



UNIVERSITY
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DURBAN

WORKERS IN THE CANEFIELDS:
ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT
AMONG BLACK EMPLOYEES IN SUGAR CANE GROWING
IN NATAL

Lawrence Schlemmer

**COMMUNICATIONS OF THE
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CASS.55/82

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6th October 1982

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1. INTRODUCTION

As a source of employment the sugar cane industry in Natal has enjoyed a mixed reputation over the decades. Ever since the industry found it advantageous to import unskilled "coolie" labour from India in the previous century, the work which it provides has tended to be seen as among the lowliest and least attractive sources of employment for South Africa's black labour force. On the other hand, however, the enormous benefits of a large-scale, labour-intensive rural industry have also been obvious in a region where unemployment and underemployment has always been high. Together with mining and perhaps the timber industry, the sugar cane industry has been seen to provide basic security in employment for many thousands of black subsistence migrants who would otherwise find it impossible to obtain gainful employment in the developed sector.

In an industry like the sugar industry, because of the low level of capital intensity, it is impossible to provide wages and working conditions competitive with those found in workplaces in the urban industrial cores. In recent years, however, the industry has made attempts to improve wages and working conditions as part of a wider movement in labour up-grading which has characterised South African industry from early in the 1970's. These improvements, however, have occurred at a time of rising expectations among South Africa's labour force, and for this reason one cannot predict that any positive relationship between improvements in conditions and job satisfaction would definitely hold in any South African industry.

The present study is in the form of a baseline survey of attitudes to working conditions among the black labour force in the sugar growing industry. The utility of such a survey will be most clearly apparent when follow-up surveys are undertaken in future years after periods of change in the structure or conditions of employment. Nevertheless, the present study, by allowing internal comparisons, goes some way towards assessing the impact of a wide range of features in the employment situation on worker satisfaction.

The study is also an attempt to assess the reactions of employees to work in the industry within the context of the type of industry it is.

Many studies in employment situations, particularly among unskilled and poorly paid workers in relative terms, have as a frame of reference a wider setting of industrial opportunity, and as such encourage fairly unlimited comparisons and assessments of their circumstances among the people studied. We would argue that studies of this nature are likely to provide entirely predictable results; interviews will be seen as an opportunity to voice protest against the general conditions. While this form of protest may be entirely justified, and this investigation certainly does not ignore it, the responses provide little basis for policy decisions within an industry which is constrained by the hard realities of labour-intensive agricultural production. Therefore, while not avoiding the implications for our collective political future of black worker grievances of a general kind, the present investigation attempts to obtain the reactions of employees in the sugar industry within a framework of realistic assessments of their alternatives among the black employees. We would argue that findings obtained within this context are more useful as a basis for decisions in regard to labour policy than studies in a wider politico-economic context at this stage.

2. THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH.

In a study of this kind it is essential to obtain results which are as comparable as possible between employees in different locations and from different social groups. For this reason the method of data-collection decided upon was that of a structured, focussed interview based on a standardised interview schedule. After discussions with senior members of the industry and after perusal of earlier research of a different kind relating to the industry, we designed an interview schedule which tapped employee attitudes as well as a large range of background factors, within the context described under 1. above.

The need for comparability and a standardised approach also implied that interviewing and fieldwork would have to be rapid and completed within a fairly limited time period. Another requirement of comparability is that highly skilled interviewers be used; persons trained in administering interview schedules in the same way to different respondents and in different places. The need for skill and speed necessitated employing a well-known and reputable commercial firm to undertake the fieldwork. The firm IMSA (pty) Ltd., of Johannesburg with which this author has worked since 1961, appeared to be the most appropriate choice for conducting the fieldwork.

Interviews were conducted with employees at their places of work during breaks in their work or after work and with non-working respondents in their homes. The interview schedules were checked daily and a 10 percent back-check on responses was carried out on each interviewer by field supervisors. Furthermore the incoming interview schedules were analysed for consistency of approach throughout the course of the fieldwork.

The respondents were interviewed individually and privately as far as possible. The interview schedule was available in both English, Zulu and Xhosa and each interview was conducted in the language of the respondent's choice. The interviewers are fully conversant with all three languages.

It is important to note that the interviewers, although able to converse fluently in Zulu and Xhosa, are based in Johannesburg and were therefore not likely to be seen as local company agents of any kind. Furthermore, they presented themselves as being employed by the company which in turn had been engaged by a university (the University of Natal) in order to carry out a study designed to become part of the teaching material for a university. In this way respondents were discouraged from seeing the interviews as a opportunity to transmit messages directly to the employer about working conditions and therefore they were given the least possible temptation to attempt to seek advantage by "complaining" about working conditions. At the same time, however, they were encouraged in this way to be as honest and frank as they could be; they were given emphatic reassurance throughout that the individual results of interviews would not be made available to anybody other than the researchers themselves. Generally speaking, the greatest possible attempts were made to ensure that the results would be unbiased and objective.

2.1 The samples.

Samples were drawn both among sugar industry workers in the industry itself while at work and among migrant workers at home in the Transkei, a proportion of whom were former employees in the sugar industry. In addition, a small sample of non-agricultural migrant workers in an urban setting was drawn to afford a comparison between reactions of migrant labour in rural versus urban production.

2.1.1 The Sugar Industry sample.

A total sample of 856 respondents was selected as follows:

Private farms: 448.

Farmers were selected in the following areas:

Umzimkulu	4 farms
Sezela	4 farms
Midlands south	3 farms
Midlands north	3 farms
North Coast up to Tugela	6 farms
Southern Zululand	4 farms
Northern Zululand	4 farms
Total	<u>28 farms</u>

NOTE: In each area, among the three to six farms there was one manifestly poor or unprogressive employer selected, on advice from the Canegrowers Association. The remainder were selected to be farms fairly typical of employment conditions, once again as adjudged by the Canegrowers Association. The farms were a cross-section of different sizes. On the farms there were roughly 18 interviews per farm, distributed as follows: 1 Induna, 1 semi-skilled workshop or handyman assistant, 2 tractor or truck drivers (one of them licensed), 2 conductors, 6 cane-cutters, 1 fieldworker, 3 unskilled employees, and 3 unskilled female 'togt' workers.

The sample on company estates: 408.

The estates covered were:

Sezela
Illovo
Tongaat
Darnall
Noodsberg
Umfolosi

Roughly 68 persons per estate were interviewed, distributed as follows:

3 Clerks
5 Senior Indunas
4 Junior Indunas
4 semi-skilled (employees in workshops, handymen, etc.)
7 tractor and truck drivers (licensed)
7 conductors and unlicensed tractor drivers
20 cane-cutters
3 unskilled fieldworkers
15 'togt' labourers (women)

NOTE: Due to a procedural difficulty in the fieldwork, one estate (Natal Estates) which had originally been selected into the sample was omitted from the overall sample. The Mount Edgecombe division of Natal Estates is near the Durban Metropolitan area and as such may attract more sophisticated labour. However, the Tongaat Estate is in roughly the same location so this type of employee is represented in the findings.

2.1.2 The sample in the sending area, Transkei.

A total of 200 interviews was conducted in the labour supplying areas of Northern Transkei and Pondoland. Interviews took place in rural areas surrounding centres such as Mount Ayliff, Umzimkulu, Bizana,

Port St. Johns, Flagstaff, etc., and along the routes between these centres. The 200 interviews were distributed as follows:

100 men previously employed on sugar farms and estates;
100 men previously employed on any other migrant contracts.

These interviews are referred to as the Transkei or Pondo interviews.

2.1.3 The sample of urban industrial hostel migrants.

The overall size of this sample was 100. It was a quota sample designed to make the closest possible comparisons with the results for the rural sugar industry employees. This was done by matching in terms of level as much as possible. Some comparisons between the samples are given below, in terms of salient characteristics:

	Rural Sugar Industry n 856	Urban Migrants in Hostels n 100	Transkei Migrants n 100 Sugar	Transkei Migrants n 100 Other Work
	%	%	%	%
Up to Std 2	76	56	58	38
Std 3 or more	24	44	42	62
Zulu	55	50		
Non Zulu	45	50	100	100
Under 25 years	38	13	54	44
26-45 years	49	76	46	56
46 years +	13	11		
Unskilled (males)	49	52	64	32
Semi-skilled or higher (males)	51	← matched → hence close similarity	48	36
Less than R120 pm	86	79	87	46
More than R120 pm	14	93	13	54

These comparisons are quite revealing of the differences between the rural sugar industry and urban industries in terms of the characteristics of the labour fields. More comment will be given on this in the body of the report.

2.2 Analysis

The interviews consisted of both closed, fixed-answer alternative questions as well as questions which were open-ended, inviting free and

spontaneous answers. In the latter case respondents were encouraged to give answers in as great a depth as possible and also give multiple answers and multiple reasons for previous answers. In the case of the open-ended questions a content analysis was made of the answers in a sample of schedules and categories were formulated in consultation with the author. These categories became coding categories for computer processing. Results were processed on the computer of IMSA according to a schedule of cross-tabulations and correlations supplied by the author. The final tabulated results were furnished to the author and formed the basis of the present report. The interview schedule is reproduced in the Appendix to the report.

3. GENERAL JOB SATISFACTION.

We commence this analysis with two questions which follow a well known format in the eliciting of job satisfaction. The questions are completely open-ended, allowing for spontaneous answers:

"Think of the last month in your work/What things that you had to do or which happened to you did you find most pleasant and enjoyable about your work?" This question is accompanied by an identical probe asking about the "things that you had to do or which happened to you which you found most unpleasant about your work?"

Generally speaking the replies reflected the rather elementary content and simple routines of unskilled work performed by black migrant workers, in the sense that the variety of answers is much more restricted than that encountered in industrial environment. The great mass of respondents could not think of anything particularly positive or negative in reply to either of the two probes:

<i>"Nothing rewarding"</i>	Canegrowers	77%
	Transkei ex sugar ¹⁾	61%
	Transkei ex other work ¹⁾	48%
	Urban Hostel migrants	83%
	Durban Migrant Study ²⁾	70% (work context only)
<i>"Nothing unpleasant"</i>	Canegrowers	76%
	Transkei ex sugar ¹⁾	52%
	Transkei ex other work ¹⁾	59%
	Urban Hostel migrants	72%
	Durban Migrant Study ²⁾	65% (work context only)

The most striking difference in these brief results is that the Transkei respondents had more to say than the current canegrowers. This is mainly due to the fact that the Transkei respondents could refer to a number of factors connected to their returning to the Transkei. The similarity of the responses of hostel migrants to the canegrower responses reinforces the impression of relative emptiness and dullness of the migrant black employees. The results from the earlier migrant study which covered a greater range of workers reinforce this impression of a lack of stimulation in the work lives of migrants. Clearly this is more marked among caneworkers, however.

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- 1) In the Transkei men were interviewed after finishing their period of contract work for one year. While many of them had call-in cards to return to their same jobs in the following year, they are described as "ex sugar" or "ex other" simply to denote the last form of employment outside of the Transkei.
 - 2) In 1977-9 a study among 626 migrant workers was conducted in Durban by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences. We include results from this study for comparison (Valerie Möller and Lawrence Schlemmer, *Contract Workers and Job Satisfaction*, CASS, 1981.)

On the "rewarding" side, among Transkeian non-sugar migrants 31 percent mentioned appreciation of pay or bonuses, compared with 14 percent among ex sugar migrants, 16 percent among hostel migrants and less than 10 percent among current canegrowers. These are the most notable patterns in the results to this point. On the "negative" side, while 13 percent and 14 percent of the non-sugar migrants in Transkei and the hostel migrants mentioned pay or money grievances, the proportion was 19 among ex sugar migrants. However, among the current canegrowers the proportion was 11 percent. While only 3 percent of the non sugar migrants complained of overwork, the proportion among ex sugar migrants in Transkei was 16 percent; however, the proportion among current canegrowers was only 5 percent.

Generally the results to these two items reflect the priorities of the men at this level of employment. Material rewards and benefits feature most prominently, followed very closely by the physical demands of the work, followed by broken promises of bonuses, incentives or perceived miscalculation of wages, followed by supervision practices. Generally, the urban hostel migrants do not present a dramatically different picture.

Looking at the results in somewhat more detail it would appear that the Umfolosi Estate stands out as generating more grievances than others, followed by private farms in Northern Zululand and by the Illovo Estate. Other employment locations are more favourable in their profile. Umfolosi Estate, however, also generates a higher proportion of positive replies which tends to balance the profile.

Another general job satisfaction item was simple "What makes you stay in the job you have now?" Here again the responses were completely spontaneous. The results according to location of employment are presented in Table 1.

What is most striking about Table 1 is the dramatic difference between other migrants and sugar migrants in Transkei, in regard to appreciation of positive job or company attributes. This is understandable in the light of the fact that the other migrants are drawn from a variety of occupations, some of which are quite conceivably more interesting jobs

in urban industrial settings. Yet, the urban hostel migrants have a markedly lower response in this category. In very broad terms, this comparison gives some idea of the level of job satisfaction in the sugar company labour forces as compared with satisfaction in the other labour forces. The caneworkers do not have a lower level of job satisfaction than urban migrants, on this test at any rate.

Equally striking, however, is the fact that some employment locations generate significantly less job satisfaction than that felt among the sugar migrants in the Transkei. Here we must bear in mind that people interviewing away from the work situation during vacation may see their work in an altered perspective - "absence makes the heart grow fonder".

TABLE 1. FACTORS MENTIONED BY RESPONDENTS AS MAKING THEM STAY IN PRESENT EMPLOYMENT.

L O C A T I O N	Positive Job/ Company attributes	Insecurity concerning alternatives	Apathy/ Complacency
	*	*	*
	%	%	%
<u>Estates</u>			
Umfolosi	15	71	13
Tongaat	41	50	16
Noodsberg	46	38	13
Darnall	34	52	19
Illovo	29	43	27
Sezela	41	43	21
<u>Farms</u>			
Umzimkulu	33	53	17
Sezela	47	44	13
Midlands South	38	58	10
Midlands North	21	54	15
Up to Tugela	18	65	13
Southern Zululand	39	55	6
Northern Zululand	15	75	10
Transkei - sugar migrants	42	59	3
- other migrants	68	40	6
Urban Hostel Migrants	31	45	35

*NOTE: Percentages exceed 100 due to the fact that more than one motive was given by some respondents.

