A SURVEY OF ATTITUDES TO LABOUR RELATIONS AND LABOUR MOBILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

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1. INTRODUCTION

The years 1980 and 1981 have seen significant changes in South Africa's labour legislation that have led, amongst other things, to the legal recognition of a growing Black trade union movement. The state of flux in the labour market and the changing balance of power lying behind it, are reflected in the heightened levels of labour unrest that have been present throughout 1981. It was against this background that members of the Economic Research Unit set up a research project designed to establish management and union attitudes to a number of aspects of the present labour market.

The research was conducted between April and August 1981 and was based on an attitude survey. The questionnaire was initially posted to prospective respondents for completion and return, but was in many cases completed during a follow-up interview with a senior representative - usually the Industrial Relations Manager or Trade Union Secretary.

1.1 The Sample

The initial sample comprised all 176 trade unions listed by the Financial Mail at the beginning of 1981 and 200 employers who were selected by removing from a national sample all those firms based in Natal. The national sample was chosen on the basis of optimal sampling technique for a two-stage stratification. The stratification was made initially by industry and then substructured in terms of size distribution. As the initial sample was drawn eight years ago, it was updated at random to allow for the inclusion of new concerns, particularly those situated in Isithebe and the Richards Bay area.

The first stage of the survey was a postal one with a follow up letter one month later urging those who had not already done so, to complete the questionnaire. The response was, however, still not adequate

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and the final stage of the survey consisted of personal interviews.
All the employers and unions interviewed were from the Durban, Pine-
town, Isithebe and Richards Bay areas. Postal responses were re-
ceived from these areas and the remainder of the country as well.
Some surveys posted to the Natal branches of national companies
were completed by the head office on behalf of the entire concerns.
Ultimately, 123 respondents completed the questionnaire, 83 of whom
were employers and 40 trade unions.

As Table 1 shows, 70 per cent of the employers had more than
500 workers on their payroll and 28 per cent more than 2 000. The
size distribution of responding unions was even more skewed towards
the large organisation with 60 per cent having membership greater
than 2 000.

Table 1   Size of Labour Force/Membership

Size cate-gory (persons)	Percentage of group within particular size category		
	Employers	Unions	All respondents
0-100	6,0	10,0	7,4
100-500	22,9	5,0	17,2
500-2 000	42,7	25,0	36,9
Over 2 000	28,4	60,0	38,5
N = 100%	83	40	123

Of the firms included in Table 1, 67 per cent operated in areas
that were covered by Industrial Council agreements and 34 per cent
were covered by Wage Board determinations. The percentages of trade
unions covered by Industrial Council agreements and Wage Board deter-
minations were almost identical.

1.2 Nature of the Survey

As was stated earlier, the research was undertaken on the basis of an attitude survey. The questionnaire comprised 35 questions which covered eight main fields of enquiry, namely, labour relations, wages and working conditions, the codes of employment practice, education and training, problems other than working conditions, job creation, the migrant labour system and Black advancement in the work place. These will be discussed separately in this paper.

2. ATTITUDES RELATING TO LABOUR RELATIONS

The questions relating to labour relations ranged over a wide field and covered basic labour rights, and labour legislation.

The attitudes of respondents to industrial relations policies and legislation, to the three parties involved in industrial relations in South Africa (labour, the employer and the state) and to the various institutions which have been created for the regulation of industrial relations, emerge piecemeal from the answers to the various questions but have been put together for the purpose of discussion.

2.1 Labour Rights

The first question asked respondents whether certain specified 'labour rights' were fully recognised in South Africa today and if not, whether they should be legally recognised and extended to all race groups.[1] The rights listed in the questionnaire were the right to work, the freedom to associate, the right to bargain collectively, the right to strike, the right to lock out, the right to be protected against victimisation and the right to self-development in the workplace through training. The answers received are tabulated in Table 2 and indicate that, in theory at least, all the basic rights of workers have very widespread acceptance among employers and employees alike, and further than there is no evidence that respondents feel these rights should be extended or denied on racial grounds.

