

PLACE MATTERS:
EDUCATION AND
EMPLOYMENT IN THE
MARGINS OF GAUTENG



FINAL DRAFT REPORT

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1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years there have been studies coming mainly from the Northern hemisphere, which are concerned with the study of inequalities or social and economic exclusions that are represented by the spatial places where people live. For example the United Kingdom for Employment and Skills has funded studies in spatial inequality and skills in a changing economy (Green, 2011); The City of London has commissioned a number of studies on its spatial economies (City Strategy Learning Network (2010); some studies are concerned with labour market segmentation and understanding workless people from particular communities. In the USA it seems like skills mismatch and spatial mismatch in metropolitan labour markets has been a focus of research by many scholars (Houston, 2005; Gobillon et.al. 2007). There has been some work done in this area by scholars from Australia like Weller (2007). The question we must ask is about the importance of this work for those who are concerned with inequalities in societies and how groups of people who live in the margins could be helped by understanding the particularities of inequalities that manifest themselves in specific spatial communities.

Why does a place matter in determining the extent of exclusion or inclusion in society and consequently inequality in society? First of all we know that employment and income generation is the greatest contributor in improving the economic conditions of individuals, nothing beats employment. We also know that unemployment tends to concentrate in certain areas. These areas tend to share some common characteristics, like the unavailability of jobs, the housing dwellings that tend to confine people to specific levels of affordability, educational and skills attainments and a whole host of other characteristics that have been studied by those who are concerned with spatial inequalities. Without understanding these particularities, one-size- fits all, top down solutions to the problems experienced by people in the margins, the interventions will have a marginal impact.

In South Africa, there is not much research known that tackles the issue of spatial inequalities in the context of this changing economy. Our labour market studies give us average statistics about many of the problems we want to address, like unemployment rates, educational achievements, growing economic sectors, etc. This happens when we all know that we are working with many elephants in the room. For example, the country has an apartheid legacy

of Group areas Act that confined different race groups in different geographical localities. Secondly, the dominant economic discourse of Gauteng for example has always been mining and this in return depended largely on migrant labour that would be confined in hostels and poorer parts of the townships. Lastly, there has been a trend of growing informal settlements in the periphery of many townships metropolitan areas. Whilst there has been attempts to reshape the geography of local governments, the reality is that these entities inherited an unequal past, have parts that have weaker economies and the burden is shared more heavily by certain municipalities than others. Whilst there are general government interventions to alleviate poverty in households and for individuals affected the most, these are not specific enough to help make a difference in these communities.

Landman, ET. Al. (2003) gives us a good account of the state of poverty and inequalities in South Africa, confirming the reality of ‘two economies in the country. They further advocate a comprehensive list of interventions that would have to be considered by the State to address this crisis and solve the problem by 2014. Twenty fourteen looked far away in 2003, and now it is around the corner, and yet the problems experienced in a decade ago still exist if not exacerbated. In this paper, we argue that global interventions are not going to have much effect, as we need to look specifically into the spatial inequalities and target poverty levels at a micro than macro-level only.

This paper looks specifically into the extent to which all people of Gauteng province are able to access education and training as well as employment. The reason for singling out these two elements is due to the demonstrated power of education and training as well as employment in moving individuals out of poverty. In **section 2** of this paper, we look at what studies of spatial inequalities tell us about this problem. Then we proceed in **Section 3** to present information on the nature of data and how this was collected for this study in the Gauteng municipalities. In **Section 4** we present information on how the information of interest to this study presents itself in Gauteng regarding education and training. In **Section 5** we present information regarding work and employment in the province. In **Section 6** we discuss how the government could bring about policies for the poor by targeting spaces where poverty is. The last **Seventh** section is about conclusion.

2. SPATIAL INEQUALITIES AND POVERTY

Inequalities and poverty are often assumed to mean one and the same thing because they often co-exist, but they are different. Landman et.al. (2003) for example give us a detailed account on the differences between the two phenomena. According to them, it is possible that both poor and wealthy societies can be unequal in their poverty and wealth. An economically well off or better off society is better even if it has the poor than equality in poverty. This means therefore that poverty is the worse of the two, whether experienced in an unequal or equal society. In other words, the ones who are poor feel the sting of their unfortunate circumstances more irrespective of the circumstances of their country. But at the same time it is clearly possible of combating poverty by reducing inequality. This would mean that the targeted interventions to roll back poverty and bring more people to into income levels that take them out of economic misery, will result in less people in economic misery.

Access to gainful and continuous employment seems to be one sure thing to get individuals out of economic misery for themselves and their families, but this is something that seems to be elusive for most individuals living in poverty. There are many reasons why individuals remain unemployed for long periods and therefore cannot sustain their lives with constant resources that come into the family, but the three are the most common reasons: (1) lack of job opportunities; (2) lack of education and skills for the jobs that are available, and (3) a mismatch of skills and jobs in the area in which they live. These three factors are all related and in poor areas all can be found to co-exist.

A lack of jobs symptom is a result of different things. It can be due to the lack of growth in the economy thus resulting in a labour market that has smaller absorption capacity. Landman et al. (2003) for example emphatically state that “the only way to counter poverty and inequality trends (in South Africa) is to create more jobs, and they need to be sustainable” (p.8). Further, they maintain that in order to sustain more jobs, the economy must be considerably bigger to absorb more people into the labour market. For example observes that in most of East Asia for instance the logic of a developmental state model was in the main that of trickledown economics. In the early years this model included a lot of sweatshops in order to absorb a lot of people into the economy. In China alone, about 200 million people have been taken out of poverty through this trickle down economic model, but the inequality

in this society has been growing at the same time (Netshienzhe, 2012; Bernstein, 2012). This raises a question about the nature of jobs that will move individuals from poverty lines. Is it any job or these must be of a certain income level, or as it is commonly put, 'decent' jobs. There are those who argue that South Africa is not helping the poor by insisting only on 'decent' jobs. For instance Bernstein (2012) is of the opinion that:

When the majority of unemployed are young, unskilled and inexperienced, it is implausible to think South Africa can address this crisis on the basis of industries that pay well but demand a skilled workforce (p.5).

She further suggests that South Africa needs to create industries and businesses in the 'missing middle' between low productivity informal sector enterprises and high-productivity firms in the formal sector. Her bottom line is that South Africa needs to make a choice between employing fewer people at the highly skilled level or more people at lower levels, especially those with low skills, inexperienced and often under educated.

Lack of education and skills for the jobs that are available is often a significant contributor to the inability to access employment. This happens in different ways. First it is when individuals experience disruptions in the education system, making it not possible for them to reach the required levels. Secondly, it could be that the resources required to continue with education are not available and the individuals stop with the pursuit of educational goals. Thirdly, it is possible that resources and geographic distance to educational institutions is another factor that disrupts one's goals to go further in education and training. Fourthly, it is also possible that individuals do not have enough knowledge on what is possible in terms of pursuing a vocation in their lives, especially when they are removed from active employment scenes and their networks also do not provide them with adequate information on what is possible.

The skills mismatch approach to understanding unemployment focuses on the supply side of the labour market. In this approach the main question that is being asked is whether or not a particular geography can supply the skills that are required for the jobs available. (Houston, 2005). The inability of an area to supply the skills required can often be explained beyond the concept of under skilled and under educated labour force. A spatial mismatch is often used to describe a situation in which the decline of key employment sectors in an area is not compensated for by growth in alternative employment opportunities in the same area or

within physical reach of local residents (Green, 2011). In some instances the concept of skills mismatch is not spatially bound as it can also explain unemployment in terms of the mismatch between the skills held by the unemployed and the skills demanded by most employers.

All of the above concepts of unemployment that leads to poverty and inequality can be found in South Africa. Studies that concentrate on spatial inequalities show evidence that this phenomenon in unequal societies tends to be concentrated in specific areas, which are deprived neighbourhoods. In other words, it can be expected that people who are not employed, who are under skilled and less education, and those who poses skills not in high demand by the labour market can be found in concentrated areas (Green, 2011; Houston, 2005; Weller, 2008). Green (2011) is of the opinion that residential sorting mechanisms in the housing markets help explain how population sub-groups with different characteristics (e.g. people with disabilities, lone parents, less education) tend to concentrate together on the basis of their ability to pay and the degree of choice they can exercise. In South Africa, apartheid law might have explained the concentration of the poor in townships, informal settlement and rural areas, but no more. It is exactly the ability of individuals to pay and the degree of choices they have that lock the poor in poor neighbourhoods. It is therefore important that government must understand the spatial differentiation that has occurred in this country and address the issue of poverty at a local level where it is happening. As Green puts it:

.....the economic history of particular regions and local areas shapes current and future trajectories and opportunities, so understanding that present patterns of economic opportunities are a function of past (i.e. they reflect previous economic geographies) and current circumstances (p.3).

In this paper, we argue that there has not been enough work done and directed at addressing the nature of spatial inequalities in South Africa. Whilst those who could escape the poor areas did, there are still people who have remained and some continue to come. We argue that this country needs a more nuanced understanding of what the issues are about inequality and poverty first. Then there is a need for complimentary policies that address issues of redistributive justice in intervening in the lives of the space-specific inequalities and poverty.

3. METHODOLOGY USED IN THIS STUDY

This study was undertaken in October 2011 to April 2012 and the information used in this study was collected from the Statistics South Africa data. To this end therefore this study used secondary data in the main. The most current information that was available at the initiation of this study was the Community Survey, and this was used extensively in this study. There was also a considerable attempt to include data from the 2011 Census which started to come out from October to January 2012. Unfortunately, the 2011 Census data is still being processed as we speak, so it has not always been possible to make use of this most current form of data, even for comparisons.

Where possible, comparisons were made between the two datasets.

Dataset	CS 2007	Census 2011	Internet
<u>Employment:</u>			
By Sector			
By Occupation			
Unemployment levels			
Job advertisements			
<u>Education & skills:</u>			
Education profiles			
<u>Other characteristics:</u>			
Dwellings			
Social grants			

Job adverts were secured from internet, *The Star*, *Sunday Times* and *Sowetan* newspapers were used to collect information on jobs advertised in the period October- December 2012. A sample of **250** job advertisements was conducted with an intention to discern which sectors had more job opportunities, what level of education and experience was required by recruiters, which location experienced more employment opportunities and lastly, which sectors (public and/or public) had more or less of job opportunities.

This data capturing process took place between the 12 and 30 March 2012. On average, two non-metro municipalities were covered in a space of two days. But because of clustering of the facilities in the metropolitan areas, 2-3 days were spent on these.

The data collected was in the form of global positioning system (GPS) co-ordinates all public adult learning centres (PALCs), labour centres, and public further education and training (FET) colleges.

The data was then plotted into maps, using a geographic information system (GIS) called Arc Map. The system allows for the manipulation of data to be plotted and "*used primarily to view, edit, create, and analyze geospatial data. Arc Map allows the user to explore data within a data set, symbolize features accordingly, and create maps.*" <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ArcMap>

Lastly, the mapped information was obtained through the physical mapping, using the *GPS* correct extension for ESRI Arpad software. The physical locations that could be mapped were the Public FET Colleges, Public Adult Learning Centres and the Employment Services in Gauteng

This study was mainly descriptive and no analysis of data was made beyond the construction of tables, bar graphs and pie charts. The idea of this kind of study was to quantify, describe and locate where the main elements that define the study are.

It can be argued that the main limitation to this study is that it relied on data that was almost outdated, namely the 2007 Community Survey. In addition, data for the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys are collected at provincial levels, making it difficult to analyse the information at municipality level. In other words, we used information that is collected and disaggregated at different levels, like Municipalities and Province. Also, our policy architecture is often developed at the national level and a concept of a place-specific policy is very foreign. When the 2011 Census results came out, we hoped we would be able to get the most current statistics on various issues and collected at the smallest level of government, like wards. Whilst the 2011 Census data is now available, it continues to be worked on at this point. For

example, for our purpose we would find that there was some information for some municipalities and none for others.

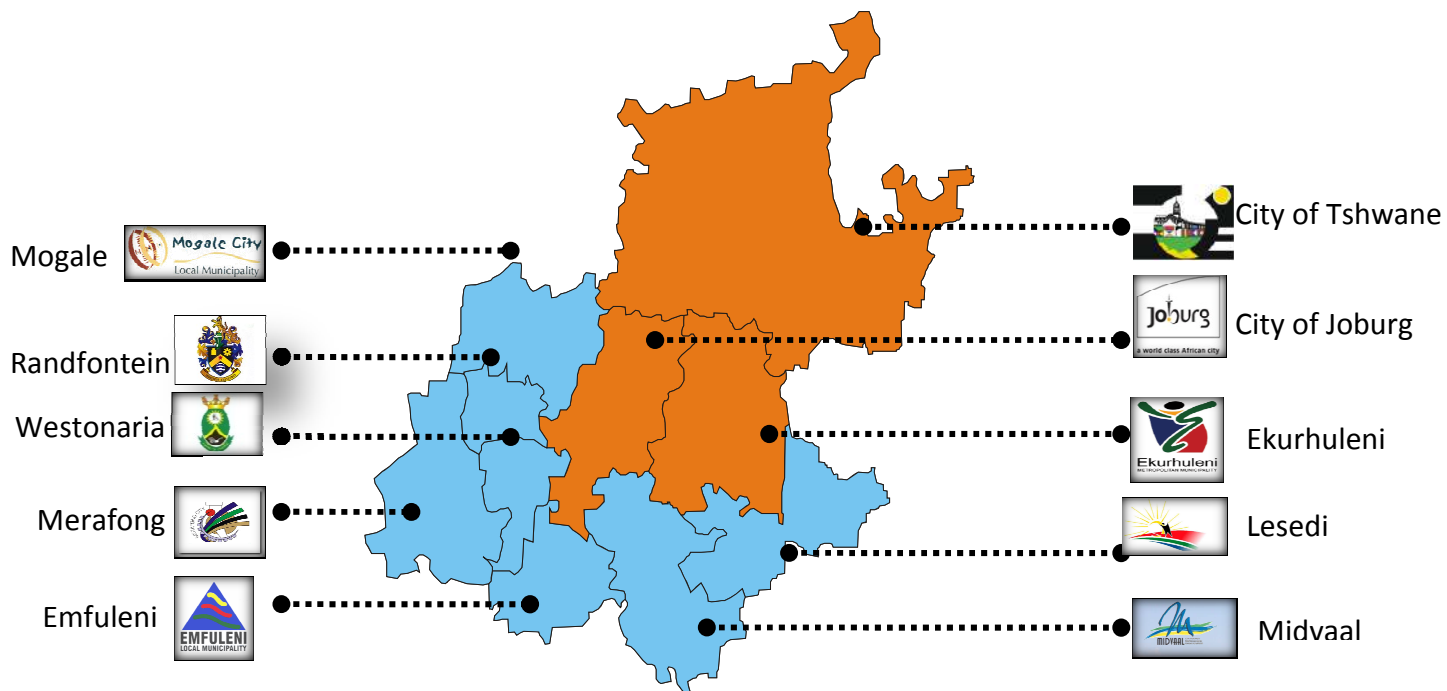
This was a beginning step in carrying out a study of this nature. We have learned a lot and the next study will be a great improvement to this one. But there is no doubt of the necessity to carry out studies of this nature in the future. It would be interesting and of value for example to know about this information at a ward level than at a municipality.

4. EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN GAUTENG

There are a number of studies on inequality in South Africa that have come up recently. For example, recently the South African Institute for Race Relations has produced the results of a large survey in almost all sectors of the South African society (South African Institute of Race Relations (2012). The Gauteng City-Region Observatory regularly publishes vignettes on the quality of life and other matters of particular interest to the inequality debate. The most comprehensive study that has come out recently is the OECD territorial Review of the Gauteng City-Region (OECD, 2011). This study is current in its substance, comprehensive in its approach and not only analyses Gauteng and compare it to the other South Africa provinces, but also compares the City-Region to other comparable City regions in the world. What could then this current study add to the voices that have been thorough and supported by huge resources to undertake? We think there are also other voices that need to be heard which come from particular lenses that the other studies did not utilise to undertake the above mentioned studies. These lenses in particular look at the education and employment to portray how his problem manifests itself in communities and also as instruments for intervention.

In presenting the information that was collected for this study, in this section, we start by presenting the geography of Gauteng and explain the demarcation outlines. Then we proceed to look at the education and skills before we examine the employment scenario and other factors that should affect on the inability of individuals to come out of poverty situations and remain at the lower if not lowest levels in the inequality ladder.

4.1. Introducing Gauteng's Local Municipalities



Gauteng consists of ten (10) *local* municipalities. These, as can be seen from the above figure are; City of Johannesburg (CoJ), City of Tshwane (CoT), Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Lesedi Local Municipality, Midvaal Local Municipality, Emfuleni Local Municipality, Mogale City, Westonaria Local Municipality, Merafong City and Randfontein Local Municipality. This paper begins to analyse the background, size, economic profile, education profiles and other apposite information.

Perhaps what is important to note is the demarcation of municipal system in South Africa. South Africa's municipalities are divided into three (3) categories (*see Municipal Systems Act, 1998*). These categories are:

Category A, which have exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in their area. In other words, there is only one municipal council in an area with a category a municipality. These are also referred to as metropolitan municipalities/areas.

Category B, which share municipal executive and legislative authority in their area with a category C municipality within whose area they fall. A local municipality is an example of category B municipality.

Category C, which have municipal executive and legislative authority in an area that includes more than one municipality, for example, a district municipality.

Categorisation of municipalities within Gauteng region

Category A: City of Tshwane (CoT)

: City Of Johannesburg (CoJ)

: Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (EMM)

Category B: Midvaal Local Municipality

: Emfuleni Local Municipality

: Lesedi Local Municipality

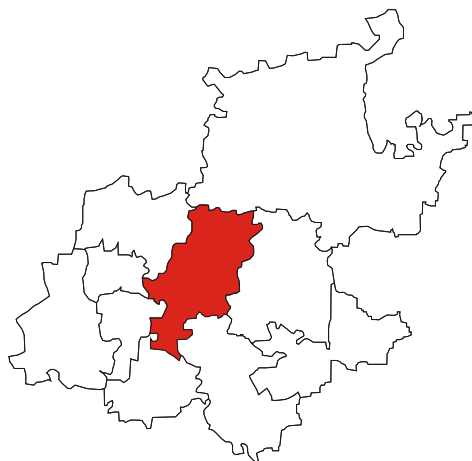
: Mogale City

: Merafong City

: Randfontein Local Municipality

: Westonaria Local Municipality

Category C: (i) **West-Rand District Municipality**, which covers within itself, Randfontein, Westonaria, Mogale City and Merafong City
: (ii) **Sedibeng District Municipality**, which covers within itself, Emfuleni, Midvaal and Lesedi



City of Johannesburg is the country's chief industrial and financial metropolis. Known as one of the youngest of the world's major cities, Johannesburg was founded in 1886, when gold

was discovered. The city was initially part of the Transvaal an independent Afrikaner state that later became one of South Africa's four provinces. Today the city is a part of Gauteng, meaning "place of gold", and is one of the nine provinces of South Africa (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2011). City of Johannesburg (CoJ) is a **category A** municipality.

Demographic Analysis-

According to Statistics South Africa's Community Survey 2007 (CS 2007), there are 2 586 597 people residing in the City of Johannesburg between the ages of 18 – 65, and thus making it *the biggest metropolitan area in Gauteng region followed by Ekurhuleni and City of Tshwane* (Statistics South Africa, 2008). Black people comprise of the largest part of this population group, being 1 936 839 in total which is 74.9%. Black females are the only female group outnumbered by males in Johannesburg. They are outnumbered by Black males by 15 539. Coloureds, in total, are 5.4%, Whites 15.3%, and Indians/Asians 4.4% of the population group (Statistics South Africa, 2008).

In summary, Gauteng's population of about 11 million inhabitants puts the province as the most populated region in the country (22% of the country). The OECD (2011) study concludes that the City of Johannesburg is considered as the core of the Gauteng City Region, with the highest population density in the country. Only the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, the City of Tshwane metropolitan Municipality as well as the Emfuleni Local Municipality respectively have a density higher than the provincial average. On the other hand, the two district municipalities, namely West Rand District and Sedibeng District municipalities, although covering a greater square kilometre radius, their population density is less and so are the activities of interest in this study.

4.2. Post -school education and training

Although the focus of this study is on post-school education and training in Gauteng, it is still important that we start with the main features of the schooling system as this provides us with the background information for understanding the post-school system. The data presented in this section is derived primarily from the 2007 Community Survey, the 2011 Census as well as the 2012 South African Institute of Race Relations publication. As the topic indicates, this data thus covers public Further Education and Training Colleges; Adult Education; Nursing Colleges; Agricultural Colleges; Apprenticeships; and Public Higher Education. Whilst the

focus of this study is on the Gauteng Province, some of the data could only be obtained at the national level and we would only draw inferences for the province.

4.2.1. School Education

In spite of the size of the province, school education in Gauteng is large and has been growing over the last decade as compared to some of the provinces that have experienced shrinkages and even the national trend, where the trend has been in the opposite. For example in 2000 there were 1905 schools in Gauteng and the number grew to 2040 by 2011, representing a 7 and 8, 5% of the country's schools (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2012). Other vital statistics of the school education in Gauteng are as follows.

Item	Number	% of the country
Pupils	1810197	15,3
Teachers	57836	14,8
No Fee schools	1045	5,2
Number of pupils in no-fee schools	855889	10,4

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations: 2012

Race	NSC pass in 2011 in Gauteng	% pass in Gauteng
African	49645	76,6
Coloured	3008	82,7
Indian	2129	94,4
White	14422	98,5
Total	69216	81,1

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations: 2012

It is clear that the province provides for a large group of pupils in its school education system. Because the economic profile of the province is relatively better than most of the provinces,

especially the rural ones, the provinces share of the poor masks important facts about the poverty that co-exists even in this better off province. For example, whilst the share of the province in the national picture of no-fee schools is merely, 5.3%, these schools represent more than half (51,9%) of all public schools that are declared no-fee schools in the province. In addition, 13, 4% of all pupils in Gauteng schools were in receipt of social grants.

However, the global picture of the province masks some important disparities that exist in the different municipalities of the province. In examining each municipality, we are able to see the disparities in the school education systems of the different municipalities.

4.2.2. Adult Education

Following the national patterns and trends, the Gauteng Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCS) provides for dedicated education and training for adults in the province.