Among the estates, Tongaat, Noodsberg, and Sezela stand out as able to generate higher than average levels of job satisfaction; add to these private farms, on average, in Sezela, Southern Zululand and the Southern Midlands.

An important consideration when assessing the labour force in a low skill rural industry in South Africa is the extent to which the employees feel trapped by Influx Control, low skills and education, and limited employment opportunity. This appears to apply particularly to employees at the Umfolosi Estate, the North Coast Natal farms, and the far north of Zululand. It is also a manifest feature of views of employment in the sugar industry among the sugar migrants in the Transkei. However, it is not markedly higher on the estates than among urban hostel migrants.

The general picture emerging from the Table is that the cane-growing industry tends, with exceptions in certain employment locations, to be one of the industries which mops up excess labour which cannot find employment in other industries and that its characteristics make it very difficult for the employment situation to generate high levels of positive job satisfaction. It is, however, not markedly different from other contract work in the urban areas, and it would even seem that there is less apathy and complacency than among hostel migrants.

This feature of the industry is reinforced by the variations existing between different job categories in the labour force. The following are proportions mentioning positive job or company attributes among different categories among black employees:

Senior Induna	66%
Junior Induna	50%
Unlicenced drivers and conductors	37%
Licensed drivers and conductors	37%
Semi-skilled employees	30%
Female 'togt' labour	30%
Unskilled male employees (non-cane-cutters)	29%
Clerks	28%
Cane-cutters	24%

The clear correlation which appears to exist in the results above according to levels of skill and variation in job tasks (with sex interposing itself as a variable) shows just how much the degree of job satisfaction is influenced by the nature of the work and the seniority of the employees. The fact that clerks have such relatively low job satisfaction is an exceptional feature in this set of results and is perhaps due to high levels of expectation more than to job characteristics.

Before turning from overall job satisfaction we must refer to a question which was directed at perceptions of alternative employment, which will be analysed fully later in the report. In this question an index of present job satisfaction was built in, however. The question was "What kind of work would you prefer to do other than the work you are doing now, or is this job satisfactory?"

Among all present employees in canegrowing 42 percent indicated that they had sufficient present job satisfaction not to aspire to other work. This 42 percent compares with 28 percent among sugar migrants interviewed in the Transkei and 30 percent among other migrants interviewed in Transkei. The indications, therefore, are favourable as regards the overall level of current job satisfaction among the canegrowing labour force as compared with alternatives in the minds of people available for migrant labour in Transkei at any rate. The caneworker's response is in fact identical to that of urban hostel-dwellers, 43 percent of whom expressed current job satisfaction.

It is interesting to consider those categories of employees and locations of employment where the present job satisfaction is either substantially higher or substantially lower than the overall proportion of 42 percent. The listing below gives an indication of these "deviations".

Overall proportion satisfied	42%
Senior Induna	74%
Junior Induna	75%
Semi-skilled employees	48%
Female 'togt' labour	48%
Umfolosi Estate	22%
Midlands North - farms	25%
Northern Zululand - farms	29%
Zulu	35%
Xhosa	52%
Other	50%
Wage R120+	52%
45 years and older	59%
Std. 6 or more	24%

These results are self-evident and hardly need any comment. Suffice it to say that the results according to age and education are very similar to those obtained in other low skill types of employment and are not in any way unusual. The fact that Zulus are less satisfied in the sugar industry than Xhosa-speaking people is part of popular wisdom among employers in Natal. In fact, the results by ethnic group mirror the pattern among urban hostel migrants. It may relate to ethnic differences in perceptions of employment but is more likely to relate to an awareness of alternatives; people in Pondoland obviously have far fewer opportunities and prospects than people living in Natal and KwaZulu for whom developed centres of industry are in fairly close proximity.

3.1 Attitudes to specific aspects of the work situation.

We turn now to an assessment of the way in which different features in the canegrowing employment situation are viewed. In order to do this we adopted an approach, alluded to in the introduction, which was an attempt to obtain fairly realistic assessment of their situation among employees and to discourage the generalised expressions of "working class protest" (or its equivalent) among the black respondents. Perhaps it needs to be noted in parenthesis that we do not deny the legitimacy of this kind of protest. This study however, is not intended as a socio-political investigation. It is intended as a labour study specific to particular labour market and results had to be obtained within the context of a market. A market implies certain limitations and constraints relative to other markets and this relativity had to be built in to the assessment in this investigation as far as possible. Therefore the question

asked as a preamble to the following set of results was as follows:

"We want to ask you some things which men like you feel about the job you are doing now. One can judge a job in two ways. One can ask whether the job is as good as one would really like it to be. Then one can ask whether the job is as good as one can expect of the kind of work it is. For each of the following things about the job, would men like you say that it is as good as they would really like, or is it as good as they expect from the job, or is it not as good as one would expect?"

Results are presented in Table 2 and Table 3.

In Table 2 the present canegrowing employees are compared with the Transkei Pondo migrants, and with urban hostel migrants.

TABLE 2. EVALUATION OF JOB CHARACTERISTICS : ALL CANE EMPLOYEES COMPARED WITH SUGAR MIGRANTS AND OTHER TRANSKEIAN MIGRANTS AND URBAN HOSTEL MIGRANTS.

Job Characteristics	CANE EMPLOYEES			SUGAR MIGRANTS			OTHER MIGRANTS			URBAN HOSTELS		
	Like*	Expect*	Not good*	Like	Expect	Not good	Like	Expect	Not good	Like	Expect	Not good
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Opportunities to make complaints	42	24	33	21	37	41	38	31	31	28	29	43
Accommodation	47	18	34	34	35	31	50	28	22	N.A.		
Personality of supervisors	68	16	16	26	45	29	35	39	26	43	23	34
Amount of work	24	27	49	13	32	55	30	40	30	28	40	32
Chances of progress/promotion	20	28	52	10	27	61	21	34	45	26	26	48
Wages	12	12	76	14	23	60	25	34	41	13	27	60
Food	32	15	51	35	27	37	38	27	32	N.A.		
Safety	34	37	29	28	47	25	30	47	21	24	43	33
Relations with workmates	82	11	7	59	26	13	62	27	8	65	21	14
Understanding of workers' problems	36	29	33	22	39	39	31	32	37	20	28	52
Supervisors' attitudes	63	19	18	30	42	27	34	36	28	30	40	30
Hours of work	24	22	55	13	34	53	24	48	28	38	26	36
Sick benefits	40	19	42	26	38	34	25	45	28	31	28	39
Treatment of black workers	41	26	33	29	43	28	31	36	32	30	21	49
Training	63	19	19	42	35	23	57	32	11	55	31	14
Supervisors' knowledge	65	21	14	46	34	19	39	51	9	20	23	57
Entertainment in leisure	36	20	44	27	43	29	36	43	17	N.A.		
Fairness in discipline	43	28	28	27	37	25	23	48	29	23	32	44

* Each characteristic of the present (or immediately past) job was evaluated in terms of "as good as you would like", "as good as you would expect for the kind of work" and "not as good as one would expect".

A perusal of the results in Table 2 show that in broad terms, the cane-growing employees are more satisfied than the Pondos in regard to the following:

- Supervisors' attitudes
- Personality of supervisors
- Treatment of black workers
- Fairness in discipline
- Relations with workmates

It is important to observe that fairness in discipline, treatment of black workers, and the attitude of supervisors are strongly related to overall job-satisfaction as measured by other items in the survey. The positive profiles emerging in regard to these issues are a very important advantage in personnel relations which the company enjoys.

Negative comparisons with the Pondos are obtained on:

- Wages
- Amount of work
- Hours of work
- Accommodation
- Food
- Sick benefits
- Entertainment in leisure time

Here we must note that sick benefits and entertainment in leisure time also appear to be correlated with overall job satisfaction and therefore the negative comparisons in these two regards are also important. This is not to say that other aspects like wages, hours of work, food, etc., are not serious. They also correlate strongly with overall job satisfaction but the effect is less salient. This is because the proportions of discontentment on these items is so high among cane-workers that not much variation is possible between different categories of employees. This has the effect of obscuring relationships between variables. These issues will be analysed in greater detail in a later section.

In Table 3 we consider comparisons between the cane-workers and the control sample of urban hostel migrants. Certain comparisons were not possible because most of the urban migrants were living in government hostels in which they make their own arrangements for food, and leisure. As the burgeoning squatter population around Durban testified, they often leave the hostels if they find the accommodation unpleasant. Comparisons were possible on the strictly job-related issues.

In this comparison we have also made a distinction between Estates and Private Farms. These comparisons have to be viewed cautiously because of the tremendous variation between regions, as we will see later. Some farms in certain areas have a much better reputation than certain Estates in other areas. One must see these comparisons as somewhat of an abstract inter-sector contrast.

From the results in Table 3, which only present the proportions giving negative reactions, we note that the caneworkers compare favourably with the control group of urban migrants in terms of:

- Opportunities to make complaints
- Personality of Supervisors
- Understanding of worker's problems
- Supervisors' attitudes
- Treatment of workers as blacks
- Supervisors' knowledge
- Fairness in discipline

These results tend to reinforce the conclusions drawn from the comparisons with Pondo migrants interviewed in Transkei. Generally the canegrowing industry in Natal seems to have a consistently favourable image among black workers as regards communication, supervision and discipline. This is quite remarkable for an agricultural industry in comparison with a cross-section of urban migrant workers. It is made doubly more significant because of the fact that the urban migrants, while at the same level of occupational skill in broad terms, are earning well over twice as much on average as the caneworkers. High wages tend to soften most aspects of an employer's image in the eyes of workers.

TABLE 3. NEGATIVE REACTIONS TO JOB CHARACTERISTICS : ESTATE EMPLOYEES COMPARED WITH PRIVATE FARM WORKERS AND URBAN HOSTEL MIGRANTS.

Job Characteristic	Proportions indicating that Job Features are not as good as they would Expect : i.e. Negative Responses		
	Estate Employees	Private Farms	Urban Hostel
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Opportunities to make complaints	32	37	43
Accommodation	28	40	N.A.
Personality of Supervisors	15	18	34
Amount of work	46	51	32
Chances of Promotion	48	56	48
Wages	73	79	60
Food	44	58	N.A.
Safety	28	29	33
Relations with workmates	7	6	14
Understanding of workers' problems	31	35	52
Supervisors' attitudes	15	19	30
Hours of work	53	56	36
Sick benefits	30	52	39
Treatment of black workers	31	35	49
Training	15	21	14
Supervisors' knowledge	13	13	57
Entertainment in leisure	31	55	N.A.
Fairness in discipline	31	26	44

On the other hand, the results for caneworkers compare unfavourably with those of urban migrants in terms of:

amount of work
hours of work
wages

Once again this reinforces the results obtained previously. The contrast in respect of wages is not quite as great as one would expect given the very much higher level of wages of the urban contract workers. Obviously they have a higher level of expectation than the rural canegrowers. This reflects a very serious vulnerability of the agricultural sugar industry. If ever the expectations of caneworkers were to rise to approximate the levels in the urban setting, and trade union activity could have this effect, then a very serious extent of relative deprivation could destabilise the canegrowing industry very dramatically.

Turning to the broad, and rather abstract, comparisons between farms and company estates in the results in Table 3, we note that the estates emerge as slightly more favourable than the farms in terms of image.

This difference extends across most aspects of the employers' profiles, but the differences are generally quite small and of dubious significance. Where there does seem to be a clear and significant pattern of difference favouring the estates, is in regard to:

Accommodation
Chances of promotion
Food
Sick benefits
Entertainment in leisure time.

These, then, would be the particularly negative features of private farms as employment locations, relative to company estates. None of these contrasts is particularly surprising, since private farms have relatively small, isolated labour forces for whom the provision of promotion opportunity, formal sick benefits, entertainment, etc. is very difficult.

In Table 4 we turn to comparisons within the canegrowing labour force. The only proportions that are entered into the Table are those where there is a substantial, meaningful and significant difference between the proportion pertaining to the particular sub-group of employees and the overall proportion for the industry. In this case we have listed instances where the proportions are above the average evaluation in the industry, thereby denoting higher rates of dissatisfaction.

A perusal of the results in Table 4 show that the Umfolosi Estate has a remarkably poor profile in relative terms. It is only in regard to safety, supervisors' attitudes and hours of work that negative comparisons do not emerge. The Illovo Estate appears to have problems with regard to hours of work and the understanding of black workers' problems and to some extent in regard to wage levels as well, although the latter is not very significantly higher than the overall proportion.

Among the farms, the cluster of farms studied in Midlands North has a profile which is as bad as that of Illovo Estate. The same can be said for the cluster of farms in Northern Zululand. Some problems emerge among the farms on the North Coast up to the Tugela River.

Among categories of workers it was seen that it is particularly the operative categories of licensed drivers, unlicensed drivers and conductors that have problems.

Perhaps some additional comment needs to be made about the results pertaining to particular groups of farms and estates. In three regions the results are so consistently inferior to those elsewhere in the industry that the possibility exists that an attitudinal "set" has crept in among the labour force. Such an attitudinal "set" can produce a cynical and critical attitude to all or nearly all aspects of the employment situation because of some umbrella factor what is often called a "halo effect" in sociology. The employers end up being criticised for virtually everything and can do nothing right. While this is possible it is by no means definite. Whatever the problem, whether "halo effect" or specific grievances, these employment locations would appear to have a need for remedial action.

TABLE 4. SUBSTANTIALLY BELOW AVERAGE EVALUATIONS OF JOB CHARACTERISTICS AMONG PARTICULAR ESTATES OR GROUPS OF FARMS AND AMONG PARTICULAR CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYEES.

