

While the arguments presented here are rooted in history, I am also aware and critical of the ways in which history is often generalised. For example, building on the argument by many Southern scholars against the Eurocentric narrative of precarity being a characteristic of the new globalisation era, I have challenged the belief of a universal “Golden Age”. I argue against this narrative being used in the African context, or in the context of developing, formerly-colonised countries of the global South in which many have laboured—whether as slaves, as unorganised or organised wage workers, or as informal workers. I have suggested that certain forms of precarity are a characteristic of capitalism. Moreover, despite the seemingly low levels of informal employment in the South African labour market, informalisation and casualisation have led to the increasing precariousness of work in the post-Apartheid period. Therefore, adopting a broader definition of informality allows for a better understanding of the changing nature of work in the post-Apartheid labour market.

Throughout this review, I have argued that the disappointing trends in poverty, unemployment and inequality, in South Africa, are not solely the result of the simultaneous existence of a skilled labour shortage and an unskilled labour surplus. Instead, I have argued that the growing precariousness of work associated with these trends is due to the global restructuring of labour markets. Moreover, I have been critical of the processes of neoliberal globalisation. Thus, I have provided a broad analysis of both its economic and social impact, by comparing the neoclassical understanding with several heterodox traditions. Furthermore, I have argued that inequality is intrinsic to capitalist accumulation. Finally, I have argued that, by liberalising the economy and globalising production systems governments have relinquished their autonomy to control capital and mitigate labour market failures. Moreover, labour market restructuring has perpetuated the social exclusion of black people and women in the economy and has exacerbated the already unequal labour-capital relationship.

Against this backdrop, this thesis aims to contribute an empirical basis for the growing informalisation and precariousness of work in post-Apartheid South Africa. Towards this end, this study will investigate the industry trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment amongst workers of the manufacturing sector, as this remains the sector for which policy holds out much hope in terms of creating jobs. Furthermore, due to its labour-intensive nature, manufacturing has the potential to play a pivotal role in the crisis of employment in South Africa.

Moreover, its size and dynamism provide for a useful case for evaluating the changing nature of work under neoliberalism.

At the same time, gender remains a key determinant of vulnerability and exposure to precarious and non-standard work in the global South. Much research remains to be done on the relationship between social reproduction and the production system. Thus, the study also aims to expand on the existing literature by contributing an empirical examination of Di Paola and Pons-Vignon's theory of the "reproductive squeeze", by investigating the gendered outcomes of non-standard and precarious employment both within production systems (through labour movements) and outside of production systems (by households and communities). This will allow for a more nuanced understanding of workplace structures in the context of global production networks, thereby providing a different perspective, on old issues, upon which policy changes can be based.

Chapter Three – Statistical Definitions, Data and Methods

1. INTRODUCTION

As previously noted, 61.2% of working people globally, work in informal jobs that are characterised by insecurity, risk, instability, low-wages and insufficient social and legislative entitlements (ILO, 2018). This has fostered a debate about the statistical definitions of informality and whether and how to expand definitions to include the growing informalisation of employment relations, both within and outside of the informal sector. One of the aims of this chapter is, therefore, to review the statistical definitions, theories and schools of thought that have been used to define and measure informal employment globally, in order to develop a holistic understanding of the growing precariousness of work under neoliberalism. The main aim of this chapter, however, is to review the available sources of data that I have used to investigate the gendered individualisation of risk associated with non-standard, informal and precarious forms of work in post-Apartheid South Africa.

The first section of this chapter is a brief overview of the evolution of the concept of informality. It provides a detailed description of the theories that have emerged from four dominant schools of thought, namely: the Dualist school, the Structuralist school, the Legalist school, and the Voluntarist school and juxtaposes two dominant forms of informal employment -- employment in the informal sector and informal employment outside of the informal sector (i.e. in the formal sector). The second section of this chapter reviews the nationally representative data sources for measuring gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment. The section examines the strengths and limitations of each data source. Moreover, the section details the benefits of using these data sources in a gendered employment analysis and illustrates the differences in how these data sources have been formulated overtime. Lastly, section three concludes this chapter with a description of the methods, procedures and techniques used for achieving the goals of this study. The section provides a description of the preparatory work that was required prior to the actual fieldwork, the characteristics of the sample group, and the obstacles and limitations faced in carrying out the study.

2. UNDERSTANDING INFORMALITY: FROM INFORMAL SECTOR ENTERPRISES TO INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT

As chapter two noted, much of the debate on the informal economy over the last three decades has centred on how to adequately conceptualise the changing nature of work in relation to the

standard employment relationship. While some scholars believed that the informal sectors in developing countries like Ghana and Kenya were peripheral, survivalist, and had no links to the formal sector (ILO, 1972; Hart, 1973), others have argued that the term, “informal sector”, disguises heterogeneity and that development might take on a different trajectory in developing countries, encompassing, amongst other things, different types of economic activities, employment relationships and economic potential (Devey, Skinner and Valodia, 2003; Chen, 2012). Over the years, this debate has “crystallised” into four dominant understandings about the nature and causes of informality (Chen, 2012; ILO, 2013).

The *dualist school* posits that there are few direct links between informal activities and other formal economic sectors (Navarrete-Hernandez and Navarrete-Hernandez, 2017). Based on this school of thought, informality arises as a result of a lack of economic growth and availability of formal jobs (Navarrete-Hernandez and Navarrete-Hernandez, 2017). Dualists also argue that individuals in the informal sector are excluded from formal economic sectors due to “a mismatch between people’s skills and the structure of modern economic opportunities,” (Chen, 2012:5). Hence, this school contends that the informal sector is comprised of peripheral activities that are intended for the survival of individuals by providing “income for the poor and a safety net in times of crisis,” (Chen, 2012:4). Therefore, the number of people in the informal sector would increase with the need to survive and would decrease as people find formal jobs (Navarrete-Hernandez and Navarrete-Hernandez, 2017).

In contrast, the *structuralist school* suggests that informality is integral to capitalist accumulation because it allows enterprises to decrease costs and increase profits (Navarrete-Hernandez and Navarrete-Hernandez, 2017). Therefore, *structuralists* view informality as subordinate to the interests of capitalist industrial development because they serve to increase the competitiveness of large capitalist enterprises (Chen, 2012). Moreover, *structuralists* suggest that informality allows large enterprises to avoid contractual working relationships and the payment of the benefits of employment (Navarrete-Hernandez and Navarrete-Hernandez, 2017).

The *legalist school*, however, argues that the informal economy is comprised of micro-entrepreneurs strongly linked to other formal economic sectors (Navarrete-Hernandez and Navarrete-Hernandez, 2017). *Legalists* argue that a “hostile” legal system leads micro entrepreneurs to operate informally underground so as to avoid the potential costs and responsibilities of certain government requirements and regulations (Devey, Skinner and Valodia, 2003; Chen, 2012; ILO, 2013). However, Navarrete-Hernandez and Navarrete-Hernandez (2017) argue that excessive

regulation and the criminalisation of certain aspects of the informal sector makes workers vulnerable and unable to reach their full economic potential.

Finally, the *voluntarist school* contends that informality arises because of workers making rational choices to maximise their utility (Navarrete-Hernandez and Navarrete-Hernandez, 2017). Unlike the *legalists*, they do not believe that informal operators face any barriers to formality (Bhorat *et al*, 2016). Rather, this school believes that informal operators weigh the costs and benefits of operating informally vis-à-vis working in the formal sector and deliberately choose to operate informally to avoid regulations and taxation (Chen, 2012). Hence, Bhorat *et al* (2016:9) argue that informality, in this case, offers a “compensating differential” to the formal economy in the form of higher earnings and market regulation evasion.

Although these schools of thought have been widely discussed, and there is some merit to each of them, Chen (2012) argues that it is important to note that the informal economy is much more complex than the sum of these theories would suggest. Hence, over the last two decades statistical definitions of informality have been expanded in an effort to develop a more holistic framework of work under neoliberalism that takes into account informality both within and outside of the informal sector, as well as all categories of informal workers.

While there has been some progress in extending the scope and parameters of this phenomenon as it is understood globally, there is very little empirical work that has been done on the experiences of workers in informal wage employment outside of informal sector enterprises in developing countries in the global South. Hence, this study is also an attempt to test the impact of the growing informalisation of employment on workers lives, both within and outside of the workplace, with particular focus on social exclusion and the gendered individualisation of risk.

Below is a review of the nationally representative data sources that have been used to measure the gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment in the South African labour market.

3. MEASURING NON-STANDARD, INFORMAL AND PRECARIOUS WORK: THE SOUTH AFRICAN BI-ANNUAL AND QUARTERLY LABOUR FORCE SURVEYS

The empirical findings in this study are based primarily on the bi-annual Labour Force Surveys (LFS) from 2002-2006 and the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys (QLFS) from 2009-2017. These nationally representative household surveys, coordinated by Statistics South Africa, were introduced in 2000 (Magidimisha and Gordon, 2015). They collect detailed information on the

labour market activities (i.e. labour market participation, employment and unemployment) as well as other information pertaining to the demographic and household-level characteristics of approximately 30 000 randomly selected households, or roughly 100 000 participants, in South Africa (Wills, 2009; Magidimisha and Gordon, 2013; The World Bank, 2019). Moreover, Labour Force Surveys are able to collect information on informal sector employment, as well as non-standard, informal and precarious employment based on the expanded definition adopted by the 17th ICLS (Husmanns, 2004).

According to Wills (2009), the South African Labour Force Surveys are an improvement on the erstwhile October Household Surveys because they collect more comprehensive information on informal employment. For example, unlike the October Household Surveys, Labour Force Surveys also ask questions that capture information on the diverse range of informality that exists within the labour market, including survivalist activities such as subsistence farming (Wills, 2009). However, there are certain limitations to the use of Labour Force Surveys as a source of data to measure non-standard, informal and precarious employment. Husmanns (2004) argues that Labour Force Surveys only collect information on an individual's primary job and do not collect information on secondary jobs. Thus, the scope and scale of informal employment will most likely be underestimated (Wills, 2009). Furthermore, since some informal economy activities may take place seasonally, the short reference period of Labour Force Surveys may not reflect the informal activities of the entire year (Husmanns, 2004). Moreover, undocumented or unauthorised migrant workers are often undercounted in the Labour Force Surveys because their individual characteristics and labour market activities are often not reported, as migrants often fear repercussions from authorities (Wills, 2009).

In defining informal sector employment, the bi-annual Labour Force Surveys used a direct, "one-shot" question which asked participants whether the organisation for which they worked was in the formal or informal sector. The Labour Force Survey defined formal sector employment as work arrangements where "the employer (institution, business or private individual) [was] registered to perform the activity," and informal sector employment as work arrangements "where the employer [was] not registered," (LFS, 2002; LFS, 2004; LFS, 2006). The Labour Force Surveys also included questions on whether the business where the participant worked was registered for income tax and Value Added Tax (LFS, 2002; LFS, 2004; LFS, 2006). However, Muller (2003) raises the concern that the registration of enterprise criterion might be insufficient for identifying informal sector employees, because 1) the question assumes that workers are aware of the registration status of the business for which they work when in reality many workers may not be aware of their employer's registration status; and 2) registration of enterprise does not guarantee

that workers working for these enterprises receive social protections, such as contributions to medical aid, Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), pension, etc., and/or enforceable employment contracts. Therefore, responses to this question might not give reliable estimates for the scope of informal and precarious work in the South African labour market (Yu, 2012).

The current Quarterly Labour Force Surveys no longer have a direct question on whether participants believe the business for which they work is in the informal or formal sector (Budlender, 2011). Rather, Statistics South Africa has adopted two new methods for identifying informal employment (Yu, 2012). In the first method, employees are considered to be in the informal sector if income tax is not deducted from their wages and the number of individuals employed by the enterprise does not exceed five, while informal self-employment is characterised by whether the enterprise is registered for income tax and/or Value Added Tax (Yu, 2012). However, Budlender (2011:2) argues that the first element of this method is inaccurate “to the extent that low-paid workers in a small establishment, such as a small accounting or medical practice, would be defined inappropriately as working in the informal sector.” Thus, the second approach is to classify informal employees in broader terms, as those working in the informal sector as well as those displaying precarious and informal characteristics, such as those endorsed by the 17th ICLS, but working in what is traditionally regarded as the formal sector (Yu, 2012). Both the Labour Force Surveys and Quarterly Labour Force Surveys include questions that ask employees if they have a written contract; the duration of their contract (permanent, fixed period, temporary, casual or seasonal); who pays their salaries or wages (the enterprise for which they work, a labour broker, a contractor or agency); and whether or not their employer contributes to any pension or retirement fund, Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), medical aid fund or health insurance (Muller, 2003).

Hence, several scholars offer alternative definitions of informal employment that incorporate both enterprise and employment characteristics to better measure the complexity of informal and precarious work in the labour market. For example, Heintz and Posel (2008) suggest that self-employment in registered enterprises be considered formal, since registration would subject operators to greater regulatory oversight. Furthermore, they propose that distinguishing between formal and informal wage employment based on the characteristics of employment, rather than the characteristics of the enterprise, provides for a more precise estimate of the size and scope of informality in the South African labour market (Heintz and Posel, 2008). Therefore, it is only precise to use the characteristics of the enterprise approach to define the informal sector. However, when defining informal workers, it is more appropriate to consider the characteristics of employment with regard to legal and social protections (Yu, 2012).

Furthermore, some scholars propose that the differences between the formal and informal sector are not as clear cut as they may seem. Rather, they suggest that these sectors are, in fact, integrally linked (Devey, Skinner and Valodia, 2006; Yu, 2012; Chen, 2012). While the enterprise approach brings to light some of the major differences between the formal and informal sector, Chen (2012) argues that it is rare that informal sector enterprises operate in complete isolation from the formal sector. As such, it is common for workers in the formal sector to have informal characteristics, vice versa. (Devey, Skinner and Valodia, 2006). Hence, using the March 2004 Labour Force Survey, Devey, Skinner and Valodia (2006) propose a formal-informal index developed from a set of thirteen indicators; five enterprise-based indicators and seven employment-based indicators, and a final indicator related to the characteristic of workers (e.g. trade union membership). Based on this method, each indicator carries the same weighting. Therefore, the most formal and most informal worker would achieve a score of thirteen and zero on the index, respectively (Devey, Skinner and Valodia, 2006). However, Essop and Yu (2008 as cited in Yu, 2012) argue that this method is inappropriate for measuring informality, because, amongst other things, it could only be applied to workers. They, therefore, suggest replacing the question about the number of employers with a question about hours worked (Yu, 2012). Thus, due to the adaptability of the methods discussed in this section, and despite inherent limitations, most of the literature on the informal economy makes use of Labour Force Surveys and Quarterly Labour Force Surveys to measure informality.

4. METHODS, PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES

In order to undertake the goals outlined in the first chapter of this thesis, this study uses a mixed-method approach, combining aspects of survey-based quantitative research and a qualitative methodology. The mixed-method approach has been defined as any study in which the researcher “collects and analyses data, integrates the findings and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry,” (Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007:4). Green, Caracelli and Graham (1989) propose five broad purposes for mixed-methodological studies. These include: 1) triangulation (i.e. seeking convergence and validation of results from different methods); 2) complementarity (i.e. seeking interpretation, clarification, description, corroboration, grounding and modification from qualitative data); 3) development (i.e. using the results from one method to help inform the other method); 4) initiation (i.e. the refining of the research questions based on inconsistencies and contradictions in the findings); and 5) expansion (i.e. seeking to broaden the scope of inquiry through the application of different inquiry

components) (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007). The mixed-method approach is used here as simultaneous methodological triangulation, in order to cancel any biases inherent in the data sources used for this study and to strengthen the validity of the resulting outcomes (Morse, 1991 as cited in Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007). Moreover, the mixed-method approach is an attempt at broadening the scope of inquiry of the study. Hence, the study makes use of a qualitative approach in order to get data that cannot be obtained quantitatively, for example through Labour Force Surveys or Quarterly Labour Force Surveys, alone.

According to Creswell et al (2003), there are six major design strategies that a researcher could employ when using a mixed methods approach. These include three sequential designs and three concurrent designs, namely: the sequential explanatory design; the sequential exploratory design; the sequential transformative design; the concurrent triangulation design; the concurrent nested design; and the concurrent transformative design (Creswell et al, 2003). In particular, this study uses a sequential explanatory design to analyse the gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment, first by expanding on existing scholarship about the political-economy of labour in the post-Apartheid period, and then by evaluating emergent theories on informality by quantitatively testing them using the expanded statistical definition endorsed by the 17th ICLS. The sequential explanatory design is used in a two-stage strategy: in the first stage, the study makes use of a quantitative approach whereby numerical data are collected and analysed. From this quantitative analysis, general conclusions are drawn about the changing nature of labour-intensive production in South Africa, mainly the shift in the gender structure of labour-intensive industries and how this has affected the share in the benefits of employment, with particular emphasis on social reproduction and the gendered individualisation of risk. In the second stage, qualitative data are collected and analysed to understand the statistical findings of the first stage and to further clarify and/or corroborate any surprises or contradictions that may have arisen from the quantitative data.

As outlined above, this study makes use of quantitative data from the bi-annual Labour Force Surveys (LFS) from 2002-2006 and the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys (QLFS) from 2009-2017 to analyse the gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment by sector. The terms non-standard, informal and precarious employment are used in this thesis with the intention of capturing the socio-economic and structural implications of the changing nature of work in the post-Apartheid labour market. I have identified the gendered trends in and the characteristics of non-standard, informal and precarious employment by sector using the standard definitions based on the recent ILO framework (ILO, 2013a, b).

According to the ILO (2013a), informal employment is defined as comprising: own account workers and employers employed in informal sector enterprises; all contributing family workers; workers employed in informal jobs that, by law or practice, lack the regulatory frameworks, legal protections, social protections, or entitlements to the benefits of employment; members of informal producers' cooperatives; and own account workers producing goods solely for their individual or household consumption (ILO, 2013a). Furthermore, Statistics South Africa's definition includes employees in the formal sector whose employers do not contribute to social protections, such as pension, medical aid, or unemployment insurance; as well as employees who do not have a formal written contract of employment (Budlender, 2011).

Similarly, while there is no official statistical definition for non-standard and precarious employment, non-standard and precarious employment are commonly defined as work performed in the formal and informal economy, characterised by instability, insecurity and uncertainty (ILO, 2011; ILO, 2016). Much like informal employment, non-standard and precarious work lacks the legal regulatory frameworks of the standard employment relationship (ILO, 2011; ILO, 2016). As such, work arrangements are usually low-wage, insecure, and lack social protection and/or benefits (ILO, 2011). In addition, the duration of employment is often uncertain (ILO, 2011). Furthermore, the employment relationship is unclear, often consisting multiple employers or a disguised or ambiguous employment relationship (ILO, 2011). Moreover, workers face substantial legal and practical obstacles to participating in collective bargaining institutions or processes (ILO, 2011).

Thus, for the purpose of investigating trends in the informalisation and precariousness of work in the post-Apartheid labour market by sector, estimates will be based on the application of the aforementioned criteria on non-standard, informal and precarious work arrangements in the South African labour market. These include, *inter alia*, definitions based on part-time, temporary, casual, non-unionised work as well as employment lacking social protection such as access to medical aid, pension, and the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF).

Table 1 summarises the criteria used to measure the gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment in the post-Apartheid labour market.