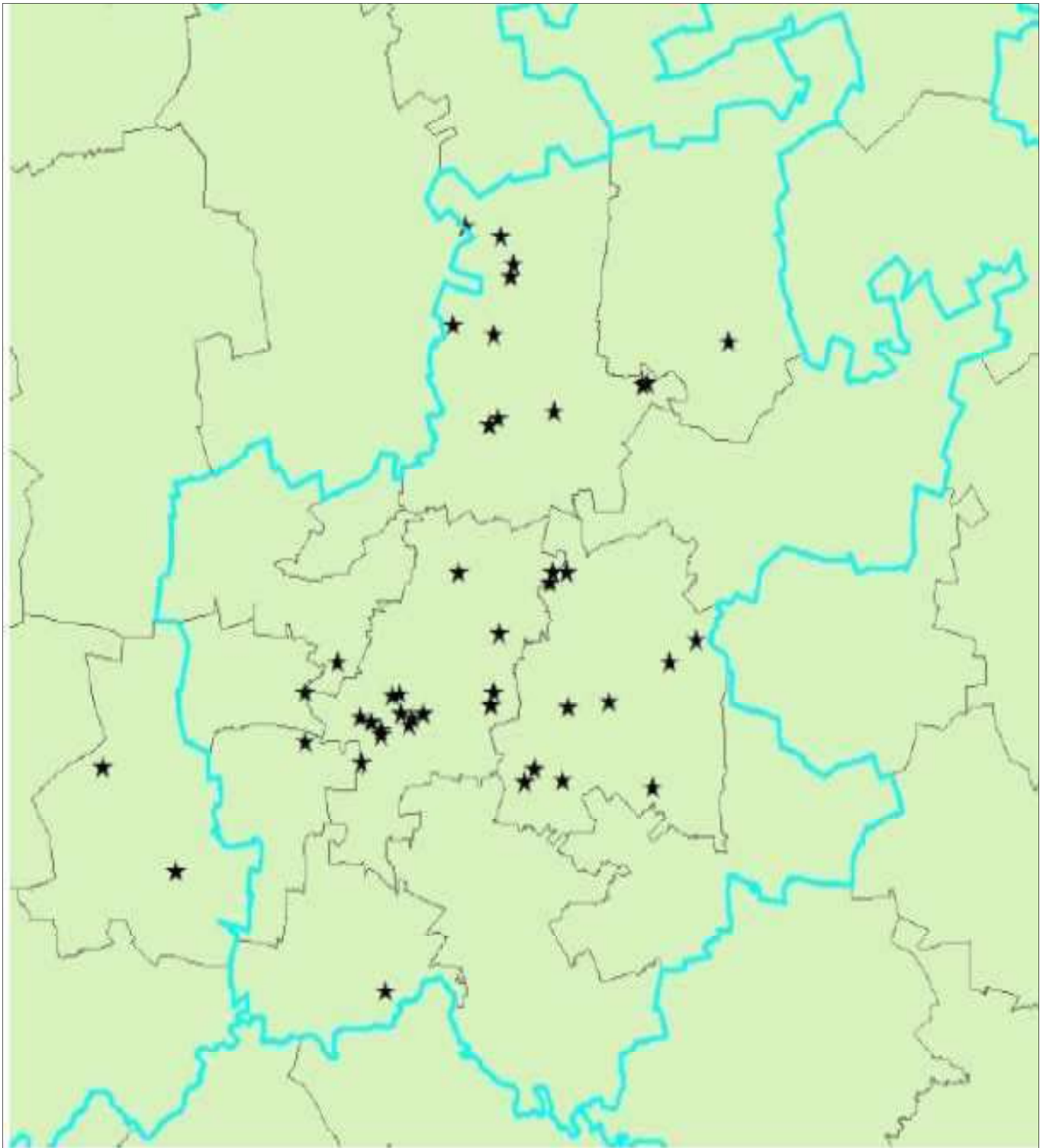
Metros and Districts		Number of PALCS
• Johannesburg Metro		16
• Tshwane Metro		11
• Ekurhuleni Metro		11
• West Rand District Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mogale City • Randfontein • Westonaria • Merafong 	 1 1 1
• Sedibeng District Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Midvaal • Emfuleni • Lesedi 	1

Source: Department of Higher Education and Training website (January 2013)

The information above on Public Adult Learning Centres was sourced from the Department of Higher Education and Training website and it is possible that this is not a full and comprehensive list of what is available as adult education and training centres in Gauteng. But it is clear that the number of such centres is very small. In addition, all are described as offering Grade 12 upgrade and Adult Basic Education and Training. However, the scarcity of

the adult education is enhanced when one can visually see their spatial distribution in the province.

Public Adult Education Centres in Gauteng



Over the years, there have also been noticeable changes in how adult education is conceptualised and supported in South Africa. Whilst focus has always been on literacy and numeracy through the Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) programmes, it has become clear that adult education is wider than this narrow focus. The South African experience with adult education has not been dissimilar to the other African countries. From a legacy of massive discrimination, the ANC led government has struggled valiantly to overcome a complex set of constraints and sculpt new contours of adult education. The demands inherited by this new government were too many and coffers were bankrupt¹. According to Stewart (2001), in the early 1990s South Africa's 60% adult literacy rate ranked between less- developed and developing countries, despite expenditures of about 7.3% of GDP on education. In the late 1970s, the previous government had initiated an adult education system through the establishment of night schools. These night schools were initially established as means to upgrade teacher qualifications. Soon, the night school system was extended to be the 'completion' of senior secondary education for those who have dropped out or have not been successful in taking the high school exit examinations. School buildings were used and this allowed for a large delivery system, which still persists, albeit in a reduced form, for the senior certificate students, called 'B' candidates. During the 1970s business firms and in particular the large mining companies started to provide adult education on programs registered with the Department of Education. Many of the companies which initiated such programs did so in order to comply with foreign investors' requirements. But as the disinvestment campaigns were pushed forward in the 1980s, companies down-scaled their provision as well. By the 1980s, company sponsored adult education was dwindling and large Non-governmental Organizations that were working in adult education began to take centre stage, like the Bureau of Literacy and Literature; the South African Institute of race relations; Operation Upgrade; Project Literacy and Learn and Teach (Stewart, 2001).

When the new government took over, there was much anticipation that adult education needs were finally going to be addressed. Stewart notes that "the terms of the debate were understandably shaped by the apartheid experience". The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) dominated the debate, especially the mining sector. Adult basic Education (ABE), with an expanded component of training to form ABET became the

¹ This is the sense one gets from the initial bureaucrats about the financial state of government when they took over the administration. The new lot seems to have been caught by surprise as they assumed that the country was rich and yet they found out that they were inheriting a bankrupt state.

dominating concept in talking about adult education and just about anything else disappeared from policy and intellectual discussions. In the meantime, the European Union had sponsored a very extensive and expensive project of establishing an Alternative Secondary Education for Adults (ASECA) through the auspices of the South African Council of Higher Education (SACHED). It soon became clear that the perceived needs by the NGOs like SACHED who have been working in the field and had a history of helping students who aspired to get into higher education, was different from the perceived needs of organized labour movement who recognized adult education as being basic literacy. Because of the power and influence of COSATU within the current government, ABET occupied a higher place than any other concept of adult education. The former regime delivered its adult education through a programmatic system operating in night schools. The new government sidelined the night school system and in fact discredited it with everything else that was wrong in adult education and was more inclined to 'campaigns'. However, it is doubtful if there would have been continued success in adult education through night schools in the context of present day crime and violence. But the narrowing of the programme offerings in Adult Education came at the same time with the reduction of institutions in which public adult education could be offered.

South Africa has always been uncertain about what the adult education needs of its population are. The apartheid era that denied generations of African people education, often informed attempts to remedy this situation. To this end therefore, most efforts have been directed to literacy interventions. Next to basic literacy interventions has been an attempt to give adults a school- like qualification, the general Education and certificate and Training (GETC) which was hoped it would enable these adults to access meaningful skills development. Before 1994, government night schools and linked private centres offered the only officially recognised certification in adult basic education in South Africa. This was the Standard 5 adult examinations. In the new dispensation this was widely regarded as unacceptable. Apart from it reflecting apartheid education, it emphasised authoritarian trivial and rote learning and was based on a schooling curriculum. With the introduction of Curriculum 2005, the old Standard 5 official examinations for adults fell away. What ABET certification there was, was then based on unguided assessments by the public adult learning centres (PALCs). The introduction of Curriculum 2005 for school-going learners and the growing status of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) also led to a period of

confusion, uncertainties, lack of direction, low motivation and poor quality in many PALCs. It has become clear that adults are increasingly losing ground in having access to meaningful education. These adults are now getting younger and can no longer be regarded as old grannies who want to learn to read their bibles. Individuals who need adult education need post-school education to complete and continue from where they left off at school.

4.2.3. Public Further Education and Training Colleges

A Further Education and Training College is not just another senior secondary school and it is not a university either. It is an institution that is fairly new in the South African education system. On one hand the FET colleges are a continuation of the technical colleges and on the other hand they are not. The term 'further education' was 'copied' by the policy makers early on during the establishment of the new government, from the United Kingdom. In the early twentieth century until the 1960s the United Kingdom technical colleges were places where the employed had their vocational education during the evenings. Towards the early 1960s a new development that had started at the end of the World War II was beginning to firm up. This was the era of partnerships with industry whereby technical colleges were used primarily as a place for block release or evening classes for those apprenticed by industry in specific areas of technical and mechanical studies. Later on this arrangement began to weaken as industry reduced its apprenticeship system intake and the technical colleges had to find a new vision. In the UK, the beginning of curriculum diversification that took place from then on included second-chance education and evening classes for adults. This diversification of curriculum has grown today to include a range of offerings like basic skills; literacy; numeracy; key skills; National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) at different levels; A-levels; specially designed higher education access courses and even higher education courses (<http://au.encarta.msn/encyclopedia>; 2009). The UK further education colleges are now very similar to the community college of the United States of America that has come to be an all-encompassing institution to provide educational opportunities between the school system and the university (Townsend & Dougherty, 2006). However, the community college concept was never favoured in South Africa; instead the further education concept of the UK was preferred.

	FET Colleges	Number of campuses
	Central Johannesburg	4
	Ekurhuleni East	5
	Ekurhuleni West	6
	Sedibeng	3
	South West Gauteng	7
	Tshwane North	3
	Tshwane South	2
	Western	2
Total	8	32

FET colleges have always had this connection with the apprenticeship system. Gamble (2003) for example provides us with the most insightful account of this historical relationship. According to her, the South African technical education has its roots in the British technical education as it was an outgrowth of the industrial development that occurred in the 1800s. These industrial developments were in the areas of mining, development of harbours and railways as well as engineering workshops in urban areas. These industries, which were presumably overwhelmingly from Britain, also brought with them the kind of technical education in South Africa that made a distinction between the Science to be taught in schools from that taught in technical colleges. The curriculum that emerged was embedded in the block release of the apprenticeship system. In other words it was an education system whose aim was specifically to support the work-based apprenticeship system and not the other way. Many white, working class South Africans qualified as artisans, technicians and even professionals through this route. This is also confirmed in other writings:

In South Africa, in the 1930s and 1940s, many poor young white boys, often recently urbanised, were assisted to escape poverty through a system of education and training that provided a step-by-step route out of poverty into the middle classes. And not only did this system assist the boys themselves. In the post-Depression years, the professional offices of many of the parastatals were staffed by the successful graduates of this programme – thereby helping to meet the critical skills shortages being experienced at the time (Bird, 2010, p.3).

In the 1980s, opportunities for industry apprenticeships became fewer and compromised the work-based learning pathway. In other words vocational education was put in jeopardy as there was now a clear disconnect between the parts which were meant to be together. This disconnect also coincided with the deracialisation of technical education system when young black people could access technical education. Later developments in this sector produced two kinds of technical and vocational education curriculum:

the one that keeps knowledge and skill together and the other that separates skill from its formal knowledge base (Gamble, 2003; p.11).

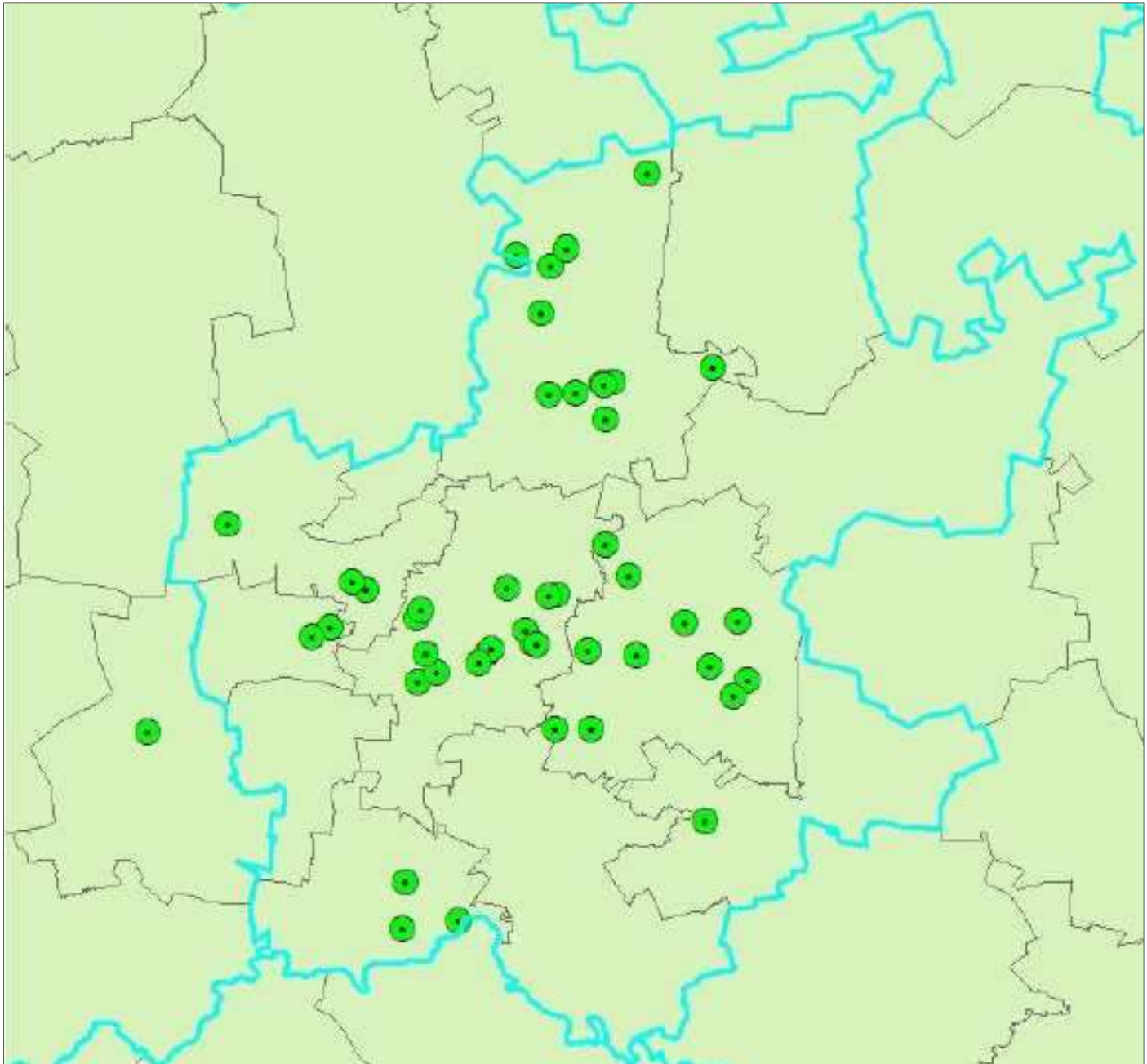
In racially differentiated South Africa, the black colleges could not easily access the formal apprenticeships and resorted to the practical manual skills aiming at the unskilled and semi-skilled end of the informal labour whilst the white colleges retained the concept of knowledge and skill together, through a narrowing formal apprenticeship system. For example, whilst the graduates in black colleges acquired the theoretical aspects of the National or “N” technical courses, same as their white counterparts, they proceeded to learn menial and disjointed skills in college workshops where possible, without actually been immersed in industry production. All three components of vocational education, namely theory, practice and work-experience are integral, are supposed to feed on each other and ensure that the whole qualification is kept abreast at all times. In other words, when one aspect of curriculum weakens, the whole system suffers. This weakened vocational education evolved in technical colleges over time.

In 1998, the Skills Development Act was legislated, in which learnerships were going to be the key system that would drive the training of young people, the unemployed and those at work. In many instances, learnerships were conceived as the replacement of the dying artisans’ training and sometimes as an innovative way to structure training in areas where there was no history of artisan training. Learnerships were constructed to be the basis for training in very specific kinds of jobs. For examples the following qualifications were recorded in the National Qualifications framework in 2006. Whilst access to learnerships is difficult the apprenticeship system has not been growing in tandem with the demand of employers and individuals who need to be skilled. The South African Institute of Race Relations (2012) has the following numbers on the apprenticeship system.

Numbers	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09
Apprenticeship contracts	4117	14293	17339
Individuals in apprenticeship training	7905	7928	8337
Individuals who passed the trade test	3192	2903	3392
Proportion passed	40.4%	36.6%	40.7%

Source: SAIR, 2012

The numbers of those who get an apprenticeship are still negligible as compared to the need both from employers and individuals who desire this kind of training, but the throughputs are alarmingly low. Also, over the years there does not seem to be a significant improvement in the number of candidates who actually qualify as artisans at the end of the day. This is a flagship programme that is supposed to give the country skills in critical and scarce areas and support the reindustrialisation of the country as well as the expansion of the labour market.



Further Education and Training Colleges in Gauteng

4.2.4. Other post-school education and training provision

University education is one form of post-school education which is visible to the public and aspired to by most students who are in school education. When not taking the University of South Africa into account, as it is a national distance education university, in 2010 the Gauteng Province boasts of the following universities and student numbers:

	University	Students
	University of Johannesburg	48315
	University of Pretoria	57114
	Tshwane university of Technology	51785
	Vaal university of Technology	21416
	University of Witwatersrand	29498
Total		208128
% of national		34,7%

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations 2012

As we can see above, Gauteng carries more than a third of student population in universities in the country. Considering the high mobility of students in the country, it can be expected that many of these students originate outside the province. However, we must take note of the fact that in 2010, the Gauteng schools had the following student enrolments.

Grade 12 enrolments	Senior Certificate passes	FET College NCV ² enrolments	Universities
123 123	69216	25 647	208 128

Although it cannot be expected that there should be a one to one correspondence of students from the schooling system to the post-school system, it should also be alarming to realise that the post school system is so unbalanced in relation to the students who are in grade 12 at any particular point. It is particularly alarming to note the small number carried by the FET Colleges in their main provision as compared to all institutional types. Where do these students go? We should ask. Are they in employment? We will explore this later.

Looking at the types of awards that universities have given between 1996 and 2010, we can also determine the areas the fields in which students have been receiving their training in preparation for the labour market, from the following ranking in terms of numbers who received the awards.

² Although the NCV is not the only programme offered in FET Colleges, it represents the largest component of programmes in all institutions.

Field of study	Ranking in 1996	Ranking in 2006	Ranking in 2010
Education	1	2	2
Business commerce, and management sciences	2	1	1
Health professions and related clinical sciences	3	3	3
Social Sciences and Studies	4	4	6
Public management and services	5	7	10
Languages, linguistics and literature	6	10	15
Engineering and engineering technology	7	4	4
Law	8	5	7
Psychology	9	8	8
Life and physical sciences	10	6	5
Computer science and data processing	18	9	9

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations 2012

From the above rankings, it can be seen that there have been significant shifts in terms of fields of study in which awards have been given over the last fifteen years the SAIRR (2012) survey was concerned with in this study. For example, there has been growth in particularly the Engineering studies, computer sciences and life and physical sciences. On the other hand, we see a decline in awards in Public management services and languages, linguistics and literature. The three top areas that receive the most awards remain constant, and these are Business, commerce and management sciences; Education and Health professions and related clinical sciences.

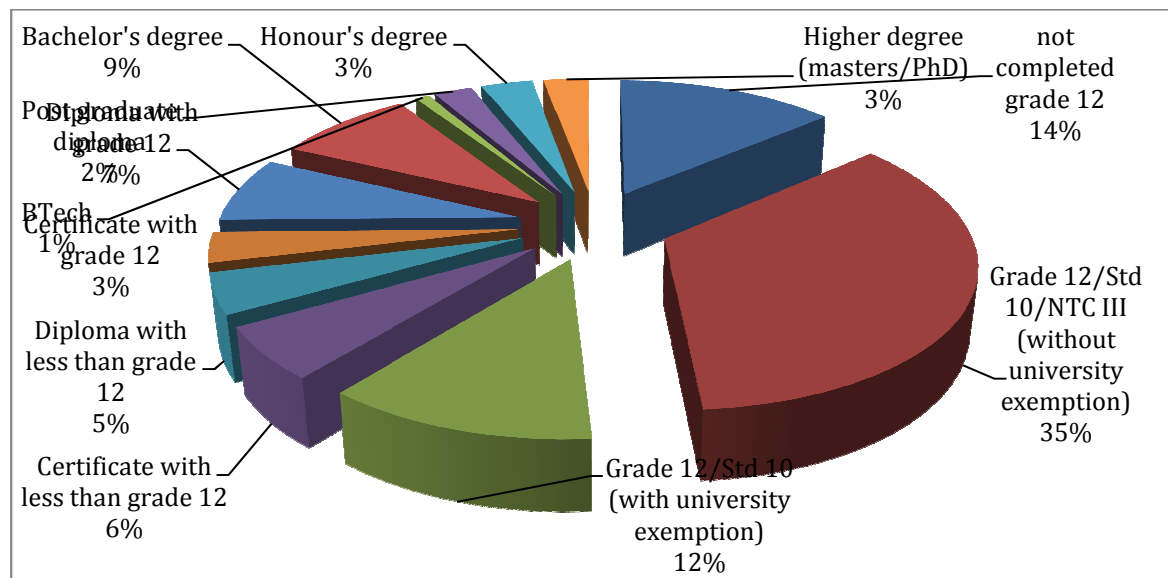
Post school public provision also happens in different institutions which are the responsibility of government, but not necessarily the Education departments. These would be colleges like nursing, police, defence force, agriculture. Information on the enrolments and throughputs of these other colleges is not easy to obtain and there is no known quality assurance mechanism on such as yet. Also, all these colleges are aggregated at the national level and it would be

difficult to get information at the provincial level at this stage.

When one looks specifically into the education profiles of the Gauteng Municipalities, one realises that there are definite differences that exist, with the better off municipalities being the home of the better educated citizenry and therefore the reservoir of better skills for the labour market. For example, the following are education profiles of the three metros:

a. **City of Johannesburg:**

According to the 2007 survey, the City of Johannesburg had 1 381 841 people educated, under the parameters of this analysis. The parameters range from a Grade 12 education, up to a PhD (this is shown in the figure below).