Job Characteristics	Percentage overall rating "not as good as one would expect" to compare with equivalent proportions for particular groups																		
	Umtfolosi	Tongaat	Noodsberg	Darnall	Illovo	Sezela	Umtzinkulu F	Sezela F	Mid South F	Mid North F	North to Tugela F	S. Zulu F	N. Zulu F	Senior Induna	Semi-skilled	Lic. operator	Unlic. op/conductor	Canecutter	Female 'togt'
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Opportunity to make complaints	33	55							52	50					41				40
Accommodation	34	60					42		58			48							40
Personality of supervisors	16	29							25						26				
Amount of work	49	54							67			58					54		
Chances of progress	52	60							71	61		68					57	64	
Wages	76	85			84				90			85				82			
Food	51	77						60	77			76			65	56			56
Safety	29											39				38			
Relations with workmates	7	18									13								
Understanding work problems	33	50			40			40	50	43		44			41				
Supervisors' attitude	18														31				
Hours of work	55				72				73	63									
Sick benefits	42	60						63	63			63							
Treatment of black workers	33	60							54			53							
Training	19	38							31			31							
Supervisors' knowledge	13	31								25		20			22				
Entertainment	44	66					55	59	50	69	53	61			53				
Fairness	28	59							44			39			38				

It should also be noted that these kinds of problems we have identified as being particularly serious in certain workplaces will not necessarily manifest themselves in labour unrest or outward manifestations of employee discontent. One intervening or mediating variable is whether or not the employees are trapped in the job situations which they perceive to be so unfortunate, and hence become apathetic. In this regard we may refer back to earlier results in which it indeed appeared that employees on the Umfolosi Estate and in Northern Zululand were very significantly more inclined to perceive themselves as having no option other than the employment that they were in. This pattern however certainly does not apply to some categories of workers with problems, namely the operatives. It is the operatives who perceive themselves as most able to gain alternative employment. They are also the category most likely to be seeking or anticipating alternative employment.

Here again we have a factor which might take the edge off potential unrest, albeit in a negative way. If a group like the operatives experiences high discontent they may resolve it by developing alternative job aspirations.

We turn now to a further investigation of specific problems in the workplace, this time in a slightly more direct manner.

We asked the question: "If your grievances (complaints and problems) in the job here could be put right one after the other by the company, the managers or by the supervisors, what would you like to see fixed up first?: Then after that : After that: After that and finally what else?"

Before commenting on the detailed content of the results, which are given in Table 5, it should perhaps be noted that overall, 12 percent of present canegrowing employees have no grievances at all for which they desire redress. Generally this average of 12-13 percent held for all the estates except Tongaat and Sezela where some 20 percent

of employees had no grievances, indicating very favourable conditions on these two estates. Unfortunately, however, the proportion with no grievances on the Umfolosi Estate was virtually nil, once again reinforcing the impression that problems exist in this location. Among the farms slightly over 20 percent of employees on the Sezela farms had no grievances while farms in the North Coast up to Tugela and in Northern Zululand and in Midlands North revealed a pattern very similar to that previously discussed. It is also perhaps significant to note that the female 'togt' labour contained a higher than average proportion of people with no particular grievances.

Generally the caneworkers compare well with the urban hostel migrants, among whom only 7 percent mention no grievances. All the results compare badly with the migrants interviewed in Pondoland. The high proportions who could not think of grievances (38 and 49 percent for ex-sugar and other migrants respectively) may be a function of an "absence makes the heart grow fonder" syndrome. Otherwise the contrasts make little sense.

In Table 5 we should note firstly the broad pattern; this being that wages and concerns about material benefits dominate the results, as we have said, followed at a substantially lower level by concerns with comfort (accommodation and food), and then, once again at a substantially lower level, by job conditions, supervision and treatment, followed by benefits (sick leave, housing, pensions, loans), and with opportunities for advancement and promotion featuring only relatively slightly. Since the concern about wages is so well nigh universal that it is a "saturated" variable the patterns of difference are rather constrained. Clerks are prominent in mentioning this type of grievance, as are employees on the Umfolosi, Midlands North, North Coast, Southern and Northern Zululand locations.

In regard to the concerns about food and accommodation, only the unlicensed operatives and conductors stand out slightly above the average among various categories of employment. However, the level of grievances appears to be very high indeed at Umfolosi, Midlands North and in Northern Zululand farms.

Table 5. PROPORTIONS OF EMPLOYEES IN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES DESIRING VARIOUS PROBLEMS AND GRIEVANCES TO BE CORRECTED: A SUMMATION OF ALL MENTIONS OF GRIEVANCES. (Percentages exceed 100 since more than one grievance was mentioned by respondents)

Location and Category	Type of Grievance needing Correction							
	None		Food and Wages accommodation		Job-conditions and treatment		Benefits for advancement	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Clerks	-	94	44	61	28	11		
Senior Indunas	12	79	36	24	26	3		
Semi-skilled	4	88	38	34	24	10		
Licensed operatives	11	80	45	34	31	9		
Unlicensed operatives/ conductors	9	86	49	26	16	8		
Cane cutters	10	86	43	25	14	9		
Unskilled	16	80	45	33	25	6		
Female 'togt'	17	78	38	26	16	1		
All	12	83	43	28	19	7		
<u>Estates</u>								
Umfolosi	2	93	68	25	25	10		
Tongaat	19	71	29	24	27	12		
Noodsberg	13	79	34	29	15	10		
Darnall	13	78	25	27	18	9		
Illovo	13	84	32	38	7	7		
Sezela	22	72	28	29	15	-		
<u>Farms</u>								
Umzimkulu	14	81	42	17	16	5		
Sezela	22	75	31	22	14	3		
Mid-South	15	83	46	23	25	2		
Mid-North	6	88	65	38	23	4		
North Coast	3	95	45	33	19	3		
South Zulu	9	88	42	28	19	9		
North Zulu	5	90	68	30	24	8		
<u>Urban Hostel</u>								
Migrants	7	84	11	50	38	8		
Pondo ex-sugar	38	80	77	46	22	3		
Pondo ex-other	49	66	46	29	30	10		

Clerks appear to have particular grievances in regard to job conditions, as do the employees on the Illovo Estate and in the Midlands North farms. As regards benefits, clerks, senior Indunas, semi-skilled and operative employees as well as unskilled male labour appear to have problems. Among the employment locations it would seem that Umfolosi, Tongaat and farms in Midlands South as well as Northern Zululand are prominent.

The very low level of concern with opportunities for advancement is noteworthy, and among the unambitious employees generally the female 'togt' labour is least striving of all.

Comparing the results with those for the urban hostel migrants shows that the latter have a far lower level of grievance about food and accommodation than the caneworkers. This is not necessarily due to any superiority of the hostels over accommodation in the sugar industry - it simply shows the grievances which hostel migrants experience are not laid at the door of the employer.

Wage grievances among hostel migrants are similar in scope to those among caneworkers, despite their superior levels of pay, due, as we have said, to higher aspirations. The scope of grievances among hostel migrants concerning job conditions, supervision and treatment and as regard fringe benefits are very much higher than among caneworkers.

The main feature in these results is the indication they give in regard to the priorities for action and they should not be read as indicating an intense kind of concern or latent instability in the labour force. The earlier results are rather more significant from that point of view. Some difficulty arises at this point in attempting to resolve the relative importance of concerns about comfort and concerns about supervision. While patterns in our results show that the latter relates strongly to overall job satisfaction, clearly the employers themselves feel that greater emphasis should be placed on accommodation, food and other aspects of their daily comfort. This is in fair measure due to the fact that supervision and the treatment of employees is generally better than the standards of accommodation, as one would judge

from previous results. Therefore, although quality of supervision is a more powerful variable in effecting the morale of the labour force, it is not a pressing issue in an overall sense at the present time. At this particular juncture more attention should perhaps be given to improvements in levels of daily comfort, without ignoring the need to constantly strive for improved quality of supervision.

A final point needs to be made. At this stage some accumulation of evidence is available which tends to suggest that part of the explanation for the problems in locations such as the Umfolosi Estate and the Zululand and Northern Midlands farms is the fact that they have higher proportions of Zulu employees. The Zulu employees are inclined to be more discontented and are also more sensitive to problems in the workplace. This observation, however, does not alter the fact that the problems exist and are real, particularly if there is no alternative but to employ Zulu labour. Therefore any hidden effects of the correlation between attitudes and ethnic group can probably be largely ignored as far as policy goes, even though it may be unfortunate that certain employment locations may in part compare poorly with others because of the composition of the labour force.

3.2 Company loyalty and return contracts.

Related to the issue of workers' perceptions of characteristics in their job situations is the whole issue of what factors inclined a migrant contract worker to return to the same company year after year. This is particularly important for an industry like canegrowing because, being an industry at a low level of skill and a relatively low level of remuneration, there is always a danger that it could be either a labour "pipeline" funnelling workers through from the rural areas into better employment in the cities, or alternatively be a labour "refuge" for workers with no alternatives who offer their labour to the sugar industry at a relatively advanced age.

We asked the respondents the following: "Companies in the Transvaal and Natal often have workers that come to them from far away/as from the Transkei. In some of these companies workers go back to one company over and over again. Other companies find that

workers come to them once or twice then look for work elsewhere.
What is it about a company that would make workers want to leave and
find other work in another company? (Probe/what else?)"

The results outlining these spontaneous, self-generated reasons given by black workers for not wishing to return to a particular company are presented in Table 6. In the Table we find that wages and material benefits are mentioned by almost all workers, both current cane employees and Transkei migrants. What is surprising, however, is the fact that for the first time in our results other factors come up to almost the same level of mention as wages and material benefits; mainly the amount and physical demands of work and the quality of control and supervision.

Table 6. SPONTANEOUS REASONS GIVEN BY CANE EMPLOYEES , TRANSKEI AND URBAN MIGRANTS FOR NOT WISHING TO RETURN TO A COMPANY

Factor mentioned	TRANSKEI			Urban Hostel migrants
	Canegrowing employees	sugar migrants	other migrants	
	%	%	%	%
Wages and material benefits	89	79	82	97
Amount of physical demands of work	84	70	68	59
Quality of control and supervision	73	73	70	85
Quality of food	46	28	24	6
Accommodation	28	11	12	8
Jealousy among workmates	13	4	4	7
Cannot communicate grievances	6	11	12	10
Danger	6	6	5	6
Job insecurity	6	4	6	12
Discomfort and dangers to health on job	6	4	5	1
Fringe benefits	4	-	-	-
Boring work	3	-	-	-
No opportunities for promotion	4	-	5	.

Previous results presented have emphasised the importance of all three of these factors but it is interesting that employees mentioning their own spontaneous considerations place quality of supervision at such a high level when they are given an opportunity to consider more than one factor.

The comparison in Table 6 between caneworkers and urban hostel migrants shows what is uppermost in the minds of the different groups. Concern with wages and material benefits is higher among hostel migrants, as are concerns about supervision, communication of grievances and job insecurity. The hostel migrants are less concerned about the strenuousness of the work, because in their situation it is not a factor of immediate relevance to their current situation. By and large these results confirm and reinforce previous comparisons, also showing that wage concerns do not become less-relevant at rising levels of reward, unlike other factors. Material concerns, as everyone, including academics and businessmen know, tend to be somewhat of a bottomless pit.

As far as cane employees are concerned, quality of food is also an important factor, being mentioned by nearly 50 percent; significantly higher than the mention among other migrant workers interviewed in Pondoland or by the urban hostel migrants. Accommodation is another very important factor, being mentioned by just under one-third of the employees but much less by the others.

It is difficult to know whether the additional importance accorded to food and accommodation by the cane industry employees indicates that they are more or less satisfied than others with these factors at present. Judging from previous results and from the fact that the level of mention is higher among our current employees than among other migrants would suggest that quality of food and accommodation is a problem in the sugar cane industry at the moment.

Other factors are mentioned by much lower proportions of current employees and migrants. What is significant to note here is that the "intrinsic" job benefits of interesting work and opportunity for promotion and advancement are mentioned by so few of the employees in

identifying companies to which they would like to return. This indicates that the sugar cane industry caters for a fairly low level of black employee in terms of the extent to which their needs have become developed and elaborated. This, obviously, is adaptive in the sense that a labour intensive agricultural industry like canegrowing could hardly cater for elaborated and sophisticated needs. However, these results as well as the flavour of the responses throughout the rest of the findings indicate that the canegrowing employee is generally unstimulated and there must inevitably be a price paid by the employer in two ways: firstly the industry is likely to attract recruits of lesser potential and aptitude, and secondly it is likely to work with a large under-motivated labour force. It is suggested, with all due caution, that at least in certain grades of work the industry should attempt through job-enrichment and advancement programmes to offer opportunities for a better quality of labour to be drawn into the industry. The same obviously goes for the employers of the low-level migrants in hostels in our control sample.

In addition to the open question just discussed, employees were presented with a range of structured factors in the job situation and were asked to indicate their first three choices as to which factors would be most inclined to attract them back to a particular company. The results are presented in Table 7.

The results of the structured probe tend to confirm the results from the open-ended and spontaneous reasons given, but with a few exceptions. The most notable exceptions are that when the employees are stimulated by a range of factors which are read out to them they place somewhat less emphasis, relatively speaking on the job fatigue factor and relatively more emphasis, as regard rank ordering of issues, of food and accommodation.

Table 7. PROPORTIONS OF CANE EMPLOYEES, TRANSKEI AND URBAN MIGRANTS SELECTING REASONS PRESENTED TO THEM FOR WISHING TO RETURN TO A PARTICULAR COMPANY.

Factor selected	T R A N S K E I							
	Canegrowing employees		Sugar migrants		Other migrants		Urban Hostel migrants	
	1st choice	All choices	1st choice	All choices	1st choice	All choices	1st choice	All choices
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Good wages	57	83	53	86	56	77	61	90
Helpful-sympathetic supervision	11	45	10	33	10	35	8	49
Feeling secure in the job	3	24	3	28	3	23	10	49
Safety in work	2	12	4	25	4	24	3	23
Good relations between workers	3	17	8	26	8	28	8	28
Good food	4	40	3	31	2	32	-	8
Good accommodation	7	38	7	24	4	38	4	18
Not being expected to work too hard	12	39	14	43	16	43	6	35

They also place more emphasis on job security than they do in the open-ended probes to which they can give spontaneous answers.

In very broad terms what we see emerging from these two probes is that the priority factors in the work situation as far as inducing company loyalty is concerned are likely to be: wages and material benefits, strenuousness of work, quality of supervision, good food and accommodation, with job security and fairness in discipline creeping into a position of marginal importance.