Table 1: Criteria used to generate estimates on the growing informalisation and precariousness of work in the post-Apartheid labour market

Informal employment	Non-standard employment	Precarious employment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment without a clear bilateral employment relationship and/or a formal written contract of employment • Workers are informally employed or employed in the informal sector • Workers lack access to social protection and/or the benefits of employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment without a clear bilateral employment relationship and/or a formal written contract of employment • Workers are employed on a part-time, temporary or casual basis • Workers lack access to social protection and/or the benefits of employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment without a clear bilateral employment relationship and/or a formal written contract of employment • Workers are informally employed or employed on a part-time, temporary or casual basis • Workers lack access to work-based legal and social protections, such as trade union membership; medical aid, unemployment insurance and pension fund contributions by their employer

I have complemented the broad statistical analysis with a qualitative case study of workers from four Eastern Cape based manufacturing firms. As was noted in Chapter One of this thesis, the qualitative case study involved thirteen semi-structured interviews with workers (both women and men) that are engaged with ongoing struggles with their employer to negate the encroachment of flexibilisation in their firm. I identified this group of workers through ongoing engagement and work with a leading South African trade union. The interviews focused on the gendered outcomes of non-standard and precarious employment both within and outside of the workplace and sought to identify the ways in which increasing precarity impacts on women and men differently. The first part of each interview probed some of the workplace experiences of precarity while the second part asked questions related to household level impacts, the social reproduction of labour and the individualisation of risk.

Quantitative analysis procedure

This study employed a descriptive statistical analysis approach in order to analyse the data obtained in the quantitative phase of this research. Descriptive research has been defined as

research that seeks to describe a phenomenon and its characteristics, rather than how or why something has happened (Nassaji, 2015). According to Bradshaw, Atkinson and Doody (2017), the outcome is to describe the phenomenon literally at first, and then to move beyond this literal description of the data to an interpretation of the findings that does not stray too far from the literal observations. Based on an analysis of the LFSs and QLFs, this study examined the trends in cross-sectional data from 2002-2017. The study first considered the national employment trends by province, and then identified the gendered trends in employment by sector. In so doing, this study aims to contribute an empirical basis for von Holdt and Webster's (2008) theory of a shrinking core of relatively stable, formal sector jobs in the post-Apartheid labour market. Moreover, by investigating the gendered differences in the incidence of non-standard and precarious work, the study seeks to contribute towards a better understanding of the link between gender and precarity in the South African labour market.

Qualitative analysis procedure and limitations

Much like the quantitative analysis, the study then employed a descriptive approach in order to analyse the interviews conducted during the qualitative phase of the research. However, Kim, Sefcik and Bradway (2017) argue that qualitative descriptive researchers generally draw from a “naturalistic” perspective, examining the phenomenon in its natural state, rather than being tied to a particular theoretical perspective when/or if the data lead them in a different direction. Hence, the perspectives of individuals are a crucial aspect of this approach, because they have the necessary knowledge about and experience with the phenomenon being investigated (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016; Bradshaw, Atkinson and Doody, 2017).

There are two main methods for analysing qualitative data: content analysis and thematic analysis. Content analysis is a method of analysing the characteristics of verbal, print or electronic communication (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). Using this approach, data collection typically involves: a series of semi-structured interviews and/or focus groups; transcribing the interviews; and then systematically coding the data to determine trends and patterns of words, their frequency, and their relationship in the quest for themes and subthemes for the better understanding of the phenomenon being investigated (Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas, 2013; Kim, Sefcik and Bradway, 2017; Bradshaw, Atkinson and Doody, 2017). Moreover, Elo and Kyngäs (2008) suggest that by making replicable and valid conclusions from data, with the purpose of clearly representing the facts, content analysis allows researchers to test theoretical issues and enhance understanding of the data.

While content analysis and thematic analysis share some similarities, Bradshaw, Atkinson and Doody (2017) argue that oftentimes, these two approaches are incorrectly used interchangeably. Much like content analysis, thematic analysis has been described as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006:79). However, thematic analysis provides a detailed and nuanced account of common threads that extend across individual or sets of interviews, rather than the quantified “straight” descriptions of data commonly found in content analysis (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016). Using both methods, the interviews conducted during the qualitative phase of this study were transcribed and systematically coded to determine trends and patterns of informal employment in the automotive industry. Moreover, content analysis and thematic analysis were used to identify the key gender comparisons central to the titular objectives of the study.

The process prior to the qualitative research, however, was by no means straightforward. I faced several obstacles along the way. My journey began with eleven months of communication, limited to no response from those I had been advised to contact to facilitate access to my required sample group; and a rejection from the company I had planned to conduct my case study with. Still, the journey revealed some important things about the research that I wanted to conduct. Perhaps, I had begun this project with a certain level of naivety. It was not until I received the rejection from a leading automotive manufacturer, and my communication with my comrade in the labour movement there, that I realised how important this project was. I had taken for granted that a firm would be interested in understanding the implications of how work had changed the livelihoods of its workers, and that in some way, my research could help the firm to do better by the people that serve it and ensure the efficient functioning of its business. This was not the case. My letter requesting permission and inviting workers to participate in this study was rejected with a blanket statement about an intellectual property agreement. I had been blocked from speaking to workers about their *own* experiences.

However, the voices of workers were crucial to this project because they would provide a lived reality of precarity that could not be adequately captured by the quantitative data. Through the help of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, I was able to secure access to workers and invite them to participate in the qualitative aspect of this study. Time, however, remained a constraint. I was only able to secure access with the workers for two days, so as to not disrupt production. So, for two days, while I still had access to the workers, I conducted thirteen in-depth interviews, back-to-back until the end of each work day, four on the first day and nine on the second day. All interviews were conducted at the NUMSA regional offices in Uitenhage, in the Eastern Cape Province. All participants were informed that their participation

was voluntary and that at any moment, and for any reason, they could decide to stop the interview. Participants were also given the option to decide how they wished to be identified in the resulting thesis. With the consent of each participant, all interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. The duration of each interview was 30 to 60 minutes. Each interview was guided with a semi-structured interview schedule.

All interviews began with a discussion about the workers' general perceptions of workplace restructuring at their workplace. In line with the interview-style of the project, participants were asked open-ended questions that probed their knowledge and understanding of workplace restructuring more generally. The questions were focused along the lines of: 1) how has work changed in the time that you have worked at [organisation]? And 2) how do you feel about how work has changed in the time that you have worked at [organisation]? Then we would move on to questions specifically centred on casualisation as a way in which work is being restructured at workplaces globally, as well as their own workplace in particular. The motivation behind this question was not necessarily to test workers' knowledge, but to get a sense of what is generally known amongst workers of the industry; what did they know about workplace restructuring in the form of casualisation, including part-time and temporary employment; and what had they observed or experienced in their many years at their respective firms.

Following this point in the interviews, I would then introduce the fundamental question I was exploring – the effects of workplace restructuring on workers. In particular, the shift in the gender structure of the manufacturing sector and how it has affected the share in the benefits of employment, particularly with regard to social reproduction. As previously mentioned, the first part of each interview probed some of the workplace experiences of precarity while the second part asked questions related to the implications of informal and precarious employment on the livelihoods of workers and their communities. In this way, I was able to learn about precarity as a sociological phenomenon through the perspectives of workers; and build onto my earlier theoretical understanding about informal employment in a way that was real and acknowledged the experiences of labourers of the global South.

5. CONCLUSION

This chapter began with a brief overview of the development of the concept of informality over the last three decades. The first section provided a detailed description of the theories that have emerged from four dominant schools of thought, with the aim of conceptualising non-standard, informal and precarious employment. It was argued that the term “informal sector” alone is

insufficient for capturing the complexity and diversity of informal activities in the labour market. Hence, definitions of informality have been expanded to develop a more inclusive framework of informal work arrangements that take into account informality both within and outside of the informal sector.

The chapter then motivated for the use of Labour Force Surveys for measuring the gender trends of non-standard, informal and precarious employment in the post-Apartheid period. The argument in much of the recent labour literature was that Labour Force Surveys and Quarterly Labour Force Surveys are an improvement on the October Household Surveys because they collect more comprehensive information on informal employment. Moreover, these nationally representative data sources provide information for the characteristics of employment approach endorsed by the 17th ICLS, such as: whether or not workers have a written contract; the duration of their contract; who pays their salaries or wages; and whether or not their employer contributes to any pension or retirement fund, Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), medical aid fund or health insurance.

Lastly, the chapter concluded with a description of the methods, procedures and techniques used to achieve the titular objectives of this study. The chapter provided a brief overview of the mixed method designs and qualitative descriptive approaches that have been employed to understand the gender trends of non-standard, informal and precarious employment in post-Apartheid South Africa. The following chapters present empirical work on the gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious wage employment by sector, particularly how reductions in the benefits of employment affect women and men differently (both within and outside the workplace).

Chapter Four – Precarious Work and the Gendered Individualisation of Risk in the South African Manufacturing Sector, 2002-2017

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades much of the progressive literature on labour market restructuring has centred on the role of trade unions under neoliberal globalisation. In particular, this literature has been concerned with how to organise labour when increasing numbers of the employed are becoming informalised. Despite this concentrated focus on labour movements, Scully (2012) argues that in South Africa, and many parts of the world, trade unions have not been able to counter the attacks of capitalism on labour. As such, this chapter begins with the recognition that the South African labour literature has become removed from the experiences of workers and that very little empirical work has examined how the changing nature of work in globally integrated and labour-intensive industries impacts the livelihoods of workers, and their strategies for survival. In addressing this gap, this chapter examines the implications that informal employment has on the livelihoods of workers in globalised industries.

The post-Apartheid labour market has been characterised by a shrinking core of full-time permanent workers, as well as reductions in the benefits of employment (von Holdt and Webster, 2008). Furthermore, the effects of precarious work have not only been limited to the experiences of workers within the workplace. With the growing precariousness of work, workplace issues extend outside of the workplace and into the households as workers struggle to survive. In addition, as Chapter Two noted, male and female workers, both within and outside of the workplace, experience precarious work differently. Compared to their male counterparts, women are disproportionately represented in precarious and informal work arrangements, globally. Moreover, gendered differences in exposure and vulnerability to precarious employment are often the direct result of unfavourable terms of inclusion, the risk of exclusion from the labour market and the unequal burden of social reproductive activities in the household. Thus, the gendered differences in workers' experiences with informality are not simply the result of increasing levels of unemployment or a shortage of skills, but they also reflect the deliberate exclusion of women from development through the deterioration of remuneration and employment security as a result of economic and labour market restructuring.

In order to highlight the gendered implications of non-standard, informal and precarious employment, this thesis now focuses on the key trends in and the characteristics of precarious employment for men and women using definitions based on part-time, temporary and casual work,

as well as employment lacking social and/or legislative entitlements as discussed in the previous chapter. Data for this analysis are based on the bi-annual Labour Force Surveys (LFS) from 2002-2006 and the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys (QLFS) from 2009-2017.

This chapter is structured as follows: Following this introduction, the first section provides an overview of total employment in the post-Apartheid period. The section presents the national employment estimates by province and then considers the sectoral employment trends for the period. Of particular interest are the employment trends in the manufacturing sector over this period. The second section then provides an analysis of the trends in informal and non-standard employment in the post-Apartheid labour market. The section is divided into two parts. The first part analyses the employment trends in informal wage work over the period and then gives a sectoral analysis of informal employment in the manufacturing sector, by province and gender. The second part considers the gendered trends in non-standard employment in the manufacturing sector for the period. In particular, this part focuses on the trends in permanent, fixed period/limited duration, temporary, casual, or seasonal work arrangements.

The third section discusses the growing precariousness of work in the post-Apartheid manufacturing sector. In particular, the section is concerned with the implications of informal and non-standard employment on workers' access to legal and social protection and/or entitlements to the benefits of employment. The section examines the percentage of workers, men and women, in the manufacturing sector, with formal written contracts of employment; that are not unionised; and that lack social protections, such as contributions to pension or retirement funds, Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), medical aid or health insurance, as well as paid leave.

Finally, the chapter concludes with an industry-level analysis of the impact of neoliberal globalisation in the South African automotive industry. The section provides an overview of the national trends in employment throughout the post-Apartheid period in an industry that opened its business very quickly at the start of the new democratic dispensation. The section considers the reasons the industry entered into trade agreements in the early 90s and whether trade policy has had a positive or negative effect on the industry in terms of economic growth and employment in the post-Apartheid period.

2. TOTAL EMPLOYMENT TRENDS (2002-2017)

This section presents a descriptive statistical analysis in order to examine the changing nature of labour-intensive production from 2002-2017. Based on data obtained from the Labour Force

Surveys and the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys, the section first considers employment trends by province, and then identifies the trends in employment by sector. In so doing, this section sets the context for the subsequent sectoral analysis of the gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment in the South African manufacturing sector.

2.1. Employment trends by province

Table 1 analyses the employment trends by province. The data reflect that with every year there has been a positive change in employment in each province. Overall employment growth, however, masks a number of important differences by province and gender. The Eastern Cape has been one of the poorest employers throughout this period. From 2002 to 2017, employment in the province only grew by 195 153, i.e. 15.92%, despite it being home to the largest automotive manufacturing companies in the country (and with a total of roughly 1.4 million employed persons in 2017). Only the Free State and the North West provinces had lower employment growth rates over the period. Not surprisingly, the fastest growth in employment has occurred in Limpopo (albeit from a low base), Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and the Western Cape provinces, with the provinces experiencing growth rates of 78.66%; 75.21%; 63.02% and 53.26%, respectively, between 2002 and 2017.

Table 1: Estimates of total employment, by province (2002-2017)

	2002	2004	2006	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Change	
									Absolute change	% change
Total employment										
Western Cape	1,565,542 (40,686)	1,687,325 (43,770)	1,843,367 (54,810)	2,012,055 (40,242)	2,055,056 (40,709)	2,135,908 (40,689)	2,317,297 (50,425)	2,399,421 (50,094)	833,879	53.26
Eastern Cape	1,225,863 (26,278)	1,267,313 (29,265)	1,338,409 (32,616)	1,244,051 (32,893)	1,262,754 (33,247)	1,293,106 (32,221)	1,369,908 (33,928)	1,421,016 (36,362)	195,153	15.92
Northern Cape	244,835 (8,227)	227,424 (6,922)	302,588 (8,565)	262,324 (8,817)	285,141 (10,347)	316,449 (10,897)	302,418 (11,836)	306,846 (13,142)	62,011	25.33
Free State	804,202 (19,716)	774,979 (22,112)	779,463 (22,417)	754,859 (18,899)	822,226 (23,967)	737,122 (19,626)	794,908 (26,033)	821,394 (25,972)	17,192	2.14
KwaZulu-Natal	2,095,280 (40,135)	2,083,409 (46,245)	2,419,522 (46,728)	2,431,803 (46,683)	2,416,539 (48,326)	2,569,168 (50,455)	2,572,942 (50,566)	2,535,825 (50,674)	440,545	21.03
North West	855,857 (21,372)	830,652 (25,991)	799,413 (26,293)	809,438 (23,597)	762,649 (24,347)	851,419 (25,622)	921,335 (29,465)	983,058 (31,392)	127,201	14.86
Gauteng	2,892,541 (54,877)	3,062,524 (62,849)	3,574,410 (78,691)	4,353,460 (76,256)	4,453,314 (77,226)	4,821,976 (87,469)	5,010,844 (68,002)	5,067,941 (75,645)	2,175,400	75.21
Mpumalanga	737,506 (20,640)	784,490 (21,414)	901,347 (23,438)	996,005 (24,137)	1,007,363 (27,125)	1,148,769 (31,326)	1,184,086 (32,888)	1,202,275 (33,213)	464,769	63.02
Limpopo	812,612 (21,491)	880,434 (25,300)	774,112 (24,369)	961,458 (26,101)	1,052,293 (30,162)	1,158,255 (31,911)	1,352,679 (34,600)	1,451,861 (37,130)	639,249	78.66
Total	11,234,238 (85,039)	11,598,551 (100,688)	12,732,629 (113,946)	13,825,454 (105,673)	14,117,334 (109,688)	15,032,173 (117,965)	15,826,417 (109,379)	16,189,636 (115,343)	4,955,398	44.11

Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys.

Notes: The data are weighted.
Standard errors in brackets.

Table 2 presents the trends in unemployment by province, for the period 2002 to 2017. The data indicate that, since 2004, unemployment has hovered around 25%. Moreover, following the Northern Cape, the Eastern Cape remains one of the leading provinces in terms of joblessness in the post-Apartheid period. Between 2002 and 2017, unemployment in the Eastern Cape increased by 2.63%. Hence, in 2017, at 35.48%, the province had the highest unemployment rate in the country.

Table 2: Estimates of the official unemployment rate, by province (2002-2017)

	2002	2004	2006	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Change
									% change
Official definition estimates									
Western Cape	19.63 (0.74)	18.59 (0.86)	15.02 (0.80)	22.13 (0.74)	23.02 (0.77)	23.06 (0.71)	20.65 (0.77)	21.87 (0.77)	2.24
Eastern Cape	32.85 (0.87)	29.67 (0.90)	32.12 (0.96)	26.77 (1.01)	26.76 (1.01)	30.42 (0.97)	29.19 (0.96)	35.48 (1.02)	2.63
Northern Cape	25.07 (1.20)	24.52 (1.14)	28.78 (1.11)	29.35 (1.28)	27.97 (1.37)	27.92 (1.32)	34.76 (1.53)	29.88 (1.65)	4.81
Free State	29.28 (0.90)	28.64 (1.01)	26.49 (1.02)	28.06 (0.95)	24.97 (0.98)	33.67 (1.04)	31.52 (1.27)	31.85 (1.20)	2.57
KwaZulu-Natal	35.16 (0.74)	28.74 (0.83)	26.69 (0.73)	18.34 (0.65)	18.71 (0.70)	20.59 (0.70)	20.52 (0.73)	24.56 (0.77)	-10.6
North West	30.72 (0.89)	28.09 (1.08)	29.77 (1.20)	27.85 (1.07)	28.49 (1.19)	26.46 (1.16)	25.41 (1.20)	26.20 (1.23)	-4.52
Gauteng	30.61 (0.70)	25.76 (0.75)	23.27 (0.76)	25.96 (0.65)	27.95 (0.66)	24.32 (0.65)	28.65 (0.52)	30.20 (0.57)	-0.41
Mpumalanga	30.16 (1.07)	24.87 (0.96)	28.06 (1.00)	25.33 (0.90)	28.65 (1.05)	26.54 (0.95)	26.19 (1.03)	30.73 (1.05)	0.57
Limpopo	34.16 (1.01)	27.78 (1.04)	32.04 (1.18)	25.08 (1.06)	18.96 (1.01)	17.15 (0.92)	18.75 (0.91)	19.11 (0.90)	-15.05
Total	30.49 (0.31)	26.26 (0.33)	25.61 (0.33)	24.45 (0.30)	24.97 (0.32)	24.50 (0.31)	25.50 (0.29)	27.72 (0.30)	-2.77

Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys.

Notes: The data are weighted.

Standard errors in brackets.

2.2. Employment trends by sector

Table 3 presents a snapshot of the trends in total employment by sector. In line with the argument that South Africa's reintegration into the global economy in the late 1980s to 1990s led to the country's shift away from tradable sectors such as agriculture, mining and manufacturing towards a services-led economy (Bhorat and Rooney, 2017), the data suggest that in the post-Apartheid

period, employment in the financial services sector grew by 127.48%. In contrast, employment in the manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade sectors only grew by 7.42% and 49.54% respectively. The agriculture and mining sectors have had the highest number of job losses in the post-Apartheid period. For the period 2002 to 2017, total employment in the agriculture and mining sectors decreased by 45.29% and 20.82%, respectively.