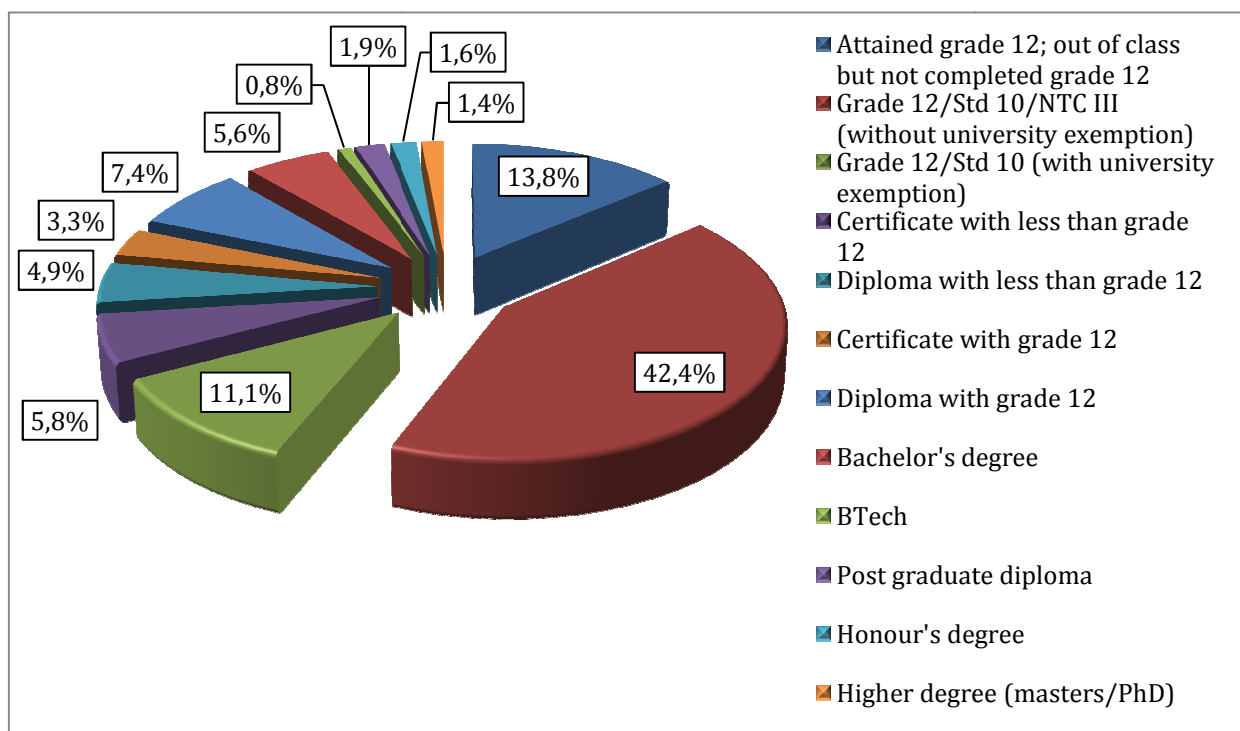
Source: *Community Survey, 2007*

Based on the above data one can see that there are a few people that have education levels of University level or higher. According to Community Survey 2007, 247 716 people have education of a bachelor's degree, or higher. This in turn is 17.9% of the population sampled. The greatest part of the population sample has a Grade 12 without exemption, 485 321 (35.1%). One may attribute this to the fact that the City of Johannesburg also includes some of the biggest township areas in South Africa, those being Alexandra and all the townships in Soweto. These areas are synonymous with poor education levels and schools.

White and Indian/Asian males outnumber their female counterparts at the highest level of education (master's/PhD), where White males are twice as many compared to females, 16 276 versus 7 285.

There are more people with Bachelor's degrees than B.Tech degree or Diploma with Grade 12 though, 119 352, 12 180, and 101 494 respectively. This may be attributed to the fact that Johannesburg as a commercial hub attracts more professionals than any other metro, municipality.

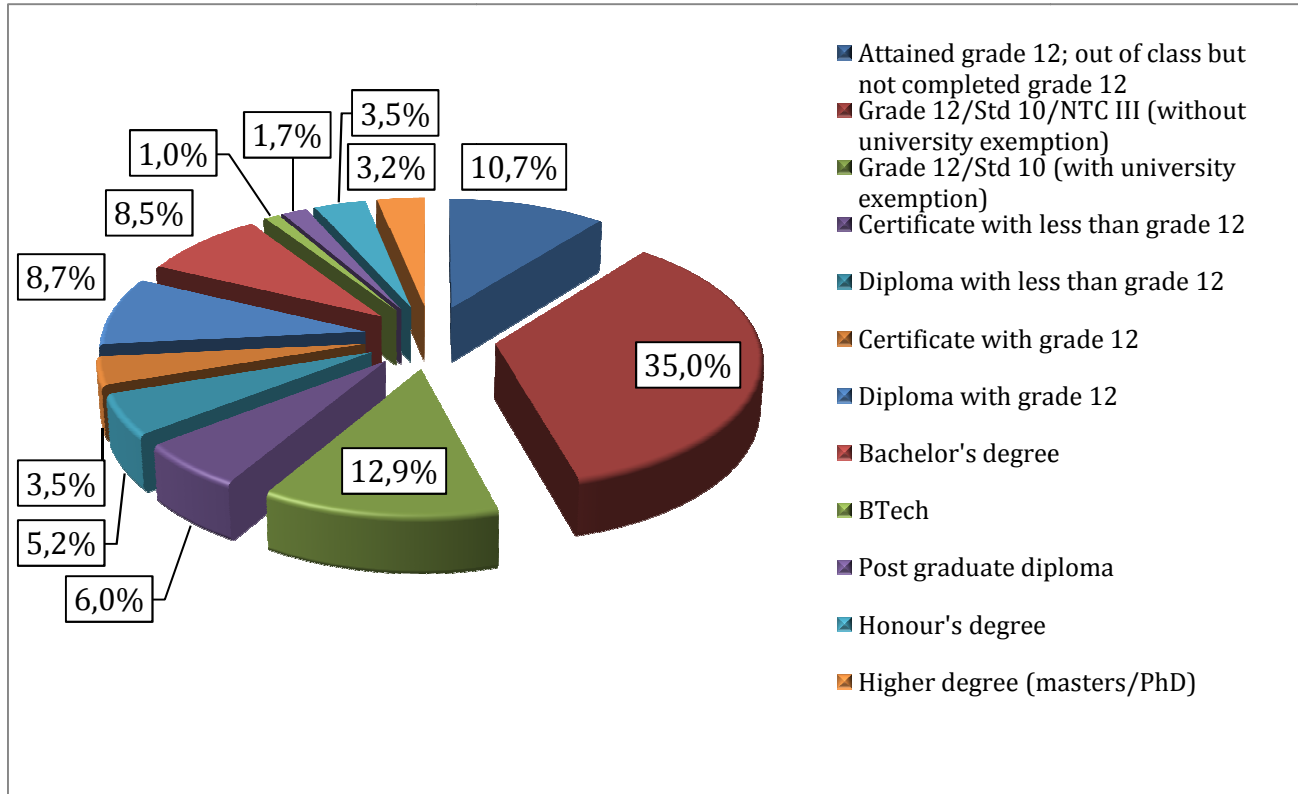
b. Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality



Source: Community Survey 2007

42.4 per cent of the population has attained a grade 12/std 10/NTC III without university exemption; while on the other hand, a 11.1 per cent of the population has a grade 12/std 10/NTC III with university exemption. Only 7.4 per cent of the population has diplomas with grade 12. A lowly 5.6 per cent of the population has bachelor's degree. As shown by figure 7, the percentage of the population which has attained higher degrees decreases with each next level of education.

c. City of Tshwane

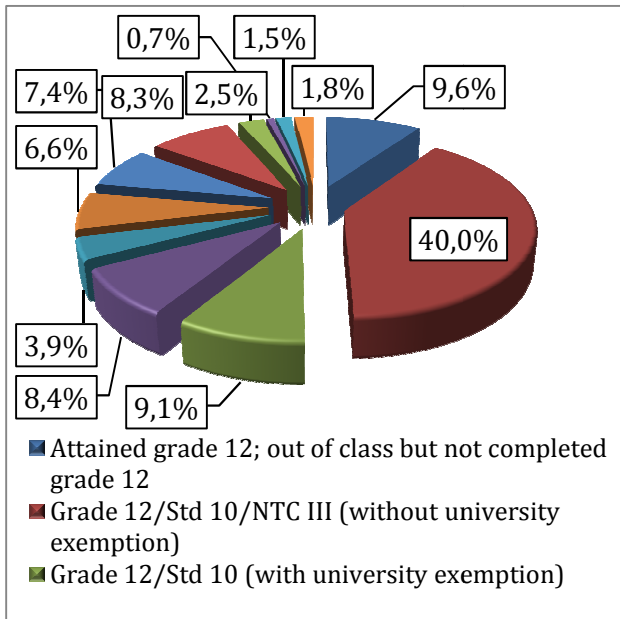


Source: Community Survey 2007

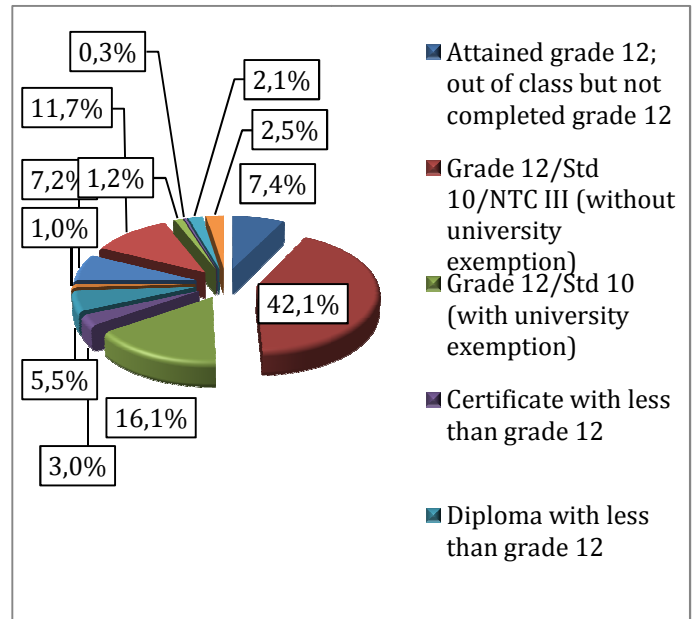
Most of the City of Tshwane population has managed to achieve a grade 12/std 10/NTC III without university exemption; while on the other hand, a small portion has achieved Grade 12 with university exemption. The numbers of people with higher degrees continue to decrease with each higher level of education. In other words, less people has achieved BTech, post graduate diploma and higher degree (masters/PhD).

The educational profiles of metros have to be compared with those of municipalities of lesser status and riches below:

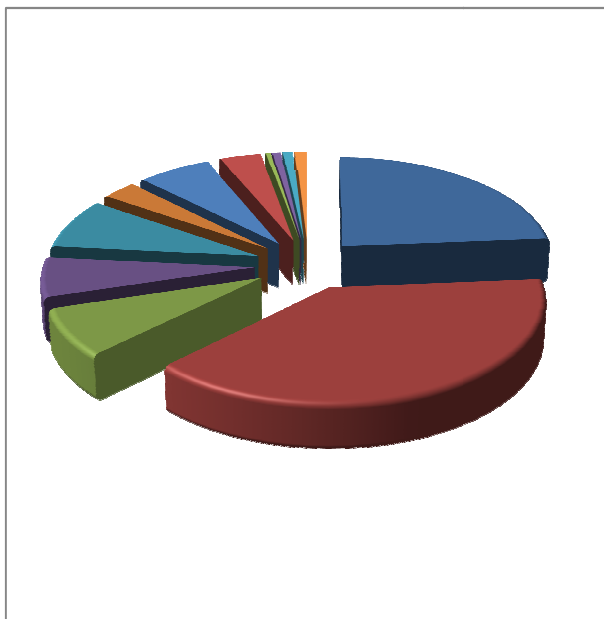
Midvaal Municipality



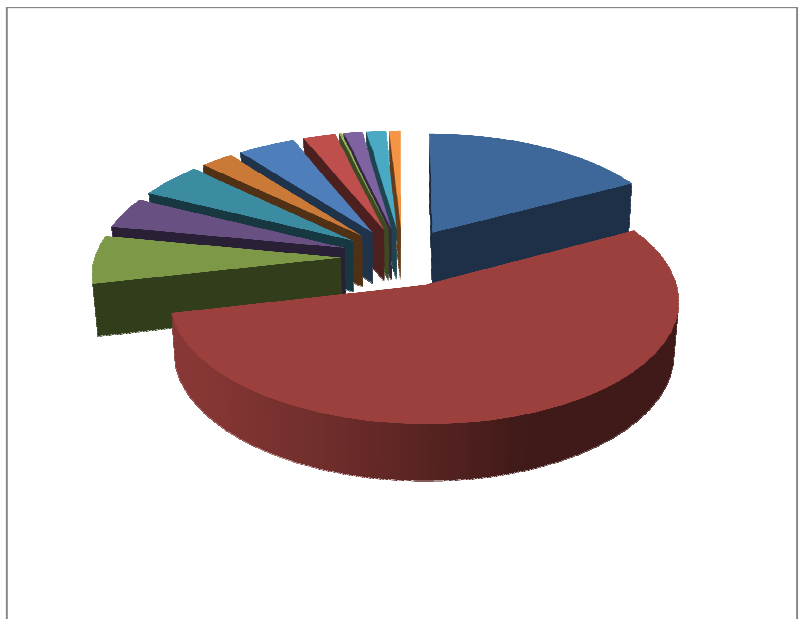
Lesedi Municipality



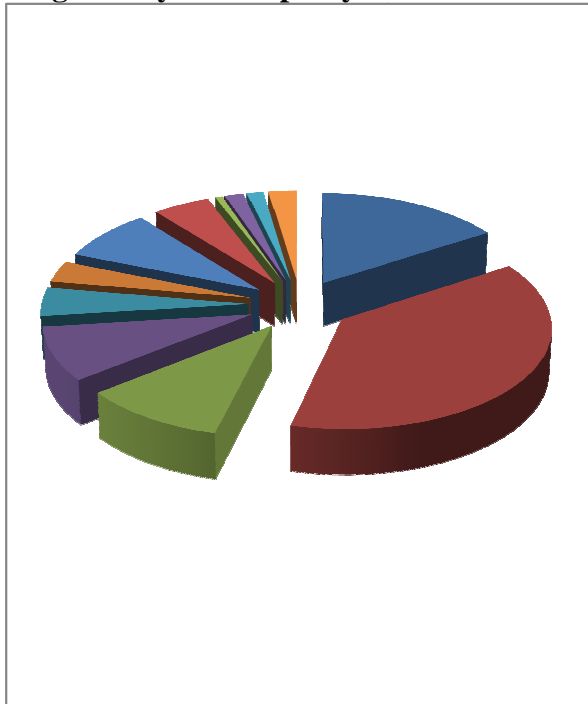
Emfuleni Municipality



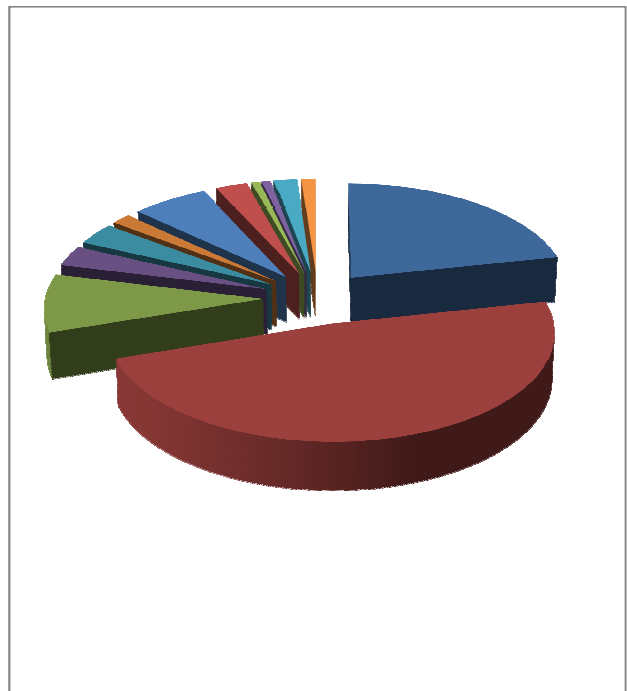
Merafong Municipality



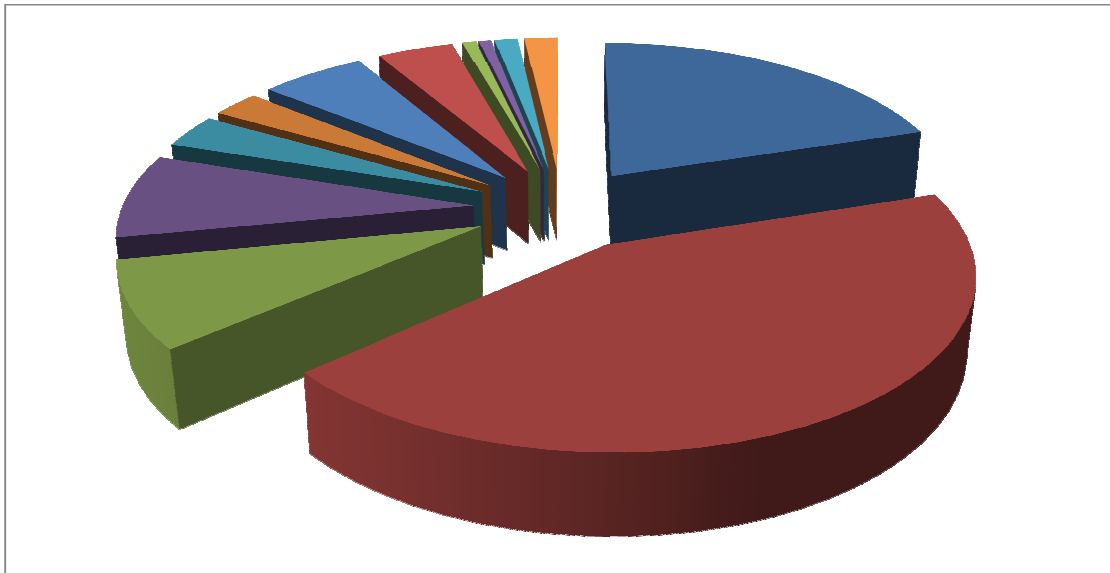
Mogale City Municipality



Randfontein Municipality



Westonaria Municipality

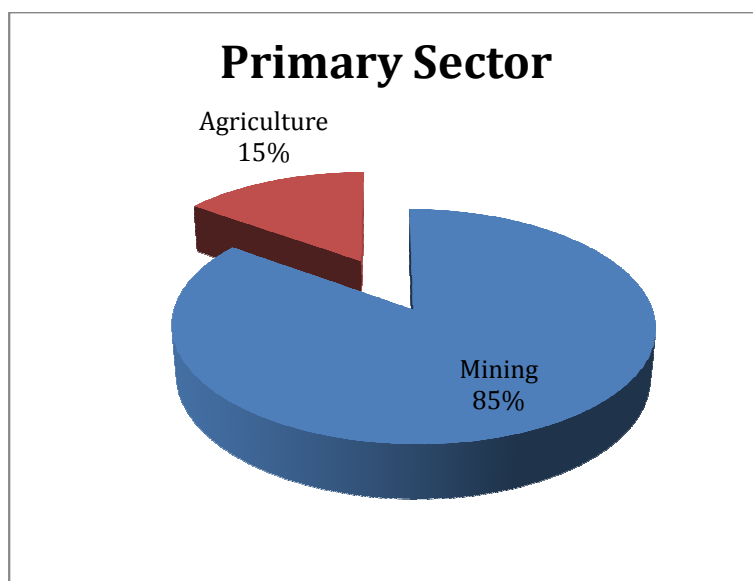


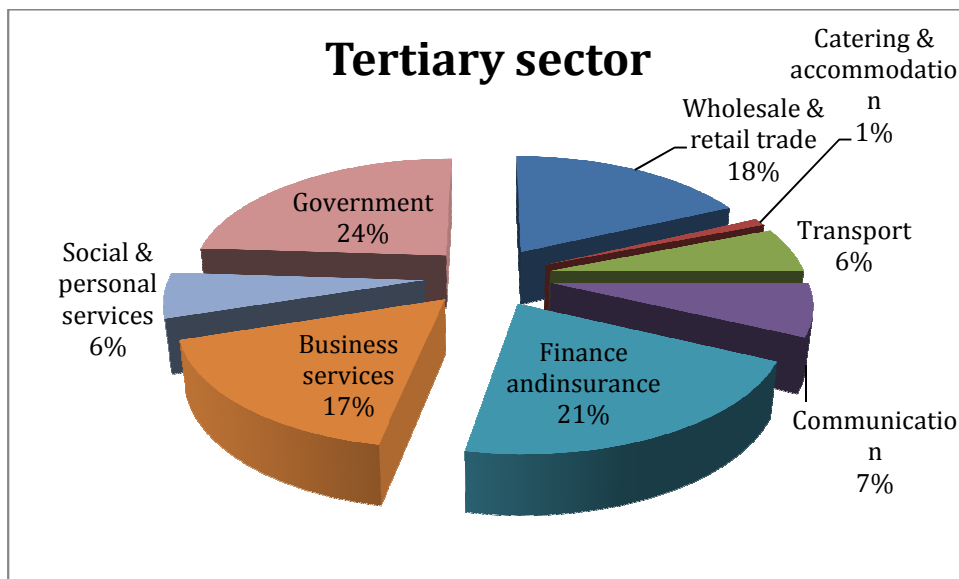
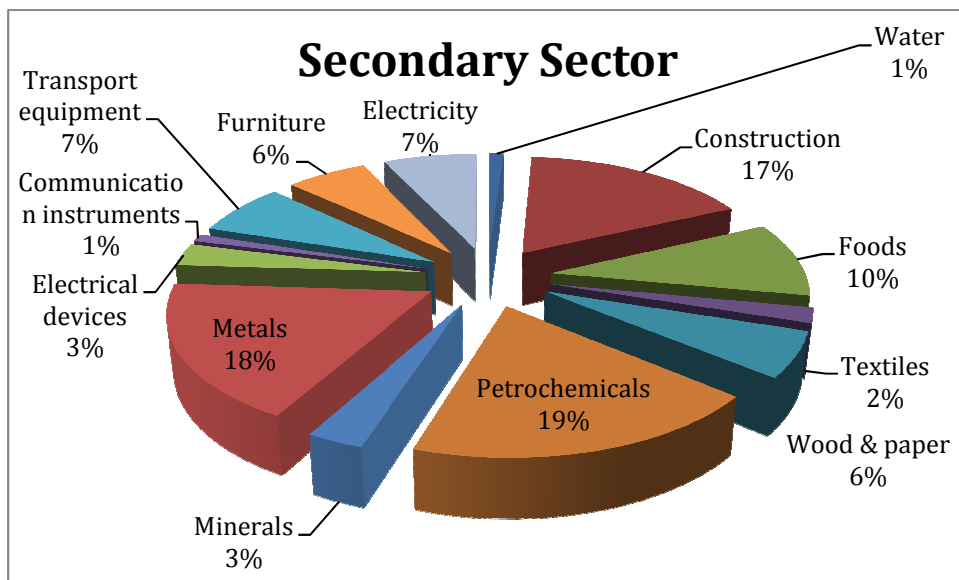
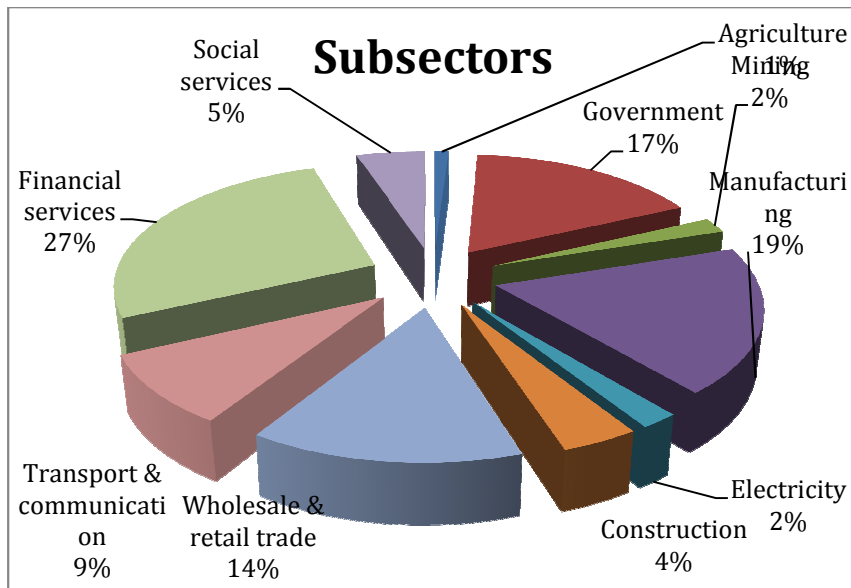
In conclusion we can observe certain abnormalities in our education system. Although our school system receive most of public comments about its poor performance in Grade 12, it is clear that the system has significantly improved in terms of providing access to students. For example enrolments rates in primary schooling cover 85% of the South African children, whilst secondary schooling covers 72% (SAIRR, 2012). This puts us at the top levels for developing countries and certainly at the top in African countries. Our greatest problem seems start at the successful completion of the senior secondary schooling and continues to transition beyond schooling (Lolwana, 2010; CHET, 2009). This problem is also greatly exacerbated by the small and fragile nature of the post schooling system that has little or no capacity to absorb the flows from our schooling system (DHET, 2012). Although most of the information we have is concentrated on the national level, there is no reason to believe that the Gauteng provincial statistics would give us a different picture. Transitions beyond schooling are not only constrained by the small, weak and undiversified post-school system, but also by the limitations in the labour market. The focus in the next section will be primarily in this regard.