Comparisons in Table 7 between caneworkers and urban hostel migrants show that the urban migrants, from their perspective place relatively greater emphasis on job-security, safety and on good relations between employees. This would follow from the greater complexity and labour turnover in urban industrial work, and also the greater diversity of background among the black labour forces.

The urban migrants place far less emphasis on food and accommodation, simply because it is not perceived to be part of the

job package as is the case in the rural sugar industry.

The results presented thus far do not really come as any surprise to anyone who has either worked in industry or conducted various investigations and studies of personnel relations in industry. These are the kind of concerns that are usually identified as important by low level unskilled and semi-skilled black employees in South Africa. Considering the nature of the industry and its operation it is fairly obvious that little can be done about the strenuousness of work and perhaps not too much can be done quickly about levels of wages and material benefits. As a general impression it would appear that the industry has generally made a positive impression on its black employees in regard to quality of supervision; a factor which they consider to be of keynote significance. The whole range of results thus far, however, would suggest that another factor of great significance; this being quality of accommodation and food and comfort generally, does allow quite some considerable room for improvement. Given the constraints facing the industry in other spheres, it would appear that improvements to worker comforts would have a very meaningful effect in an area where the industry generally has scope for introducing the kind of reforms required without great cost.

The heightened sensitivity of employees in the Northern areas (namely Zulu-speakers) which are manifested in company profiles, indicate that the cane employee should never be seen as a hardened, low-level stoic who can endure discomfort and hardship without complaining. The Zulu-speakers probably point the way to the future in this regard. Rural industry in South Africa has tended to develop a tradition redolent with assumptions that black agricultural employees are a tough breed which is prepared to endure discomfort without complaining. The profiles of particular estates and the priorities selected by the employees themselves indicate quite clearly that these assumptions are misplaced and that this tradition will have to change.

4. PREFERENCE PATTERNS: WORK IN CANE-GROWING RELATIVE TO OTHER TYPES OF WORK.

There is a general view that work on the sugar cane fields has among the very lowest of images among black workers. Indeed, this has been established by research conducted in the Centre for Applied Social Sciences. The image and reputation which an industry has as an employer is fairly important for its functioning. Firstly, it helps to determine what quality of labour is attracted, and secondly, among an industry's own employees, it helps to contribute to job-commitment and labour stability or its opposite. If the employees consider that "the grass is greener", general employee morale can be quite meaningfully influenced.

This whole issue was investigated in a range of different ways in the present study. Firstly, employees were asked: "What kind of work would you prefer to do other than the work you are doing now, or is this job satisfactory?" (Some of these results have already been discussed.) We present the broad findings in Table 8.

Table 8. RANK-ORDER OF PREFERENCES FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF JOBS IN RELATION TO PRESENT JOB.

	Transkei Migrants		Urban Hostel migrants	
	Caneworkers	Ex Sugar	Ex Other	
	%	%	%	%
Present Job				
Satisfaction	42	28	30	43
Driver	19	20	23	24
Domestic	6	-	-	-
Supervisory	5	8	14	5
Artisan	4	5	10	9
Labourer (city)	4	6	2	1
Factory worker (city)	4	-	1	5
Other agriculture	4	11	2	3
Self-employment	3	-	-	2
Policemen/Security guard	2	3	2	-
Machine operator	1	2	3	2
Routine light work	1	4	1	-
Mining	1	-	-	-
White collar	1	7	4	3
Other	3	6	6	3

Before considering these results we should note that there was insufficient distinction between estate and private farm employees to present the results separately. The proportions expressing present job satisfaction were as follows:

estates	43%
private farms	42%

The results in the table show quite clearly that present job-satisfaction or at least job acceptance is as high among the caneworkers as it is among urban hostel migrants. Both are higher than among the Pondoland samples, where the break from work may have induced some fanciful thinking about alternatives.

We must also note that some of the desired alternatives among the caneworkers could be achieved within the cane industry itself.

Generally, however, it would seem that the occupation of driver, and the combined occupations of skilled and semi-skilled factory work in town are attractive alternatives to some one-third of the cane-workers. The mention by some 6 percent of a desire to become domestics reveals a very low level of aspiration in the labour force. It is most significant, however, that no higher proportion of caneworkers wish to "escape" than is the case among equivalent categories of labour in other industries.

A further question asked deliberately forced the respondents to think in terms of alternatives "Which of the following jobs would you most like to have? You must think (pretend) that the wage is the same for all the jobs". Respondents were asked to choose two among a range of alternatives presented. In Table 9. below we present the combined proportions for the two choices.

Table 9. COMBINED PROPORTIONS OF RESPONDENTS CHOOSING TWO JOBS FROM AMONG A RANGE OF ALTERNATIVES PRESENTED.

	Combined First and Second Choices			
	Caneworkers	Transkei Migrants		Urban Hostel migrants
		Ex Sugar	Ex Other	
	%	%	%	%
Supervisor-Construction	16	<u>31</u>	<u>28</u>	10
Factory worker-big machines	16	14	16	15
<u>Supervisor-Cane Estate</u>	23	<u>31</u>	7	nil
Farmer in homeland	<u>33</u>	19	19	<u>42</u>
Driver of truck	<u>39</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>47</u>
Messenger in shop	15	17	17	11
Supervisor in city factory	23	9	18	28
Skilled artisan	<u>36</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>46</u>

This item was followed by one which had the opposite emphasis: *"Once again, pretend that the wages are all the same for each job. Which of the jobs I will read would you dislike the most?"* The results are presented in Table 10. below. In this question only one selection was called for.

Table 10. JOB DISLIKED MOST AMONG A RANGE OF ALTERNATIVES.

	Transkei Migrants			
	Caneworkers	Ex Sugar		Urban Hostel migrants
		Ex Other		
	%	%	%	%
Miner-Goldmines	38	5	4	47
<u>Cane-cutter</u>	32	29	42	30
<u>Road worker-city</u>	15	39	38	9
Gardener in house	6	11	10	4
Construction-labourer	5	2	-	5
Cleaner in building	3	5	1	3
Machine-operator - factory	1	6	2	2

The results in the two tables given above are interesting in that they reflect very contrasting work-preference cultures. In the labour-sending area for the mines in Pondoland, mining does not have a very negative image. Roadworker in the city is the most disliked. Among caneworkers and Durban hostel migrants, however, mining has all the negative symbolism traditionally associated with it. Among all groups however, machinist in a factory is least disliked among low-level work.

On the positive side, skilled artisan occupations, truck-driving and independent farming in the homelands are the most favourably viewed (with the exception that the latter loses popularity among people interviewed in Pondoland, faced directly with all the disincentives of farming). People from rural areas involved in wage-labour always tend to yearn for the life of an independent peasant farmer - the rural dream (the same used to apply to low-skilled Afrikaners in the city).

Cane-work certainly does not have the most favourable image, but it is generally less unfavourable than mining (or urban road work in Pondoland). At a higher level, (supervisory), the image of the sugar cane industry as an employer is in the middle of the range of choice among blacks with exposure to the industry. The negative image of the cane-industry emerges among those with no exposure - the urban hostel migrants and non-sugar Pondo migrants.

All the choices presented went with the explicit instruction that wages were equivalent, which is not the case. Given this artificiality, cane work would drop in its image in the real situation of choice. The comparisons given in the results show, however, that the image of cane-work is poor among the uninformed and needs to be improved, while it is intrinsically more favourable among those with experience in the industry.

Results not presented in detail show that the reasons people advance for their judgements on work of various kinds in the two questions boil down to the following major considerations:

material advantages,
fatigue in work,
independence from close supervision - dignity,
acquisition of skills for independence,
comfort, safety and health.

Going more deeply into perceptions of cane-work, we posed the question: "What kind of people take work cutting sugar cane - how are they different from people who work in factories in the town?" The results in broad terms are presented in Table 11, below. In the table we have not distinguished between all the detail in the answers,

merely subdividing the answers into positive, negative and neutral.

Table 11. POSITIVE, NEUTRAL AND NEGATIVE VIEWS OF PEOPLE WHO WORK AS CANE-CUTTERS

	Combined Percentages			
	Caneworkers	Pondo Migrants		Urban Hostel
		Ex Sugar	Ex Other	Migrants
	%	%	%	%
Positive	50	77	55	12
Neutral	22	21	18	27
Negative	80	92	87	76
No difference	20	8	13	20

The image of the caneworker is overwhelmingly negative among the urban hostel migrants. Negative features outweigh positive images of the caneworker among all groups, including caneworkers, but among present and past cane employees positive features emerge quite strongly. Put differently, among people exposed to cane-work, the image of the caneworker is not dominantly negative and has features on which the industry can build.

Most notable among the positive images of the caneworker are the following:

strength
boldness and courage
health and vigour.

As far as we know, the sugar industry has done nothing to highlight these characteristics. No organised games of strength, or contests of physical ability with prizes are known to us. The industry could well consider building these positive aspects of the image in the ways alluded to above.

On the negative side, the specific images of the caneworker include the following major perceived characteristics (verbatim quotes):

"heavy work"
"badly paid"
"desperate for work"
"dirty", "covered in dust", "smell"
"overworked", "treated like slaves"
"exposed to weather, storms"
"starving"
"sacks and torn clothes"
"unhealthy", "thin", "TB"
"scarred hands", "bruised bodies"

These responses are very reminiscent of similar findings in the forestry industry. The symbolism of ill-health and weakness is very important and has to be countered. The industry needs to consider whether or not some of the validity of these images cannot be removed or softened by scrupulous attention to matters like protective clothing, on-site medical treatment, fortified snacks or soups in the fields, (recall the importance of food) etc.

The image of cane-work is not positive, as we have seen above. However, we have also seen that employees are sufficiently realistic for some 40 percent of them to indicate present job satisfaction despite their experience of all the negative features. In this context we asked the question: "What job are you aiming to get after the kind of work you do now?"

A great variety of answers emerged, so numerous in fact as to make tabulation difficult. However, in Table 12, we present the major and most significant mentions, which sometimes overlap (i.e. are not mutually exclusive).

Table 12. JOBS CANEWORKERS AND OTHER AIM TO TRY TO GET AFTER THEIR PRESENT JOBS - COMBINED PERCENTAGE CHOICES (NOTE: SOME CATEGORIES INCLUDE ONE ANOTHER)

Future Job intentions	Caneworkers	Pondo Migrants		Urban Hostel
	%	Ex Sugar	Ex Other	Migrants
Same as now	11	24	10	2
Drivers	21	12	19	18
Homeland farmers	14	-	3	26
Other menial labour	10	10	7	6
Skilled	8	-	2	18
Semi-skilled factory	7	6	5	11
Low non manual	5	7	3	5
Police/security	3	2	4	-
Better work in cane-growing	17	21	see mines below	-
Sugar mills	23	17	-	-
Construction, factories	17	7	8	34
Commerce	2	1	1	-
Urban areas	43	38	39	43
Homelands	14	-	5	45
Self employed in commerce	7	-	2	12
Mines	4	29	43	-

Before commenting on these results, we should also refer to the findings on another similar question: *"What is the best job which you, with your education, can hope to achieve?"* The responses to this question were generally so very similar to the results to the last question presented in Table 12. that we need not tabulate them. The following comments apply to both items.

It is interesting that some nearly 50 percent of present caneworkers and 60 percent of ex-sugar Pondo migrants opt for work (at the same level or higher) either in the canegrowing industry or in the sugar mills. This is quite a commitment to the industry, broadly defined. It indicates that a great deal could be achieved if there were promotion avenues planned which are industry-wide (i.e., out of canegrowing into sugar milling). This could well introduce a much higher level of motivation.

The urban hostel migrants have much higher aspirations than the current caneworkers, as one would expect from people at a higher level of income. However, they also evince the greatest yearning for rural peasant independence, even more than the caneworkers (26 versus 14 percent) and dramatically more than the Pundos interviewed at home, where the "push" factors (disincentives) of rural poverty and boredom had obviously begun to take effect. This aspect of aspirations is very definitely an oscillating consciousness.

Urban aspirations are high among all groups, and *this*, more than alternative types of work, is the major perceived and desirable alternative to cane-growing. It is not the urban environment as such, but the lure of bigger money which attracts them. Some 4 out of 10 caneworkers have such a trajectory in mind. The sugar industry broadly defined, should try to accommodate these real aspirations within its employment structure as far as possible.

Generally speaking, then, on the basis of these results, it would seem that the image of canegrowing is bad at the low levels, tempered somewhat by the symbols of strength and toughness, and by occupational

realism. Among migrants generally it is no worse in its reputation than mining. At the higher levels of skill and seniority, it achieves a reputation which is about midway along the range of broadly equivalent occupational choice.

One specific feature of the results not shown in the tables is that the higher-skilled employees like clerks and tractor-drivers tend to aspire particularly towards work as truck-drivers on the open labour market. In this sense, to a degree, the cane-growing sector may be a labour pipeline. The sugar industry as a whole might consider utilising this avenue for recruitment and training of drivers rather than losing them to other industries. More will be said in this connection presently.

5. ATTITUDES RELATING TO PRODUCTIVITY.

The rural sugar industry, on the face of it, is not necessarily an industry which emphasises individual worker productivity. If wages are to be improved relative to the cost of production, then improved productivity would be essential. There is, of course, the complicating consideration that improved productivity might lower the employment capacity of the industry. These are relationships which we are not in a position to comment upon in detail however. Nevertheless, on the basis of the results obtained we can say something about worker attitudes and orientations related to work-effort and productivity.

We posed a question: "What things make men like you feel that they should do only enough not to be rebuked?" A wide variety of spontaneous answers emerged. We present, in Table 13. below, the major responses, for caneworkers and urban hostel migrants.

Table 13. FACTORS WHICH WORKERS MENTION AS MAKING THEM LESS-INCLINED TO DO MORE WORK THAN IS NECESSARY (only major reasons mentioned)

Factors mentioned	Caneworkers	Urban Hostel Migrants
	%	%
Overwork/heavy work	60	35
Pay and related factors	53	57
Poor treatment by <u>black</u> superiors	33	45
Poor health	21	17
Poor food	14	nil
Poor treatment by <u>whites/Indians</u>	12	(see 58% above)
Friction among workmates (other reasons to various to classify)	11	5

The contrasts between the urban hostel dwellers and the cane-workers are most interesting. The higher level of wages in the urban situation does not appear to weaken the workers' feelings of demotivation because of wage factors.