Table 3: Estimates of total employment ('000s), by industry (2002-2017)

	2002	2004	2006	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Change	
									Absolute change	% change
Total employment										
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fish	1,501,482 (29,845)	1,124,969 (24,256)	1,166,859 (25,186)	689,858 (23,454)	665,979 (23,433)	748,881 (25,731)	913,548 (29,864)	821,467 (27,321)	-680,015	-45.29
Mining and quarrying	563,271 (21,196)	405,841 (18,638)	405,583 (19,041)	327,386 (16,642)	347,663 (18,414)	422,943 (19,507)	447,575 (20,895)	445,979 (21,706)	-117,292	-20.82
Manufacturing	1,647,212 (34,262)	1,724,258 (40,767)	1,757,428 (45,318)	1,892,162 (43,166)	1,857,174 (44,043)	1,801,534 (46,075)	1,804,000 (40,031)	1,769,474 (41,768)	122,262	7.42
Electricity, gas and water supply	84,705 (8,131)	99,350 (11,130)	121,493 (14,004)	93,330 (10,585)	81,157 (8,394)	141,883 (12,828)	130,093 (10,930)	153,059 (13,327)	68,354	80.70
Construction	609,546 (22,323)	833,728 (26,964)	1,036,264 (35,606)	1,161,067 (33,926)	1,144,916 (36,092)	1,155,852 (35,004)	1,475,872 (37,303)	1,372,253 (36,428)	762,707	125.13
Wholesale and retail trade	2,228,274 (38,915)	2,581,548 (48,454)	3,107,027 (61,829)	3,066,669 (53,585)	3,197,138 (57,188)	3,232,430 (57,351)	3,249,445 (51,154)	3,332,091 (53,177)	1,103,817	49.54
Transport, storage and communication	578,114 (22,288)	569,092 (24,283)	614,512 (28,603)	802,177 (29,106)	812,074 (28,799)	940,080 (33,560)	904,825 (29,090)	1,002,859 (32,037)	424,745	73.47
Financial intermediation, insurance, re	1,099,779 (40,123)	1,157,219 (37,267)	1,339,772 (46,808)	1,843,354 (45,009)	1,889,747 (45,813)	2,090,507 (51,390)	2,188,356 (44,830)	2,501,818 (50,298)	1,402,039	127.48
Community, social and personal services	2,068,408 (38,995)	2,202,920 (45,969)	2,354,707 (51,693)	2,813,111 (48,025)	3,035,312 (50,749)	3,399,303 (57,978)	3,621,988 (52,310)	3,651,348 (55,640)	1,582,940	76.53
Private households	1,043,909 (25,484)	1,085,946 (29,883)	1,120,074 (33,845)	1,270,897 (33,154)	1,213,537 (33,840)	1,274,168 (36,025)	1,295,862 (32,361)	1,334,357 (34,649)	290,448	27.82
Exterior organisations and foreign gove	6,149 (2,376)	3,718 (1,946)	5,005 (3,047)	-	-	-	-	-	-6,149	-100
Total	11,430,848	11,788,591	13,028,726	13,960,010	14,244,697	15,207,580	16,031,564	16,384,705	4,953,857	43.34

Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys.

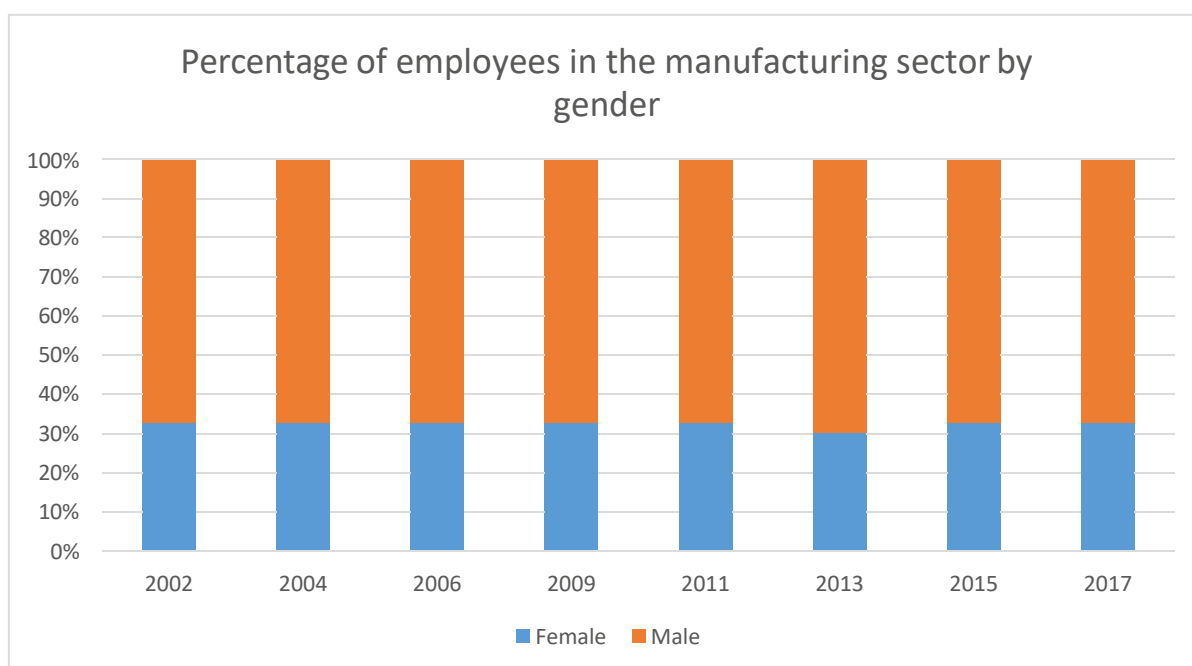
Notes: The data are weighted.

Standard errors in brackets.

2.2.1. *Employment trends in the manufacturing sector by gender*

Figure 1 below illustrates the gender structure of the South African manufacturing sector. The data show that throughout the post-Apartheid period, the share of male employment in the manufacturing sector was significantly higher than the share of female employment. In 2013, for example, 67.95% of the sector's workforce was male, compared to only 32.05% female. Throughout the post-Apartheid period, the sector has remained untransformed in terms of the gender composition of its workforce. Between 2002 and 2017, the number of female employees in the manufacturing sector only increased by 0.85%. The sector remains disproportionately male with men making up 65.86% of the workforce in 2017, compared to only 34.14% of women in the same year.

Figure 1: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector, by gender (2002-2017)



Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

2.2.2. *Employment trends in the manufacturing sector by province*

Table 4 presents trends in the distribution of manufacturing employment across provinces. The data reflect that throughout the post-Apartheid period, the Eastern Cape has been the fourth largest employer in the manufacturing sector. However, despite the overall increase in employment in the sector indicated in Table 3 above, the province has seen a decline in its share of manufacturing employment. For the years 2002 and 2017, the share for the province decreased

from 8.06% to 7.28%. In contrast, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape have had the highest manufacturing sector employment throughout the post-Apartheid period. Moreover, for the period 2002 to 2017, Gauteng and the Western Cape saw increases in their share of manufacturing employment. Between 2002 and 2017, manufacturing sector employment in these provinces increased by 3.65% and 1.8%, respectively.

Table 4: Distribution of employment in the manufacturing sector by province (2002-2017)

	2002	2004	2006	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Change
									% change
Official definition estimates									
Western Cape	17.20 (0.77)	16.71 (0.92)	17.03 (1.02)	16.99 (0.78)	17.32 (0.79)	16.06 (0.81)	15.96 (0.87)	19.00 (0.96)	1.8
Eastern Cape	8.06 (0.48)	9.94 (0.62)	9.17 (0.65)	8.47 (0.60)	8.95 (0.63)	8.86 (0.62)	7.48 (0.56)	7.28 (0.60)	-0.78
Northern Cape	0.90 (0.13)	0.84 (0.12)	1.00 (0.12)	0.83 (0.12)	0.73 (0.12)	0.53 (0.09)	0.56 (0.11)	0.52 (0.13)	-0.38
Free State	4.70 (0.35)	4.67 (0.40)	4.56 (0.40)	3.92 (0.32)	3.45 (0.34)	3.23 (0.29)	3.33 (0.39)	3.11 (0.37)	-1.59
KwaZulu-Natal	23.56 (0.92)	22.24 (1.08)	22.98 (1.08)	20.91 (0.92)	20.88 (0.96)	19.70 (0.95)	19.59 (0.93)	18.79 (0.95)	-4.77
North West	4.49 (0.36)	5.20 (0.45)	4.32 (0.40)	4.83 (0.44)	3.97 (0.47)	4.07 (0.44)	4.29 (0.46)	4.40 (0.52)	-0.09
Gauteng	31.95 (1.06)	30.13 (1.20)	32.12 (1.32)	35.43 (1.19)	36.20 (1.23)	37.73 (1.37)	37.91 (1.14)	35.60 (1.21)	3.65
Mpumalanga	5.38 (0.38)	6.29 (0.43)	5.86 (0.44)	4.36 (0.34)	4.66 (0.43)	5.19 (0.48)	6.43 (0.57)	6.41 (0.58)	1.03
Limpopo	3.77 (0.35)	3.97 (0.42)	2.96 (0.38)	4.25 (0.38)	3.83 (0.40)	4.63 (0.44)	4.45 (0.46)	4.89 (0.50)	1.12
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0

Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys.

Notes: The data are weighted.
Standard errors in brackets.

3. INFORMAL AND NON-STANDARD EMPLOYMENT: A SECTORAL ANALYSIS (2002-2017)

This section examines the gendered trends in informal and non-standard employment in the South African manufacturing sector. The section is divided into two parts, each of which represents elements of the changing nature of work in the post-Apartheid labour market. In the first part, the section considers national trends in informal employment over the period and then provides a sectoral analysis of the gendered trends in informal employment by province and gender. The

definition in this part is based on the ILO and ICLS's recommendations as well as Statistics South Africa's measure of informal employment from the QLFSs. Then the section considers the gender differences in the incidence of non-standard employment in the sector, particularly the percentage of workers, men and women, which are on permanent contracts vis-à-vis those in part-time, temporary or casual work arrangements. This measure of non-standard employment is based on the application of ILO criteria regarding employment in the formal sector which deviates from the standard employment relationship.

3.1. Trends in informal employment (2009-2017)²

Table 5 analyses the informal employment trends by province. The data reflect that in the post-2009 period, there has been an increase in informal employment. For the period 2009 to 2017, informal employment increased by 5.88%. Moreover, Limpopo, North West and Mpumalanga recorded the highest growth in informal employment, with the provinces experiencing growth rates of 37.60%; 23.73% and 21.70% respectively. The Eastern Cape, however, has had the lowest growth in informal employment, in the post-Apartheid period. For the period 2009 to 2017, informal employment in the province only increased by 0.10%. Moreover, once the survey margin of error is taken into consideration (i.e. the standard errors), the changes in informal employment in the Eastern Cape over the period are not statistically significant.

² Due to the incompatibility of the data sources (LFSs and QLFSs) for measuring *informal employment* for the period, this analysis is based only on data from the last 10 years (i.e. QLFSs alone). In contrast, the LFSs and QLFSs are compatible for measuring *non-standard employment* for the period. Therefore, the following section will make use of both data sources to analyse the trends in non-standard employment in the post-Apartheid period by sector.

Table 5: Estimates of total informal employment, by province (2009-2017)

	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Change	
						Absolute change	% change
Total informal employment							
Western Cape	492,004 (20,600)	438,319 (19,468)	399,811 (18,528)	467,658 (22,634)	464,597 (22,242)	-27,407	-5.57
Eastern Cape	505,932 (21,580)	442,251 (19,761)	450,391 (18,761)	486,825 (20,500)	510,973 (22,063)	5,041	0.10
Northern Cape	90,510 (5,064)	91,958 (5,621)	90,593 (5,650)	88,681 (6,313)	85,734 (6,694)	-4,776	-5.30
Free State	293,390 (11,635)	300,724 (12,931)	235,679 (11,594)	274,276 (14,870)	303,189 (15,680)	9,799	3.34
KwaZulu-Natal	892,283 (27,865)	912,601 (31,111)	837,960 (28,603)	922,155 (30,945)	839,713 (29,136)	-52,570	-5.89
North West	233,495 (11,823)	214,277 (12,379)	224,267 (12,731)	291,441 (16,421)	288,900 (16,599)	55,405	23.73
Gauteng	1,090,700 (37,608)	1,152,793 (39,259)	1,100,371 (39,562)	1,244,226 (32,569)	1,109,242 (33,649)	18,542	1.70
Mpumalanga	379,705 (14,555)	388,745 (16,092)	389,923 (16,687)	425,406 (19,458)	462,088 (20,370)	82,383	21.70
Limpopo	465,563 (18,180)	497,406 (20,982)	508,722 (20,748)	591,386 (22,872)	640,629 (25,012)	175,066	37.60
Total	4,443,583 (61,109)	4,439,073 (64,286)	4,237,717 (62,784)	4,792,053 (63,020)	4,705,066 (64,439)	261,483	5.88

Source: Own calculations from the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys.

Notes: The data are weighted.

Standard errors in brackets.

Table 6 presents trends in informal employment in the manufacturing sector by province. The data reflect that overall the sector has experienced a slight (and statistically insignificant) decrease in informal employment between 2009 and 2017. However, this downward trend has not been the case across all provinces. Informal employment in the manufacturing sector has increased over this period for the Eastern Cape, North West and Mpumalanga. Following the North West province, the Eastern Cape had the second highest growth in informal employment in the manufacturing sector, with the province recording a 3.58% increase in informal employment in the sector between the years 2009 and 2017. In the Eastern Cape, the percentage of the manufacturing workforce which was informal fluctuated between roughly 20% and 25% over the period. Across all provinces, however, changes in the share of manufacturing employment which is informal were not statistically significant.

Table 6: Estimates of total informal employment in the manufacturing sector, by province (2009-2017)

	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Percentage point change
Western Cape	12.05 (1.57)	14.00 (1.75)	6.24 (1.13)	12.93 (2.14)	10.78 (1.76)	-1.27
Eastern Cape	20.80 (3.44)	26.70 (3.27)	17.02 (2.55)	19.47 (3.00)	24.38 (3.69)	3.58
Northern Cape	44.35 (7.32)	41.57 (8.34)	24.12 (7.71)	31.59 (9.23)	34.37 (10.74)	-9.98
Free State	23.88 (3.51)	35.14 (4.46)	30.27 (4.13)	28.26 (5.18)	23.29 (4.94)	-0.59
KwaZulu-Natal	23.36 (2.05)	21.32 (2.22)	14.96 (1.74)	23.58 (2.26)	22.06 (2.27)	-1.3
North West	15.90 (3.07)	15.38 (3.46)	23.00 (4.26)	27.70 (4.82)	20.18 (4.71)	4.28
Gauteng	9.79 (1.24)	8.86 (1.16)	9.02 (1.41)	12.32 (1.27)	10.05 (1.25)	0.26
Mpumalanga	21.03 (3.04)	26.11 (3.70)	32.60 (4.52)	24.77 (3.84)	23.32 (3.70)	2.29
Limpopo	52.07 (4.46)	57.63 (5.07)	68.96 (4.63)	51.93 (5.23)	51.06 (5.26)	-1.01
Total	17.37 (0.82)	18.03 (0.87)	15.78 (0.85)	19.02 (0.91)	17.33 (0.90)	-0.04

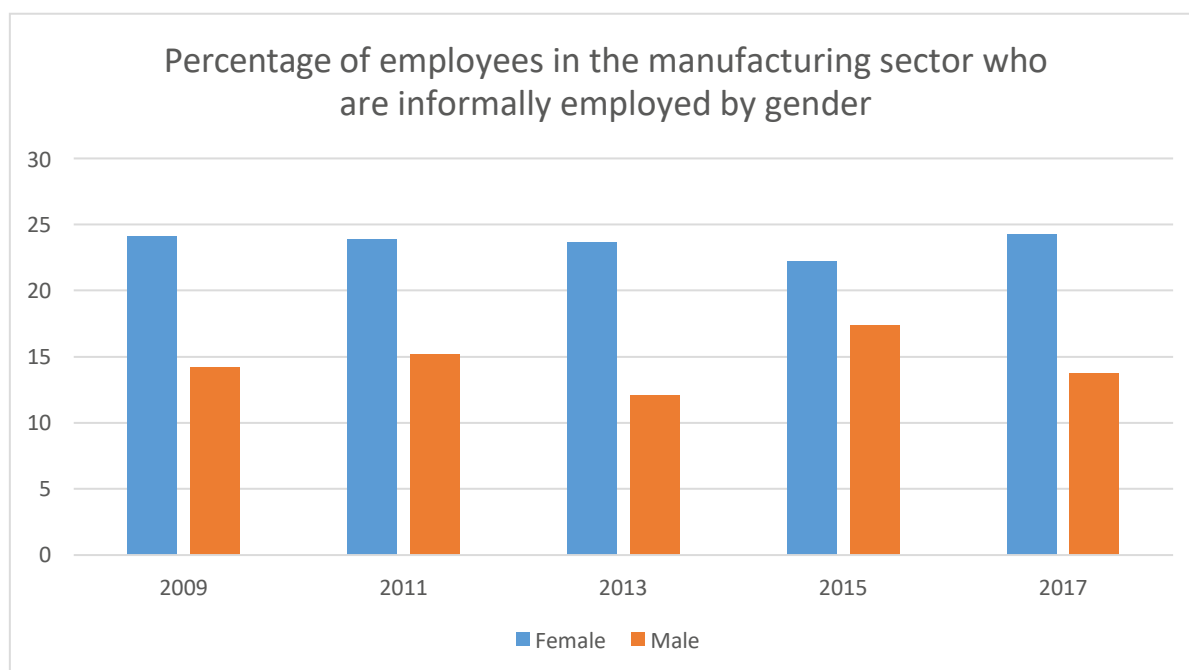
Source: Own calculations from the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys.

Notes: The data are weighted.

Standard errors in brackets.

Figure 2 below illustrates the gender structure of informal employment in the South African manufacturing sector. The data indicate that in the post-Apartheid period women workers are disproportionately represented in informal employment in the manufacturing sector. In 2009, 24.08% of female workers in the manufacturing sector were informally employed, compared to 14.19% of male workers. Similarly, in 2017, 24.29% of female workers in the manufacturing sector were informally employed compared to 13.72% of male workers in the sector. Thus, the data indicate that women in the manufacturing sector are (consistently) more likely to be in informal employment, compared to their male counterparts.

Figure 2: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector who are informally employed or employed in the informal sector, by gender (2009-2017)



Source: Own calculations from the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

3.2. Trends in non-standard employment (2002-2017)

A relatively well-documented finding is that a large number of South African workers are employed in non-standard and flexible work arrangements by their firm or by third party employers, such as temporary employment service agencies or labour brokers (Bhorat, Cassim and Yu, 2016; Oosthuizen, 2006). However, while some scholars have measured trends in outsourcing in the South African labour market, it is not possible to derive estimates for these trends in the manufacturing sector. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the criteria for non-standard employment in the form of part-time, temporary and casual work arrangements have been used to measure the trends in precarious work in the post-Apartheid labour market. While the previous section considered all types of informal employment (i.e. including self-employment in the informal sector), the analysis here is narrower and will consider the trends in non-standard employment in relation to employees only. The understanding here is that employees in these types of work arrangements are less likely to be made permanent and are more vulnerable to the experiences of precarity, both within and outside the workplace (Bhorat, Cassim and Yu, 2016). The following tables offer an analysis of the gendered trends in non-standard employment in the post-Apartheid manufacturing sector.