5. WORK AND EMPLOYMENT

Whilst urbanisation has been catching up in the whole country, Gauteng seems to be the recipient of most of the migration from rural areas, and even from other towns and cities in other provinces. This is because Gauteng's economy has always been the most vibrant and largest contributor to the country's GDP. According to the OECD (2011) study, Johannesburg is still the city with the most in South Africa – accounting for the highest density as well as the biggest financial muscle. The OECD report goes on to describe the Gauteng city- region as a polycentric metropolis, which means that its growth nodes are all over the province. For example the discovery of gold resulted in mining that is located on a broad axis running east and west on what is known as the Witwatersrand, spreading mining all over the reef. Then the manufacturing and smaller industries emerged in the South and east in places like Vereeniging- Vanderbijlpark, Sasolburg, Benoni and Nigel. Both the manufacturing and industrial centres connected to the mining industry, making Gauteng a metropolitan region with a polycentric spatial structure.

The economy of the province has been described as follows by the OECD (2011):

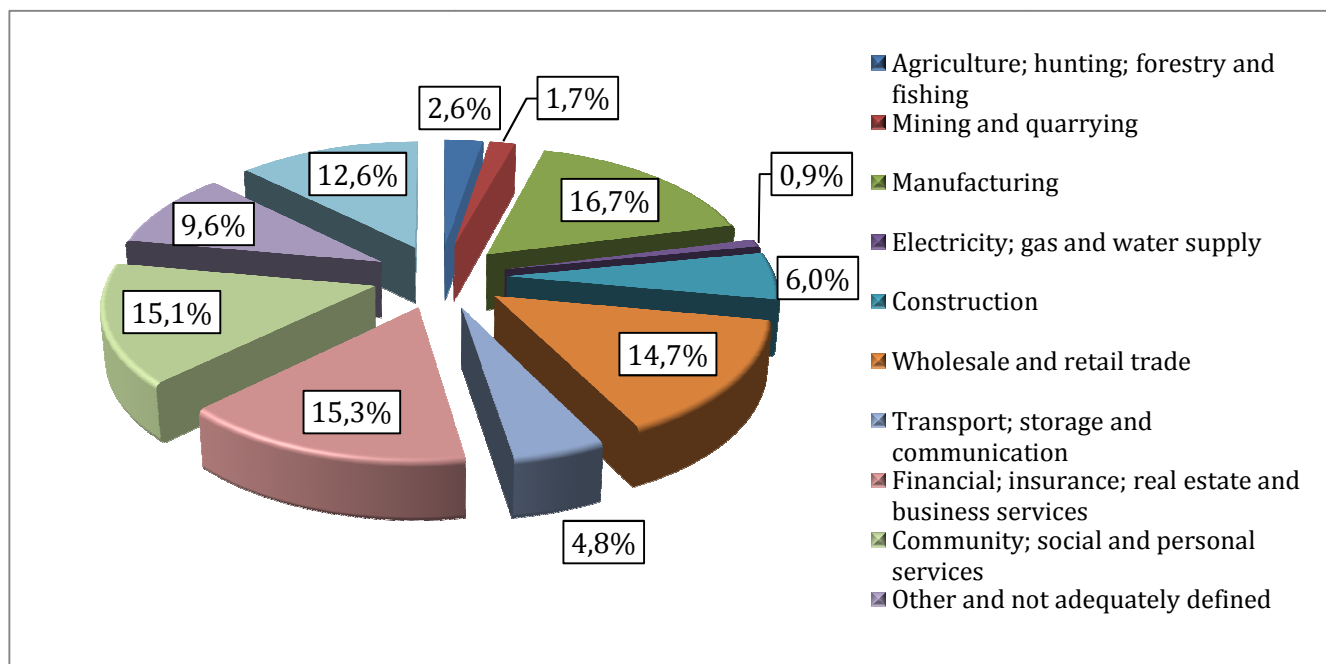




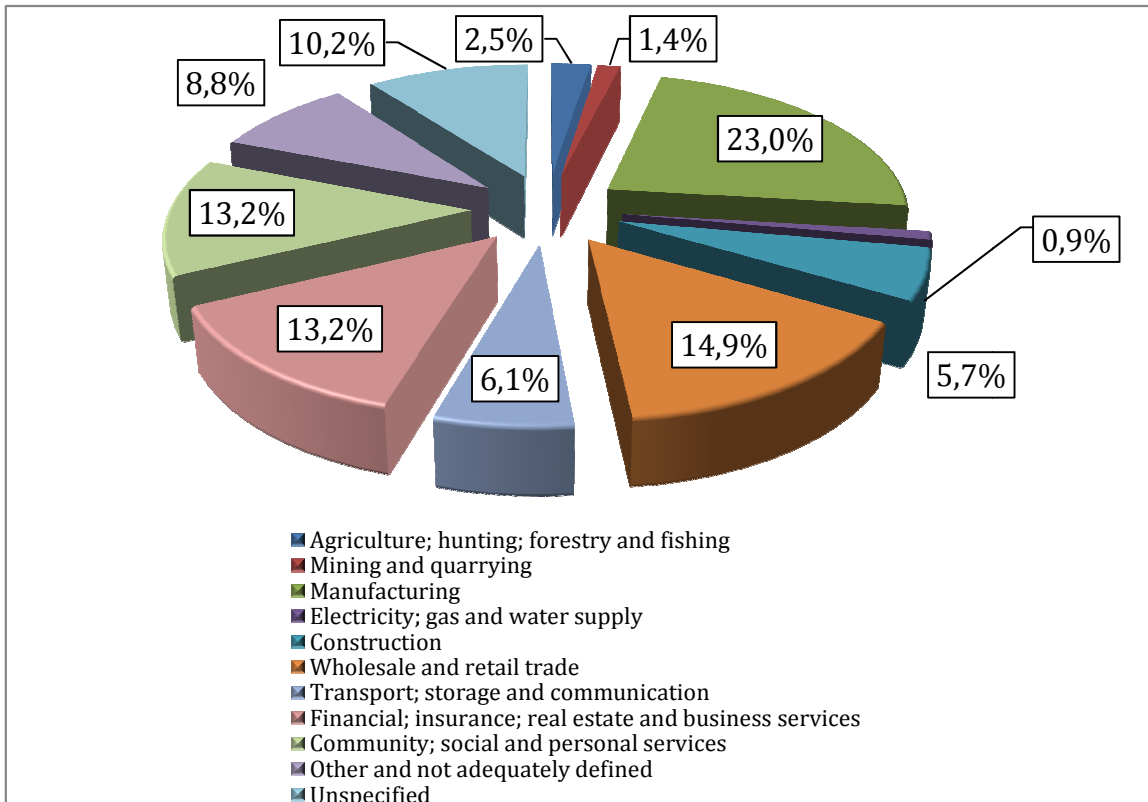
5.1. Economic profiles

This seemingly diverse economy has been at the same time concentrated in three municipalities, namely the metropolitan municipalities of Johannesburg, Tshwane and Ekurhuleni.

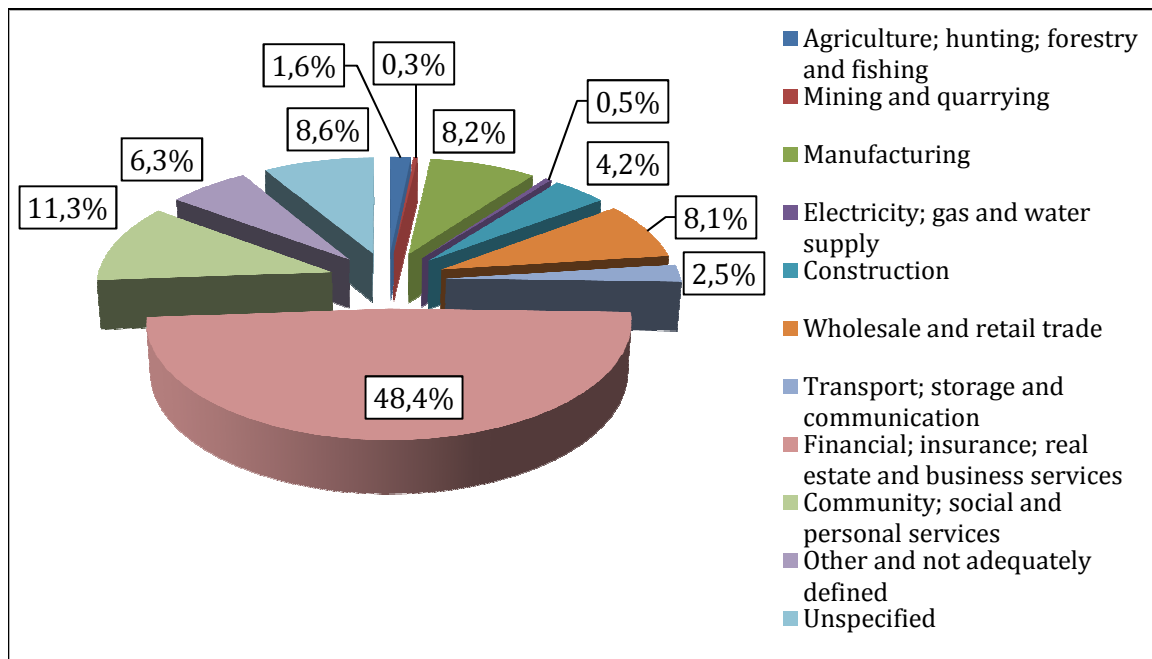
a. City of Johannesburg



b. Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality

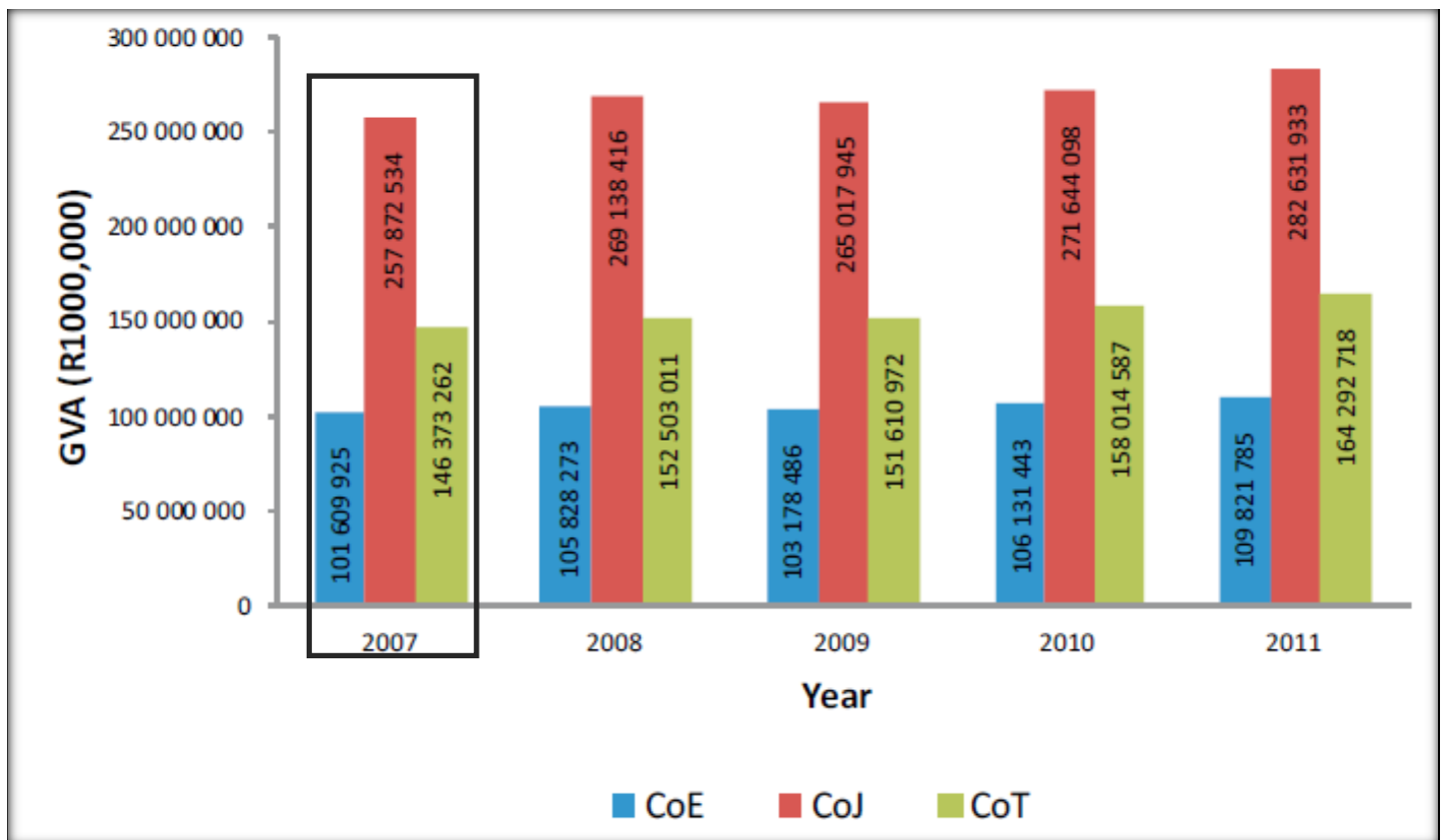


c. City of Tshwane



Economic Profile- Industry Composition

The GVA is an important measure of economic activity at local or regional level. It indicates the state of the local economy, including its size, rate of growth and average income, and it facilitates comparisons between areas. The GVA is also available for individual sectors and can be used to show their industrial composition.



Local Economy of CoT

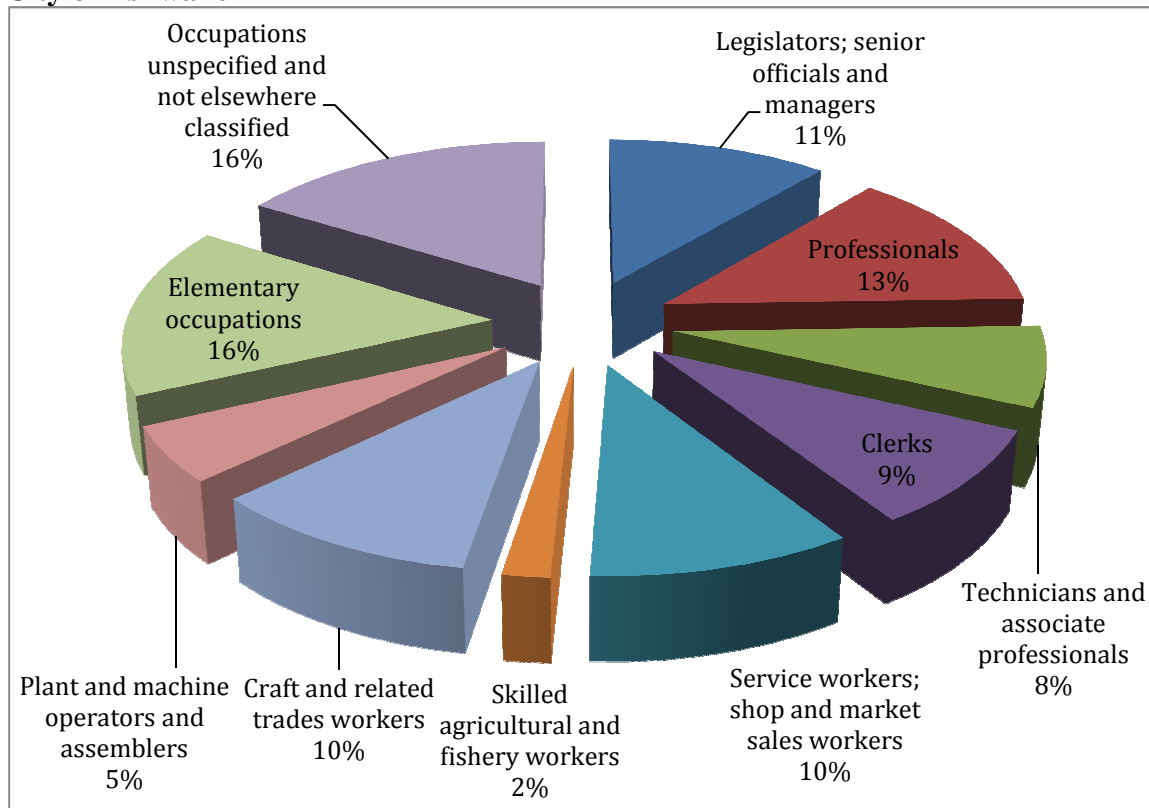
The above figure illustrates the economic size of Gauteng's three metros from 2006 to 2010 at constant price. It shows that Tshwane is the largest economy in terms of output after Johannesburg. These two metros as well as Ekurhuleni experienced a significant economic decline in 2009 as a result of the global economic recession. Because these three metros dominate the economic scene in Gauteng and in the country, the other municipalities' economic profiles will not be presented as the data for these is either not significant or accurate. The point that has to be made here is that even in this rich province, there are gross disparities in terms of where employment can be found, as this is related to the economic profile of the area. For example we see economic dominance in Tshwane in Financial and Real Estate. This is perhaps explained by the fact that this is the city of government and embassies and therefore real Estate is also bound to be of prime value. This is contrast to the City of Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni whose economic profiles seem to be fairly distributed amongst several sectors.

5.2. Employment

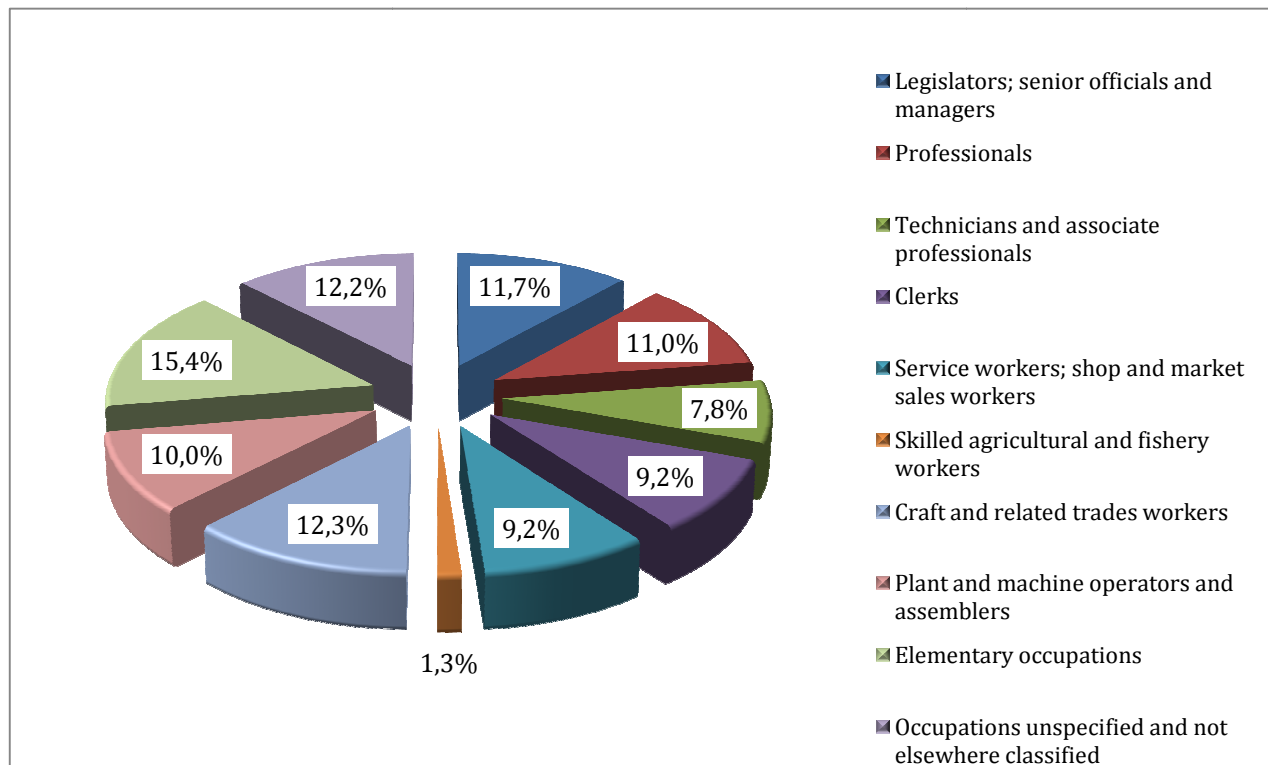
Although the economy of Gauteng was built on mining, it has been growing and diversifying in all different directions. The OECD (2012) shows that there have been shifts over time from

mining to manufacturing and now to financial services. This diversification has been collaborated by the data obtained from the 2007 Community Survey (Stats SA 2007).