It seems clear that supervision is not as serious a factor in the cane-growing industry as among the urban hostel migrants, and it is interesting that the vast bulk of complaints in the former relate to black superiors. This is not the case in the urban situation. Poor food features among the caneworkers but not at all among the urban-located people.

Another question was intended to tap a similar dimension:

"What things can make a man like you here feel like staying away from work for a day?" Here again we present the results in Table 14 below.

Table 14. FACTORS PERCEIVED BY WORKERS AS INCLINING THEM TO ABSENTEEISM

Major factors Perceived (small minority responses omitted)	Caneworkers	Urban Hostel Migrants
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Ill health or injury	74	72
Work too hard, strenuous, long hours	40	11
Not enough sleep, disturbed in sleep	29	17
Frictions with superiors	23	11
Problems at home	20	36
Hangover	16	22
Poor pay	15	7
Transport problems	nil	18

These results highlight the effect on caneworkers of long hours and strenuous work compared with hostel migrants in town. They also emphasise problems workers in the canefields have in getting enough sleep, as they feel it. Ill health and injury is a normal and constant response and we need not consider it further.

The greater emphasis placed by caneworkers on friction with superiors is perhaps because they are used to better than the urban workers. Poor pay may be a greater demotivator for the caneworkers but at a fairly low level of effect. The caneworkers are obviously less-disturbed by problems at home due to their isolation. Too much drinking is a problem everywhere, but perhaps more so in the urban areas.

One must be tentative in assessing these results. They are what the workers perceive themselves and are not necessarily the effective factors in influencing productivity. Later in this report we will consider interrelationships in our data and comment more on latent and unrecognised factors.

6. PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL COMMITMENT AND MODERNISATION.

A labour force very largely composed of migrant contract workers from rural subsistence areas always tends to raise the question of industrial commitment. Normally, employers can "invest" in their labour forces in the form of training, housing, pension assistance, etc. in the expectation of these benefits helping to produce a worker corps with commitment (if not to the company, at least to an industrial career), a desire to advance up the scale of work rewards, and with improved productivity.

With migrant workers, however, an employer may be dealing with a proportion of so-called "target workers", who simply use the industry as a source of cash income from time to time, and whose own "investments" and commitments are not in the industrial milieu but back home in the subsistence agricultural areas. In such a case the workers may not only fail to respond to opportunities for improved careers, but their attitudes may reflect traditional or alternative values. They may even have what the employer would regard as non-modern attitudes to work.

The degree of industrial commitment in a labour force can sometimes be tested by determining whether or not the employees take breaks from working in order to engage in agricultural pursuits and community affairs on a full-time basis. However, in recent years the problems of sheer survival in the increasingly over-crowded black rural areas mean that all labour, whether industrially committed or not, works or tries to work more or less full time in industry. Therefore, we had to approach this question more hypothetically, on the basis of attitudes.

We approached the respondents with the following: "I will read you some things that people say they are proud of. Tell me which you think is very important, quite important, not very important or not important at all, for you?" In the table below we present the proportions indicating a range of life and work interests to be very important. We also asked the subjects to indicate the "three most important things that they would be proud of", from the items presented.

These results are also presented in the table.

Table 15. PROPORTIONS OF RESPONDENTS INDICATING VARIOUS RURAL AND URBAN INTERESTS AND CONCERNS TO BE VERY IMPORTANT FOR THEM.

Issues Presented	Proportions rating issues as very important			
	Cane- workers	Transkei Migrants	Ex-Sugar Ex-Other	Urban Hostel Migrants
	%	%	%	%
Happy family and children	99	97	95	99
Nice house, possessions in country	96	84	85	95
Nice house, possessions where you work	41	40	46	39
Respect of relatives, Kinsmen	97	85	78	92
To be known as modern man of city	31	42	29	23
To have skill in work in industry	93	93	92	96
Many cattle and land to plough	92	94	91	94
Promotion to higher position at work	88	94	90	86
Many friends where you work	37	38	38	34
Treated with respect at work	98	95	93	94

PROPORTIONS SELECTING CONCERN AS ONE OF THE THREE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FOR THEM.

	%	%	%	%
Happy family and children	68	not analysed		69
Nice house, possessions in country	57			49
Nice house possessions where you work	8			6
Respect of relatives, Kinsmen	27			34
To be known as modern man of city	1			1
To have skill in work in industry	12			21
Many cattle and land to plough	55			55
Promotion to higher position at work	23			25
Many friends where you work	5			5
Treated with respect at work	42			35

These results give a very consistent picture, across all four samples. Issues of greatest importance are the family, community and agricultural concerns in the home area, followed by job interests at work, with interests in the social aspects of the industrial milieu hardly featuring. The interest which this type of labour has in the city or in industry is largely job-related. The real social commitment lies in the home areas.

There is, however, some differentiation in the labour force in terms of these values. The Licensed Conductors/Drivers and to a lesser extent clerks tend to be significantly less rural in their interests than the rest of the labour force (although a majority remains rural). There is very little consistent differentiation between the various estates and farms, however. The workers who are neither Zulu nor Xhosa (a very small minority) are the least rural in outlook.

More directly on the issue of industrial commitment, the following question was posed: "If a man like you had enough money to meet all his needs, would he continue working?" The item was followed with a probe for reasons why people would continue working, asked only of those who answered in the affirmative. Results are presented in Table 16.

Table 16. COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE WORKING DESPITE HAVING ENOUGH MONEY TO MEET NEEDS

	Caneworkers	Transkei Migrants Ex-Sugar	Ex-Other	Urban Hostel Migrants
	%	%	%	%
Would keep on working	43	72	67	29
<u>Reasons</u> (Spontaneous)				
Material security	20	57	51	24
Accumulation/Savings	17	44	30	8
Desire to work or interest in working	12	6	9	5

NOTE: More than one reason could be given, hence answers may sum to more than 100% and to more than the percentage of people who would continue to work.

These results show how little clear-cut industrial commitment of an intrinsic kind exists among migrant contract workers. Their motivations are dominantly material. Industrial commitment in our situation of migrant work should probably be given a minimum kind of definition, in material terms, since very small percentages of migrants appear to be orientated towards industrial success in a career or occupational sense. The results in the table show that the caneworkers are no less-committed than other migrants in the urban hostel situation, despite the latter's higher levels of pay and reward.

A further probe on work related values took the form of the following questions:

"Some say - if a man works hard and exhausts himself for many months he will recover strength if he rests. Others say he will not regain strength with rest. What do you think?"

"It is said that one can obtain "medicine" (muti) which will help one to avoid punishment at work/by a magistrate. Do you think this is true or not?"

"In the work you are doing now, do you prefer being paid a fixed amount per day, or per hour, or according to how much work you have done?"

The results of these probes appear in Table 17.

Table 17. WORK ATTITUDES RELATING TO EFFECTS ON HEALTH, SUPERSTITION AND INCENTIVE PAY.

Type of Attitude	Transkei Migrants			Urban Hostel Migrants
	Caneworkers	Ex-Sugar	Ex-Other	
	%	%	%	%
Hard work exhausts permanently	36	40	33	45
Hard work exhausts temporarily - will recover	64	59	66	55
Medicine can prevent punishment	37	42	24	32
Not true	61	48	67	68
Pay on regular daily basis	35	41	48	24
Pay on a regular hourly basis	51	32	31	67
Pay incentive for work done	15	27	19	9

These results seem to indicate that roughly four out of ten caneworkers have attitudes or superstitions of a kind which may impede a rational adaptation to the work situation. This is somewhat higher than among Pondo migrants who have worked in industries other than sugar. However, it is not significantly higher than the urban hostel dwellers in Durban.

In the question on the desired mode of pay, the most rational self-interested response is to indicate a preference for hourly paid work. This would optimise income and effort. The urban hostel dwellers opt for this, but the proportions drop to 51 percent and 32 percent among present and past caneworkers. In the reasons for giving the response, however, it appeared that one consideration in particular was distorting the caneworkers preferences - the fear/conviction that the employer would cheat in calculations of pay.

Employees at the Tonga, Darnall and Illovo estates and workers on the North Coast private farms were more inclined to want hourly pay, but not necessarily or only because they feared less cheating. It is possible that these employees are more "modern" and "rational" than others.

The issue of a fear of cheating is very serious. The following proportions of people in the various employment locations included mention of cheating in replying to the last item; we must remember that their replies were completely spontaneous.

	Percentage mentioning Cheating or fear of it
	%
Umfolosi Estate	35
Tongaat "	55
Noodsberg "	44
Darnall "	38
Iilovo "	39
Sezela "	27
Umzimkulu farms	44
Sezela "	50
Midlands South farms	58
Midlands North farms	56
North Coast farms	52
Southern Zululand farms	61
Northern Zululand farms	50

These proportions decrease slightly with education. They reflect a very prominent concern in the minds of employees, as the proportions above attest. It is a high priority issue for management intervention, since even the slightest fear of irregularities in calculations of pay disrupts employee motivation and morale, no matter which of the various theories of worker motivation is taken as a model.

Canecutters are a category of particular interest in regard to piecerate payment, since it is general practice in the cane-growing industry to pay the canecutter according to weight of cane cut. Some 18 percent of canecutters, compared with 13 percent among other types of workers, state a preference for piecerates. Therefore, a higher proportion of canecutters than other employees prefer piecerates, but even so, a huge majority even of canecutters would prefer hourly pay or daily pay.

Among the canecutters who wanted hourly or daily pay, 50 percent wanted it because of their fear of being cheated in piecework. Of the balance, most wanted to be paid on a non-piecerate basis because they felt they would earn more money. Among the 18 percent of canecutters that liked piecerate, nearly 8 out of 10 felt that it increases the amount of their pay.

It would seem then, as if piecework is not popular among the very category of caneworker which is generally paid in this fashion.

The attractiveness of piecerate would increase markedly if this group could be reassured about the fairness of methods of calculating piecerate payments.

7. PROBLEMS IN THE MIGRANT LABOUR SITUATION.

The respondents in this study are all typical migrant workers. This, however, does not mean that they conform to the stereotype of the classical migrant worker who has land, cattle and rural security. Among the canegrowers:

- 31% have their own land.
- 46% have no land at all, whether own or shared, leased or rented. They only have a "pumpkin patch".
- 45% consider that they will have adequate land for subsistence when they retire, and
- 24% will have no land whatsoever when they retire.
- 35% feel absolutely secure about keeping their land or the land they will get before retiring
- 75% do not own any (larger) cattle, and the balance of 25 percent have an average of roughly three beasts.

These figures should make it clear that the caneworkers generally are by no means migrant workers in the traditional mould. We have seen in previous results that the majority do not aspire to an urban career and social trajectory, but nearly half or more of the total group do not have the rural resources or security to "justify" a rural orientation in terms of hard interests. Hence these employees reflect the spearhead of an emerging crisis in South Africa's migrant labour situation. A very substantial proportion of these employees are "men of no world", and it is remarkable that so few signs of these contradictions have as yet appeared in their general morale in the work situation. Other research conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences indicates clearly, however, that the category of workers who are least rooted in rural security and who are blocked from becoming urbanites are likely to be most prone to subjective deprivation, conflict and perhaps destabilisation.

It is of note that in the findings of this study, it is not the more skilled or senior people in the labour force who are landless. Rather it is the least skilled and least senior people who are most likely not to have land and rural resources.

What of the subjective impact of migrant work on the respondents. We posed the question: "What problems are caused for you because of working away from your home or is it not really a problem?" Major results are given in Table 18. below.

Table 18. PROBLEMS OF WORKING AWAY FROM HOME - CLASSIFICATION OF SPONTANEOUS ANSWERS IN MAJOR CATEGORIES

Type of Problem	Caneworkers %	Urban Hostel Migrants %
Worry/anxiety/lack of communication	24	30
Miss family contact/sexual contact/ anxiety	9	26
Absence in family emergencies	13	31
Cannot discipline children, attend to family needs	5	14
Agriculture neglected/ house neglected	4	6
Financial burden	7	11
<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>28</u>
Not applicable	11	11

From these results it seems fairly clear that the caneworker migrant is significantly less anxious and less consciously stressed by the situation of being separated from his home and family than is the case among urban hostel migrant. Perhaps this is why no manifestations of stress have yet appeared in the workplace.

There is also a major difference between the caneworkers and the urban hostel migrants in terms of desires to urbanise, or to settle permanently in Natal, which appear in Table 19. below.

Table 19. DESIRES TO URBANISE OR LIVE PERMANENTLY IN NATAL
UNDER VARIOUS CONDITIONS

Condition of Urbanisation/perma- permanent settlement in Natal.	Caneworkers %	Urban Hostel Migrants %
Would like to qualify for urban rights:		
-to live and work permanently	8	33
-to work permanently only	39	35
-unnecessary (already qualified to work permanently)	32 (20)	14 (18)
Would even like to <u>live</u> and work permanently if:		
had to give up home place	5	16
no one to look after home place	4	38
		(note: drawn from 33% and 18% above)

We see from these results that there is a very significant difference in the orientations of the canegrower migrant and the typical urban hostel dweller. Four times as many urban-located hostel migrants wish to urbanise permanently as is the case among the caneworkers.

The cane-growing industry is perhaps fortunate in having a migrant labour force which is so apparently well-adjusted to the contradictions of the migrant labour situation. As yet the only groups showing a markedly out of pattern desire to urbanise permanently are those with higher education (13% Std. 6+ compared with the average of 8%) the minority ethnic group - non Zulu/Xhosa (39%), the junior indunas (13%) unskilled males (16%) those with no land (13%) and the relatively highly paid (11%).

These deviations are mild (except in the case of ethnic minorities) and as yet there is no major category of employees which is consciously in conflict with the migrant labour system as such. Needless to say this will change with time and should be carefully monitored.