Table 7 and 8 present an analysis of the incidence of non-standard employment amongst male and female workers in the manufacturing sector. The data indicate that for both men and women in the sector, non-standard employment has increased in the post-Apartheid period. For the period 2002 and 2017, male and female workers experienced increases in fixed-term/limited duration contracts of 6.23 and 7.68 percentage points respectively. At the same time, the data reflect that both men and women in the sector have experienced a decrease in full-time, stable jobs over the period. Table 7 indicates that in 2017, 73.65% of male workers in the sector were permanent, compared to 80.79% in 2002. Therefore, there has been a 7.14% decrease in permanent employment for men in the South African manufacturing sector in the post-Apartheid period. Unlike the original Labour Force Surveys, the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys do not capture information on categories such as temporary, casual and seasonal wage work. However, between 2002 and 2006, data from the LFSs indicate that until the mid-2000s, there also appeared to be a growing trend in non-standard employment of these forms. Table 7 indicates that in 2002, only 4.84% of male employees in the sector were casual workers, compared to 8.78% in 2006.

Table 7 Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector by contract duration (2002-2017) – Men

	2002	2004	2006	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Percentage point change
Permanent	80.79 (1.19)	81.33 (1.22)	76.04 (1.45)	77.04 (1.26)	76.52 (1.32)	74.79 (1.46)	72.35 (1.37)	73.65 (1.42)	-7.14
Fixed period contract/ limited duration	5.77 (0.67)	4.61 (0.66)	5.73 (0.76)	10.63 (0.94)	10.42 (0.96)	12.44 (0.99)	10.97 (0.96)	12.00 (1.08)	6.23
Temporary	8.35 (0.87)	8.10 (0.79)	9.17 (0.91)	-	-	-	-	-	-8.35
Casual	4.84 (0.68)	5.75 (0.79)	8.78 (1.07)	-	-	-	-	-	-4.84
Seasonal	0.05 (0.04)	0.17 (0.07)	0.14 (0.06)	-	-	-	-	-	-0.05
Don't know	0.19 (0.12)	0.04 (0.04)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.19
Not applicable	0.00 (0.00)	-	-	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-	-	0
Unspecified	0.00 (0.00)	-	-	12.33 (0.96)	13.05 (1.03)	12.77 (1.23)	16.68 (1.14)	14.35 (1.09)	14.35
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0

Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys.

Notes: The data are weighted.

Standard errors in brackets.

Table 8 examines the effect that labour market restructuring has had on women in the manufacturing sector. Similarly, the data reflect that there has been an increase in non-standard employment in the form of fixed-term/limited duration contracts for women workers in the sector. As noted above, for the period 2002 to 2017, there has been a 7.68 percentage point increase in non-standard employment for women in the manufacturing sector. Moreover, full-time, stable employment has decreased by 10.1 percentage points during this period. In 2017, 73.04% of women workers in the sector were employed on permanent contracts, compared to 83.14% in 2002. Furthermore, as previously noted, data from the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys for the period, do not provide information on temporary, casual and seasonal wage workers for the sector. However, it is clear from the original Labour Force Surveys that, through the mid-2000s, casualisation of these forms was on the rise. In 2002, only 7.81% of female employees of the manufacturing sector were temporary. However, by 2006, this number had risen slightly to 9.67% of the female manufacturing workforce. For the same period, casual workers also increased in the sector. In 2002, only 4.89% of female employees in the manufacturing sector were casual workers. However, by 2006, 10.73% of female employees were casual.

Table 8: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector by contract duration (2002-2017) – Women

	2002	2004	2006	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Percentage point change
Permanent	83.14 (1.29)	81.11 (1.61)	73.08 (2.15)	71.99 (1.87)	71.25 (1.94)	72.30 (2.02)	66.29 (2.00)	73.04 (2.01)	-10.1
Fixed period contract/ limited duration	3.22 (0.59)	2.74 (0.61)	5.51 (1.10)	14.33 (1.56)	15.83 (1.57)	14.77 (1.58)	13.95 (1.45)	10.90 (1.40)	7.68
Temporary	7.81 (0.92)	9.71 (1.26)	9.67 (1.28)	-	-	-	-	-	-7.81
Casual	4.89 (0.73)	5.52 (0.90)	10.73 (1.59)	-	-	-	-	-	-4.89
Seasonal	0.21 (0.13)	0.79 (0.19)	0.69 (0.22)	-	-	-	-	-	-0.21
Don't know	0.39 (0.20)	0.13 (0.09)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.39
Not applicable	0.00 (0.00)	-	-	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-	-	0
Unspecified	0.33 (0.17)	-	-	13.68 (1.34)	12.92 (1.40)	12.93 (1.42)	19.76 (1.68)	16.07 (1.66)	15.74
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0

Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys.

Notes: The data are weighted.
Standard errors in brackets.

4. PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT: THE IMPLICATIONS OF INFORMAL AND NON-STANDARD EMPLOYMENT ON WORKERS' ACCESS TO LEGAL AND SOCIAL PROTECTION IN THE POST-APARTHEID PERIOD

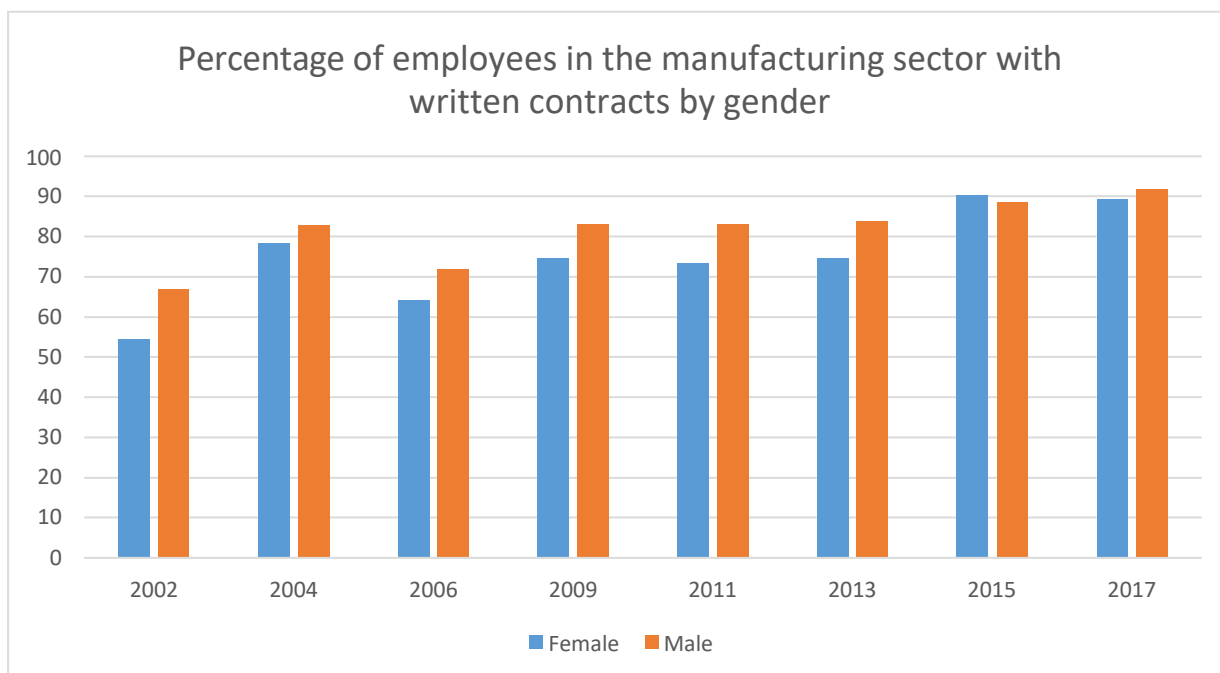
A key concern of the analysis in this chapter is to understand the types of insecurities experienced by workers in the post-Apartheid labour market. Quantitatively, this study considers how the growing informalisation of work has affected workers' share in the benefits of employment. In particular, the analysis presented in this section estimates the trends in union density in the post-Apartheid period, as well as the percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector, by gender, with a formal written contract; social protection or entitlements to the benefits of employment, such as pension/retirement fund; medical aid/health insurance; Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF); and paid leave.

4.1. Legal protection

4.1.1. Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector with a formal written contract

Figure 3 considers the percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector with written contracts by gender. The data indicate that, in the post-Apartheid period, there has been a significant increase in the number of employees with written contracts in the sector. In 2002, only 54.54% of female employees had written contracts, compared to 66.9% males. Between 2002 and 2017, the number of women with written contracts increased by 34.81 percentage points. Thus, in 2017, 89.35% of female employees in the manufacturing sector had written contracts. Similarly, for the period 2002 to 2017, the number of males with written contracts in the sector increased from 66.9% to 91.77%. The data, therefore, suggest that despite the increasing trends in non-standard employment in the post-Apartheid period, there is an increasing share of the “shrinking core” manufacturing workforce with a clear bilateral employment relationship. Moreover, using this metric, gender parity has largely been achieved.

Figure 3: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector with written contracts, by gender (2002-2017)

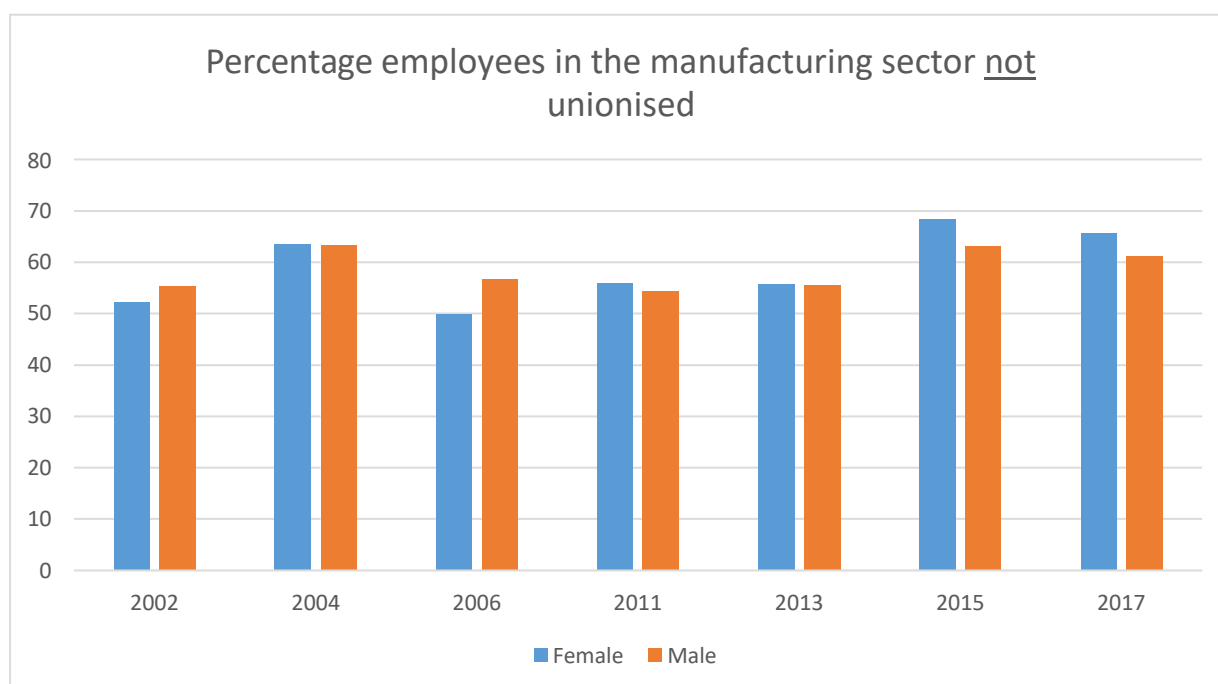


Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

4.1.2. Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector who are not unionised

Figure 4 presents the percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector who are not unionised by gender. The data indicate that, in the post-Apartheid period, the number of male and female employees in the sector who are not unionised increased. The percentage of female employees in the sector that are not unionised increased from 52.11% in 2002 to 65.70%, in 2017. Similarly, the percentage of male employees in the sector that are not unionised increased from 55.42% in 2002 to 61.25% in 2017. The data reflect that for the period 2002 to 2017, women in the sector were less likely to be unionised than males.

Figure 4: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector not unionised, by gender (2002-2017)



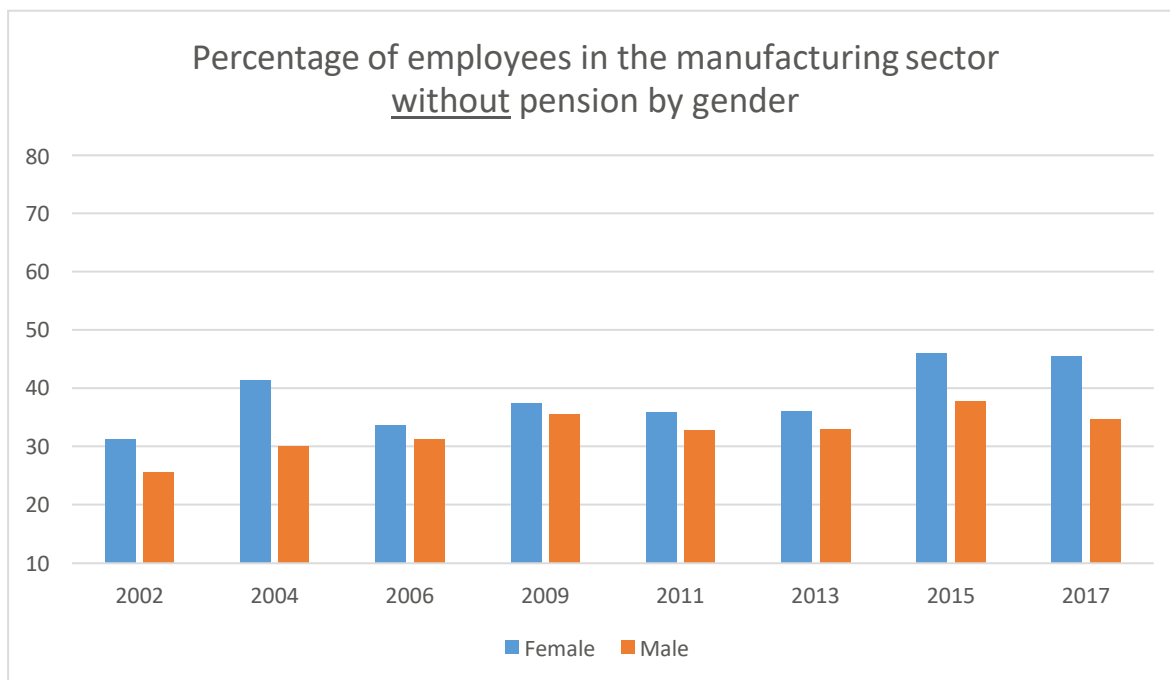
Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

4.2. Social protection

4.2.1. Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector without a pension fund by gender

Figure 5 considers the percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector without an employer contribution to a pension fund. The data indicate that the percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector that do not receive a pension/retirement fund contribution from their employer has increased throughout the post-Apartheid period. In 2002, 31.26% of females in the manufacturing sector were without a pension/retirement fund, compared to 25.62% males. Between 2002 and 2017, the number of manufacturing sector employees without a pension/retirement fund contribution increased. Thus, in 2017, 45.48% of female employees in the sector were without a pension fund. Similarly, the percentage of male employees in the sector that did not receive a pension/retirement fund contribution from their employer also grew. In 2017, 34.66% of males in the sector did not receive pension fund contributions from their employer. However, despite the growing number of employees in the sector without a pension, the data suggest that, throughout the post-Apartheid period, women in the sector are still more likely to not receive a pension fund contribution from their employer, compared to their male counterparts. Moreover, for the period 2002 to 2017, gender differences in workers' access to pension fund contributions have widened.

Figure 5: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector without pension contributions, by gender (2002-2017)

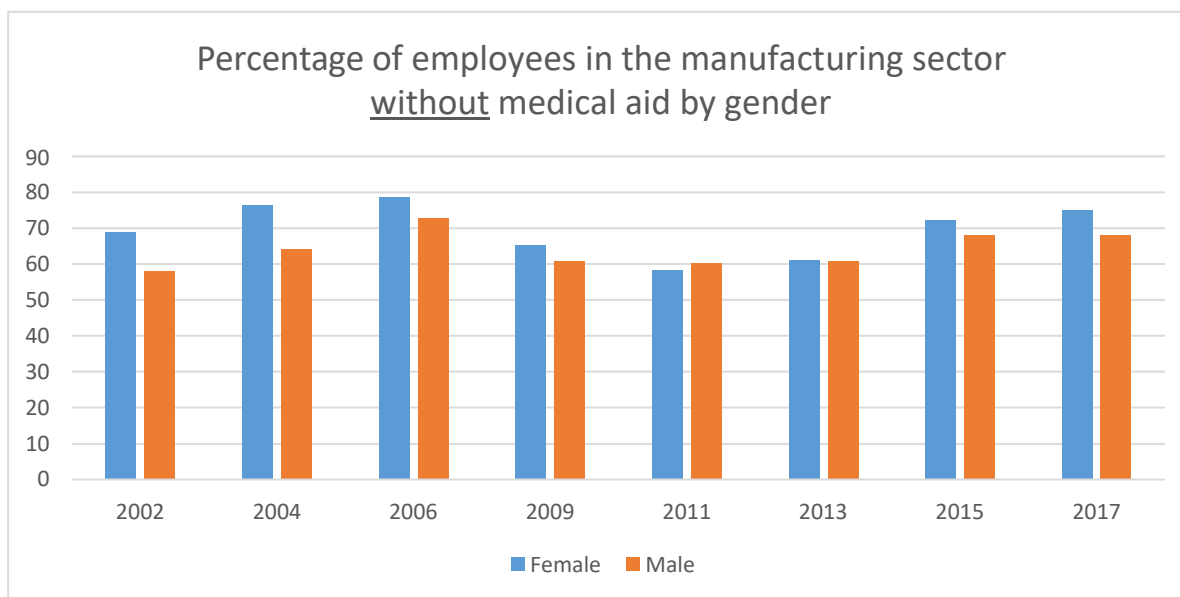


Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

4.2.2. Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector without medical aid by gender

Figure 6 analyses the percentage of employees, by gender, in the manufacturing sector without a medical aid contribution from their employer. The data show that, for the period 2002 to 2017 the percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector that do not receive a medical aid contribution from their employer has increased. In 2002, 68.96% of females in the manufacturing sector did not receive a medical aid contribution from their employer, compared to 58.1% males. In 2017, 75.04% of female employees in the sector did not have a medical aid contribution. Similarly, the percentage of male employees in the sector that did not receive a medical aid contribution from their employer also grew. In 2017, 68.05% of males in the manufacturing sector did not have a medical aid contribution. Moreover, the data suggest that, throughout the post-Apartheid period, the gender difference in the receipt of an employer-based medical aid contribution widened over the period, particularly in 2015 and 2017.