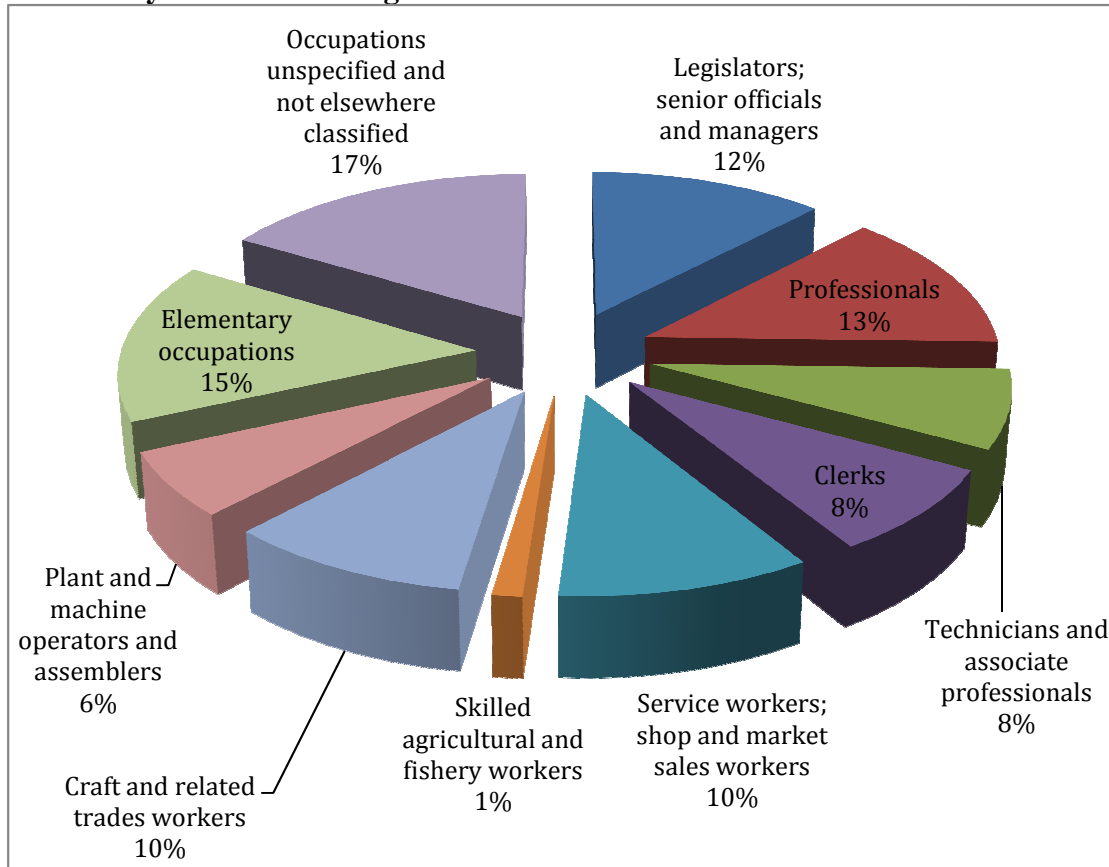
City of Tshwane



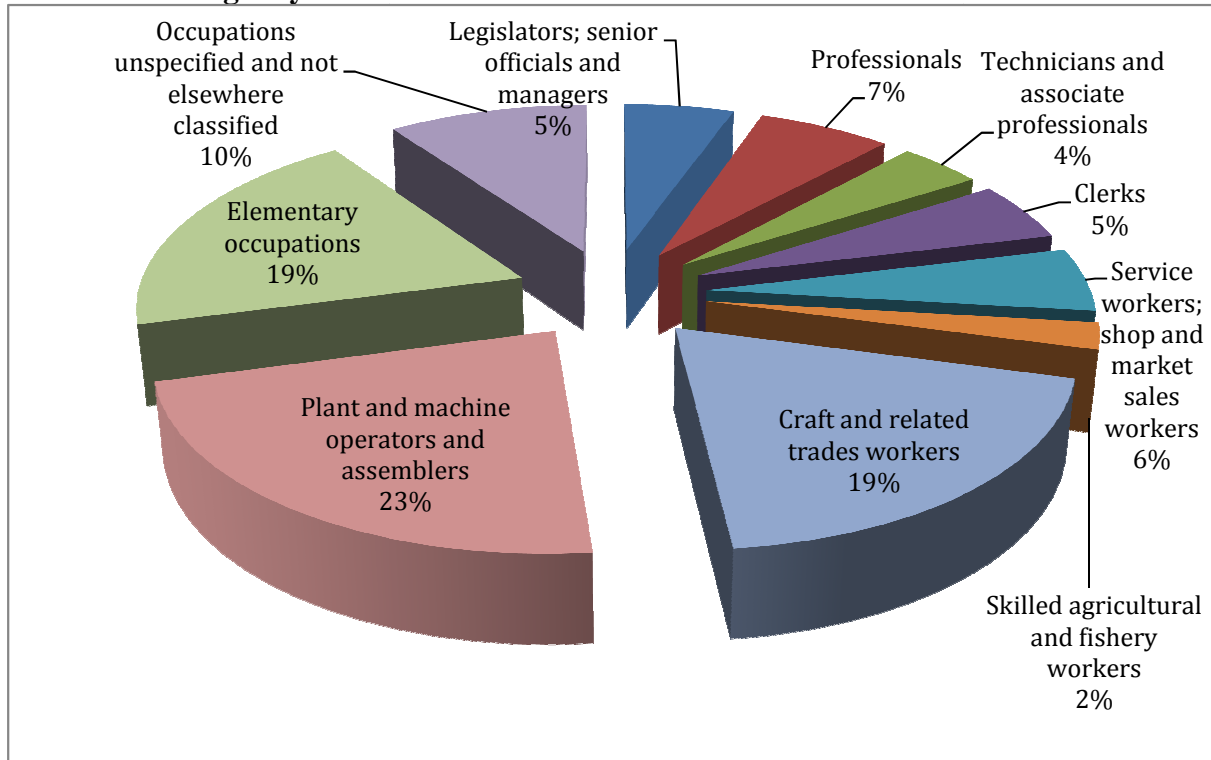
Ekurhuleni



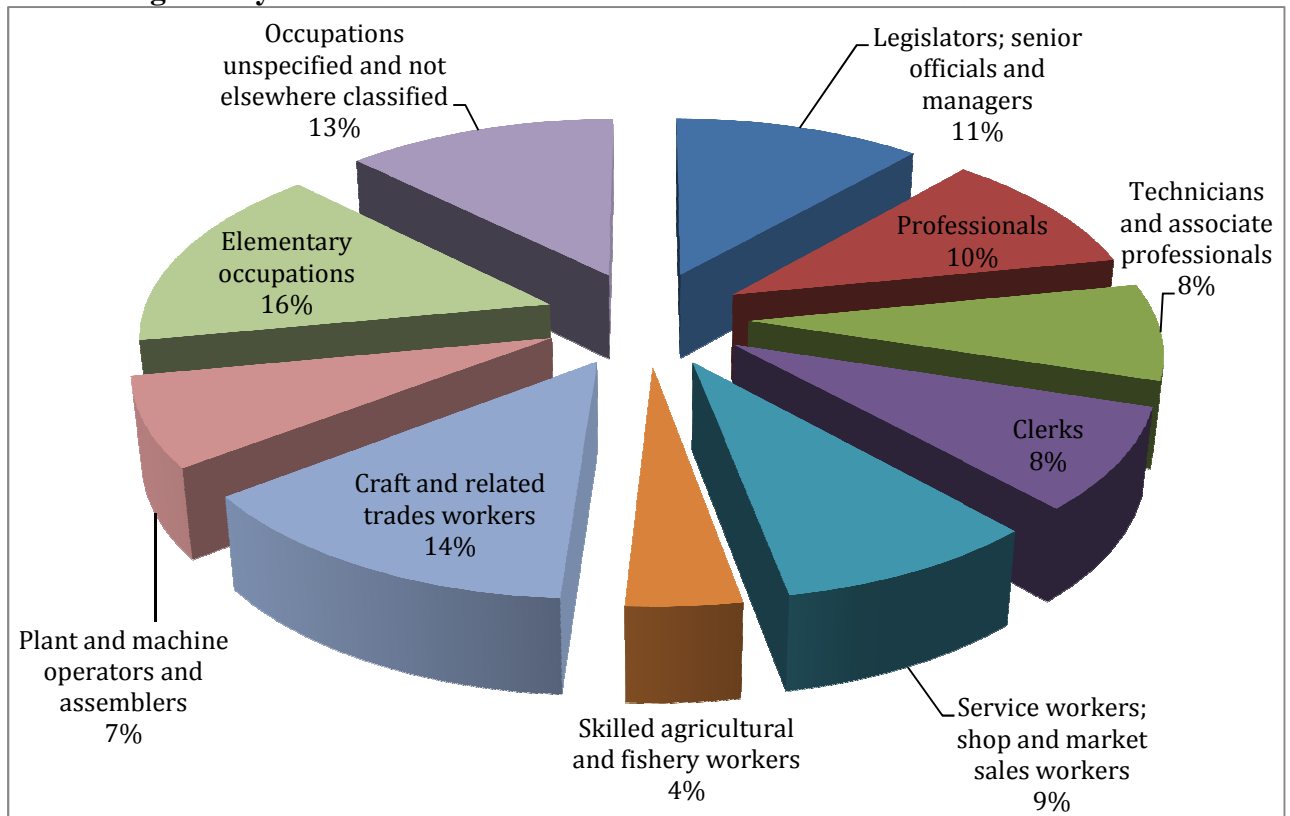
City of Johannesburg



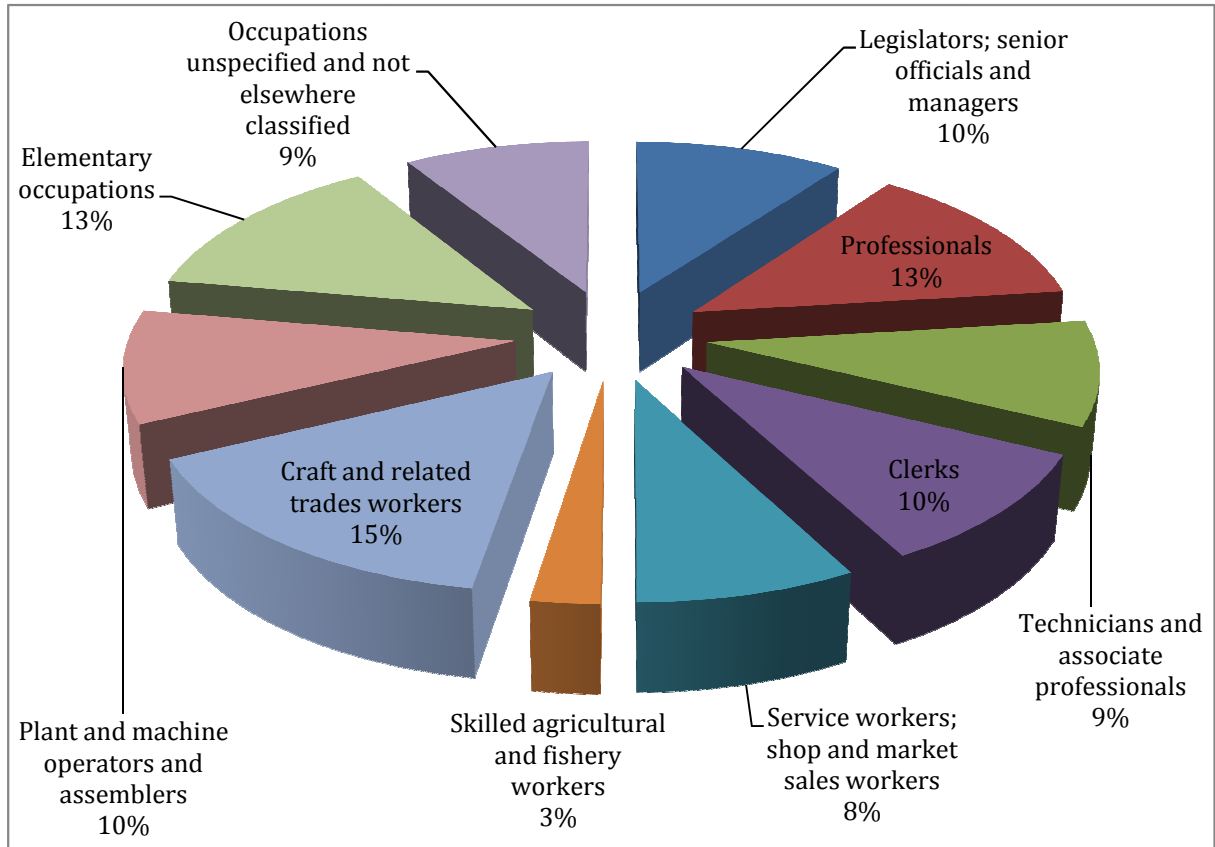
Merafong City



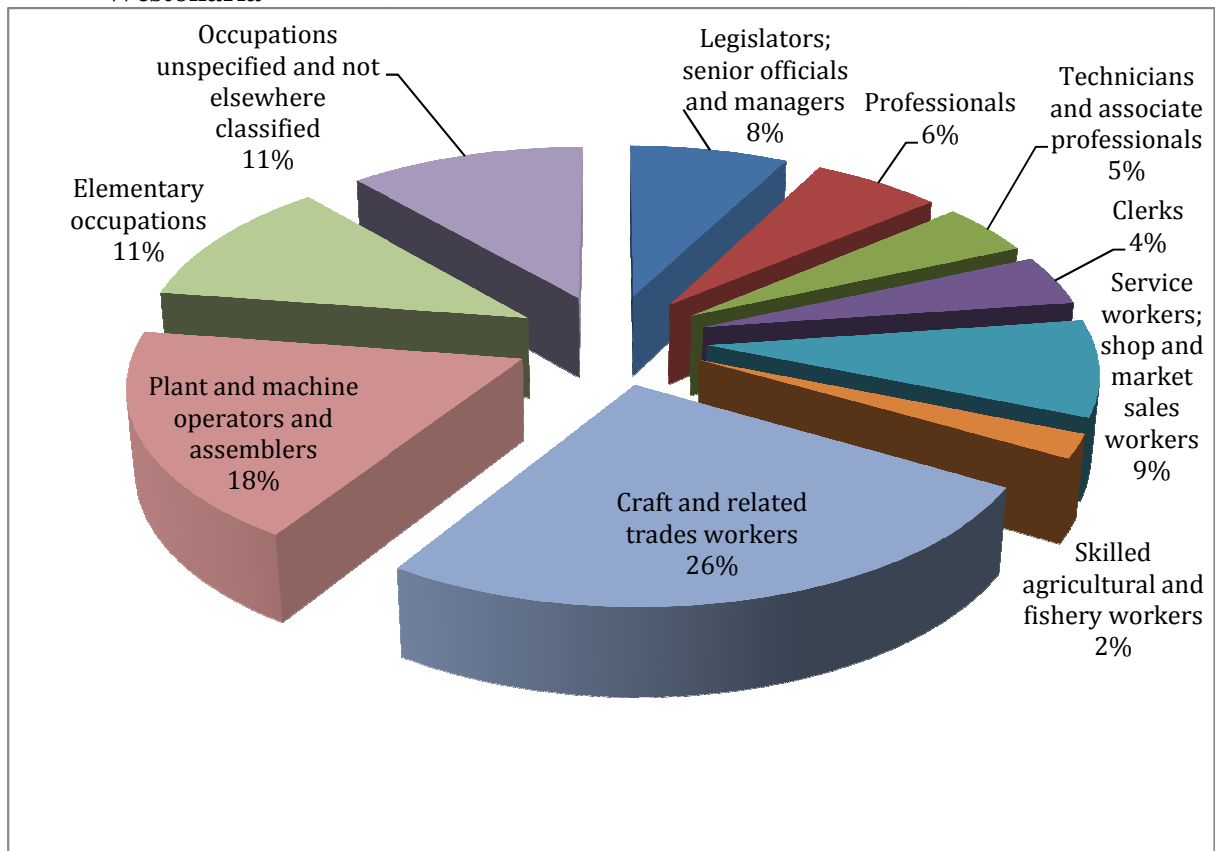
Mogale City



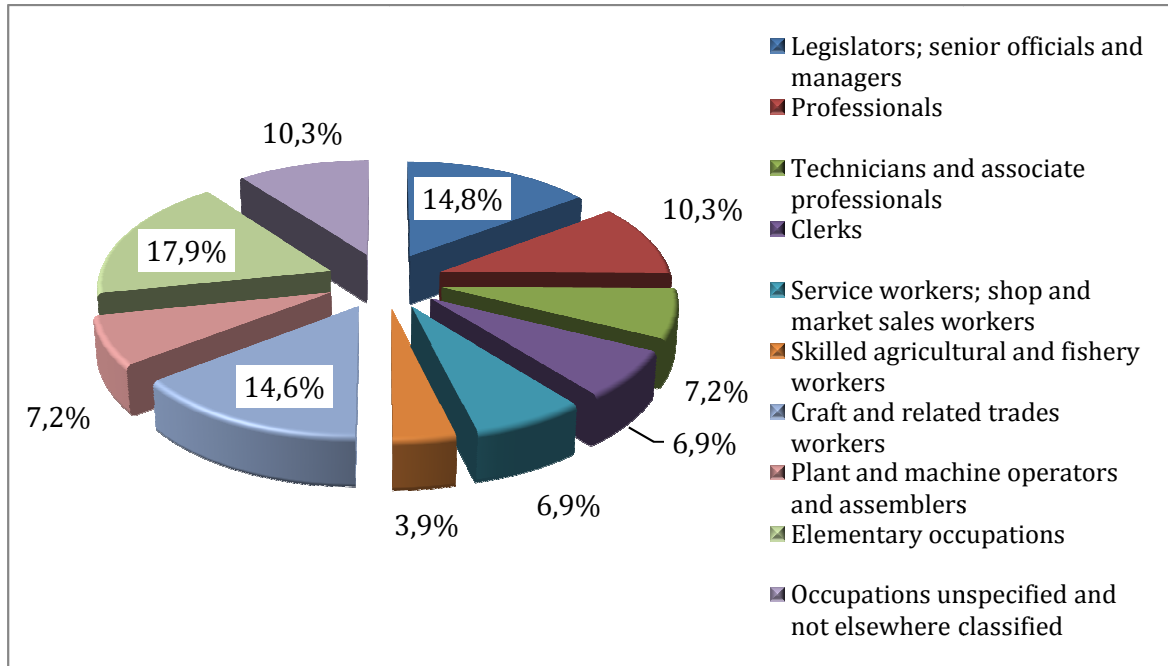
Randfontein



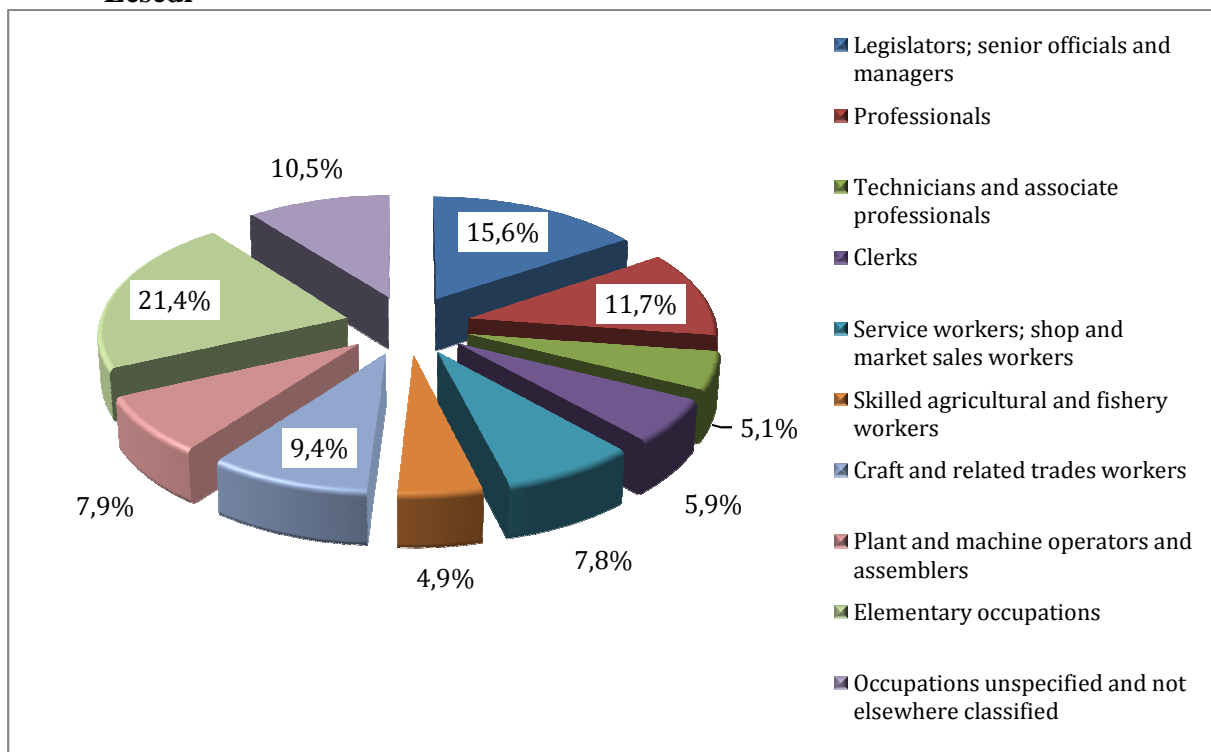
Westonaria



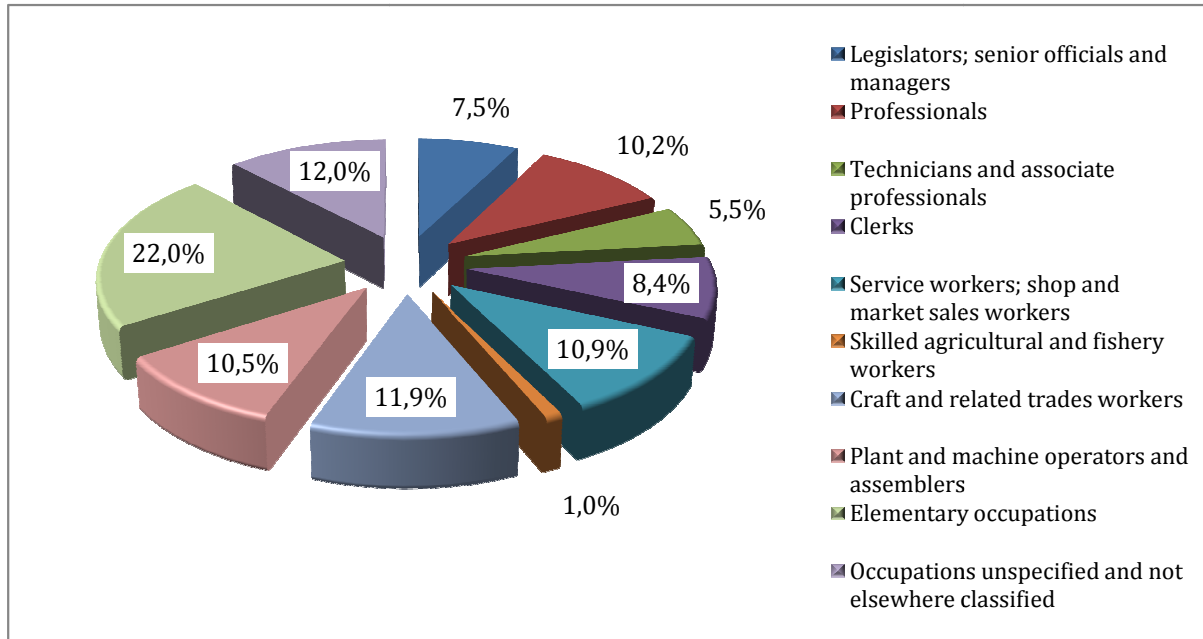
Midvaal



Lesedi



Emfuleni

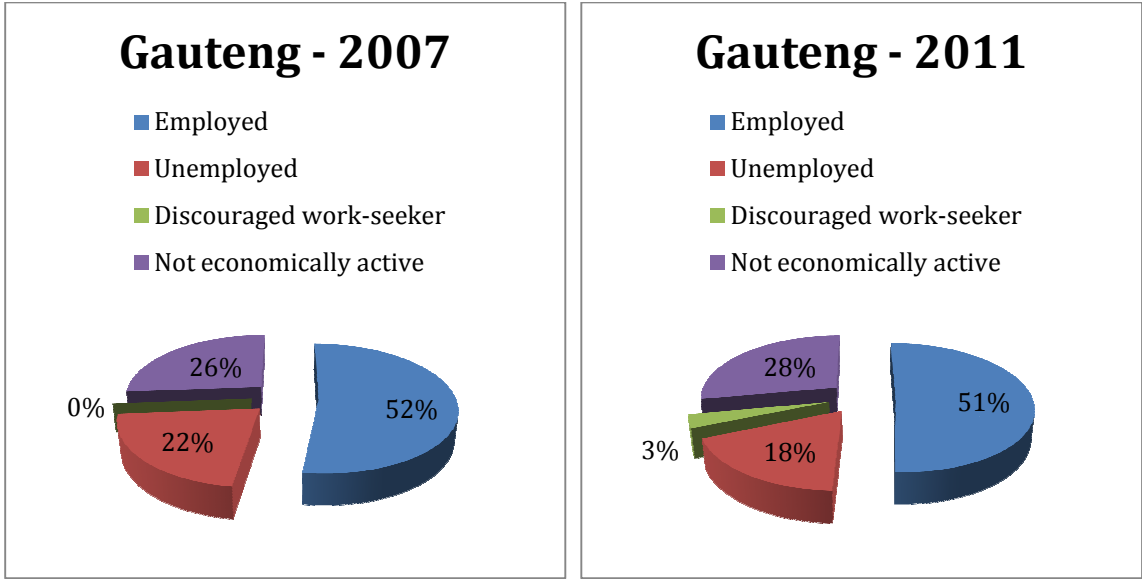


It can be seen from the graphs above that the metros tend to be more diversified and occupations between the public and sector balanced, whereas in the smaller municipalities' occupations elementary occupations still have a significant presence.

5.3. Unemployment

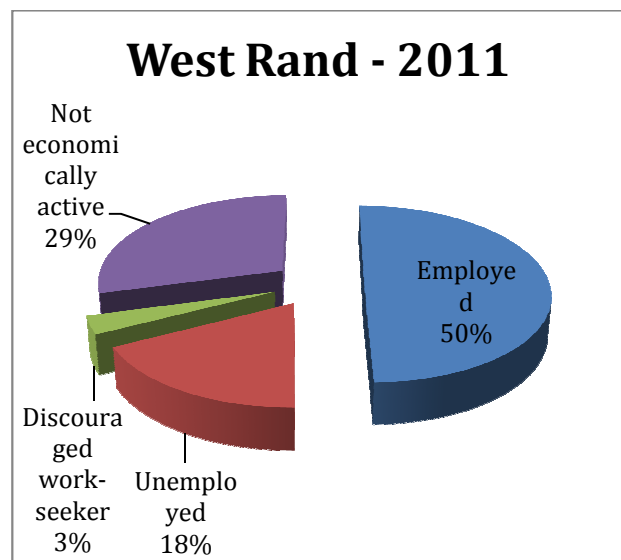
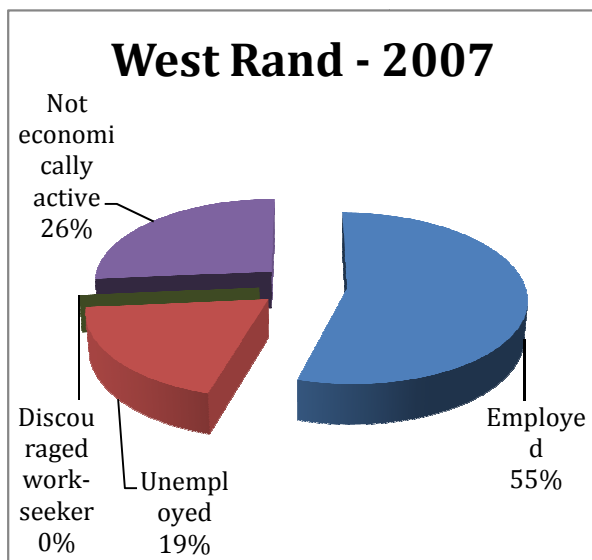
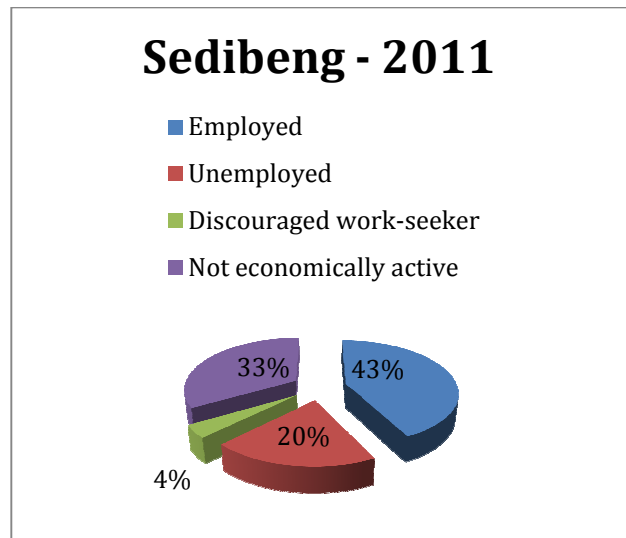
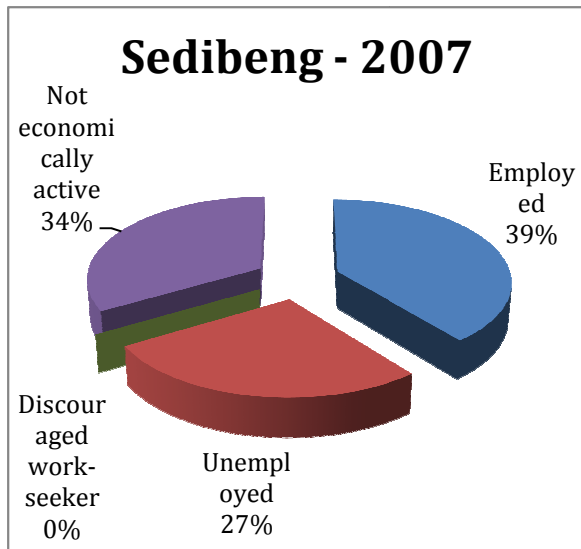
South Africa on the whole has been characterised by massive unemployment for a long period on a scale rarely found anywhere else (OECD, 2011). Already, 30% of all the jobs in the country are located in Gauteng, but despite the size of Gauteng's economy, the province still suffers its own share of high unemployment.

The 2011 census shows that only half of the Gauteng population is employed, with the rest described as either discouraged work-seekers, not economically active or unemployed. This confirms the chronic nature of unemployment, which has improved by only 1% since 2007.

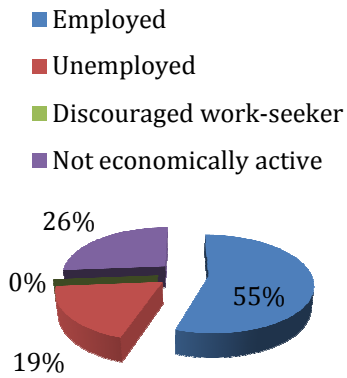


Even though the percentage of the employed has not significantly improved since 2007, it is the other categories of the unemployed that should be alarming. The unemployed category has grown from 18 % to 22%; the Not economically active category from 26% to 28% and the discouraged work- seekers from 0% to 3%. Unfortunately we could not distil these comparisons to a macro level as this data from the 2011 Census is not available yet. Even for some municipalities this comparative data is not yet available. In what is to follow, we present comparative data that is obtainable to date.

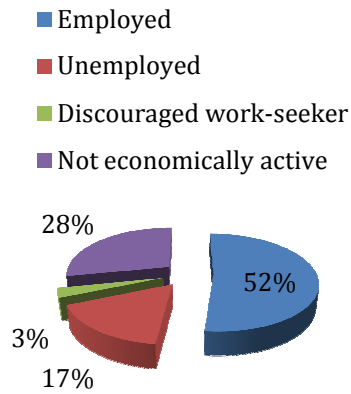
When we compare the status of unemployment in the various municipalities we realise that in some instances there have been both gains in the employed and the unemployed during the period between 2007 and 2011 and in some cases nothing has changed.



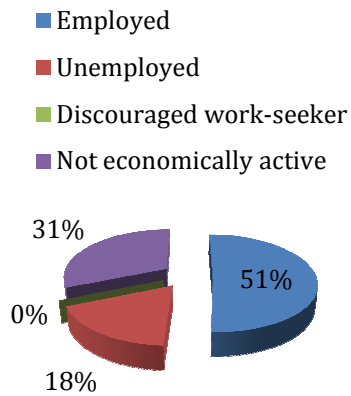
Mogale City - 2007



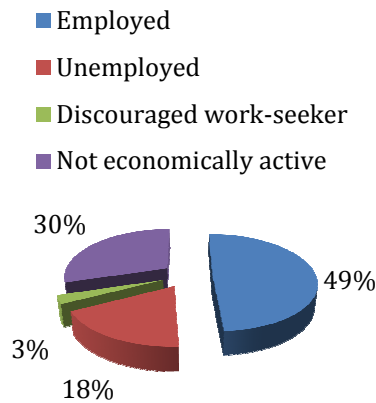
Mogale City - 2011

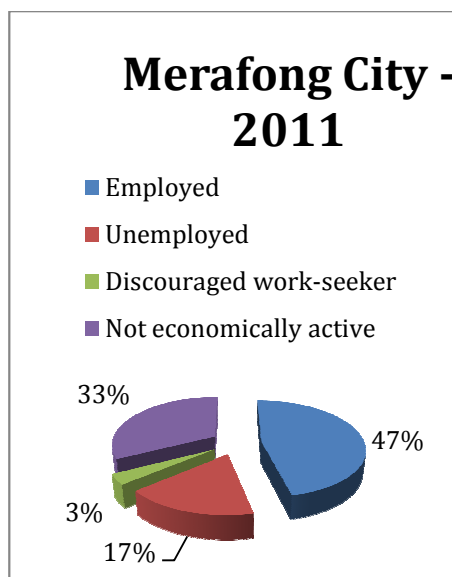
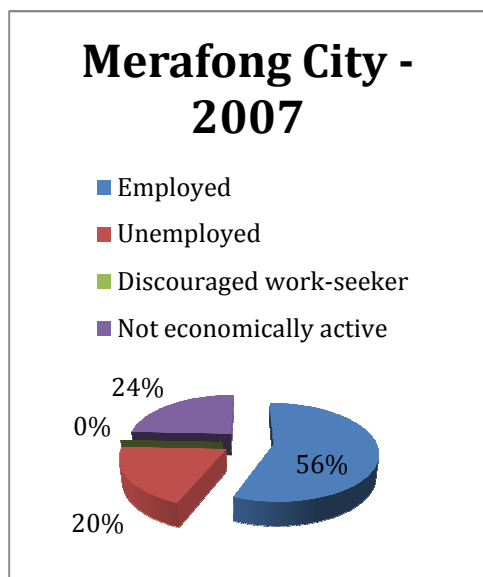
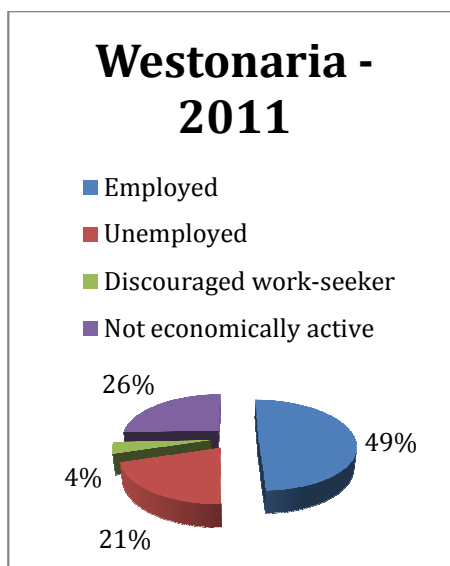
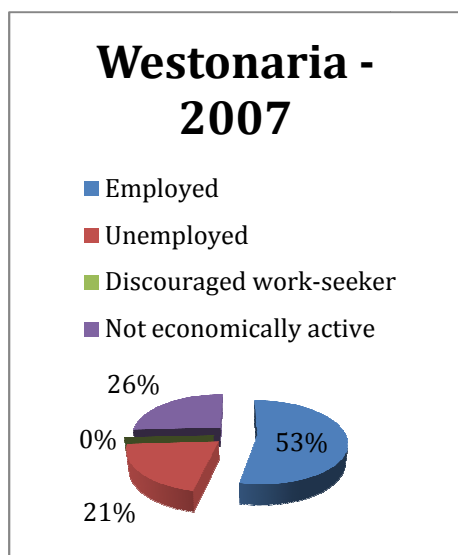


Randfontein- 2007



Randfontein - 2011

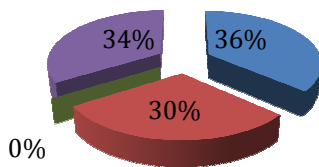