We also probed the issue of whether or not the cane-workers would like to have their wives (in some cases husbands) and children join them on a full-time basis. The question was: "Would you like it to be possible for your wife (husband) and children to come and live permanently near where you work or would you want them to stay where they are?" The results, comparing the caneworkers and the urban hostel migrants, are given in Table 20.

TABLE 20. DESIRE TO HAVE WIFE AND CHILDREN LIVE NEARBY ON A FULL-TIME BASIS (Single men were asked question hypothetically).

	CANEWORKERS		URBAN HOSTEL	
	Married	Single	Married	Single
	%	%	%	%
Wife and children nearby	12	16	21	16
Possibly	2	2	2	-
Stay where they are	67	80	77	84
(already have family with them)	18	1	-	-
Those who wish family nearby)				
Would like it even if danger of losing home place	5	8	10	16

These results make it quite clear that only small minorities of caneworkers would like their families near them on a full-time basis. The proportion is slightly higher among urban hostel dwellers, among whom, as we have seen, a larger proportion wish to urbanise or to settle permanently in Natal than the caneworkers.

The reasons which are given for wanting wives and children nearby are self-evident. They boil down to:

- need for family/marital life
- ease of taking care of family
- greater economy
- ability to discipline children
- wife and husband arranging family affairs together
- wife to cook and work
- less anxiety

Reasons for not wishing the family to be nearby, in order of importance are:

wife has to take care of homestead/land/livestock
 danger of losing land if wife away
 wife has to care for parents/relatives
 expensive to have family nearby
 nowhere to go if job is lost
 wife will be corrupted in Natal
 no accommodation
 no rights
 undesirable influences in Natal

Finally in the this section, we asked: *"How do you feel - do you see your wife (husband) and children enough or not enough?"* The results, for caneworkers and urban hostel migrants, appear in Table 21.

TABLE 21 FEELINGS ON WHETHER OR NOT WIFE AND CHILDREN ARE SEEN OFTEN ENOUGH (Only married respondents).

	Caneworkers %	Urban Hostel migrants %
Seen frequently enough	37	22
Not enough	45	78
Not applicable (Wife already nearby)	18	-

Clearly, in these results the caneworker once again demonstrates that, on average, even among married employees, there is less consciously felt privation in the migrant-worker situation than among the comparison group of urban located migrant workers. Nevertheless, when some 45 percent of a labour force experience the social and sexual deprivation evident from these results there is a problem for the labour force. We realise that arrangements are made for wives to visit husbands but possibly these can be improved. We do not know sufficient about the arrangements to comment any further.

Employment locations where higher than average proportions of people state that they do not see their wives/husbands often enough are:

Umfolozzi estate
Tongaat estate, and
Northern Zululand farms.

Clerks, licenced conductors and female togg workers are the categories of employees who are most inclined to mention a need to see their spouses more often.

We have drawn the general conclusion that caneworkers seem on average, to be a labour force well-adapted to the problems in the situation of migrant work. This, however, should not lull the industry into the belief that the migrant work situation can continue unchanged, unmodified or without greater flexibility for an indefinite period. There is the underlying contradiction in the situation of many in the labour force that they do not have or are not likely to possess the rural resources to maintain a sense of security in the migrant work situation. Furthermore, there are some estates and farms and some categories of employees for which the migrant labour situation is more of a problem than elsewhere. We will take up this theme again in the conclusions.

8. RELATIONSHIPS IN THE DATA

We have already referred to certain relationships in the data, pointing to factors which correlate with job satisfaction. In this final section before the conclusions we will expand somewhat on the interconnections which our data reveal, concentrating mainly on the issue of job satisfaction.

Two indices of job satisfaction are used. The first relates to the question: *"What kind of work would you prefer to do other than the job you are doing now, or is this job satisfactory?"* The respondents indicating that their present job was satisfactory were taken as an index group. We regard this as an index of job satisfaction related to intention to stay in the present job, i.e., an index of satisfaction-stability (sat-stab).

The second index is derived from the question: *"What makes you stay in the job you have now?"* Those whose answers indicated satisfaction with conditions of the present job were taken as an index group. This index is one of satisfaction with conditions (sat-condit).

Both indexes are based on questions with a fairly free choice. On the first index — satisfaction-stability, the respondents were free to mention some other job they would prefer, however idealistically. In the second the question was completely open-ended and those taken as an index group elected of their own free choice to express satisfaction with a variety of their present job conditions, ranging from comfort and supervision to pay satisfaction.

Both these indexes correlate with other test questions. For example, the people satisfied in terms of these two indexes were least inclined to compare jobs in canegrowing unfavourably with other types of work, and they were also more likely than others to say that nothing unpleasant had happened over the past month in their work. The workers "satisfied" in terms of the two indexes were also less likely

to give negative descriptions of a typical canecutter, and in particular were less likely to describe a canecutter as underpaid or in poverty. Furthermore, they were relatively more inclined to see their present jobs as the best jobs they could hope to achieve, and less-inclined to identify grievances they would like to see put right. We are satisfied, therefore, that the two indexes are appropriate and useful as widely-based measures of job satisfaction. What are these indexes able to tell us about factors producing or relating to job satisfaction?

Firstly, it would seem that although specific factors are particularly important in their relationship to job-satisfaction, a wide range of features of the job situation affect satisfaction. On index 1.), satisfaction-stability (which we will refer to as Sat-Stab), a generalised relationship to grievances exists. On the question: "If your grievances could be put right, one by one,what would you like to see fixed up?", we see the following pattern.

<u>Percentage wishing grievance removed</u>	<u>Sat-Stab. (n 361)</u>		<u>Not Satisfied (n 495)</u>
	<u>%</u>	(difference)	<u>%</u>
Money/pay/wage grievance	73	(17)	90
Accommodation and food	30	(12)	52
Supervision and treatment	18	(17)	35
Fringe benefits	15	(6)	21

These results show the generalised basis of job satisfaction, with, however, reactions to wages and particularly supervision emerging as powerful factors.

Job satisfaction is unrelated to one negative reason which caneworkers sometimes have for resigning themselves to their work-insecurity about finding alternative work. This factor emerged from the question: "What makes you stay in the job you have now?" But those satisfied with their work on index no. 1, Sat-Stab., were less-inclined than others to reflect this sentiment:

Proportions staying in present job because of fear of not finding other work	Sat-Stab. (n 361) 46%	Not Satisfied (n 495) 60%
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Also, apathy and complacency, another negative factor, is not significantly more present among the satisfied workers than among the rest:

16% (no signif. difference) 14%

We conclude from this that job satisfaction which exists among caneworkers is a positive process, and not simply a perception of lack of alternatives or an apathetic reaction.

There is evidence that the satisfied workers are people who are more inclined than others to want to farm on their own land in the homeland. On the question: "What job are you aiming to try to get after the one you have now?" (open-ended), the following results emerged in regard to the farming choice:

	<u>Sat-Stab.</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
Farmer in Transkei/KwaZulu	19%	10%

It is likely, then, that one of the factors which gives meaning and satisfaction to the work of the satisfied employees is the intention to save and work to accumulate the resources to retire to active farming.

The satisfied have more land to plough:

Land of more than two soccer fields in size —

<u>Sat-Stab.</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
26%	18%

The land of whatever size, is more likely to be their own:

	<u>Sat-Stab.</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
Own land, not shared or rented	36%	26%

The satisfied are also slightly more likely to feel that they will have enough land to feed their families when they retire:

	<u>Sat-Stab.</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
Enough land to feed family	48%	43%

They also are more likely to be producing food off their land presently:

	<u>Sat-Stab.</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
R500 per annum produced or more (broad estimate)	48%	41%

On both indexes of satisfaction, the satisfied cane-workers are more likely to feel secure about keeping their land:

	<u>Sat-Stab.</u> (n 361)	<u>Sat-conditions</u> (n 270)	<u>Not satisfied</u> (225)
total percentage of those feeling secure about keeping or having land	40%	42%	19%

Strangely enough, though, the satisfied workers are no more likely than others to say that they could live by farming. The very real constraints on small-scale homeland agriculture weigh on them as they do on all other subsistence peasants.

On both indexes of satisfaction, the more satisfied employees are slightly less-likely than others to experience emotional or family problems because of the migrant labour situation:

	<u>Sat-Stab.</u>	<u>Sat.condit.</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
problems caused by separation	53	51	63
no problems	47	49	37
see family frequently enough (married only)	52	60	40

Satisfied employees are also very slightly more likely to want to invest in livestock, but the differences are very slight and not worth depicting and not statistically significant.

Employees satisfied with their present work have tended to spend significantly longer in all their jobs than non-satisfied people:

	<u>Sat-stab.</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
8 Years or more average length of time in all jobs	24%	13%

However, the more satisfied employees are somewhat older than the non-satisfied, but not sufficiently so to account for the longer length of time per job.

	<u>Sat-stab.</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u>
average (median) age	33 yrs	28 yrs

The most satisfied employees are more likely to be less-well educated, but only on one index:

	<u>Sat-stab.</u>	<u>Sat-condit.</u>	<u>All employment</u>
Std. 2 or less	83%	73%	76%
Std. 3 or more	17%	27%	24%

These background differences between satisfied and non-satisfied employees, although contributing to the overall variation in job satisfaction, are unlikely to be the only factors. We must look more closely at job attitudes and response to conditions as they relate to satisfaction.

As we have already indicated, seniority in the workplace is a major factor.

	<u>Sat-stab.</u>
	<u>%</u>
Senior induna	74
Junior induna	75
Semi-skilled	48
Rest of labour force	38
Rest of labour force - males only	35
	<u>Sat-condit.</u>
Senior induna	65
Junior induna	50
All conductors	37
Rest of labour force	26

It is curious, however, that semi-skilled status relates to satisfaction on one index, but not on the second, while the conductors are inclined to be more satisfied than the rest of the labour force in the other index. In general, however, both indexes show a relationship to seniority.

More satisfied employees show a tendency to be less fearful of the effects of exhaustion than less satisfied, despite lower education and higher age:

	<u>Sat-stab.</u>	<u>Sat-cond.</u>	<u>Not sat.</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
(Recovery possible from hard work exhaustion)	67	68	60

They are not less-inclined to believe in the effectiveness of traditional medicine, however.

In the extensive question on the characteristics of work and conditions which workers were asked to rate according to whether they were: "as good as they liked/would expect/not as good as one would expect", we have an opportunity to consider a range of issues comparatively as they effect job satisfaction.

Job characteristic	Proportions rating job characteristic as either: "Not as good as one would expect" or "as good as one would like"					
	Sat-stab. not good		Sat-cond. not good		Not Satisfied not good	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
opportunities to make complaints	24	52	17	63	39	34
accommodation	25	60	20	67	41	38
personality of some supervision	12	76	9	80	19	61
amount of work	32	36	31	39	61	16
chances of promotion	40	29	30	34	61	13
wages	66	21	52	29	84	5
good	38	44	31	53	61	24
safety	18	44	18	47	37	26
relations with workmates	4	89	3	88	9	77
way company understands problems	24	47	15	59	40	28
attitudes of supervisors	11	75	9	76	22	55
hours of work	39	31	33	39	66	18
sick benefits	28	48	23	56	51	34
way company treats blacks	24	52	13	64	40	33
training	11	73	9	78	24	55
supervisors' knowledge	8	74	7	77	17	58
entertainment	25	45	19	56	17	29
fairness in discipline	18	56	13	63	36	34

From these results it seems evident that the relationship between both satisfaction and dissatisfaction in an overall sense and perceptions of specific job characteristics is fairly diffuse. By this we mean that virtually all perceptions of specific aspects correlate with overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Exceptions are perceptions of relations with workmates and of entertainment in leisure time. Looking carefully at the results in the table, and conducting tests of statistical significance of differences on the results, however, suggests that the following factors are very important in creating both overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction — in other words, operating strongly at both ends of the satisfaction continuum:

Amount of work/hours of work
 Accommodation
 Food
 Supervision, treatment and communication
 Fairness of discipline
 Safety
 Chances of promotion
 Training
 Wages

Perception of sick benefits, the results suggest is somewhat more of a dissatisfier than a satisfier. This means that it is very important among those who need these benefits, but among the more generally satisfied, and possibly healthy, it is not quite as effective a factor.

We turn now to consider in greater detail the pattern of results relating to the ethnic factor - the difference between the Zulus and the Xhosas. Firstly, the results of the comparison between perceptions of Zulus and Xhosas as regards specific aspects of the work situation suggest that there are issues to which Zulus are particularly sensitive:

Proportion perceiving job aspect to be "not as good as as one would expect".

	<u>Zulu</u>	<u>Xhosa</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Accommodation	40	26
Food	57	44
Sick benefits	48	33
Entertainment	52	32
Way Company treats black workers	41	23

The remaining comparisons all yielded smaller differences between Zulus and Xhosas.

These results lead one to suspect that the Zulus are more "political" in the sense of being concerned about treatment as blacks, but also significantly more concerned than Xhosas with comfort and diversion in the workplace. The conclusion in regard to comfort is

born out by the way the Zulus responded to an item previously discussed which inquired into the order in which grievances should be put right — 47 percent of Zulus mentioned accommodation and food as opposed to 36 percent among Xhosas.

Throughout the results, Zulus show slightly but significantly and consistently higher aspirations than Xhosas. One odd finding, but once again one which is consistent, is that Zulus are slightly more inclined to aspire to domestic service as alternative employment than Xhosas. This may be perceived as a career route into the city, however, and does not necessarily reflect lower aspirations.

A significantly lower proportion of Zulus than Xhosas believe that they could live by farming (36 to 48 percent) and additionally, substantially lower proportions of Zulus than Xhosas are interested in acquiring more cattle, livestock and farming resources. The Zulus, relatively, are far more concerned with houses, possessions, furniture, vehicles or small business investment. Yet the Zulus are no more concerned with urban rights or becoming "a modern man of the city" than Xhosas. Many of them could be described as highly aspiring traditionals.