Figure 6: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector without medical aid, by gender (2002-2017)



Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

4.2.3. Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector without unemployment insurance by gender

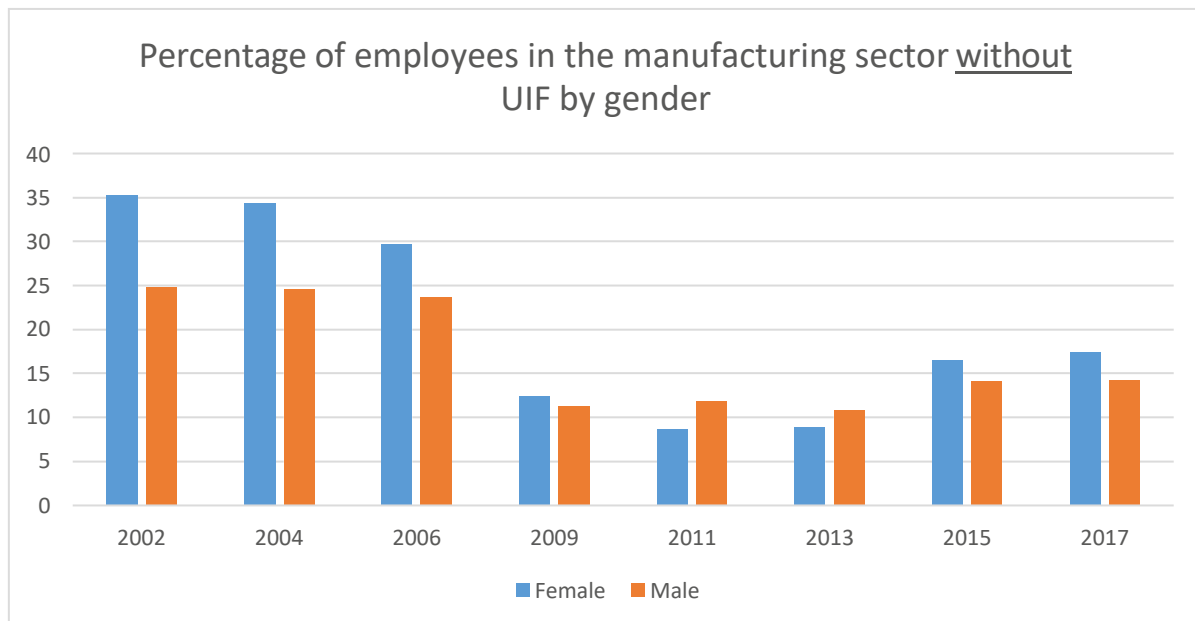
Figure 7 considers the percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector without contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF)³ by gender. Interestingly, unlike the above mentioned trends, the data indicate that for the post-Apartheid period, there has been a significant decrease in the number of manufacturing sector employees without unemployment insurance. In 2002, 35.31% of females in the industry did not receive unemployment insurance from their employer, compared to 24.83% males. Between 2002 and 2017 there was an increase in the percentage of employees, male and female, with UIF in the manufacturing sector⁴. Hence, in 2017, only 17.46% of females and 14.24% of males in the sector did not have UIF. Therefore, the data suggest that, for the period 2002 to 2017, there was a total 50.55% decrease in the lack of UIF coverage amongst female workers of the manufacturing sector and 42.65% decrease in the lack of UIF coverage amongst males in the sector. Yet, despite the increase in the number of manufacturing sector

³ According to the Unemployment Insurance Act (2001), all employees are entitled to contribute to and benefit from the Unemployment Insurance Fund, other than: employees employed for less than 24 hours per month with a particular employer; employees who receive remuneration under a learnership agreement registered under the Skills Development Act; employers or employees in the national or provincial spheres of government; and migrants who enter the country on an agreement upon termination of which they are expected to leave the country.

⁴ There is a large downward jump between the Unemployment Insurance Fund estimates derived in the LFSs and those derived in the QLFSs. This is possibly due to a change in the way that the question was phrased. In the LFSs the question asked employees whether the organisation for which they worked *deducted* UIF contributions for them (LFS, 2002; LFS, 2004; LFS, 2006). In contrast, the QLFSs asked employees whether their employer *paid* UIF contributions for them (QLFS, 2009; QLFS, 2011; QLFS, 2013; QLFS, 2015; QLFS, 2017).

employees with UIF, throughout the period women in the sector were still less likely to receive unemployment insurance contributions from their employer, compared to their male counterparts (see Appendix C).

Figure 7: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector without Unemployment Insurance Fund contributions, by gender (2002-2017)



Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

4.2.4. Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector without paid leave by gender

Figure 8 presents the percentages of employees in the manufacturing sector without paid leave by gender. The data indicate that the percentage of manufacturing employees without paid leave has fluctuated throughout the period 2002 to 2017. For example, in 2002, 24.89% of females and 23.60% of males in the sector did not have paid leave. In 2004, the percentage of employees without paid leave in the sector grew significantly to 35.25% and 25.89% for females and males, respectively. In the mid-2000s, the percentage of employees without paid leave was in steady decline until 2013 when it began to rise again. In 2017, 22.72% of females and 18.52% of males in the sector did not have paid leave. This suggests that throughout the post-Apartheid period women in the manufacturing sector have been more likely, relative to men, to have employment in which they are not entitled to paid leave. Moreover, for the period 2002 to 2017, gender differences in workers' access to paid leave benefits have widened.

Figure 8: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing industry without paid leave, by gender (2002-2017)



Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

5. WORKPLACE RESTRUCTURING: EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY

The manufacturing sector is one of South Africa's major sectors for which policymakers hold out much hope in terms of job creation and the alleviation of poverty and inequality in the country. In 2017, manufacturing was the fourth largest sector in South Africa, contributing 13% to Growth Domestic Product (Stats SA, 2017). Despite the declining growth in production and employment in the last two decades, the manufacturing sector's production increased by 1.2% from 2017 to 2018 (Stats SA, 2019). A key contributor to this growth was the automotive industry. In particular, the motor vehicles, parts and accessories division had the highest growth in the sector, growing by 4.9% in 2018 (Stats SA, 2019). In 2017, the automotive industry contributed 30.1% of the manufacturing sector's output (AIEC, 2018). Moreover, for the same period, the industry contributed 6.8% to Gross Domestic Product, 4.4% of which was in manufacturing and the remaining 2.5% in retail (AIEC, 2018). In addition, the automotive industry is an important contributor to economic growth and employment in the South African manufacturing sector. In 2017, the average monthly employment by vehicle manufacturers in the automotive industry was 30 050 (AIEC, 2018). Moreover, the automotive component sector employed 80 000 workers (AIEC, 2018).

At the same time, the sector has been greatly affected by the neoliberal policies of the early 1990s (Barnes and Morris, 2000). In 1995, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) implemented the Motor Industry Development Programme (MIDP) (Barnes and Morris, 2000). In line with the trend at the time, the industry was confronted with the immense pressure to develop a new approach to social and economic development for the purpose of reintegrating the country into the global economy (Buhlungu, 2010). However, as previously noted, the public policy of the time was dominated by the Washington Consensus, which proposed liberalising markets and decreasing state intervention. Thus, the automotive industry was restructured with the aim of making it globally competitive.

Under the MIDP tariffs were reduced with the aim of supporting export expansion (Barnes and Black, 2013). The rationale behind the plan was that it would, amongst other things, improve the international competitiveness of Original Equipment Manufacturers (OEMs) and automotive component firms; increase the growth of the assembly and components industries; and stabilise employment levels (Barnes and Morris, 2000). However, this has not been the case. Trade liberalisation has not been able to achieve industrial stability and production efficiency in the South African automotive industry. Barnes and Black (2013:2), for example, argue that the industry is still a long way from being a “true export platform for global firms”.

It is not possible to estimate employment numbers for the automotive industry, specifically, from the LFSs and the QLFSs, however the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of South Africa (NAAMSA) annual reports (as cited in Barnes and Black, 2013) as well as the Automotive Industry Export Council (AIEC) Automotive Export Manual provide some data on employment in this sub-sector. Table 9 below offers an analysis of the trends in employment for the South African automotive industry. The data reflect that for the period 2002 to 2017, there has been an increase in employment in the automotive component sector. In 2002, the automotive component sector employed 74 100 workers, compared to 80 000 workers in 2017. However, in contrast, the data indicate that, for this period, there has been a decrease in the employment for vehicle assembly manufacturers. In 2002, vehicle manufacturers employed 32 370 workers, compared to 30 050 in 2017. Therefore, between 2002 and 2017, the number of individuals employed in assembly decreased by 7.17%, which is equivalent to 2 320 jobs.

Table 9: Estimates of total employment in the Automotive Industry, (2002-2017)

	2002	2004	2006	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Change	
									Absolute change	% change
Total employment										
Assembly	32,370	31,800	39,000	30,100	28,147	30,132	31,260	30,050	-2,320	-7.17
Component	74,100	74,500	80,000	61,000	68,500	74,640	82,100	80,000	5900	7,96
Total	106,470	106,300	119,000	91,100	96,647	104,772	113,360	110,050	3,580	3,36

Source: Own calculations from NAAMSA annual reports as cited in Barnes and Black (2013); AIEC Automotive Export Manual (various years).

Limitations

The automotive industry remains a major driver of change in the South African manufacturing sector. Its global industrial structure and labour-intensive nature provide a useful case for determining the socio-economic impact of workplace restructuring on workers' lives in the post-Apartheid period. However, despite evidence of the growth in non-standard and precarious employment, while undertaking this study, it became apparent that the available studies, statistics and literature at industry level were very limited. Statistics South Africa does not itself currently provide estimates of the number of people employed at the manufacturing sub-sector level, contract duration, gender and the share in the benefits of employment. Moreover, there is very little mention of those employed in the industry in the export manuals and industry reports of the AIEC, the NAAMSA, and the National Association of Automotive Component and Allied Manufacturers (NAACAM).

Hence, to examine gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment, for the period 2002 to 2017, this chapter relied on the Labour Force Surveys and Quarterly Labour Force Surveys as the official source of employment estimates of the South African manufacturing sector. Due to the data limitations, the chapter has provided an analysis of these trends for the manufacturing sector as a whole and not for the automotive sub-sector. The following chapter complements this broad analysis of employment trends by considering the perspectives and experiences of South African automotive industry employees. Against the backdrop of limited information on casualisation and working conditions within the sub-sector, it is critical to examine

the social welfare implications of informal, non-standard and precarious work among automotive sector employees.

6. CONCLUSION

This chapter began with an overview of employment trends in the post-Apartheid labour market. It showed that while the data reflect an overall increase in employment, this masks a number of important differences by province and gender. For the period 2002 to 2017, despite being home to one of the largest automotive companies in the country, the Eastern Cape remains one of the leading provinces in terms of joblessness. At a sectoral level, this chapter has shown that the shift away from tradeable sectors in the post-Apartheid period has resulted in the loss of jobs in labour-intensive sectors, such as the agriculture and mining sectors. Furthermore, this chapter has provided evidence of growing informalisation and precariousness of work in the post-Apartheid labour market. In support of von Holdt and Webster's (2008) theory of a shrinking core of full-time, stable jobs in the South African labour market, the data presented in this chapter show that in the South African manufacturing sector, there has been an increase in the incidence of non-standard employment, in the form of fixed-term/limited duration, casual and temporary jobs outside of informal sector enterprises. In addition, while there has been an increase in female labour force participation (both globally and in South Africa), the South African manufacturing sector remains disproportionately male in terms of its gender composition.

Moreover, the data presented in this chapter have confirmed that gender is associated with a higher level of vulnerability to precarious work. For the period 2002 to 2017, the number of employees in the manufacturing sector without legal and social protections such as a trade union membership; pension fund or medical aid contributions, attached to their employment, have increased among both male and female employees. The findings have emphasised, however, that women are more likely to be employed without adequate work-based legal or social protections than their male counterparts. In terms of the implications of precarious work on the livelihoods of workers then, overall reductions in legal and social protections have exacerbated the struggles of workers. In particular, decreasing social protection or entitlements to the benefits of employment has had a negative impact on the already low wages that informal and precarious workers earn. As chapter two noted, workers are increasingly being forced into an economic position which makes it almost impossible for them survive.

Moreover, in line with Rogan and Posel (2012), the gendered trends in precarious employment amongst workers of the South African manufacturing sector also provide insights into the perpetuation of a feminisation of poverty in the post-Apartheid period. Gendered differences in

the vulnerability and exposure to precarious work indicate that women are less likely to be in stable jobs with sufficient social protections compared to their male counterparts. Therefore, the effects of precarious workplace conditions affect women disproportionately. Moreover, they hinder the prospects of women to break out of intergenerational poverty, forcing women that cannot afford to substitute for the reductions in the benefits of employment, into the false choice of having to forfeit their income in order to provide these social protections for themselves, their households, and sometimes their communities, when their employment and/or the state do not. The following chapter provides an industry-level analysis of the implications of non-standard, informal and precarious employment amongst workers of the South African automotive industry.

Chapter Five – Livelihoods and the Growing Precariousness of Employment: A worker perspective on the implications of informal and non-standard employment within and outside of the workplace

1. INTRODUCTION

So far, the dominant sociological narratives have either conceptualised informality as peripheral and survivalist, and having no links to the formal sector; or as a *new* sociological phenomenon characterised by reductions in employment security. While this narrative has been crucial in expanding our understanding of work under neoliberalism, it has been insufficient in explaining the experiences of workers in developing, formerly colonised countries in the global South. In particular, the gendered implications of informal employment within and outside of the workplace; and the ways in which informality is experienced, its complexities and contradictions, in a context in which the labour market is characterised by consistently high rates of unemployment and a relatively small informal sector. Hence, this chapter is concerned with the experiences of those superficially associated with formality at a time when work is increasingly becoming informalised. Moreover, across the world, informality is characterised and experienced in diverse ways. Therefore, the experiences of work in the formal sector, much like in the informal sector, are not homogenous. They are shaped by individual experiences that reflect class identities as constitutive of race, gender, ethnicity and nationality.

For the purpose of complementing the broad quantitative analysis in Chapter Four of this thesis, this study has adopted a qualitative approach to explore the grounded realities of non-standard, informal and precarious employment in the South African manufacturing sector. First, the chapter provides an analysis of the trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment in the automotive industry in the Eastern Cape Province. The chapter makes use of a descriptive qualitative approach to describe precarity from the perspectives of those presently experiencing it. Then, through an interpretation of the findings, the chapter illustrates the lived reality of the growing informalisation of employment, particularly the implications that non-standard, informal and precarious employment have had, and continue to have, on the experiences of workers on the job, and in their households. Finally, the chapter concludes with an analysis of the gendered implications of precarious work, particularly the gendered differences in workers' exposure and vulnerability to low-paid and insecure work in the post-Apartheid automotive industry.

The qualitative aspect of this research, involved thirteen semi-structured interviews with members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) working groups,

employed at four component producing firms that supply a leading automotive manufacturer, in the Eastern Cape Province. Each of the interview participants had been employed at their respective firms for over ten years and were well equipped to discuss with me the ways in which they had experienced work change as workers who had held several identities at their workplace, for example as casual/temporary workers or as part-time or full-time shop-stewards at the firm. Table 1 below presents the number of employees interviewed and the types of component producing firms at which they were employed, at the time that the interviews were conducted.

Table 1: Number of participants interviewed

Firm	Specialisation	Number of participants
Firm A	conveyor belt and fan belt manufacturer	1
Firm B	wire-harness manufacturer	3
Firm C	logistics company	7
Firm D	tyre manufacturer	2
Total		13

2. THE CHANGING NATURE OF LABOUR INTENSIVE-PRODUCTION: TRENDS IN NON-STANDARD, INFORMAL AND PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT IN THE POST-APARTHEID AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY

Based on the experiences of workers themselves, this section begins by exploring the ways in which work has changed in terms of industry modes of production and the terms by which workers in the automotive industry are employed. The section then turns to workers' general understandings of workplace restructuring at their workplace, particularly how workers perceive precarity in relation to their experiences and security on the job. The section sets the context for the subsequent analysis on the gendered implications that workplace restructuring has on the experiences of workers, within and outside of the workplace.

Trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment

For the South African automotive industry, the post-Apartheid period has been characterised by both technological change and the deterioration of employment security. Respondents reported an increase in temporary and casual work in the time that they had been employed at their firm.

For example, when asked how work had changed in the time that they had been at their firm, a NUMSA shop steward (Interviewee 1) at Firm A, which manufactures conveyor belts and fan belts, described the situation:

“Now we are seeing a move where the employer now is using very funny and new terms,” (Interviewee 1).

Depending on market pressures, employers opt to employ workers on an informal basis. At Firm A, for example, employers are cutting labour costs by employing workers as “non-continuous employees”. As the name suggests, these workers have no guarantee for continued employment and do not have access to any benefits or entitlements to social protection on the job (Interviewee 1). Firm A has also used the Youth Employment Service (YES) programme to cut costs. The YES program was established with the intention of tackling the crisis of youth unemployment in South Africa, through developing an economic pathway for previously disadvantaged young people in the country by providing them with one year work experience to demonstrate their abilities and gain experience (YES, 2018). Employers have manipulated this programme and are instead using it to “exploit” (Interviewee 1). A NUMSA shop steward at Firm A explained:

“I’m a permanent employee. I am not at work, so I’m here with you now. Instead of getting another permanent employee in my place, they take this...not this non-continuous, because his or her rate is at the prime, but with this Youth Employment Service, [the workers] are getting a [government] stipend of R3500. The company tops up with R1000. But now they are using them as employee replacement, absentee replacement. That has been the issue we’ve been having with them,” (Interviewee 1).

While the trade union movement has challenged the persistence of third party employers in the industry, temporary employment services remain a key feature of the South African labour market. At Firm C, a logistics company, labour brokers are one of the dominant ways by which temporary workers are employed. A NUMSA shop steward at Firm C described how work is being restructured at their workplace:

“[Firm C] is using a third party...the labour broker. As and when they’ll want temporary employees, they will ask [the labour broker] to organise that. The number, drastically, it has gone up, because you are having fixed term contracts employees who are at that range of 400 or so, and you’re having your...those who’ll come as an absentee pool, those who’ll come as and when I’m not at work. So, it’s also more than hundred, they are still there. So, numbers are increasing, increasing of temporary employees,” (Interviewee 10).

As noted in the previous chapter, parts of the industry have also experienced massive reductions in employment, in the post-Apartheid period. A leading cause of this has been the integration of new technologies into the production process. This has been the case at Firm C. A NUMSA shop steward explained:

“I think we were more than 1300 employees. And over the years, with the change of technologies, we went...at the time we went down to 700 and something workers,” (Interviewee 3).

Similarly at Firm D, a tyre manufacturer, workers are also experiencing reductions in the workforce as a result of technological changes. When asked about reductions in the workforce, a Firm D operator responded:

“At our workplace, machines are replacing workers. You will find that a job that perhaps used to be done by three people or two, must now be done by the machine. Because recently, even, there is one machine of that nature there that was installed. There used to be two people that worked there, one supplied the other. But you will find that the machine does everything with one person, instead of two, only using one person,” (Interviewee 8). [Own translation].

Retrenchments in the industry, however, have not only been the result of technological changes. Many of the jobs lost in the post-Apartheid period have been due to operational requirements (Interviewee 12). For example, at Firm B, a wire-harness manufacturing component, workers were retrenched when a model ran out of business. “Those who were at [a] minimum of five years, they were the ones who had to exit the company,” explains a Firm B sample builder. This is not uncommon in the industry. In fact, at Firm A, a NUMSA shop steward explained:

“Manufacturing on its own has its own dynamics, ups and downs. And when we are experiencing our downs, currently we are in that slope, the employer would approach the union and say, ‘Look we can close this department, and that’s Section 189, we are done, but we still have [an] obligation to manufacture and service our customers. We think running it for two weeks in a month can be efficient enough to supply these customers at least we keep people in plant. But we will not be able to afford labour cost,’” (Interviewee 1).

However, with a reduced workforce, workers are expected to do more work, but with less time. A NUMSA shop steward at Firm C described the situation:

“Workers nowadays [are] more loaded. They say they have to do more, they get less time to go to toilets. They get less time to move around. So everything changed. So workers will be more tired when they get home at the end of the day, because they must be more active at work currently, because of the fact that more than half of the employees were cut,” (Interviewee 3).

Echoing this challenge, an employee at Firm B adds that with the shrinking workforce, workers feel overwhelmed and overloaded by the volumes they are expected to produce (Interviewee 7). For example, at Firm B, downsizing has meant that a job that usually required four people, now only employs two people (Interviewee 7). As a result, workers are expected to work excessive overtime in order to complete their workload (Interviewee 7). Workers suggest employing more people at the plant so as to relieve those who are currently overloaded and contribute to the alleviation of poverty and unemployment in the South African society, by “absorbing” the large numbers of unemployed people in our townships (Interviewee 7).