Even though not all data from the 2011 census was available at the point of finalisation of this report, it is worth noting that in the Community Survey 2007 there are some municipalities which present with very low and some above average employment levels see diagrams below for Emfuleni, Lesedi and Midvaal:

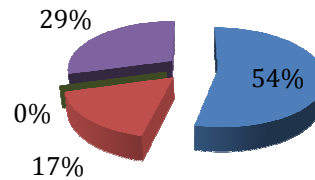
Emfuleni - 2007

- Employed
- Unemployed
- Discouraged work-seeker
- Not economically active



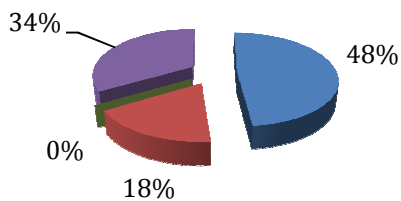
Midvaal - 2007

- Employed
- Unemployed
- Discouraged work-seeker
- Not economically active



Lesedi - 2007

- Employed
- Unemployed
- Discouraged work-seeker
- Not economically active



Emfuleni municipality presents with the lowest employment levels and Midvaal with the highest and above provincial employment levels and this also correlates with the educational attainment levels in these municipalities.

5.4. Advertised Jobs

A: Newspapers

This paper reports on job opportunities advertised in *The Star*, *Sunday Times* and *Sowetan* newspapers in the period October- December 2012. A sample of **250** job advertisements was conducted with an intention to discern which sectors had more job opportunities, what level of education and experience was required by recruiters, which location experienced more employment opportunities and lastly, which sectors (public and/or public) had more or less of job opportunities. These following analyses these issues.

Job Placements: Sectors

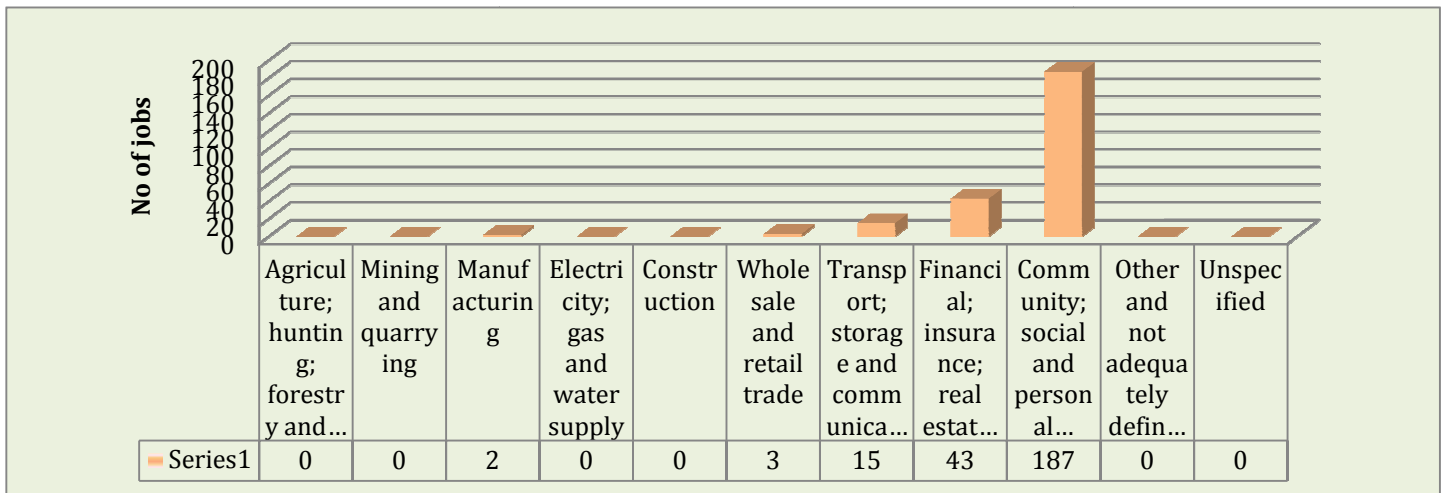


Fig 1: Jobs by sector- *numbers*

Easy to note in the above figure is the high number of job opportunities offered by **community and personal services**. Out of **250** jobs, this sector provided **187** jobs (75 per cent). Finance and transport sectors are other contributing sectors providing **58** jobs among themselves. Agriculture, mining, construction and electricity did not provide any employment opportunities during the October- December period. **Figure 2** provides a percentage presentation of the sample.

Job Placements- Required Experience

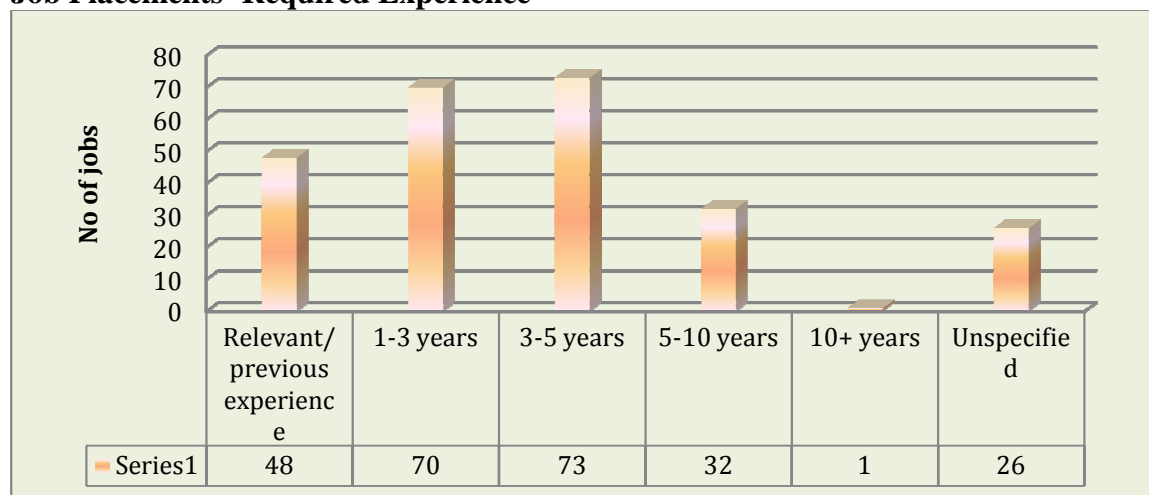


Fig 3: Required experience- *numbers*

Most of the job vacancies require personnel who have acquired concrete experience for recruitment. Out of **250** job placements, a substantial **73** recruiters required personnel with at least 3-5 years of experience. This was closely followed by the 1-3 years of experience requirement (**70** job placements required experience within this range). There is a quite a noticeable demand for job seekers with extensive experience (5-10 years).

A substantial **29.2** per cent of the job opportunities required personnel with 3-5 years of experience. This is followed by the demand for 1-3 years and relevant/previous experience with **28** and **19.2** per cent respectively. A lowly **0.4** per cent of the job placements required experience over 10 years.