We should note again what has been mentioned previously, this being that Zulus have a significantly lower degree of present job-satisfaction than Xhosas. For example, the proportions indicating that their present job was sufficiently satisfactory not to wish to find alternative work were as follows:

Zulus	35%
Xhosas	52%

These differences are statistically highly significant. There is little doubt that the Zulus have higher aspirations than others and that this is the major factor detracting from present job satisfaction. We should note that the Zulus on average are no better educated than the Xhosas. We appear to be dealing with culturally-related aspirations to some extent. Another factor is

that the Zulus feel more confident about being able to obtain alternative work in the city. The contrast between Zulus and Xhosas on satisfaction with company conditions is significant, but not as great as the differences in the satisfaction-stability index: satisfaction with job conditions: Zulu 29 percent, Xhosa 36 percent. This lesser contrast shows that we have an interplay between cultural factors and confidence about the prospects of alternative employment in the more negative Zulu attitude to work in the sugar industry.

Education is a very powerful factor in determining job-satisfaction levels on one of our indices - that which we have referred to as stability-satisfaction (Sat.stab). It is unrelated to our other index of satisfaction — satisfaction with job conditions. The patterns are as follows:

	<u>Sat-stab.</u>	<u>Sat.cond.</u>	<u>All respondents</u>
Percentage with no formal education	61%	48%	51%

Only 24 percent of those with Std. 6 or higher levels of education find the job sufficiently satisfactory not to be oriented to alternative employment, compared with 46 percent among these with no formal education.

The main reason why education has this effect is not so much because it generates dissatisfaction as such (see lack of relationship with dissatisfaction with job conditions) but rather because it increases the perceived likelihood of finding more attractive employment in the city. This is a very pragmatic motivation, and is only partly related to any aspirations to a modern lifestyle. Those endorsing the aspiration of "being a modern man of the city" are no less satisfied with job conditions than the more traditionally oriented respondents, and they are only slightly, if significantly, less inclined to indicate a preference for other work:

	<u>Sat-stab.</u>
"modern man of the city"	38%
other respondents	44%

The effect of education goes beyond this rather mild relationship. Therefore education and the perceptions of job-possibilities it makes possible, appears to be a strong independent factor in determining attitudes conducive to labour stability. As we will point out in the conclusion, this usually means that a labour force in which this pattern applies will tend to be losing its more skilled and intelligent employees more than others. While the nature of the ordinary worker in the canefields may not place a premium on skills and intelligence, the supervisory and operative positions do, and it is unfortunate for any operation to be in danger of losing its best potential for promotion.

The results discussed above show clearly how intricately interrelated the factors producing job-satisfaction are. In a further report we will present the results of a statistical operation designed to assess the effects of different variables while the others with which they interrelate are held constant - a multiple regression analysis. The coding of data and punching of computer cards for this operation are timeconsuming and therefore this report has been prepared in advance of the regression analysis. Some of the conclusions reached above may be qualified by this further analysis, but the broad patterns will undoubtedly hold true. Therefore we will proceed to the conclusions in advance of any further statistical treatment.

9. MAJOR CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Broad assessment of worker satisfaction:

This study, having an in-built comparative component, allows one to conclude very firmly that the overall levels of dissatisfaction in the black cane-growing labour-force are no higher than those in other spheres of migrant work. This is noteworthy for an agricultural labour-force, which in general cannot normally be expected to compare favourably with urban industrial work, both in terms of wage-levels and opportunity. Furthermore, urban migrant workers have a wider range and scope of grievances than cane-migrants.

9.2 Strengths and weaknesses in the employment situation:

Rural cane-employment in Natal has achieved a distinctly favourable image in terms of:

- worker-management communication,
- supervision, and
- disciplinary patterns.

Where problems in supervisory relationships exist they seem to relate mainly to the performance of black supervisors rather than to white overseers or management personnel.

Despite these favourable findings, a range of weaknesses in the employment situation still exist. The most significant are discussed below:

Wages: the levels of grievance are high and wage deprivation is a pervasive consciousness among the employees. However, when all factors are taken into account, including the reactions of more adequately paid migrants in other situations, wage grievances do not seem to be among the most salient factors in the shaping of overall levels of satisfaction. Nevertheless, wage levels have three very negative effects. Firstly, they contribute markedly to an image of poverty which surrounds cane-work (see later). Secondly, they probably are prominent among the causes of labour turnover and the movement of better-quality labour to more lucrative avenues of employment.

Thirdly, they serve to contribute to an employer-image of meanness and greed, manifested particularly in a widespread fear of being cheated in wage calculations. Wage grievances are likely to be the factor most likely to incline employees to agricultural labour unionism in the future. Levels of grievance notwithstanding, wage-expectations are still lower than among urban migrant workers. Wage grievances do not manifest in tendencies to instability at this stage, but if urban expectations spread to the rural labour force, active dissatisfactions could easily emerge. As already indicated, trade union influences could have such effects within a relatively short space of time. The situation as regards wage grievances should be monitored very carefully and immediate consideration should be given to wage policies.

Food, accommodation and sleeping facilities: this is not only a prominent grievance but is also a powerful factor in determining overall levels of satisfaction. Particularly the Zulu employees are highly sensitive to these issues. The level of complaints about comfort and sustenance also indicates that they may have a deleterious effect on energy and productivity; problems in getting restful sleep being a particular example of the problem. The negative effects of this type of grievance must inevitably invade other spheres of working life, satisfaction and productivity.

Amount and hours of work: grievances in this area are understandable in cane-growing, and we realise that employment reform is problematic. The reactions to the hard work probably interact with other perceptions. This will be discussed further in due course.

9.3 Comparisons between employment locations:

The results show very clearly that certain areas of employment have a far less-positive employment profile than others. Regions and locations which are particularly problematic are:

Umfolozi Estate
Midlands North farms
Northern Zululand farms.

Areas where relatively positive profiles emerge are Tongaat, Sezela and Noodsberg estates and private farms in Sezela, Southern Zululand and Southern Midlands.

In part, negative profiles are due to higher proportions of Zulu employees (see later) but by no means entirely. The North Coast Natal farms also yield a slightly higher than average profile of grievances but this could in large measure be due to the higher-

expectations of employees in what is one of the more developed parts of the area of sugar-cane farming.

Differences in the employment satisfaction profile between estates as a category and farms are surprisingly small. The estates have a more positive profile than farms in terms of *accommodation, food, sick benefits, entertainment in leisure time and promotion opportunity*. This one would expect from the larger, complex estate situations. We must point out, however, that there are many private farms with more positive profiles than certain estates, and the distinction between farms and estates is by no means clear-cut.

We must point out at this point that the employment locations with the least positive profiles in terms of satisfaction are also generally the locations where the proportion of employees who feel trapped by their circumstances is highest. In other words it is often the case that the employees whose level of general satisfaction is lowest are also those who feel that their options for alternative employment are limited. We may have a situation in these places of "captive discontent". Situations like these can continue for long periods without management becoming aware of the problems.

9.4 Factors relating to employee satisfaction:

Results of cross-tabulation analyses suggest that a large variety of factors contribute to worker satisfaction-dissatisfaction. The more powerful factors in the causal mix appear to be:

- adjustment to the strains of the migrant labour situation, or acceptance of the social costs of oscillating migrancy,
- ethnic origin. The Zulu-speaking employees are generally more politicised (albeit while retaining traditional values), more comfort-oriented and have higher expectations than non-Zulu employees,

- realistic likelihood of being able to obtain other kinds of work or work closer to the cities. This is a factor relating to ethnic identity since Zulus are generally more confident in this regard,
- level of seniority - the supervisory levels are dramatically more satisfied,
- perceived work loads,
- accommodation and food,
- supervision, communication and discipline,
- chances of promotion and training, and
- wages and material benefits.

9.5 Attitudes according to job-categories:

We have already referred to the high levels of satisfaction among supervisory staff. Problem categories in the industry are the operators and the clerks and to a lesser extent the more skilled manual employees. These incumbents experience a fairly high degree of dissatisfaction and are also most inclined to consider work elsewhere. Of great importance is the finding that those employees with Std. 6 education or higher are very significantly less-satisfied than others. We believe that the implications of high levels of dissatisfaction among the more articulate and literate employees are serious.

9.6 The "image" of work on the canefields:

Our findings indicate that while work on the canefields does not enjoy a favourable image, among black migrants with exposure to or knowledge of the industry, its image is certainly not the least favourable in the range of comparable occupations. It certainly enjoys a more favourable image than mining. It also has a better image than heavy unskilled manual construction work among the ex-sugar migrants interviewed in Pondoland. There is no doubt, however, that the image of work in the agricultural sugar industry can be vastly improved.

Two features of the reputation of cane-work which are particularly important are its close association with courage and strength, on the one hand, and with poverty, weakness and debility, on the other. These associations provide a lead to ways of improving the image, which we will mention in due course.

9.7 The cane-workers as industrial workers:

The findings indicate very clearly that cane-employees have a high and permanent commitment to industrial work as such. However, their commitment to urbanisation, westernisation and to their values is surprisingly low for life-long industrial - agricultural workers. Furthermore, roughly one-third appear to have cognitive perceptions of work of a non-rational, pre-"western" kind.

These orientations may in large measure be due to the hard constraints (influx control) on urbanisation and relocation. However, they also mean that at this stage the industry enjoys the benefits of having a labour force which is unlikely to develop strong political claims and motivations. Comparing the level of needs in the employment situation of our respondents with those obtained from similar studies of black unskilled and semi-skilled work, suggests that the cane-workers as a group have even lower levels of need-elaboration than completely unskilled urban labour forces.¹⁾ While this may at the present time have the effect of reducing levels of expectations and producing a quiescent labour force, it is also likely to concentrate grievances in the area of wages and benefits. This could exacerbate problems if ever the labour-force were to become mobilised for wage-bargaining.

1) W. Backer, "An intercultural study of work motivation - a useful instrument in industrial relations", *South African Journal of Labour Relations*, Vol. 6, No.1. 1982.

9.8 Adaptation to the migrant labour situation:

The rural resources of the migrants on the canefields are very limited, with high levels of actual and potential landlessness. Despite this, however, the migrant labour force is better-adjusted to or more accepting of its situation than comparable migrant labour-forces in other sectors. They complain far less about the social and personal costs of separation from families and other strains of migrant work. This is perhaps due to their relative isolation and encapsulation in the world of the sugar-cane estate.

Given the restricted resources and limited material investments in the rural sending areas, and the steady socio-economic deterioration of most of these areas under the impact of mounting density of population, the compliant acceptance of the migrant labour situation which our results reveal is unlikely to continue.

On the basis of other research in the Centre for Applied Social Sciences we have become convinced that the co-incidence of the steady erosion of the migrant workers' rural security and resource base and the more and more rigid control on movement or "escape" into the urban or non-homeland regions is likely to destabilise migrant labour in the medium term. The sugar industry is unlikely to escape these effects.

9.9 Recommendations:

On the basis of a careful weighing and comparison of all our findings, we would suggest, tentatively, that the following steps are most urgently needed and would be most beneficial in the industry at this stage:

- 9.9.1 A programme for the improvement of accommodation, food and social services in the industry should be mounted. Our results have identified the broad area of the problems but surveys are not sufficient to provide the detailed solutions. Therefore,
- 9.9.2 The committee system (or a new worker liaison committee structure if one does not already exist) should be mobilised to give detailed pointers as regards needed improvements. Of particular urgency is the need to establish what changes would improve the sleeping conditions of employees and what types of food are most likely to make workers feel healthy and strong despite debilitating work.
- 9.9.3 The image of cane-work should be improved by emphasising to employees themselves those aspects of the work which are realistically positive. These might include security of employment, sympathetic supervision, the development of physical strength (perhaps emphasised by games and competitions) and opportunities for occupational improvement.
- 9.9.4 Opportunities for occupational improvement should be facilitated and structured within the industry. This is particularly crucial if the industry is to deal constructively with the grievances and aspirations of operatives, semi-skilled workers and those with better education. A cooperative endeavour within the whole sugar industry, including milling, to open programmed avenues of promotion to targeted employees could have very beneficial effects.
- 9.9.5 Urgent attention should be given to methods of calculating wage-packages for piecework and equally urgent attention has to be devoted to the explanation and monitoring of the system.

- 9.9.6 Active attention must be given to the nutritional status of employees, particularly after periods of absence in rural areas.
- 9.9.7 The sugar industry as a whole owes the strength and stability of its labour resources to the labour-sending areas of the homelands. Until such time that more flexible influx control policies are introduced, the industry should endeavour to concern itself and provide resources and expertise for the socio-economic development of these labour-sending areas.
- 9.9.8 We consider that we have to make suggestions as regards wages. However, we are also fully aware of the problems. It would be in the interests of cane-growing to introduce reforms which would soften the consensus of grievances about wages. Whatever can be done about wage-levels must be approached as a priority. In addition to, or while wage levels are being considered, a policy of systematic increments for length of service would benefit the most needy older workers and probably dissipate the consensus of grievances.

Finally, we would like to make the comment that conditions in the agricultural sugar industry and the black employees' reactions to them are less-unfavourable than previous research had led us to expect. Nevertheless, our study has uncovered areas of problems, and has also identified certain geographic regions as deserving of special attention. We have drawn attention to the most urgent immediate priorities above. Only a careful reading of the whole report, however, will provide ideas for more detailed intervention to improve the employment profile of the industry.

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OCCUPATION SURVEY - NATAL SUGAR ESTATES

IMSA 082/ 1

We are from IMSA, a company in Johannesburg. We are going around the country asking all types of employees about their jobs and their problems. The University of Natal has asked our company to talk to black employees. They need to find things out so that they can teach their students about the lives of other people and also write books.

Your company has allowed us to interview you but we will not tell them what individual employees say. We will add the answers together in Johannesburg on a machine which adds answers together. Then one man's answers put together with all the others so that all employees here speak together. Only these group answers are shown to your company. For example, we will show what old men say, young men say, men from towns and what men from the country say. We will not show them what any one person says. His answers are taken straight to Johannesburg and then be added together. You can be quite honest in your replies because nobody will know what you alone have said :-

Will you help us?

Sivela e I.M.S.A., inkampani yase Johannesburg. Sihamba sijikeleza ilizwe sibuzwa zonke intlobo zaba qeshwa malunga nemisebenzi yabo neengxaki zabo. I University yase Natal icele inkampani yethu ukuba ithethe naba qeshwa abantsundu. Bafuna ukuqondisisa izinto ukwenzela ukuba babe nako ukufundisa abafundi babo ngobomi babanye ahantu babhale neencwadi.