Across all the component firms where workers were interviewed, there was a sense that workplace restructuring only serves to benefit the employer. While corporations continue to make large

profits, workers worry that their jobs will be replaced. At Firm A, for example, labour market “fixes” are the cause of a lot of uncertainty amongst workers, and with good reason. Since these interviews were conducted, Firm A, announced that they were closing down their underground mining tyres and agricultural tyres production units and that that could see 170 workers without jobs (Gillham, 2019). However, amongst workers, the retrenchments did not come as a surprise. At the time that these interviews were conducted, workers raised the issue that Firm A was reluctant to upgrade their South African facilities, despite having recently built a new plant in Morocco (Interviewee 1). Workers also reported that they were in fact being short-changed when it came to wages and benefits compared to their colleagues in Brazil and other parts of the world (Interviewee 1). Instead, at the South African plant, workers were being subjected to prolonged layoffs and requests by management that they take leave, in order to cut costs (Interviewee 1).

Across all component firms, workers reported that they were struggling to adapt to how work is changing in the industry. Against this backdrop, the following section considers the implications of informal and precarious employment on workers, within and outside the workplace.

3. THE IMPLICATIONS OF LABOUR MARKET RESTRUCTURING: EXPERIENCES WITHIN THE WORKPLACE

3.1. *Roles and Responsibilities*

One of the defining features of work under neoliberalism has been the various labour market fixes that employers have used to reduce labour costs and ultimately maximise profits. This has often been to the detriment of workers. When asked about the implications of informal and precarious employment on workers’ roles and responsibilities within the workplace, a NUMSA shop steward at Firm C explained:

“Restructuring, it’s an optimisation. It does affect us. [Employers] restructure with the intention to add more on top of the job that [workers] are doing,” (Interviewee 10).

As a result, equal work is not rewarded with equal pay. At Firm C, for example, it was reported that temporary workers were doing the “exact same work”, but for “a lesser salary” (Interviewee 12). Moreover, as mentioned previously in this chapter, reductions in the workforce rarely led to a reduced workload. Participants also explained that the workloads of workers employed by component firms were largely based on the dictates of the client companies (Interviewee 13). Therefore, not only are workers under pressure to meet the demands of their direct employers,

the component companies, but workers are also under pressure to meet the demands of the client companies. A NUMSA shop steward at Firm C explained:

“From time to time, [the client company] will tell you it should be more than 90% [productive efficiency] ⁵for you in terms of your standards, to supply the lines; your housekeeping, all those things that are production imperatives. [The client company] won’t accept anything less than 90% or so,” (Interviewee 10).

At Firm D, however, the biggest challenge with workplace restructuring has not been the informalisation of employment. Rather, it has been the increasing mechanisation of the production process that has proven to be the most challenging for workers. A Firm D, tyre builder, explained:

“It gives us a disadvantage as workers. Remember, some of us, they are not well educated and they’ve been employed before this new technology. So now if you’re gonna upgrade the technology remember you don’t take people to school, you take them from the gate. Us, we were fortunate because we applied for the jobs, but others, the old ones, they don’t know the new technology,” (Interviewee 11).

Therefore, at Firm D, age is also a key determinant of workers’ vulnerability to the effects of informal and precarious employment within the workplace.

3.2. Experiences within the workplace

“They feel like they are in prison.”- Firm C shop steward

The rising precariousness of work has sparked fear, frustration and uncertainty amongst workers in the industry. For example, when asked about their personal feelings about how work was changing, a NUMSA shop steward at Firm C responded:

“I’m really not happy with it. And it’s very frustrating to see workers really suffering. And you try your utmost best to change, company will come and listen to you...but they will not change it to the advantage of the workers. They’ll only change it on face value, but you think it’s better, but it’s really, in actual fact, it’s not better. So workers really is currently struggling. And nobody is doing anything about it, because the main thing here is money and profits of the companies. So we are actually...I can say we are still slaves, but it has been made so much beautiful with a clock card, a bank card, and all of that stuff. But we still stay slaves,” (Interviewee 3).

Workers are also concerned about aging in an industry that is increasingly becoming informalised. With the growing precariousness of work, workers are unable to plan for their futures, because at any moment they could find themselves unemployed and with no prospects of finding permanent employment again (Interviewee 5). Hence, the growing precariousness of work is not just a

⁵ According to Farrell (1957), productive efficiency refers to the efficiency of a firm to produce the largest possible output from a given set of inputs. In the South African automotive industry, productive efficiency is measured using the Lean Manufacturing approach. This approach is particularly concerned with continuous improvements on quality, costs and delivery, by eliminating waste, creating flow and increasing the firm’s success in meeting the demands of the customer (Behrouzi, Wong and Behrouzi, 2011).

concern for temporary workers in the workplace alone. For example, a Firm C NUMSA shop steward explained:

“There is really a fear for permanent employees...Because you are not sure where you, as a permanent employee, will be over the next 4/5 years...Will my job still be? Will I still be here since the companies can use some cheaper labour? So, they are also not sure what will happen, what is the future holding,” (Interviewee 3).

On the other hand, temporary workers fear that at any moment the employer can decide to end their contracts. There is no security in their jobs (Interviewee 13). Moreover, the threat of job loss due to the growing informalisation of employment has created divisions within the workforce. At Firm C, this has resulted in “fights” between permanent workers and casual workers (Interviewee 4). According to a Firm C NUMSA shop steward, this is because “[Casual workers] believe that they perform the same job, but they are not earning the same amount. You see? So, maybe it’s a matter of equal job, for equal pay,” (Interviewee 4).

At the same time, workplace restructuring has affected the ability for workers to do their work comfortably and effectively. At Firm C, workers report that they are constantly being monitored and assessed on their performance (Interviewee 10). As a result, the relationship between workers and their employer has also become fractured (Interviewee 10). This has caused additional tension on the shop floor (Interviewee 10).

For the South African automotive industry, informalisation is increasingly being used as a tool by which workers are overworked and underpaid. For example, at Firm B, employers have relegated workers to what they call “anomalies”. One worker explained:

“To become an anomaly, you will wake up today, you don’t know where to go. You are going to work, but you don’t know where they will want [you] to work. If they need a critical skill, because of you do have that critical skill, they will say, ‘Go and patch for absenteeism there.’ So, you need to be...you need to speak with yourself, because you need to meet the targets that are required in that department, meanwhile you are not used to working in that position every day,” (Interviewee 7).

Therefore, according to a NUMSA shop steward: “Most of those people are demotivated. And most of the time they are tired. You will find out the tendency of they don’t want to come to work, because of what is happening to them,” thus leading to increased absenteeism on the shop floor (Interviewee 7).

3.3. Occupational Health and Safety

When asked whether they had seen any changes in the working conditions as a result of workplace restructuring, responses amongst participants varied. At Firm D, for example, NUMSA shop stewards reported that safety conditions were a number one priority to the company and that they

had seen a positive improvement in the overall working conditions, such as occupational health and safety, on the shop floor. Workers largely attributed this to the technological advancements that had taken place in the workplace in recent years. A Firm D operator explained:

“Because the new technology is much more advanced now, and at least there are control measures when it comes to safety, because these new machines have new devices, if anything happens, the machine just switches off. So in terms of safety, it’s much better compared to the previous ones,” (Interviewee 8).

Similarly, at Firm C, workers believed that safety was a concern for the employer, however, the working conditions differed between permanent workers and temporary workers. For workers employed through third party employers, safety remains an issue. According to a NUMSA shop steward, while the company is serious about the issue of safety and the provision of safety wear for workers, this is not always the case for casual workers. Workers employed through the labour broker may still have issues concerning adequate safety wear (Interviewee 3). Moreover, while the health and safety department is helpful to employees, workers report that they are not always prompt in their responses. Workers reported that there had been several incidents where they had reported safety issues to Firm C. However, the company took a long time to respond, often in an attempt to shift the safety responsibility of its workers onto the client company. One worker explained:

“Sometimes they take their time, because I remember [the client company] renovating, fixing another store, there. Think there was dust. So, while people were driving the forklift, there would be that dust, so, white [dust], you can see it, the dust is here. But we raised it, but they took some time, because they said it was [the client company] and not them. And you know this is not right. Even, people are working on the roof, while you are working on this side, so a zinc roof sheet could fall. You see? For instance, in February, a man that was working on the renovations up there, fell with all his ropes and things...But we raised it to the company that people shouldn’t work when we’re around, during the week, they must work on the weekend or after hours when we are not there, but that also took time to happen,” (Interviewee 13). [Own translation].

At Firm B, however, workers reported that, for over fifteen years, the company management has ignored calls to better the working conditions of workers at the plant (Interviewee 6). As a result, health and safety remains a serious issue currently affecting workers on the shop floor. A NUMSA shop steward explained:

“People are getting very sick, some people even get TB, because of the structure. How can I say? The area there where the plant is, they’re next to the river. So, most people they get TB and then they have to go on long illness and all of that...We are fifteen years there on this side and still we are battling with this issue every winter. Then we go to summer, then the place is too hot. People are collapsing, they are fainting inside the plant and still we don’t have the right aircon inside the plant. And I mean, for us, it’s mostly the majority of workers is women and people fell pregnant. And then like summer times when people is pregnant, they get sick, they collapse because of the heat and all of that. Older people who have hypertension...You see? So, we are still struggling with that,” (Interviewee 6).

While working conditions do not differ between permanent and temporary workers, at Firm B, there is a clear distinction between the conditions experienced by workers on the shop floor, compared to those experienced by the company management (Interviewee 7). One worker described the situation:

“If you can go to [Port Elizabeth], [Firm B] is next to this sewerage...That sewerage...it smells that thing. Even our sewerage pipes...the way they structured it, because you will find there is a toilet here; there is a production line here. All this smell that is coming from the toilet goes straight to those people, because there’s a toilet next to production line. Even our lockers are inside the toilet, we put our food there. And then as you go up to their toilets, there’s a difference in between ours and theirs,” (Interviewee 7).

Occupational health and safety remains a major issue across all component firms. However, there is a role for trade unions to play in alleviating the risks of the production process that are increasingly being shifted onto workers. For example, after observing an increase in absenteeism due to work related illness, workers at Firm A were able to secure a clinic to ensure the health and safety of workers at the firm. A NUMSA shop steward explained:

“We have secured that there must be a clinic after we have realised that workers they will book off sick as a result of back aches, as a result of them standing long, you know. Because they are not allowed to sit. The lines are moving. They will have to supply the line as per the sequence. So, we have forced the employer, through collective bargaining, that they must secure a clinic for us. [The client company] does have their own, so we then want the clinic,” (Interviewee 1).

3.4. Workplace agency, collective action and unionisation

When asked whether they had observed any changes in the willingness of workers to raise issues concerning workers’ rights and human rights in the workplace, participants responded that with the increase in casualisation, workers feared that by speaking up and/or participating in union activities, their contracts would be terminated (Interviewee 13). Similarly, permanent workers are also concerned that by raising issues or participating in trade union action, they too could be replaced. At Firm C, a permanent worker explained:

“Even if you want to take those drastic decisions you’ll say, ‘Remember there are those casuals that knows our job very well’,” (Interviewee 5).

Hence, the trade union has committed itself to organising all workers at the plant, including temporary workers, by including all workers in its demands (Interviewee 5). According to a NUMSA shop steward, they have included temporary workers in the demands of the union, to ensure that when there is strike action, all workers will come out and there will be a standstill. However, despite such efforts, temporary workers believe that because their jobs lack security, they do not have the same rights as those employed on a permanent basis. “I want to get employment first, then I can do what you are doing,” one worker explains (Interviewee 5).

Across all of the component firms where workers were interviewed, respondents reported that there was a history of victimisation in the workplace. For example, at Firm D, a NUMSA shop steward explained:

“We have a history whereby if you raise your rights to your manager, somehow somewhere he is gonna target you, because of raising the facts. You see? So, there is that challenge.” (Interviewee 11).

Echoing this, a Firm C shop steward explained:

“Those who are vocal when it comes to bread and butter issues, when it comes to gumboots and overall issues, you know, those who are not scared to raise them...supervisors will shift them so that they can continue [to] work under unbearable conditions,” (Interviewee 10).

Workers at Firm C believe that the company management has played a key role in creating fear amongst workers, by discouraging them from joining the local union and suggesting that they join an East London based trade union instead, so as to slow down the collective bargaining process (Interviewee 13). Furthermore, workers report that Firm C has used intimidation tactics to discourage workers from standing up against injustices in the workplace. For example, one worker explained:

“[Firm C] has played a role in making people afraid to join the union. Because, for instance, now, they are calling people, interviewing them, you see, doing all of those things. I mean, according to them, they are saying: ‘If you were to do this; we would do this.’ You see? And it’s not supposed to be that way. You are supposed to be represented by a union representative here and the company is supposed to induct individuals while everyone is present. Because we don’t know what else is said in that boardroom,” (Interviewee 13). [Own translation].

As a result, workers prefer to meet their shop stewards in person to raise any issues of concern, instead of raising their grievances publicly at a union meeting or directly to management (Interviewee 13). Hence, workers and shop stewards have found creative ways of engaging, to ensure that all workers are represented and that their issues are heard. For example, a Firm C NUMSA shop steward described the situation:

“[Workers] will opt to talk at a canteen, where we are eating, you see, in a casual way, you see, but we hear the gist of the matter, it’s very important, you see. But they do not [have] that motivation to raise it...As a shop steward of a plant, time to time I will allow myself to visit each and every employee, so that I can hear, because other people they feel comfortable to talk on a one-on-one basis, but they are raising very important things,” (Interviewee 4).

In contrast, at Firm B, workers are less inclined to raise issues concerning human rights and/or workers’ rights in the workplace, not because they are unwilling, but rather because they lack the opportunities to speak to their shop stewards to raise such issues (Interviewee 6; Interviewee 7). For example, one shop steward explains:

“People at work, they are not aware about their rights and there’s no education around that. Because even to us as shop steward, you’ve got your own position that you need to do over 8

hours. So, you will find out, it's difficult for you to attend to those such. I as a chairperson, I've only got a time to address people when it's a quarterly meeting...So, check now, I educate them in three months, once in three months. Because even me either, I'm not a loose shop steward, I need to attend to my department issues also," (Interviewee 7).

Moreover, at Firm B, temporary workers are less likely to raise issues in the workplace, compared to permanent employees. Much like their colleagues at Firm C, they fear that they will lose their jobs and/or will not be given opportunities to get permanent employment at the plant (Interviewee 6).

3.5 Reductions in social protection

When asked whether the growing informalisation of work had affected the wages and benefits in the automotive industry, responses varied. At Firm C, for example, workers reported that temporary workers earned less than permanent workers (Interviewee 5; Interviewee 10). Furthermore, participants reported that temporary workers were not entitled to the same benefits of employment as their permanent counterparts (Interviewee 10). Workers also reported that fixed-term workers had only recently received entitlement to the provident fund (Interviewee 3; Interviewee 4; Interviewee 10; Interviewee 13). However, temporary workers were not entitled to any other social protections and were expected to wait for a duration of time before receiving benefits such as medical aid, sick leave and/or maternity benefits, etc. (Interviewee 13). Moreover, those employed through labour brokers were not entitled to any social protection benefits from Firm C, other than UIF (Interviewee 5).

At Firm B, participants reported that there were no disparities in the wages received by temporary workers compared to those received by permanent workers (Interviewee 2). However, in regard to the benefits of employment, participants reported that temporary workers did not receive the same benefits as the permanent workers at the plant (Interviewee 6). Unlike at Firm C, however, temporary workers are guaranteed that after a period of three to six months, they will be absorbed as permanent employees, thus receiving all benefits of employment (Interviewee 7).

In contrast, at Firm D, workers responded that the precariousness of work had not affected the wages and benefits of workers. Participants reported that the majority of workers at Firm D were on permanent contracts and received all employment benefits or entitlements to social protections by the company (Interviewee 8). However, once again, at Firm D, temporary workers were not entitled to the same benefits as permanent workers at the firm (Interviewee 11). Similarly, at Firm A, it was reported that all workers on fixed term contracts had written contracts and were entitled

to the usual benefits of employment, such as medical aid or health insurance, pension fund and UIF (Interviewee 1). However, those employed as non-continuous employees were not entitled to receive any social protections from the firm. A NUMSA shop steward described the situation:

“With non-continuous, they are not getting. That’s where the fight is at CCMA. They do have standard written contracts. And we were shocked it is in those contracts; it is in those contracts that you are not going to get these benefits,” (Interviewee 1).

Moreover, unlike at Firm B, there is no guarantee that after a certain duration, temporary employees will gain permanence at Firm A (Interviewee 1). For example, it was reported that there had been cases where temporary workers had been placed on “successive fixed-term contracts”, employed at the firm for approximately two years with no guarantee of permanence (Interviewee 1). A NUMSA shop steward explained:

“We have got two guys who are on I.O.D⁶, as an example. The other one since 2017, the other one was in 2018; severely injured. So, there’s a person who has a fixed term contract, and in fact now it’s a successive fixed term contract, but because in our agreement it says because he is replacing a person, he can’t expect permanence. So that is understandable,” (Interviewee 1).

This section has documented the changing nature of labour-intensive production in the post-Apartheid automotive industry. Across the four component firms interviewed during the qualitative phase of this study, the findings are strikingly similar, despite each of the firms specialising in different elements of the production process. The findings have shown that work in the post-Apartheid period, has been characterised by technological change, declining employment security, and reductions to the benefits of employment. Furthermore, Occupational Health and Safety remains a major issue across all components, especially for temporary workers employed through third party employers. As a result, fear, frustration and uncertainty are common amongst workers in the industry. Moreover, workers in the industry are tired and demotivated. In addition, workplace restructuring has fomented distrust amongst the working class and has fractured the relationship of workers on the shop floor. This has weakened worker power, as workers are less likely to raise issues pertaining to workers’ rights and/or human rights in the workplace. The following section considers the implications of precarious work outside of the workplace.

⁶ According to Section 24 (a) of the Occupational Health and Safety Act (1993), an Injury On Duty (I.O.D) is any incident occurring at work or arising out of or in connection with the activities of an employee’s work that results in an illness, injury, loss of a limb or part of a limb, or the loss of a person’s life.

4. THE IMPLICATIONS OF PRECARIOUS WORK: EXPERIENCES BEYOND THE WORKPLACE

This section examines the implications that trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment have had on the livelihoods of working families. Qualitatively, this section first considers the lived reality of non-standard, informal and precarious employment through the experiences of workers beyond the workplace. The section then turns to the strategies that workers employ in order to survive. In particular, the section considers the personal changes that workers report having had to make as a result of low-paid and insecure work and the ways that workers substitute for the reductions in the benefits of employment that have occurred as a result of workplace restructuring. The section sets the context for the subsequent analysis on the gendered implications that workplace restructuring has on the experiences of workers, within and outside of the workplace.

4.1. Effects on livelihoods

When asked whether the growing precariousness of work had any implications on workers' lives outside of the workplace, responses amongst participants were unanimous. Across all component firms, there is a belief that the growing precariousness of work has an effect on the livelihoods of workers in their households and in their communities. With low-paid and insecure employment, workers and their families are struggling to survive. At Firm A, for example, a NUMSA shop steward explained:

“There is no stability in [their] planning or thought process, because [they] don't know whether [they] will be working two weeks or four weeks. So [they] would rather sit at home with everyone staring at [them], waiting for this call...And if it doesn't ring, [they] do not know what to eat,” (Interviewee 1).