Job Adverts- Required Education

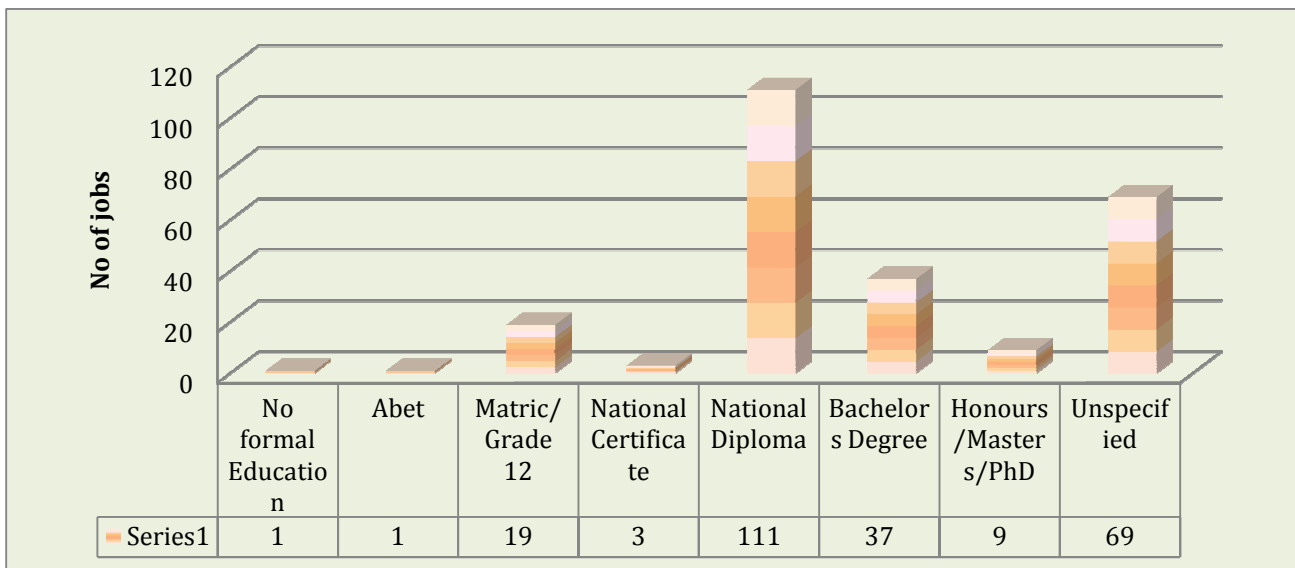
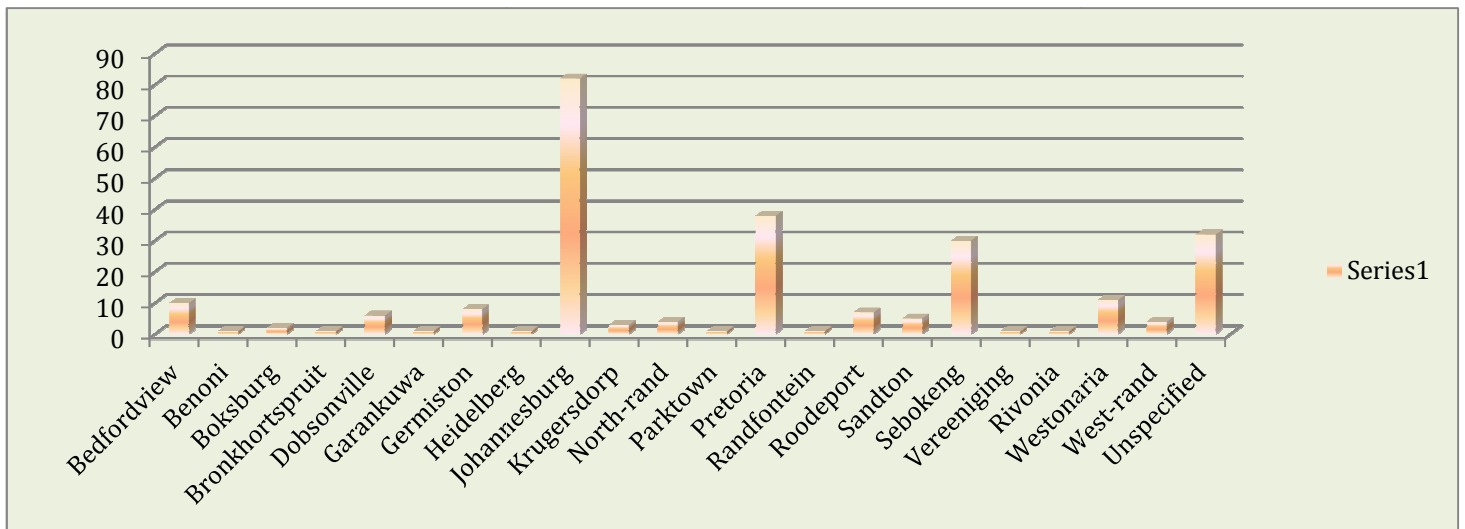


Fig 5: Required education- *numbers*

Figure 5 illustrates required level of education for recruitment of personnel. During the period of the sample, there was an increased demand for national diploma (**111**). There was also a recognisable demand for bachelor's degree and matric/grade 12 with **37** and **19** recruiters requiring these levels of education. **69** of the placements did not specify required level education.

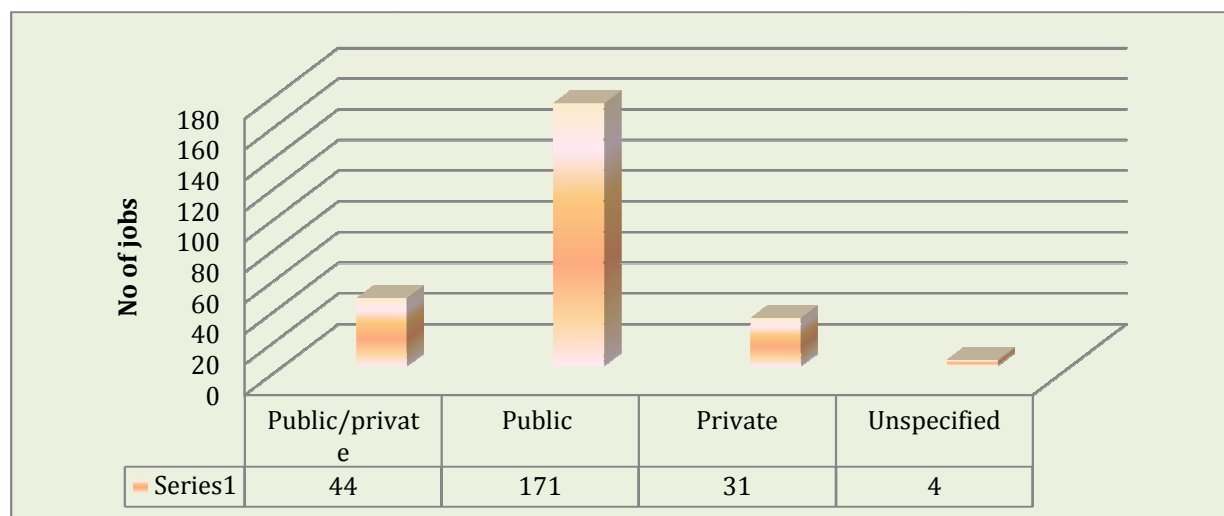
A considerable **44.4** per cent of the job placements demanded national diploma as minimum level of education. This is followed by both the bachelor's degree (**14.8** per cent) and matric/grade 12 (**7.6** per cent). Only 3.6 and 1.5 per cent of the placements required higher degree (Honours/Masters/PhD) and national certificate respectively.

Job Adverts- Location



Easy to note is the unbiased share of the job opportunities over the Gauteng region. Government departments have played a crucial role in providing employment in outlying areas which fail to attract private investment, for example, Sebokeng, Roodeport, Vereeniging and Krugersdorp. The major economic nodes such as Johannesburg and Pretoria still continue to experience increased number of employment opportunities.

Job Adverts: Public & private sector employment opportunities

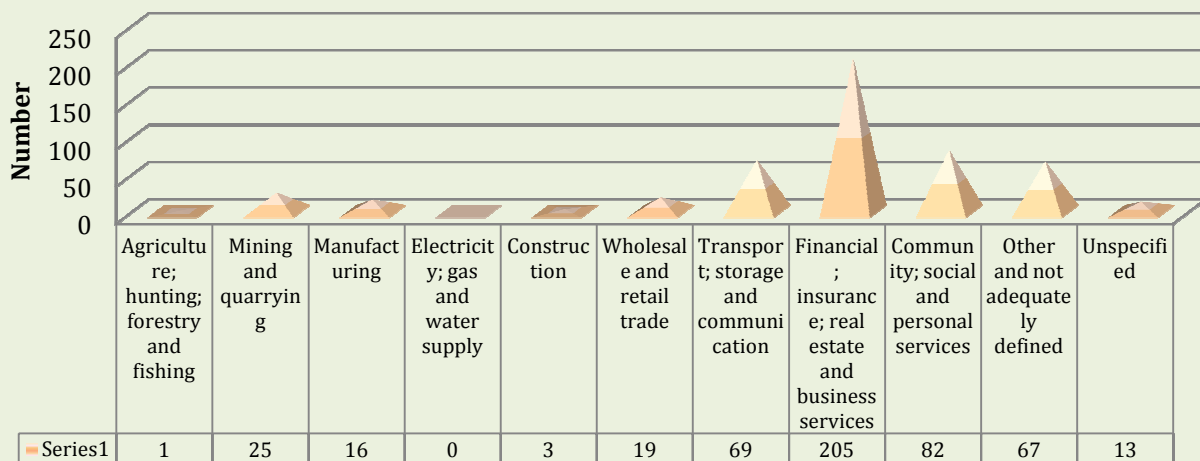


As alluded to earlier in the report, the larger part of the sample focused on government employment opportunities. Figure 8 clearly illustrates that of **250** jobs, **171** of the jobs were from the public sector. This was followed by the **44** jobs from public/private sector and lastly, **31** from the private sector. The public sector contributed to a substantial 68% of employment opportunities between the October – December period. This is followed by the public/private sector employment jobs with 18%. Private sector contributed only 12%.

B: Online Advertisements

This paper focuses on the job advertised in the Careers 24 and Careers Junction during the period of October-December 2011. The sample of 500 job placements was conducted, and these covered a wide range of different sector industries. It is believed that the sample (500 job placements) ensures the necessary reach for the purposes of avoiding the bias and on-surface analysis of the market. The categorisation of job adverts by sectors followed that of the Statistics South Africa in attempts to avoid unnecessary confusions. These sectors can be seen in the following figures.

Employment opportunities in Gauteng



The financial sector dominated all other sectors in providing employment opportunities in the October-December period. This sector contributed a substantial 41 per cent of the employment opportunities, whilst agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing recorded a sheer 0.2 per cent making it the lowest contributing sector. Both community, social and personal

services and transport also contributed a fair share job opportunities with 16.4 per cent and 13.8 per cent respectively (see figure 2).

Fig 2: Jobs by sector- *percentage*

Job Adverts- Experience Requirements

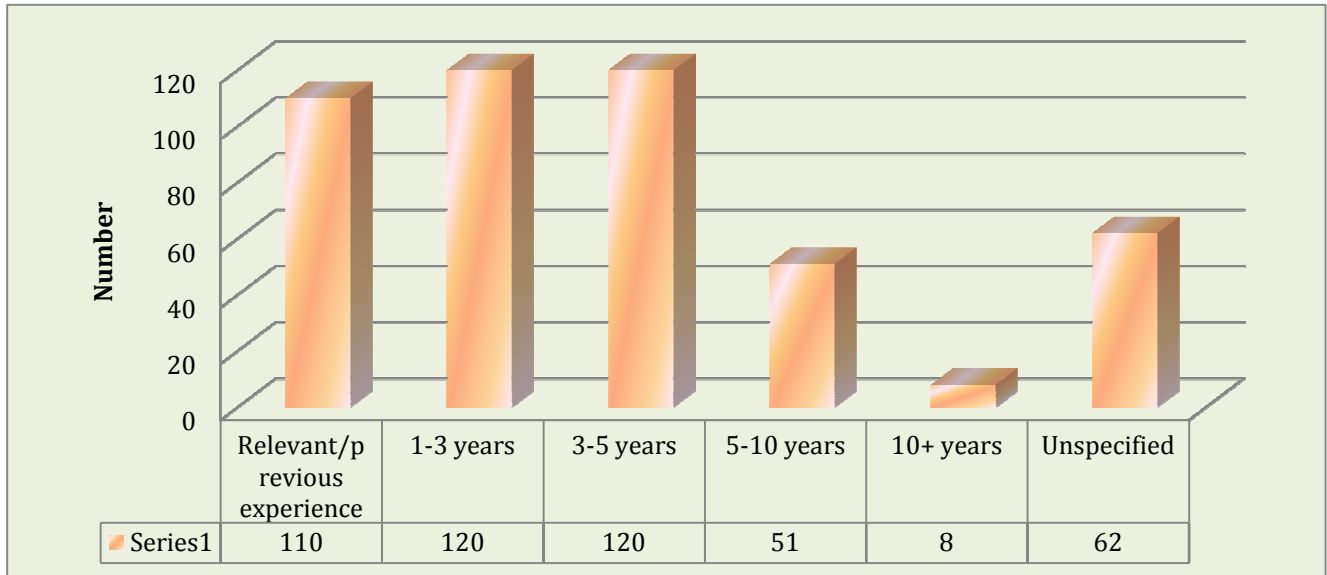


Fig 3: Required experience- *numbers*

As clearly illustrated by figure 3, most of the employment opportunities require a 1-5 years of experience. Out of 500 job placements in the October-December period, 240 of the jobs required professional experience falling between 1-5 years. There are also quite a noticeable number of employment opportunities only requiring relevant work experience without specifying number of years. These jobs focused mostly on recruiting the self-starters, grade 12 or people without qualifications but enormous experience in that specific job. Twenty five per cent of job placements require experience between 1-5 years. This is followed by 5-10 (10.8 per cent) years and lastly professional experience over 10 years (1.7 per cent).

Job Adverts- Required Education

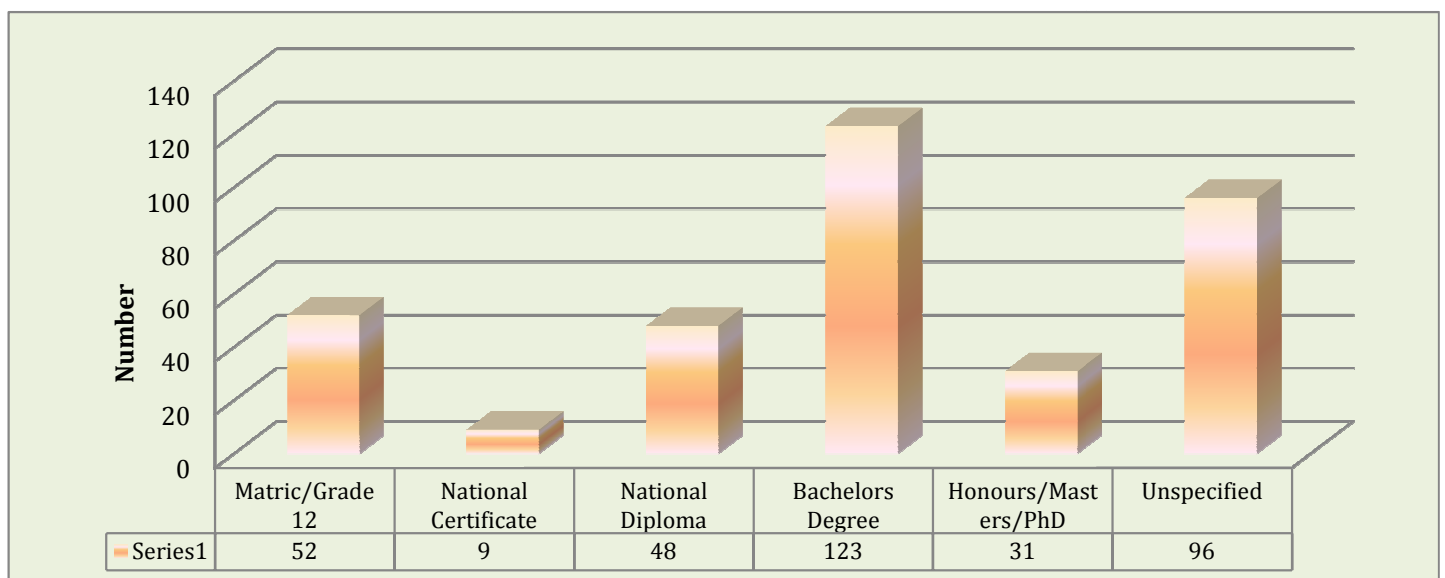


Figure 5 illustrates the required level of education for the recruitment of personnel. Easy to note is the high demand for the bachelor's degree (123). This is followed by the national diploma (48) and higher degree (Honours/Masters/PhD). Both national certificate and matric/grade 12 recorded the lowest numbers of demanded levels education. A significant number of job placements did not specify required education (see figure 6 for percentage analysis).

A substantial 34.3 per cent of recruiters require some formal degree qualification. This is followed by matric/grade 12 qualification (14.5 per cent), national diploma (13.4 per cent) and lastly higher degree (Honours/Masters/PhD) with 8.6 per cent.

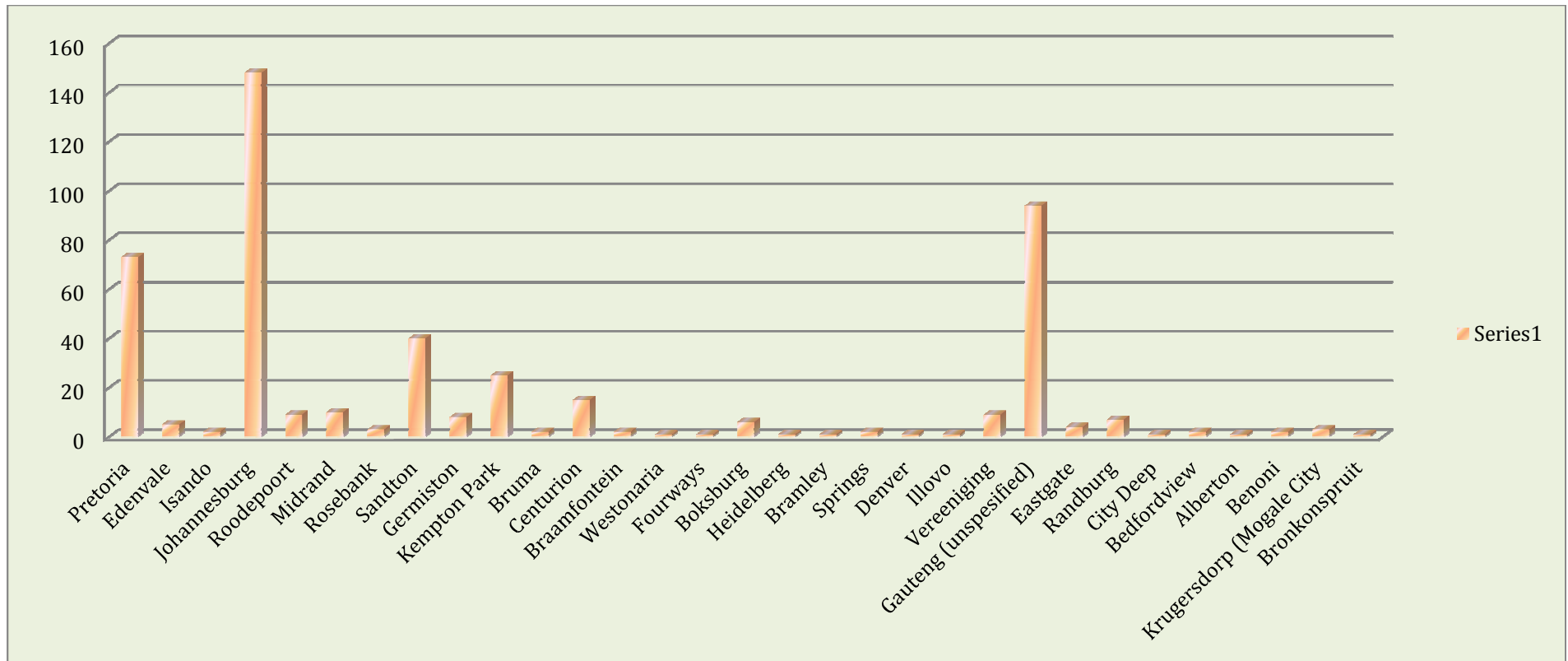


Fig 7: Jobs by location

Clear to note from the above figure is the disproportionate distribution of employment opportunities in Gauteng. Both Johannesburg and Pretoria have the highest number of jobs than any other location in Gauteng. This is however an expected phenomenon as these locations (Johannesburg and Pretoria) form major economic hubs of Gauteng. Sandton also has a decent number of employment opportunities. The outlying areas have very few job opportunities, and the likes of Westonaria, Alberton, Benoni, and Bronkonspruit are few examples to mention.

Public vs. public employment opportunities

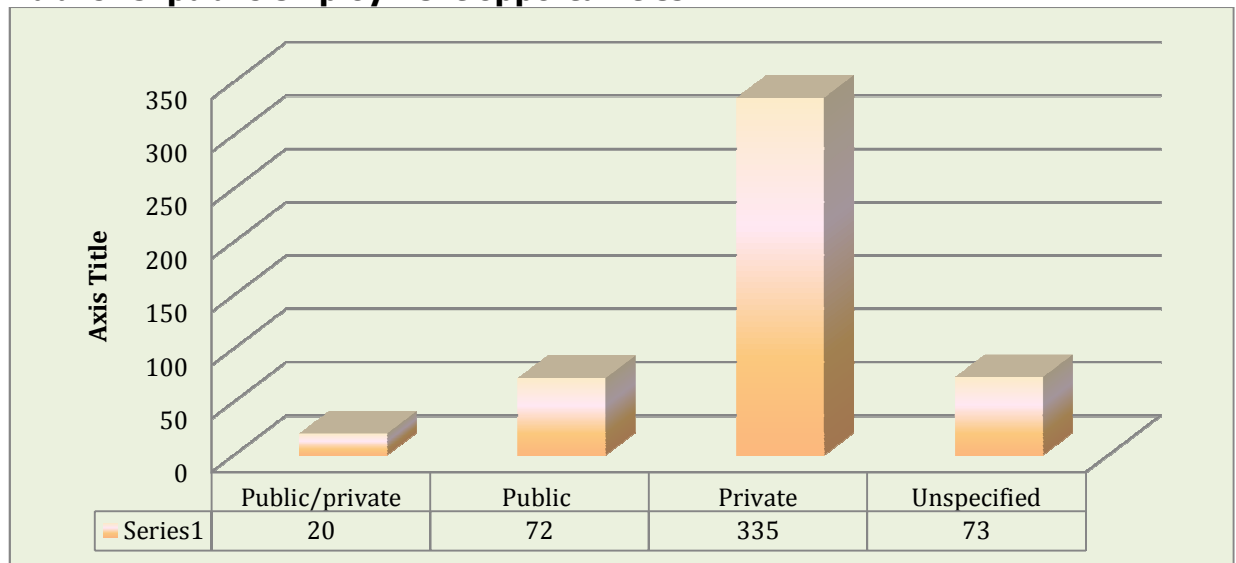


Fig 8: Public Private employment opportunities- numbers

Figure 8 illustrates employment opportunities advertised by both the public and private sector in the October-December period. Easy to note is the enormous contribution made by the private sector in provision of employment opportunities. Out of 500 jobs, the private sector provided a sizable 335. The public sector only provided a mere 72 job opportunities over the same period.