Inkampani yakho isivumele ukuba sikubuze kodwa asiyi kubaxelela into ethethwa ngabaqeshwa nganye. Siza kuzidibeniswa impendulo eJohannesburg emathshinini ohlanganisa iimpendulo Impendulo ze ndoda enye ziya kudityaniswa nazo zonke ezinye ukwenzela okokuba bonke abaqeshwa aba lapha bathethe kunye. Leli qela lempendulo kuphela eliboniswa inkampani yakho. Umzekelo nje, siza kubonisa ukuba amadoda amadala athi, ulutsha luthi, amadoda ase zidolophini nokuba ngamadoda ase maphandleni athini. Asina kubabonisa nokuba ziyiphina into ethethwe ngumntu emnye. Impendulo zakhe zichunyela ngqo eJohannesburg ukuze ke zidityaniswe. Ungayithetha inyaniso kwimpendulo zakho ngoba akukho mntu oya kuthi azi ukuba wena wedwa utheni na.

Ungakhe usincede?

Now here where you are working - what kind of work do you do?

6	7
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
8	9
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

- 1) Where is your home place?
District (nearest town/

10	11	12
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

- 2) Do you have land you can plough? How much? (Attempt description - express size in no. of soccer fields)

13-14	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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No land	15-1
No ploughing land, only a garden	2
Less than half soccer field.	3
Between one-half and one soccer field	4
1-2 Soccer fields	5
3-5 Soccer fields	6
6-9 Soccer fields	7
10+ Soccer fields	8

- 3) Is it your own land or not?

Own	16-1	Shared	2	no land	3
-----	------	--------	---	---------	---

- (If SHARED) Who do you share it with?

Father	5
Uncle	6
One brother/cousin	7
2 or more brothers/cousins	8
Other people	9
No land	0

ASK ALL

- 4) Will you have enough land to plough when you retire from work?
(As above attempt description)

Yes: enough to feed myself and those I have to feed	17-1
Land but not enough to feed my family	2
No land, only a garden	3
No land at all	4

- 5) (IF Applicable-Have Land in Q.4) Do you feel your land is safe for you - are you secure about your land or do you feel uncertain about it? Why (Probe for reasons)
PROBE: Are you secure or uncertain about your land.

18-19

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IF HAVE LAND AT Q.1 ASK:

- 6) About the land you have/use at present - what does this land usually produce (in bags of maize and/or crops for family use) every season?

20-21

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ASK ALL:

- 7) How many cattle do you have of your own?

None	22-1
1-2	2
3-5	3
6-9	4
10-14	5
15-24	6
25+	7

Q. 10

Q. 8

- 8) Do you have sufficient land to graze your cattle?

Yes	23-1
No	2

Other or comments (specify)

- 9) What is the value in money of all this agriculture to you every year - that is, crops, meat, what is grown in your garden, eggs, etc? (Obtain his own broad estimate)

24

--

ASK ALL:

10) Do you think you could live by farming?

Yes	25-1
Yes perhaps	2
No - qualified	3
No - definite	4

(If yes) Why do you not try?

26

(If no) What are the problems?

27

11) We would like to know something about the people who belong to your own homestead. (Include all children and lodgers). His own homestead would be the one in which he resides in the country - a house, hut, or group of huts, separate from others).

Sex	Relationship to Respondent	Age (WRITE IN AGE)	Occupation or housewife/scholar	Where EMPLOYED	Rands p.m. remitted home or brought in support Record Rands		
	RESPONDENT						
							28-29 <input type="checkbox"/>
							30-31 <input type="checkbox"/>
							32-33 <input type="checkbox"/>
							34-35 <input type="checkbox"/>
							36-37 <input type="checkbox"/>
							38-39 <input type="checkbox"/>

NOTE. WRITE IN NUMBER OF DEPENDANTS OF THIS RESPONDENT: _____

12) How often do you normally go home? (Probe for periods/times).

More frequently than 1 x month	40-1
1 x month	2
1 x 2-3 months	3
Long week-ends	4
1 x 6 months	5
between 1 x 6 months 1 x 12	6
1 x 12 months	7
longer periods between visits	8

13) What does it cost you to get home and back to work?

Record amount
Nothing as Transport is paid for

41

14) What problems are there in getting home and back?

42-43

15) What problems or troubles are caused for you because of working away from your wife and children, or is it not really a problem? (ASK Bachelors - away from the people at your home?)

44-45

16) ASK (Married men) How do you feel - do you see your wife and children enough or not enough?

Enough	46-1
Not enough	2

Record all comments suggesting strong feelings

47-48

- 17(i) Would you like to qualify for rights to live permanently in (Mention where working)..... or is this not necessary?

(a) Would like to qualify for urban rights to live permanently and work	49-1	→ 17 (ii)
(b) Would like to qualify for rights to work only	2	→ 17 (iv)
(c) Unnecessary	3	

IF 17(a) ASK 17(ii) and 17(iii)

- 17(ii) Would you like to have rights to live in a town permanently if you had to give up your home place?

Yes	50-1
No	2
Perhaps	3

- 17(iii) Would you like to have rights to live in a town permanently if there was no one to look after your home place?

Yes	7
No	8
Perhaps	9

ASK ALL:

- 17 (iv) Do you qualify now for rights to live permanently in (where you are working)

Yes	X
No	Y

- 18) What possessions would you like to have at your home if you could afford to buy them? (Probe - what else?)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____

51-52

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53-54

--	--

- 19) If you were given \$1000 and were told to spend it in a month or two, what would you do with it?

55-56

--	--

- 20) Would you like it to be possible for your wife and children to come and live permanently near where you work or would you want her to stay where she is? (Bachelors - if you were married, would you like your wife and children?)

RING IF BACHELOR	Bachelors Not married		-	-	57(1)
<u>ASK ALL</u>	Yes	2	} - Ask why		
	Possibly yes	3			
	No	4			

Ask Why:

58-59

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(If yes or possibly yes) Q.20 Ask 20(a)

- 20a) Would you want it even if you were in danger of losing your home place?

Yes	60-1	No	2
-----	------	----	---

Ask all

- 21a) I will read you some things that people say they would be proud of: tell me which you think is very important, or quite important but not very important, or not important at all - for you.

(Read - rotate) (Then establish 3 most important) + put 1, 2, 3 in FIRST COLUMN

	21 (a)	Very Imp	Quite Imp but not very imp	Not Imp at all	DK
1) To have a happy family and children?	61-1	62-1	2	3	4
2) To have a nice house and possessions in the country?	2	5	6	7	8
3) To be respected by relatives and kinsmen?	3	9	0	X	Y
4) To be known as modern man of the city?	4	63-1	2	3	4
5) To have skill in work in industry?	5	5	6	7	8
6) To have many cattle, and land to plough?	6	9	0	X	Y
7) To have a nice house and possessions here near where you work?	7	64-1	2	3	4
8) To be promoted to a higher position at work?	8	5	6	7	8
9) To have many friends among people of this area?	9	9	0	X	Y
10) To be treated with respect at work?	0	65-1	2	3	4

- 21b) Anything else very important specify _____

66

- 22) What kind of work would you prefer to do other than the work you are doing now, or is this job satisfactory?

DO NOT READ OUT

Present job satisfaction	67-1
Factory worker-town	2
Other labourer-town	3
Supervisory positions	4
Driver	5
Machine operator	6
Messenger	7
Other routine light work - (specify)	8
Other Agricultural	9
White Collar	0
Any other specify.	X

- 23) We would like to ask about jobs held from your very first job.

	Where (Town)	How long did this job last	Monthly Pay	Type of Company	-job details
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
Present job					

68-69

70-71

72-74

- 24) Some people say that if a man works hard and exhausts himself for many months he will recover strength if he rests. Others say that if a man exhausts himself for months he will not regain strength with rest. What do you think?

Will recover	75-1
Will recover (qualified)	2
Will not recover (qualified)	3
Will not recover	4

- 25) It is said that one can obtain "medicine" which will help one to avoid punishment at work or help to avoid punishment by a magistrate. Do you think this is true or not?

True	7
True (qualified)	8
Not true	9

Office Card 2

- 26) People say that there are things that make some jobs more unhealthy than others. What is it about some kinds of work that makes the work a danger to a mans' health?

DO NOT READ OUT

Strenuous work	16-1
Dangerous machinery	2
Snakes	3
Diseases	4
Underground work	5
Outdoor work (sun and elements)	6
Jealous fellow-workers	7
Other (specify)	8

- 27) Think of the last month. What things that you had to do or which happened to you did you find most unpleasant?

17-18

- 28a) In the same month. What things you have done or which have happened to you have you found most pleasant and rewarding/ enjoyable about your work?

19-20

- 28b) Which do you prefer in your work you are doing now.

a) being paid a fixed amount per hour or per day

Per hour	21-1	Per day	2
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or b) being paid an amount of money according to how much work you have done in a day.

3

ASK Why?

22-24

- 29) - I will read out some kinds of work. Which one of the jobs would you most like to have? You must think (pretend) that the salary/wage/income is the same for each job. (Read twice - rotate)
 - After that which job would you like? (Read twice - rotate)

RECORD ① OR ② AFTER THE TWO JOBS IN ORDER

Supervisor over labourers - building and construction	25-1
Factory worker with big expensive machines.	2
Supervisor over labourers on a sugar-cane estate	3
Farmer in homeland	4
Driver of a truck	5
Messenger in a shop	6
Supervisor over labourers in a factory in town	7
Skilled worker with a trade like carpenter or bricklayer	8

ASK FOR FIRST JOB, THAT MENTIONED AS IN Q.29

Why do you prefer this job?

26-27

- 30) I will read you some more jobs. Once again, pretend that the wages are all the same for each job. Which job would you dislike most - which one is the worst job? (Read twice - rotate)
 RECORD ONLY ONE JOB

Factory worker on machine	28-1
Miner in goldmines	2
Labourer in construction/building	3
Labourer in sugar-cane fields cutting cane	4
Gardener at a house	5
Cleaner in a building	6
Labourer on the roads in the city	7

- Why is such a job unpleasant? (Probe)

29-30

- 31a) Companies in the Transvaal and Natal often have workers that come to them from far away - as from the Transkei. In some of these companies workers go back to one company over and over again. Other companies find that workers come to them once or twice then look for work elsewhere.

What is it about a company that would make workers want to leave and find other work in another company? (Probe - what else)

31-32

- 31b) Which one of the following is most important in attracting workers back to a company over and over again (then) what is next most important/third most important? (Read through slowly rotate.)

RECORD 1, 2, OR 3.)

Good wages	33-1
Helpful sympathetic supervision	2
Feeling secure in the job/no worries that you will just be fired	3
Safe job with few dangers to health	4
Good relations between workers - no jealousy	5
Good food	6
Good accommodation	7
Not being expected to work too hard and becoming tired	8

- 32) Men tell us that some things make them feel less like working hard - make them feel they should do only enough not to be rebuked. What things can make men like you in this work feel this way?

34-35

- 33) What things can make a man like you here feel like staying away from work for a day. (Probe - what else)

36-37

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- 34) What kind of people take work cutting sugar cane - how are they different from African workers who work in factories in the towns? (What else)

38-39

--	--

- 35) What is the best job which you, with your education and experience can hope to achieve? (Probe for details of type of work, status, and where job would be)

40-41

--	--

- 36) If your grievances (complaints and problems) in the job here could be put right one after the other, by the company, the managers or by the supervisors, what would you like to see fixed up first.

FIRST _____

Then after that _____

After that _____

After that _____

What else (probe to end) _____

42-43

--	--

37) What makes you stay in the job you have now?

46-47

38) If a man like you had enough money to meet all his needs, do you think he would continue working or not?

Yes	48-1	No	2
-----	------	----	---

(If yes why)

49-50

39) What job are you aiming to try to get after the kind of work you do now.

PROBE FOR (details of job and place)

51-53

- 40) Finally, we want to ask you some things which men like you feel about the job you are doing now. One can judge a job in two ways. One can ask whether the job is as good as one would really like it to be. Then one can ask whether the job is as good as one can expect of the kind of work it is.

For each of the following things about the job, would men like you say that it is as good as they would really like or is it as good as they expect from the job, or is it not as good as one would expect?

	As good as they would like	As good as they would expect from job	Not as good as one can expect
Opportunities to make complaints and problems known to the Company or people you work for	54-1	2	3
Accommodation	5	6	7
Personality of some supervisors	9	0	X
Amount of work you have to do	55-1	2	3
Chances of progress and promotion	5	6	7
Wages	9	0	X
Food	56-1	2	3
Safety on the job	5	6	7
Relations with workmates	9	0	X
The way the company or people you work for understand workers problems	57-1	2	3
The attitudes of supervisors towards the workers	5	6	7
Hours of work	9	0	X
Sick benefits	58-1	2	3
The way the company or people you work for treat Black workers	5	6	7
Training for the job	9	0	X
Knowledge which supervisors have	59-1	2	3
Entertainment in your leisure time	5	6	7
Fairness in discipline if company thinks you have done wrong/or punishment if they have found you have done wrong.	9	0	X

- 41) Is there anything else which you like about the company, that is these people you work for?

Probe well: _____

60-61

- 42) Is there anything else which you dislike about your work or the company, that is these people you work for? Probe well

62-63

43) Please fill in Personal Details:-

a) What was your final level of education:

No formal education	64-1
Sub A - Std 2	2
Std 3 - Std 5	3
Std 6 - Std 7	4
Std 8 - Std 9	5
Std 10/Matric	6
University Degree	7
Other Post Matric Qual (spec)	X

b) AGE _____ 65 c) ETHNIC GROUP _____ 66

d) INCOME

None/no income	67-1
R1 - R19	2
R20 - R49	3
R50 - R79	4
R80 - R149	5
R150 - R199	6

R200 - R249	7
R250 - R299	8
R300 - R399	9
R400 - R499	0
R500 +	X
Don't know/Refused	Y

ASK RESPONDENTe) Any available job performance ratings _____

_____f) Details of Service Record _____

NOTE: IF (e) and f) not obtained from respondent get this from the supervisor or farmer if possible.



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