Reduced social protections, also have major implications on the health of workers and their dependents. Without a medical aid or health insurance, workers are unable to access the necessary medical services or treatments that they or their family members may require. When the job does not provide for adequate access to quality healthcare, workers are expected to provide for these services out-of-pocket or through the state (Interviewee 1). This has major implications on their job. On days where they may need to go to a clinic, workers may not be able to attend work due to the long queues at public clinics (Interviewee 3). A Firm C NUMSA shop steward explained:

“It's also affecting their work, because as a casual sometimes supervisors and managers they can judge you on how you come to work. But if your child is sick, unfortunately you must go to queue and stand in a long queue and if you don't see a doctor then they'll get a Sister's note and you won't

get paid at work, because it's very clear you must have a certificate signed by your doctor," (Interviewee 3).

As a result, participants report that several workers had been dismissed due to their health (Interviewee 4). A Firm C NUMSA shop steward described the situation:

"Because if you go in Capacities⁷, it talks about your health, you see. You cannot perform the job due to maybe you've got a chronic [illness]. But that particular person always he got a challenge of not going to the doctor," (Interviewee 4).

Not only does precarity have implications on workers' access to quality healthcare services, it is also the cause of declining mental health amongst workers, due to increased stress and anxiety about the future (Interviewee 13). With low wages and the reductions in the benefits of employment workers described precarious work as inhibiting them to plan for their futures. A Firm C NUMSA shop steward explained:

"Their salary is not really assisting them...I don't think they are really coping well...There's even a lady who told me [...], I can't even buy a house, because we already...we just got married now, but we can't buy a house, because my payslip doesn't mean nothing because I'm not [permanent]," (Interviewee 3).

Therefore, precarity also has major implications on the ability of workers to progress, socially and economically, outside of the workplace. Interviews with workers in the automotive industry reflect that precarious work has put access to basic services, such as education and healthcare, further out of reach for the poor and working class in South Africa. Across all component firms, workers raised the issue of not being able to provide for their families due to low wages and insecure work. In the automotive industry, participants reported numerous accounts where workers have had to deny their children the best quality education, because they could no longer afford to pay the school fees (Interviewee 1; Interviewee 7). Therefore, with black people disproportionately more likely to be in low-paid and insecure employment, precarity reinforces the inequalities of the old Apartheid regime.

4.2. Strategies for survival

So, how do workers substitute for the reduced benefits of employment? In other words, how do workers *live* with low wages and insecure work? Across all component firms interviewed, participants responded that the main means by which workers survive is through the use of loans.

A Firm B employee described her situation:

⁷Workers in the industry are often required to undergo a health exam/screening to determine whether or not they are fit to perform a particular job.

“At this moment I have 3 loans that I have to pay. And some months I can’t even pay that loan then I have to go and tell them, ‘Please can we arrange something for me, because...’ I’m really struggling. And even yesterday, while I was here I was phoned and I had to say, ‘No, man. Wait. I will come and make a plan.’ You understand? So, the more you try to be at work, the more you want to work, try and get some overtime in, you will still be in some kind of debt. And even at [Firm B], some people they even use up their provident fund, they make a loan on top of their provident fund. And I mean, your provident fund is...there for you like a pension fund when you are retiring. But people are using that money now, because they’re like up to here with debts. You understand? So, they don’t have a choice, so they will apply for that loans to get some of the provident fund and fix some of the debts,” (Interviewee 6).

Echoing this sentiment, a Firm C employee described his situation:

“No, I have micro-loans, sisi. You see, for example, I can get paid on the 25th with all my stress. If I am not off, I am in trouble, because I need to at least have Saturday and Sunday. You see? Because this money, you just touch it and it disappears in your hands. Maybe you survive until the next week, until the first, from the second, you need to borrow money for transport, for the three weeks. You borrow R300, it accumulates R150. So, on the 25th you need to borrow another R450 and continue doing the same thing. I experienced this first-hand. A month won’t end without me needing to borrow money. You see? Because, I don’t know if this money isn’t enough or we don’t know how to use it, but for me, it’s not enough. Because I have a wife and two children, the third is still young, parents don’t work. So, I must provide for all of these people with this little bit of money that I receive. I have to have money for transport. They also need transport. I am not the only one. Others, their money finishes on the same day that they receive it. Because there are others that have been requesting assistance from the company to lend them money. Because someone gets paid today and the next day they don’t have a cent,” (Interviewee 13). [Own translation].

At Firm B, workers have taken on more precarious forms of work to supplement their low wages. One worker explained:

“We are doing the extra businesses. When you go there in my plant, everyone is selling everything, irrespective it’s chips or whatever, Tupperware, Avons; you try to make extra money for yourself. Even me, either I’m selling Odourex, you know those stuff of Odourex, and all that, cleaning stuff, for me to get an extra [income] to assist from my pay,” (Interviewee 7).

Moreover, as much as low wages and precariousness have been a major cause of stress, often leading to the destruction of many working families, relationships have also assisted in supplementing the reduced benefits of employment. For example, at Firm C, one worker recalled:

“There is a girl I know. After everything that happened at [Firm C]...because she was educating her child in town. She and her husband split up and she had to take her child out of that school. I think it was May/June, last year. But her life changed [drastically]. Her life changed. But luckily enough, you see, no offence, she is a woman. You see? So she was lucky enough to find another man again. And that improved her life,” (Interviewee 13).

The following section considers how reductions in the benefits of employment affect women and men differently, within and outside of the workplace.

5. GENDERED DIFFERENCES IN WORKERS' EXPOSURE AND VULNERABILITY TO PRECARIOUS WORK: AN INDUSTRY ANALYSIS

Across all component firms, lack of awareness and knowledge about the gender dynamics of the automotive industry exists at all levels. Interviews with workers and shop stewards in the industry demonstrated mixed levels of knowledge about the implications of gender on workers' exposure and vulnerability to non-standard, informal and precarious employment. When asked whether women were more likely to be in temporary or casual work arrangements in the industry, almost all participants responded that women and men were treated equally at their respective workplaces. However, when asked whether they believed that women and men were affected differently by non-standard employment, responses varied. For example, a male employee at Firm C responded:

“Generally, women are suffering...are not treated the same. The same applies to this company. It's no different, you see. They are not equal to the male counterparts, in everything, including opportunities,” (Interviewee 12).

According to participants, at Firm C, there are several departments that are “specifically male,” (Interviewee 4). Despite there being no major differences in terms of the duties performed, at Firm C, according to shop stewards, supervisors request only male employees, because: “Females, they will get pregnant and then after that they will request to be put in a place whereby there's a light duties,” (Interviewee 4). As a result, at Firm C, most women workers tend to be logisticians or material handlers, while male workers are more likely to be tow motor or forklift drivers (Interviewee 10). According to a NUMSA shop steward, there are approximately 400 tow motor and forklift drivers at Firm C (Interviewee 10). Out of these +/- 400 workers, only two are female (Interviewee 10). Therefore, since material handling is a temporary position and driving a tow motor or a forklift is more likely to be a permanent position, women at Firm C are, in fact, more likely to be in temporary positions, compared to their male counterparts. Similarly, at Firm B, workers reported that women are less likely to be forklift drivers (Interviewee 7).

Women are also less likely to be employed in departments, such as the engineering department or the maintenance department (Interviewee 7). Moreover, due to the heavy lifting associated with certain jobs, at Firm B, warehouse positions are often regarded as “male preferable” jobs and begin at the grade 4 pay grade (Interviewee 2). Therefore, since temporary work at Firm B begins at the grade 3 pay grade, “male preferable” jobs are likely to be more secure and pay more than those reserved for women in the workplace.

Interviews with workers and shop stewards in the automotive industry suggest that women workers are more vulnerable to the effects of precarious work than male workers. Many of the responses revealed that while both men and women could be in temporary positions, women in

the industry were affected differently by its effects than males. For example, Firm C participants reported that with the lack of and/or inadequate access to social protection as a result of non-standard, informal and precarious work, women were more vulnerable and likely to face discrimination in the workplace, compared to men. A NUMSA shop steward explained:

“I had a female who was working three shifts pattern. She was pregnant. She was almost 7 months pregnant. And the doctor gave this lady that you cannot work afternoon shift and night shift, because you are going to be exposed on cold. So, when the lady approached the company, the company they did not want to assist. You see? But this is not a difficult exercise. It’s only that HR must read the doctor’s sick note and see to it where she can place this woman. You see? It’s a matter of that they are reluctant at times to do that, or feeling lazy to do that. So these things are [a] reality...At times you will be facing the issue of a gender,” (Interviewee 4).

Thus, pregnant workers are expected to perform the same duties as their male counterparts. If not, they are given the false choice of staying at home. There are multiple examples of this. For example, at Firm B, a NUMSA shop steward concurs that pregnant workers are expected to “exit the company” before time (Interviewee 7). However, with no maternity benefits, temporary workers will not be paid to stay at home during pregnancy. Similarly, at Firm C, one worker explained:

“You are forced to...do what you are uncomfortable [with]. So, that is a situation. So [women] are worse off,” (Interviewee 12).

As such, participants reported several incidents where female workers suffered miscarriages as a result of their work. For example, at Firm C, a NUMSA shop steward recalled:

“There’s one area where I come from there, that area is a tough area to work and what we did normally, not because we are sexist or [...]. To try to protect women, we’d move women out of that area, because of heavy parts and all that stuff, because there was one lady who lost, I think, three babies. She had three miscarriages in that area, because of the heaviness of the parts,” (Interviewee 3).

Interviews with workers suggest that gendered discrimination is a feature of the ongoing workplace restructuring in the industry. For example, a Firm C NUMSA shop steward explained the increase in female casual workers at the firm:

“Women don’t complain about [wages]. They will take, as long as they can look after themselves. They will have their complaint now and then, but not as men will do it on a regular basis. I think women is more someone who’s more accepting, because they know why they are working for. And I think the employer is also seeing that you don’t have a much of a resistance when it comes to low wage working, which is very, very wrong, because women will at the end of the day be exploited and accept it, especially where we are coming from,” (Interviewee 3).

Similarly, a female NUMSA shop steward, responded that despite being a majority female firm, at Firm B, women are more likely to be affected by low-paid and insecure work, compared to their male counterparts:

“For me, it’s more women. Because I mean, they know we are desperate and you are a mother, you have kids. You are a parent, you have kids. So, you want to provide for your child. So, with this low wages that you’re gonna get, you will [...] stick [it] out. You won’t raise issues. Sometimes like you won’t raise issues, because you will think of your children before you’re gonna raise any issues. You see?” (Interviewee 6).

Interviews also revealed that women are more vulnerable to the experiences and consequences of precarity outside of the workplace. Since traditional gender norms prevail, women continue to be the primary caretakers in the household. Thus, gender remains a primary determinant of vulnerability to low wage and insecure work. As a result, interviews revealed that there had been an increase in the number of female workers exiting the workforce. Moreover, several female workers had reported sexual harassment by their supervisors (Interviewee 10). A Firm C NUMSA shop steward explained:

“We have also experienced that as a result of the little that [women] are earning, some of them they don’t make it that long there, as a result of that. Because they do not have only a responsibility of working there, there are also children that are at home...that they will have to take care of in absence of...husbands. They will have to work there on the other side, they will have to take care of the household issues. So, from time to time, you will see them leaving the workplace as a result of they cannot cope, you know, because the work that is there it’s too much for them. That I can attest to you, because there are no light jobs there. They will have to cope with that, with the little money that they are earning. Because we are not earning the same salary, you know. So, they’ve got those responsibilities and the pressure that they are getting as a result of being in the first place female colleagues, and the way they are treated around by supervisors,” (Interviewee 10).

In contrast, Firm D shop stewards reported that women and men are treated equally in the workplace. However, they also argued that they could not comment on wages, since incomes are confidential. (Interviewee 8; Interviewee 11). Moreover, due to technological advancements and mechanisation in the workplace, participants reported that there were more opportunities for female workers at the firm (Interviewee 8). A NUMSA shop steward explained:

“They are treated equally, because these new machines that are there, that have been installed have allowed [Firm D] to employ women. Because for a long time there were no women at [Firm D]. But because of this new technology, women can work at these machines. So, as much as on the one hand it seems as though technology is reducing employment, on the other hand it has been able to open opportunities for women to be able to get employment at [Firm D]. Because there [were] 5-6 girls in the merSETA [programme], you see, but because of those machines they were able to be employed now. They are permanent now and receive all those benefits,” (Interviewee 8). [Own translation].

Similarly, at Firm A, a NUMSA shop steward reported that there had been some transformation in terms of gender at the plant and that Firm A had recently recruited more women employees due to complaints about equity that had been raised in previous years (Interviewee 1). However, while there had been an increase in women workers at Firm A, women were still less likely to be in high paying permanent positions, such as tow motor or forklift driving, compared to their male

counterparts (Interviewee 1). As such, women workers are more likely to be in low-paid and insecure jobs, compared to male workers at Firm A.

In addition, interviews revealed that the work performed by females in the industry is not valued the same as the work performed by males in the industry. Hence, at the time that these interviews were conducted, it was reported that Firm A would no longer be employing more women at its plant due to problems with its infrastructure (Interviewee 1). Rather, than find a solution to this problem, the employer has decided that women are in fact not crucial to the daily operations of the plant, and therefore the firm can function with fewer female workers, without it affecting its business. A NUMSA shop steward explained:

“[Firm A] now can’t employ females...Not because they don’t want to, but because there is not enough ablution space. Remember, we are inside [Firm D]. So, how their ablution blocks were designed, it was 12 lockers...For men, it’s 24, and for females, it’s 12. Now there’s more than 12. So, they must share. So we’re saying, ‘You, you need to extend.’ But the plumbing...It’s going to be a nightmare to do that. You must get new technology and stuff. I do not know how they are going to do it...So they can get away with things,” (Interviewee 1).

Based on the interviews conducted, it is clear that women and men are affected differently by the effects of non-standard, informal and precarious employment, both within and outside the workplace.

6. CONCLUSION

As set out in its introduction, this chapter has examined the implications of non-standard, informal and precarious employment, both within and outside of the workplace. Based on the perspectives of workers in the South African automotive industry, the study suggests that there has been an increase in non-standard, informal and precarious employment throughout the post-Apartheid period. Amongst other things, in the automotive industry, this has been characterised by a rising number of casual workers and the mechanisation of production processes. With the introduction of new technologies, the industry has also experienced massive reductions in employment in the form of layoffs and retrenchments. This has had major implications on the livelihoods and the strategies for survival of workers within and outside of the workplace.

Within the workplace, the growing precariousness of work has sparked fear, frustration and uncertainty for both permanent and temporary workers in the industry alike. Moreover, the threat of job loss has meant that workers are less willing to raise issues about workers’ rights and human rights in the workplace, let alone participate in union action. This has caused divisions amongst the workforce, as temporary workers are expected to perform the same work at a cheaper wage

rate. Rising informality and the precariousness of work have also impacted the working conditions on the shop floor. While the workforce is shrinking and jobs are increasingly becoming informalised, the workload has not decreased for workers in the industry. Instead, workers are expected to perform the same workloads as prior to the restructuring, and sometimes even more, in order to meet the production targets of both their direct employer (the component manufacturer) and the client company.

Outside of the workplace, the growing informalisation of employment has had major implications on the livelihoods of workers in the automotive industry. With low wages and reduced social protections, workers are unable to access basic human needs such as food, shelter, healthcare and education, either for themselves or for their family dependents. This is due to the high costs (direct and indirect) of accessing these services, and the fear that many workers have of losing their jobs in the process of trying to access these services through the state. In order to survive, workers must substitute for the lack of social protection from the job and supplement their low wages, often through debt or by taking on more precarious work in the informal sector.

Lastly, the qualitative evidence has suggested several ways in which women in the automotive industry are more likely to be in low-paid temporary jobs compared to their male counterparts. Therefore, both within and outside of the workplace, the experiences and consequences of precarious work affect women workers differently compared to male workers in the industry. Within the workplace: women often face discrimination, exploitation and harassment, and are less likely to raise issues at work. Outside of the workplace, women continue to be the primary caretakers in the household. Moreover, in a situation where the necessary social protections for survival are not provided for by the job, the burden often falls on women to provide these services more often than men. Since women in the industry cannot afford to outsource these services, the interviews revealed that they are more likely to withdraw from the labour market in order to provide these services for their families. Therefore, the data presented in this chapter suggest a number of avenues through which gender does affect workers' exposure and vulnerability to non-standard, informal and precarious employment.

Chapter Six – Conclusion

This study sought to examine the changing nature of work in the post-Apartheid period. It focused on the growing precariousness of employment in labour-intensive industries for the period 2002 to 2017. In particular, the goals of the research were to investigate the following: 1) the gendered trends in precarious employment amongst workers in the South African manufacturing sector; and 2) the implications of informal and precarious employment on the livelihoods and survival strategies of workers, within and outside of the workplace. Using institutional theory and critical labour theory as its primary tools of analysis, the study argued against the neoclassical notion that low-paid and insecure work are the consequence of a simultaneous existence of a skilled labour shortage and an unskilled labour surplus. Rather, it argued that the growing precariousness of work in the post-Apartheid period has been the direct result of the restructuring of global production networks with the aim of decreasing labour costs and increasing profits. Moreover, due to a lack of structural and institutional power, associational factors such as trade unions have been unable to counter the heightened precariousness of work.

The findings presented in this thesis suggest that, in line with the global trends in employment, informal employment remains a prominent feature of the post-Apartheid labour force and is encroaching in possibly new ways. Furthermore, in support of von-Holdt and Webster's (2008) theory of a shrinking "core" of full-time, stable jobs in the formal sector, the data presented in this thesis show that the manufacturing sector, has experienced an increase in the incidence of non-standard employment, in the form of fixed-term/limited duration, casual and temporary jobs, outside of informal sector enterprises in the post-Apartheid period. This analysis also provided evidence of the growing precariousness of work in the South African labour market. The study showed that the manufacturing sector has experienced an increase in the number of employees without work-based legal and social protections in the post-Apartheid period. Moreover, as highlighted in Chapter Four, women in the industry are more likely to be employed in non-standard, informal and precarious jobs which lack legal and social protections compared to their male counterparts.

This analysis has demonstrated that the experiences and consequences of low-paid and insecure work differ amongst male and female employees. In using the bi-annual Labour Force Surveys (LFS) from 2002-2006 and the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys (QLFS) from 2009-2017 to analyse the gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment, the findings of an overall deterioration of employment security and reductions in the benefits of employment in the period 2002 to 2017 are closely in line with the existing precarity literature of the last two decades.

Furthermore, the gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment, as well as the implications of precariousness on the livelihoods and strategies for survival of workers are similar to those reviewed in Chapter Two of this thesis. In particular, the work published by feminist scholars Lund and Srinivas (2000); and Carr and Chen (2004). Thus, the gendered trends in low-paid and insecure work discussed in this thesis complement the existing informal economy literature by adding to the consensus the experiences of informal wage workers outside of informal sector enterprises. The main contribution of this thesis, therefore, is the empirical finding that there is in fact a link between the trends in precarious employment and gender. In addition, this thesis has attempted to explain the surprisingly low rates of informality, despite consistently high rates of unemployment in the post-Apartheid period. The analysis argued that throughout the world, informality is characterised and experienced in diverse ways. By taking into account the experiences of informal wage workers outside of informal sector enterprises, this thesis highlights other lines of differentiation that better explain the scope of informality in the South African labour market.