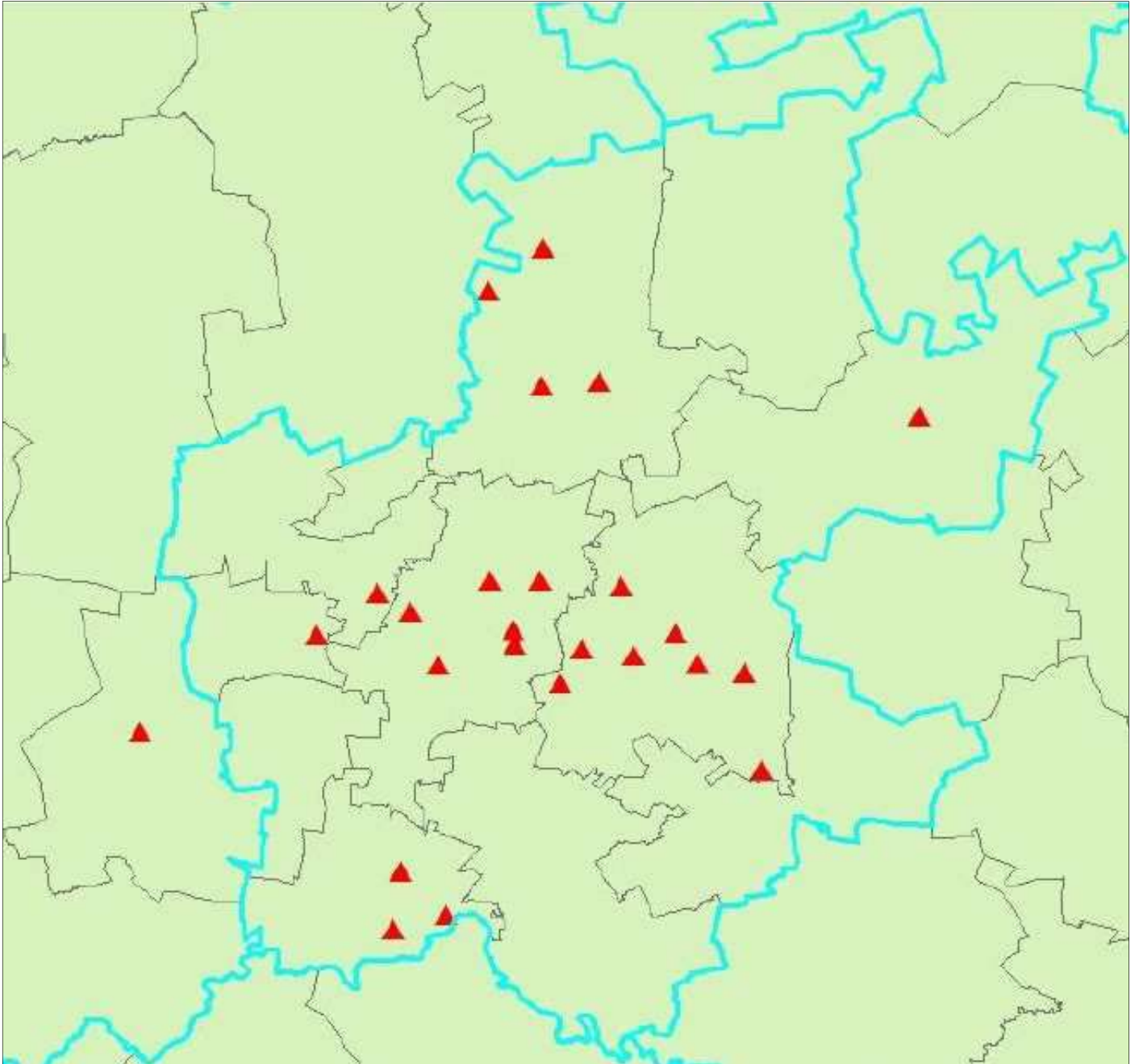
Public/Private employment opportunities- *percentage*

Private sector contributed a staggering 67 per cent of employment in Gauteng over the October- December 2011 whilst the public sector only contributed a sheer 14.4 per cent.

5.5. Employment Services

The Department of Labour supports the unemployed, work seeking people to have a better chance of finding a job placement and skills development opportunities in the labour market through the employment services programme. This function covers the following services: Registration Services; Career Guidance Services; Recruitment and Selection Services; Skills Development Service; Information Services and Special Services. However, the employment services in the province are also spatially spread making them to be unavailable for most citizens in the province.

Geographical Spread of Employment Services Centres in Gauteng



Spatial Distribution of PALCs, FETs and Employment Services Centres in Gauteng

In summary, the economy and work opportunities in the Gauteng Province are evenly spread out. The metros offer most opportunities in a more diversified economy. Some of the municipalities that have a higher employment rate like Midvaal, also have an above average education profile. There are shifts in the economy, going the direction of tertiary services and moving away from elementary work. This shift requires workers with more than school education and the importance of post-school education has to be stressed. The need for post-school education is also accentuated in the sample of jobs advertised where the majority needs a post-school diploma qualification, which most people in poorer communities do not have. The irony is that the analysed data shows that the largest category in education attainment in all municipalities is made up of those who have gone as far as Grade 12 but have not attained the National Senior Certificate. This also confirms the 2009 CHET study where Cloete (2009) is of the opinion that two groups of youth who receive a life sentence in our country are those who have not passed Grade 12 and those who pass poorly in Grade 12. Both these groups seem to have hit a *cl de sac* at this point. Lastly, this research also underscores the importance of work experience as a barrier for new labour market entrants. This problem is likely to be exacerbated in communities where employment networks are constricted.

6. INTERVENING IN SPATIAL INEQUALITY

There are some instructive lessons that can be gleaned from the McKinsey Global Institute (2012) report on ‘The World at work’. In this report, the authors note the changes that have happened in the labour market in the past three decades. The most striking feature of these changes has been the movement of individuals from elementary jobs up the ladder of occupations in many countries. According to this report, the labour market now is characterised by few jobs for low-skilled workers and advanced skills, but more room in the intermediate skills levels. Countries that have shown growth and development lately have moved employers from elementary, low-skills work to the intermediate levels. For example, according to the same report, in China 33 million jobs were created in manufacturing and these jobs moved from subsistence agriculture and farm work or urban poverty to these new jobs. It is important to note that the state sponsors some of the manufacturing industries in China where jobs have been created. In India, the movement from the same kind of poverty entrapment has been towards construction work mainly and secondarily to manufacturing. Whilst there are debates on the quality of these new jobs, it is clear that this new employment trend has moved individuals who had no income or earning very little, to the first rungs of middle class ladder. However, this could not be done without having paid attention to the education of both rural and urban citizens throughout the countries under review in the McKinsey study first. Both in India and China had previously and continued to pay attention to intensive access issues in education of all citizens in their respective countries as a condition for their economic revolution. Access to education pervaded all levels of education and was not only concentrated on primary education.

South Africa is also often compared to a country like Brazil as a country that has managed to decrease inequality and thus improve the quality of life of its citizens. We need to know if there is a recipe that we can copy from this miracle turnaround. Birdsall et.al. al (2011) give us a glimpse on what really happened in this Latin American country. Whilst noting the decline in inequality across most of Latin American countries, the authors acknowledged that this decline was assisted greatly by the high growth rates that

the country's enjoyed during these economic shifts. They go on to identify two factors that mattered and can be singled out as the most important contributors to this phenomenon of inequality reduction, namely: (a) the decline in the premium to skills (in effect higher education) and (b) more active and progressive social policies that targeted spending in these countries.

Earlier on, we have identified three reasons why individuals remain economically excluded for long periods of time.

- Lack of education and skills for jobs that are available;
- Lack of job opportunities; and
- Mismatch of skills and jobs in the area in which they live.

From Birdsall et. Birdsall's (2011) paper we will single out lessons that could be learned from Brazil, as a country South Africa is in constant comparisons and conversations with. . Considering the first point of opening up of access to education, particularly higher education, the prioritisation of education and the big push started long before the economic turn was noticeable, in the early 1990s. It is only now that these children are entering the labour market as adults that it is noticeable that there are many labour market entrants who are educated and ready to exploit the opportunities that are the direct result of the economic boom happening in Brazil. Priority in education was strongly represented by government spending priorities for the poor, and this is the 'Lula moment' where government spent was strongly biased in favour of the poor.

The authors of the paper we are discussing here point out that the socialist policies of the Lula regime, were instrumental in reducing the inequality gap in Brazil (Birdsall et. al., 2011). First, changes in social policy, including social spending, included a wide range of social and redistributive policies ranging from social spending to minimum wage increases, were put in place. In education for example, cash transfer³ programmes were focused on getting children from poor households to complete senior secondary

³ Cash transfers are similar to our social grant system which is funding collected from tax by government and redistributed to pay as welfare for the poor and indigent.

education for example. Also, there has been a steady increase of government transfer amounts to the poor and this is often referred to as social spending. According to the authors referenced here, there is considerable evidence from household surveys that education expenditures and conditional cash transfer programmes have reduced inequality and poverty in Brazil. The Centre for Development Enterprise echoes the same sentiments:

Between 2000 and 2009 non- labour income (including government transfer) was slightly more important than labour income transfer programmes such as *Bolsa Familia*. This programme provides cash transfers to poor families on the condition that their children attend school and go to health clinics. The value of *Bolsa Familia* transfer is relatively low but the number of people receiving it is high. The number of families benefiting from *Bolsa Familia* was about 13 million, which equated to over 40 million individuals.....Brazilians, particularly young people, are now more educated with even the very poor receiving some form of schooling. This translates into improvements in productivity, which generates higher wages (CDE, 2012, p. 4).

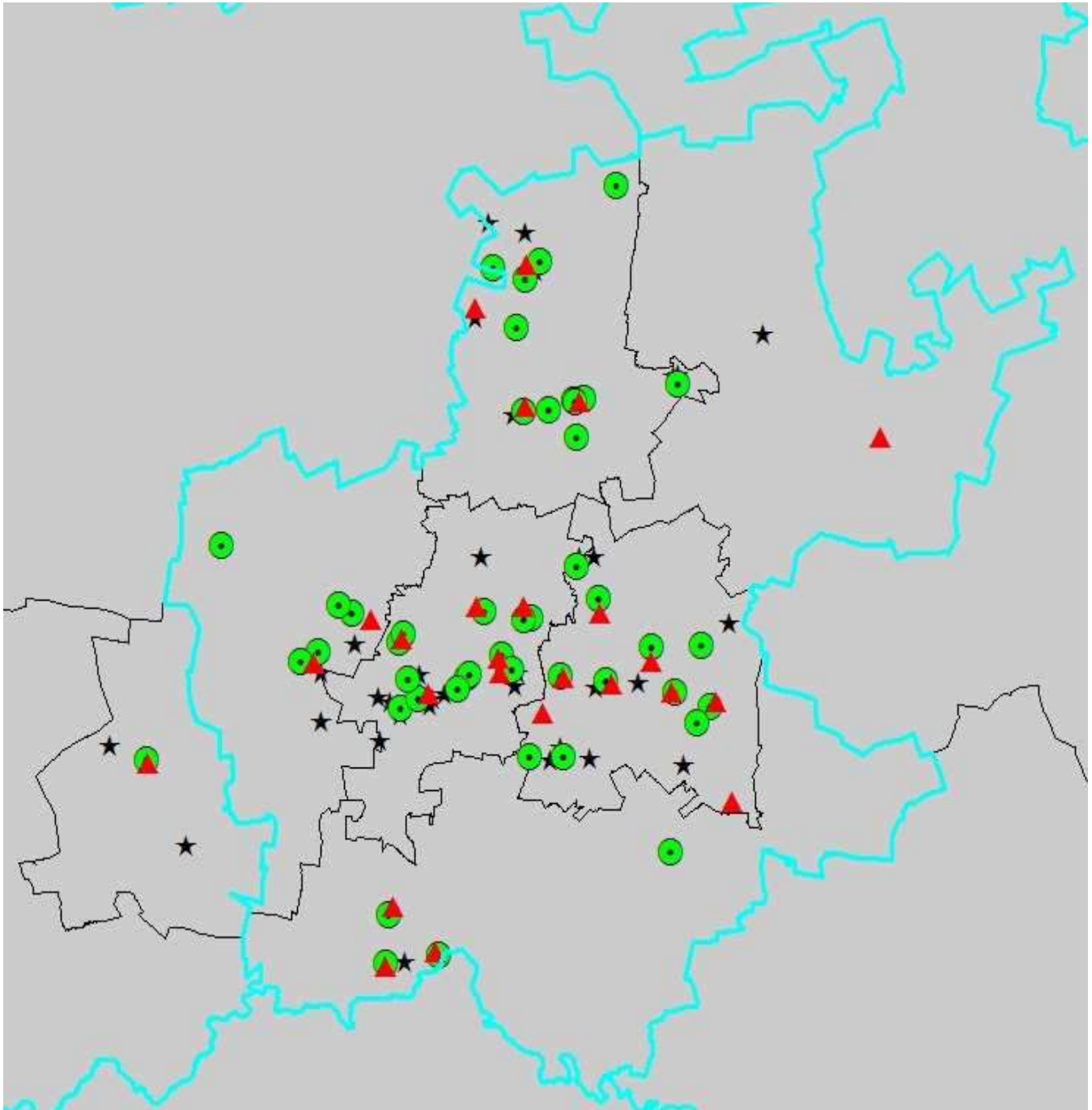
The redistributive agenda of social spending on government money in Brazil was very targeted and aimed at growing the middle class and getting lower quintile families out of poverty. The net effect of these policies was not dissimilar to those in China, India and Korea as there has been a concerted attempt in the latter countries to lift the lower class to the middle (McKinsey, 2012; Chan-Hee, 2011). Like China, the Brazil State also entered into the expansion of the economy space by establishing state sponsored manufacturing industries which would absorb many into the labour market. One major difference about Brazil, is that the policies of the social democratic government in this country did not rely on the dictum that “a rising tide of economic growth will lift all household boats”.

It does appear that social democratic regimes are good for growing the middle class – as growth itself increases household income in the third and fourth quintiles – and politics permits that relatively more of the benefits of that growth are shared at the bottom of the distribution (Birdsal, et. al., 2012 p.4).

The authors go further and point out that a growing middle class reinforces effective government that can manage moderate redistribution while retaining investor confidence in the likelihood of continuing growth and price stability. The “Lula moment’ in Brazil is very instructive for South Africa, and Gauteng in intervening in the inequality gap that refuses to go away. Therefore the lessons that we can take from Brazil and other countries are many and include the following:

1. First of all it is clear that in Brazil, poor individuals are known by name and by location. Targeting the improvement of their lot becomes easy to manage and to trace when the details are at the fingertips of those in government whose task is to reverse this trend. We have something close to this in school education where schools are divided into quintiles and there is strong financial support to schools in lower quintiles to ensure that poor families do not have to bear the brunt of financial burden for the education of their children. But this does not go far enough as this does not specifically target individuals and their families for interventions. We need to know children from poor families and be able to give more nuanced support to them so they can successfully complete their school education. Further, we have noted earlier on that qualifications that are a prime in the labour market are diplomas which are offered as post-school qualifications. We need to ensure that this is not a luxury only available to those who can afford, but there is complete access for all individuals, young and old. We already know that many young adults are stuck at a point where they have at least a Grade 10, or failed matric or passed poorly to access university education. We need to unstuck them. There is also a need for a concentrated focus on skilling of individuals to support their efforts to gain meaningful employment. We only have to look at the map below to understand that public services on post-school education and training and employment services are not accessible for many citizens.

Spatial distribution of PALCs, FET Colleges and Employment Services in Gauteng



2. Our social grant seems to be a stand- alone and is not tied to any other conditions that support the education, health and general upward mobility of recipients. We have seen that in Brazil, their cash transfer programmes are closely tied to conditions of participating in education and health. These programmes also target families instead of individuals, to ensure that support for individuals comes from a larger social system. The USA welfare system also puts conditions regarding education and training on its welfare recipients.

3. Thirdly, it has already been observed that unemployment is not equally distributed across space, race and gender in the Gauteng city-region (Stats, SA, 2007 and 20011; OECD, 2011). In the OECD report, it is argued that the economic disparities in different localities present to us with economic opportunities. In other words, there is advocacy to see these spaces that seem to lack everything as opportunity spaces for employment that services their development. It is only when government has a targeted policy for intervening in this inequality and poverty that development such as house provision, social services, health provision, transport, etc. is specifically targeting individuals in these spaces to be providers instead of contractors from outside. This will have to be linked with the provision of education and training in the first place. But also a national and global policy that addresses poor and well off spaces will not make a dent to the poverty of the marginalized groups as they will always not be in front in all the queues. There must be some rethinking about how service delivery is to be managed and implemented in poorer communities so that they are not only the recipients of just services, but also there are improvements in the income of such households, moving them from the basement up the economic ladder.

4. Fourthly, a policy architecture that has a spine that moves from national to provincial and to local, does not seem to be working well for the poor. We have seen in Birdsall et.al. (2011) that Brazil and other Latin American countries with social democratic governments, that there are often complimentary policies that are class – specific and

target the movement of the poor from poverty to better incomes. We argue that this is where the Local Governments in the various municipalities should be encouraged and supported to focus on and develop people and place-specific policies and interventions. If one looks at the municipalities' Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), one can see that they are all generic documents dreamed up by consultants and are not in any way going to improve the situation on the ground for the poor.

5. If we look at where advertised jobs come from, we can see that the public Sector is already the provider of new employment. There is no reason why the State should not go further and support the growth of township economies in a bold move. Mazwai (2012) points out that township economies can be grown in three ways: (a) creating new enterprises; (b) attracting investments from outside; and (c) growing existing businesses. In Soweto alone, it is estimated that there is more than 200 000 small businesses that do not make enough to make a dent in the lives of families.

Townships also have not moved further from being dormitories where people go and sleep, with very little economic activities that are viable. With the exception of mainstream retail that has moved in, the economy of these areas has not changed and the establishment of new enterprises is desperately needed. Localised new enterprises should also be able to deal with the big problem of lack of work experience by young people, which seems to be a standard requirement to access employment these days.

6. Lastly, the high unemployment rates that are concentrated in poorer localities, are also accompanied by an acute shortage of skills to render services in these areas as well as shortage of skills in affluent areas. The latter is about a mismatch between locations of employment and residences. This scenario is particularly so in Gauteng as mining which used to be the backbone of the provinces economy has been declining and growth in financial services has taken place. This means that there would be individuals who are left in spaces where mining used to dominate as an economic activity that also required elementary skills, when these economic shifts take place in the first place. The same people who are left behind will also possess lower skills for the upward movement in the labour market. But fundamentally to this

equation, distance from employment opportunities also is a major barrier as it is accompanied by lack of transport and income to make the long commute. This is a worldwide phenomenon as Green (2011) would point out:

People with poor skills tend to have a relatively weak position in employment and labour and housing markets and tend to be more restricted than those with higher skills in the distance that they are able and can afford travel. This means that the quantity and quality of opportunities for education, training and employment available locally is of particular importance to them (p. 2).

Therefore place-specific developments matter in understanding how local labour markets evolve over time and how employers, agencies and individuals behave. These place-specific policies would address spatial inequalities by complementing mainstream policies instead of substituting them, and would address issues such as; transport, education and training; targeted skills development for growing economic areas; delivery of skills for services in the locality, etc. Local government should be active and intervene when industries such as mining are closing or down- sizing to ensure that the needs of residents are addressed regarding reskilling and support for new ventures.

7. CONCLUSION

Place plays an important role in the spatial socio-economic system, and in particular in South Africa where the new government inherited a country whose discrimination policies were race and place-based. Policies that have been put in place largely dealt with race-based as well as gender-based discrimination. Nothing seems to be in place to address place-specific inequalities, and yet spatial inequalities still loom larger than race and gender inequalities. This is in spite of attempts to reconfigure apartheid spatial relations by government adopted by Cabinet as early as 2003 (OECD, 2011). Part of the failure for this strategy can be attributed to the fact that this National Spatial Development Strategy was never focused in its understanding of the problem, interventions and reprioritisation of budget to address the issue.

What is being argued in this paper is that at the heart of inequality and poverty in these poor spaces, is the matter of the relationship between education and employment. In section 2, we argued that access to gainful and continuous employment seems to be one sure thing to get individuals out of economic misery for themselves and their families, but this is something that continues to be elusive for most individuals living in poverty. There are many reasons why individuals remain unemployed for long periods and therefore cannot sustain their lives and these have been discussed in this paper. These factors are all related and in poor areas all can be found to co-exist. Addressing these factors in poor communities should go a long way in addressing inequalities instead of trying to make poor communities to be mirror-images of well-off areas, of course it follows that it is not necessarily true that 'one-size fits all' policies will work everywhere, which is why complimentary policies must be defined and developed for individual localities, and move away from IDPs which have very little value.

We also presented here some paraphrasing of the Brazil policies as well as made reference to other countries like China and India which have moved large populations from the low class to middle class status. What seems to be common amongst all these

countries is the fact that improvements in providing education and training to higher levels for all individuals seem to have preceded the upward economic mobility in an improving economy. But there has been a concentrated effort to create industries in manufacturing in the case of Brazil; construction and manufacturing in the case of India, and Agriculture and manufacturing in the case of Brazil, all of which were targeting the lifting of large groups of citizens up the economic ladder. These large economic policies in the case of Brazil were carefully complimented by targeted interventions on individuals and households in the lower quintile. These targeted interventions were also accompanied by careful social spending that makes social grants to be conditional and encourages specific outcomes instead of just giving money to the poor. It is high time that South Africa develops such political will in order to intervene in the lives of the poor. The study of Gauteng is just one example that can be replicated all over the country and sometimes even a worse scenario will emerge from the poorer provinces. It is suggested that this study should be replicated in the more rural provinces to see what it throws up.

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