Moreover, against the backdrop of some relatively limited survey evidence of rising precarity, the qualitative data from a sample of manufacturing employees demonstrated a number of ways in which risks are being shifted onto workers. The findings presented in Chapter Five reveal that the erosion of full-time, stable jobs, partnered with the growing informalisation of employment have direct consequences on the roles, responsibilities, working conditions and willingness of workers to raise issues and/or participate in trade unions in the workplace. Therefore, much like restructuring in the retail sector, increasing informalisation in the automotive industry has altered labour processes and has exposed workers to different sets of control and conditions (Kenny, 2018). Hence, from the perspectives of workers in the automotive industry labour market restructuring has resulted in increased monitoring and control being exercised over the workforce, and the growing inability for workers to influence the production process at the shop floor level. Furthermore, this study has shown that mechanisation has played a critical role in the growing informalisation of work in the post-Apartheid labour market. The in-depth interviews presented in Chapter Five show that while some participants celebrated the integration of new technologies into the production process as having improved the safety of workers on the job, others complained that the machines had either replaced workers on the shop floor or were being used as the new standard for productivity in the workplace, with workers expected to perform at the same level as machines.

At the same time, interviews with workers in the automotive industry revealed that the changing nature of work has led to massive reductions in employment, in the form of layoffs and

retrenchments. However, a shrinking workforce rarely leads to a reduced workload. As a result, equal work is not always rewarded with equal pay. In order to meet the production targets of the client company, workers are expected to perform the same workloads as prior to the retrenchments, and sometimes even more, in less time. Moreover, the study suggests that, compared to permanent workers in the industry, temporary workers are expected to do the same work at lower wages and with limited to no social protections. Therefore, as noted in Chapter Five, the deterioration of employment security and the constant threat of job loss, have fomented distrust amongst workers in the automotive industry. The result has been weakened worker power, as workers fear that speaking up and/or standing up against injustices within the workplace could jeopardize their employment. Similar trends have been observed in other sectors of the South African labour market (Pons-Vignon and Anseeuw, 2009; Kenny, 2018). Hence, this thesis argues that in the post-Apartheid labour market, restructuring has resulted in the super-exploitation of the working class. Moreover, the erosion of stable and secure employment underscores the need for strong worker power and a new approach to social and economic development.

Another contribution of this thesis has been to illustrate *how* the experiences and consequences of precarious employment oftentimes extend beyond the workplace and into the households and/or communities of those employed. In line with Kenny (2003), this thesis argued that people's experiences of work, within and outside of the workplace, give meaning to the changing nature of work observed in the post-Apartheid period. Moreover, workplace conditions combine with social reproductive relations within households to shape the supply of labour in the economy (Kenny, 2003). The analysis in this thesis has demonstrated that there is a direct link between the terms of employment and workers' ability to progress socially and economically, outside of the workplace. Through the perspectives of workers in the automotive industry, this thesis illustrates the lived reality of informal and precarious employment, particularly the implications of low-paid and insecure work on the livelihoods and strategies for survival of workers within and outside of the workplace. The argument is that reduced benefits and entitlements to social protections, such as medical aid or health insurance, have major implications on the social and economic well-being of workers and their families. Moreover, with low-paid and insecure work, workers are struggling to survive.

In support of Di Paola and Pons Vignon's (2013) theory of an ongoing "reproductive squeeze", this thesis has demonstrated how workplace conditions determine the living and reproductive conditions of automotive industry workers. The analysis presented in Chapter Five argued that precarious work in the post-Apartheid labour market has put access to basic services, such as education, healthcare and housing, further out of reach for the poor and working class in South

Africa. Moreover, low-wage and insecure work has undermined workers' ability to provide for themselves and their family dependents (Pons-Vignon and Anseeuw, 2009; Di Paola and Pons-Vignon, 2013). When social services such as healthcare are not provided for by the job, workers must provide these services out-of-pocket or through the state. Thus, as a result of the direct and indirect costs of accessing these services (e.g. loss of income and time), only a limited number of informal workers are able to access these services. Therefore, as Pons-Vignon (2015:2) argues, labour market restructuring "has put workers under unbearable stress - of reproduction, but also of assertion of their own dignity, as they are deprived of individual instruments of resistance to exploitation."

Although the quantitative analysis presented in Chapter Four has provided some (albeit limited) evidence of an increase in the number of workers without entitlement to legal and social protections (particularly permanent employment and a pension) for the post-Apartheid period, the gendered trends in and the characteristics of precarious employment amongst male and female workers in the manufacturing sector do not seem to reflect the experiences and consequences of precariousness outside of the workplace. Thus, it is important to review some of the limitations of using this approach to examine the gendered trends in non-standard, informal and precarious employment. As Chapter Three noted, Labour Force Surveys are only one way of determining the trends in informal and precarious employment. While they do collect comprehensive information on informal employment, it is widely reported in the labour literature that the scope and parameters of informality are likely to be underestimated. This is because some informal activities may take place seasonally and undocumented and unauthorised migrant workers are usually not counted. Furthermore, as Chapter Four explains, Statistics South Africa does not possess specific enough information to provide industry level information on employment, such as social protection and contract type. Chapter Five of this thesis has addressed some of these concerns through a qualitative analysis of the gendered implications of non-standard, informal and precarious employment amongst workers in the South African automotive industry.

In addition, the qualitative analysis complemented the quantitative findings by demonstrating how changing workplace structures have reinforced race, class and gendered inequalities in the post-Apartheid labour market. It argued that vulnerability to the effects of non-standard, informal and precarious work greatly depends on the terms by which workers are included into the labour force. Moreover, there is a clear association between gender and particular forms of non-standard, informal and precarious employment. Furthermore, while the sectoral trends illustrated in Chapter Four of this thesis do not necessarily show *widening* gender disparities in workers access to legal and social protections in the post-Apartheid period, the data do show *persistent* gender disparities

in workers' exposure and vulnerability to non-standard, informal and precarious work. In line with the long-run legacies of inequality, discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, the data presented in Chapter Four indicate that the gendered divisions Kenny (2016) suggests underpinned South Africa's industrial relations system, continue to wield significant influence over the structuring of labour markets in the post-Apartheid period. As a result, women are still more likely to be employed in non-standard, informal and precarious work arrangements without work-based legal or social protections compared to men. Moreover, as Chapter Five revealed, statistical discrimination and perceptions about gender in the workplace largely influence the roles and responsibilities of male and female workers within the workplace. Hence, Kenny (2009:282) argues that in the post-Apartheid period, "workers' politics have been premised on a prescribed political subject, a particular notion of 'worker', the full-time, permanent employee, emerging against the boundaries of the regulation of non-standard employment." As shown in this thesis, however, this "standard bearer" of rights is rarely female (Kenny, 2009).

Women are, therefore, disproportionately affected by the effects of non-standard, informal and precarious work, both within and outside of the workplace. In particular, as Chapter Four and Five note, unfavourable terms of inclusion, the risk of exclusion from the labour market and the unequal burden of social reproductive activities in the household are some of the key trends which may cause women to be more vulnerable to the experiences and consequences of precariousness than their male counterparts. Hence, women workers are more likely to be in temporary and low-paying jobs without social protection that are considered "light" jobs, compared to their male counterparts who are more likely to be in permanent jobs with sufficient social protections that are often considered "hard" jobs. Moreover, since the work that women perform in the workplace is often not regarded as critical skills, women are also less likely to gain permanence. Instead, the study revealed that women are more likely to face exploitation and harassment within the workplace compared to men.

In addition, the findings presented in this thesis show that the unequal distribution of care responsibilities within the household makes women more vulnerable to the effects of non-standard, informal and precarious work outside of the workplace. As Chapter Five notes, women continue to be the primary caretakers in the household. As such, when the necessary social protections for reproduction are not provided for by the job, the burden falls on women to provide these services more often than men. Moreover, since accessing these services is often dependent on income and/or time, women are more likely to withdraw from the labour market in order to provide these services for their families. Hence, from a gender perspective, it could be argued that not only is informalisation a means by which capital can transfer the risks of the production process

to labour, but, in the post-Apartheid period, capital has effectively transferred its economic risks onto women workers in particular. Therefore, as labour markets are restructured and the benefits of employment are reduced, gendered identities rearticulate with class in the post-Apartheid labour market (Kenny, 2003).

Conclusion

The transition into the democratic dispensation brought with it expectations of a better life for the poor and working class (Pons-Vignon, 2015). However, despite the disbanding of the Apartheid regime, the “liberating” and “stable” employment that many South Africans fought for, has not been realised. Instead, this thesis has shown that in the post-Apartheid period, the gendered and racialised legacies of the Apartheid government, are perpetuated in the exclusion of labour from social and economic development. According to Barchiesi (2011:252), “state policies have focused less on creating decent jobs than promoting entrepreneurial initiative and a black empowerment often consisting of financial buyouts rather than productive investment.” Furthermore, fiscal conservatism and reduced public spending have weakened redistributive ambitions (Barchiesi, 2011).

In line with Barchiesi (2011), the analysis in this thesis has demonstrated that in the post-Apartheid period, the crisis of employment is not simply a matter of a lack of jobs, but it also has to do with the types of jobs available and the kind of life they are supposed to enable. At the same time, the race-based categories and political coercion of the Apartheid regime have been replaced with economic coercion as the key instrument of exploitation and the determinant of insecurity in the post-Apartheid labour market (Barchiesi, 2011; Pons-Vignon, 2015). Liberalisation and the growing informalisation and precariousness of work have led to the reversal of the gains won by labour movements of the past and the progress made in dealing with the deteriorating social conditions in the post-Apartheid period. Hence, Barchiesi (2011:5) argues that “work and wage labour test the boundaries of post-Apartheid citizenship, because they are quintessentially liminal categories encompassing, in the everyday lives of black South Africans, material precariousness, memories of past expropriations, potentials of social solidarity, and expectations of a better life under non-racial democracy.”

Much research has focused on determining the scope and parameters of the informal economy. However, very little research has explored informality from a policy perspective. There is, therefore, need for research aimed at interrogating the role that labour legislation has played in the expansion of precarious work in the post-Apartheid period. This should focus not only on the implications of regulatory histories on employment, but also interrogate the constraints and

possibilities of extending legal and social protections to non-standard, informal and precarious workers today. Furthermore, from a labour market perspective there is a need for strong worker power and societal coordination to address the challenges that face workers in the post-Apartheid workplace. As the challenges of labour have evolved and intensified with time, the responses of labour must also evolve. The labour movement must recognise that the oppressed worker is now also the precarious worker. Moreover, it must recognise that the effects of non-standard, informal and precarious employment are a threat, not only to the sanctity of work, but to the livelihoods and strategies for survival of workers and their communities beyond the workplace. Therefore, the understanding developed in this thesis suggests that a gender-conscious industrial policy of the working class could offer direction for labour militancy in the post-Apartheid period that promises to uplift workers within and outside of the workplace.

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APPENDIX A

Workplace Restructuring Research Project

Key Informant Interview Guide: Manufacturing Firm in South Africa

Introduction:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview today. My name is **Siviwe Mhlana**. I am an MA student at the Neil Aggett Labour Studies Unit (NALSU), at Rhodes University. I will be conducting this interview as part of a project to examine the changing nature of labour-intensive production in South Africa. The purpose of this project is to investigate the shift in the gender structure of the manufacturing industry and how it affects the share in the benefits of employment, particularly with regard to social reproduction.

This interview is being conducted to understand your perspective, as someone who works in the manufacturing industry in South Africa.

During this interview, I will ask you questions about the organisation where you work, what you know about non-standard employment and other trends relating to workplace restructuring. Please feel free to bring up any other issues you think are relevant.

Your participation is voluntary and you can decide not to answer any question or stop the interview at any time or for any reason. There are no benefits to you directly other than the opportunity to participate in the project and have your perspective included in the resulting thesis.

Do you agree to participate in this interview? YES NO

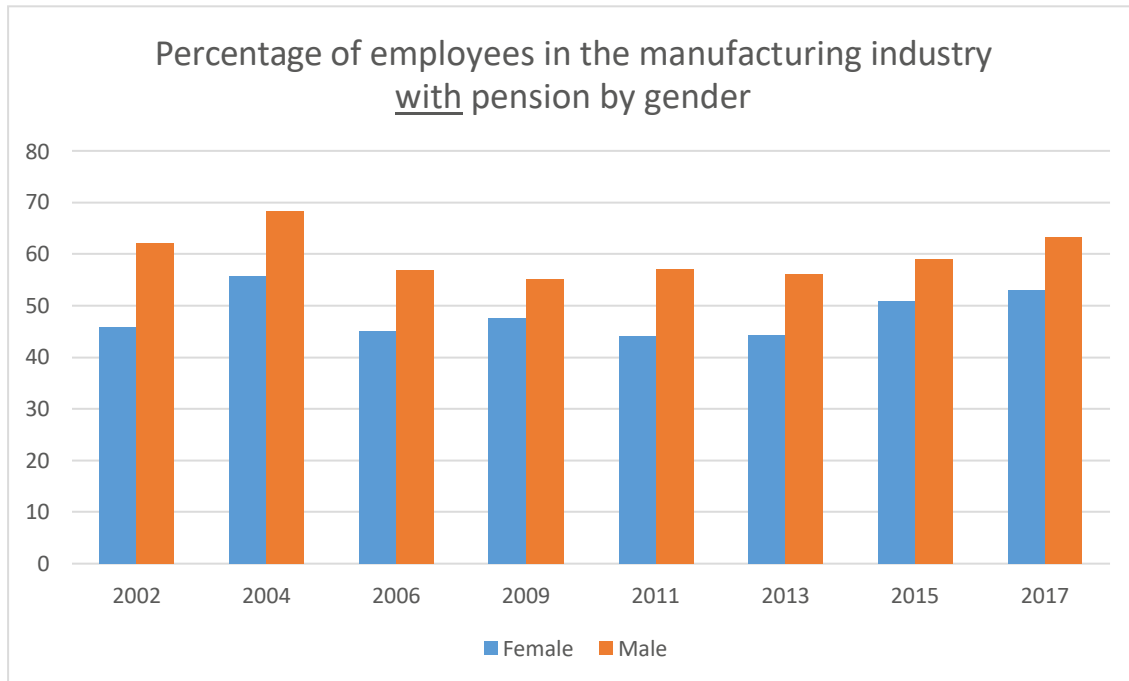
You can choose how much information about you I include in the resulting thesis or to remain anonymous. Can you please select how you would prefer to be identified on this form before we begin?

Do you mind if I record the interview? YES NO

Do you have any questions before we begin?

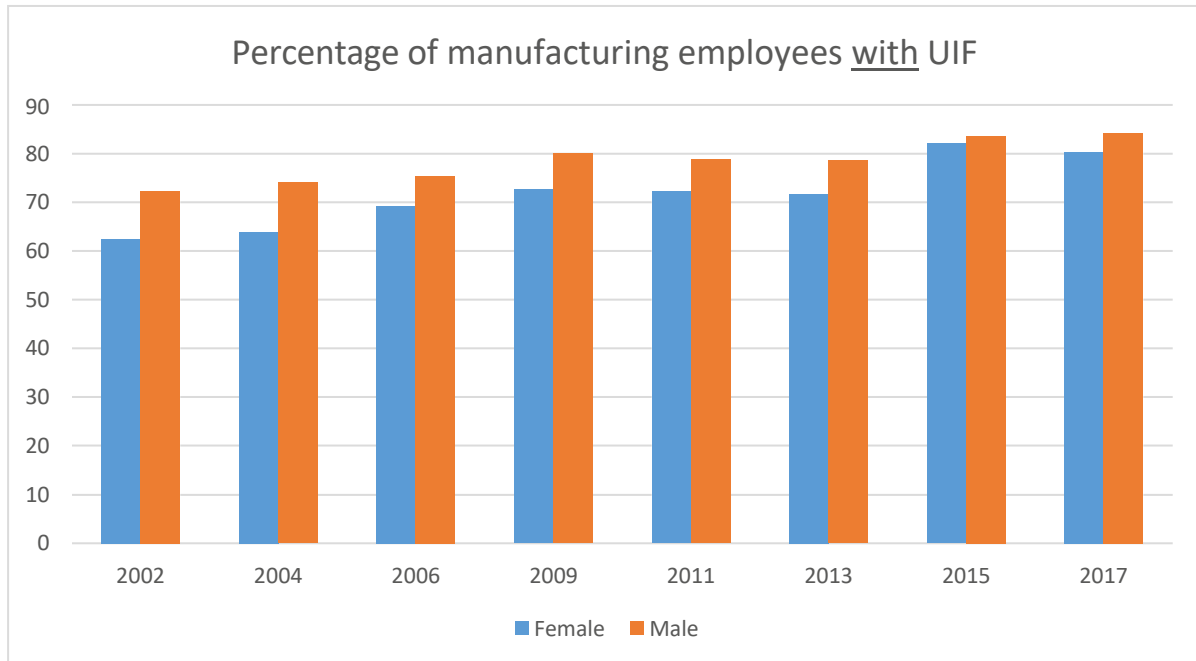
APPENDIX B

Figure 9: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector with pension, by gender (2002-2017)



Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

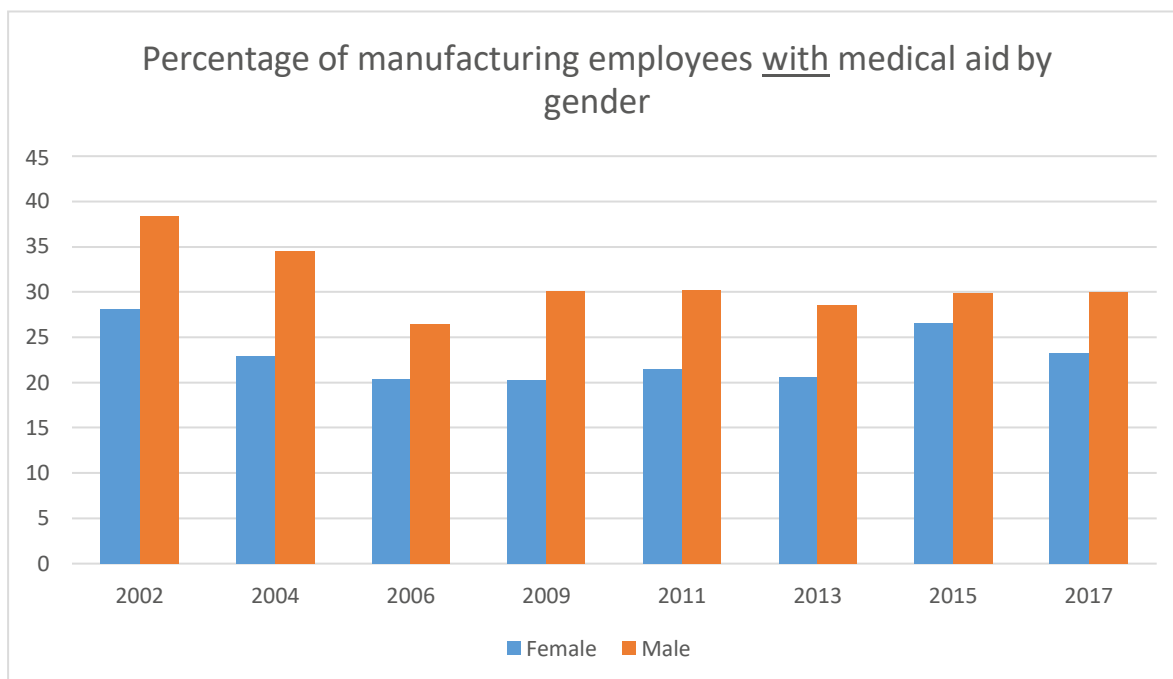
APPENDIX C

Figure 10: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector with UIF, by gender (2002-2017)

Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

APPENDIX D

Figure 11: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector with medical aid, by gender (2002-2017)



Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.

APPENDIX E

Figure 12: Percentage of employees in the manufacturing sector with paid leave, by gender (2002-2017)



Source: Own calculations from the 2002-2006 (September) bi-annual Labour Force Surveys and the 2009-2017 (third quarter) Quarterly Labour Force Surveys. The data are weighted.