The extent of the support for each of the rights listed in Table 2 is not, however, identical and it is very clear from the replies that a significantly lower percentage of the respondents feel that these rights are at present adequately protected in South Africa.

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(1) For full details, see Question 1 in the questionnaire attached as Appendix I.

Table 2   Attitudes Regarding Labour Rights

R i g h t	Percentage of respondents considering that the right	
	is recognised today	should be legally recognised and extended to all race groups
The freedom to work and sell one's labour to the best advantage	24,3 N=107	100,0 N=111
The freedom to associate and organise, i.e., form trade unions	63,9 N=108	94,3 N=106
The freedom to join (or not join) the trade union of one's choice	41,0 N=100	83,9 N=106
The freedom to bargain collectively	56,2 N=105	94,4 N=107
The freedom to withhold labour by way of strikes	42,9 N=105	71,2 N=94
The freedom to lock out labour	55,5 N=108	61,7 N=91
The right to be protected against victimisation, unsafe working conditions and unfair labour practices	59,8 N=107	100,0 N=105
The right to be trained and developed for a specific job	48,7 N=104	97,3 N=110

There are also differences in attitude to some of the basic labour rights amongst the employers, the unions as a whole and the Black unions. Table 3 illustrates the cases where these differences are evident.

There is a clear difference of opinion between employers on the one hand and unions (particularly the Black unions) on the other, on the extent to which the rights to strike, to be protected from unsafe working conditions and victimisation and the right to self-development

Table 3   Attitudes of Respondent Groups to Selected Labour
Rights

| Right | Percentage of Group Considering that | | | | |
| | The right is fully recognised | | | The right should be recognised & extended to all races | |
	Employers	Unions	Black unions	Employers	Unions
To strike	47,1 (N=70)	34,3 (N=35)	19,1 (N=21)	67,2 (N=66)	80,0 (N=64)
To lock out	(a)	(a)		69,7 (N=66)	42,9 (N=28)
To associate freely	(a)	(a)		89,3 (N=75)	70,9 (N=31)
To be protected from unsafe working conditions and victimisation	63,0 (N=73)	53,0 (N=34)	33,3 (N=21)	(a)	(a)
To be trained	51,4 (N=72)	40,6 (N=32)	31,8 (N=22)	(a)	(a)

Note: (a) No significant difference here.

through training, are adequately recognised in South Africa today.
A similar difference in perception comes up later in the paper with
respect to the relative views on the need for and usefulness of or-
ganised labour. These differences possibly represent a major (in-
deed even the major) source of the present labour unrest. One of
the essential ingredients in a successful labour negotiation is the
ability of both parties to make an accurate assessment of the base
position from which the other commences the negotiation.[1] Per-
ceptual differences of the magnitude suggested by the data in Table 3

(1) Carl M. Stevens, Strategy and Collective Bargaining Negotiation,
New York: McGraw Hill, 1963.

will make the attainment of such mutual assessments extremely difficult.

2.2 Existing Labour Legislation

Respondents were asked whether there were any major aspects of the Shops and Offices Act, the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act and the Mines and Work Act, regulating conditions in the workplace which were considered unsatisfactory.[1] Only 31,7 per cent replied in the affirmative and of the unsatisfactory aspects mentioned by them, 60 per cent related to racial discrimination, the requirement of separate facilities in the workplace, job reservation or wage discrimination. Here and elsewhere in the survey, there were calls for a complete overhaul of the industrial relations system as, despite recent changes in the law, racial and to a lesser extent sexual discrimination still appeared to underlie the system and to place White unions in an entrenched position. Respondents also pointed out that many of the protective measures, e.g. safety and overtime, existing in current legislation, were not enforced and that many workers were not aware of their rights, nor did the government encourage their enforcement. Some regulations were considered inadequate and poorly defined, e.g., in regard to termination, victimisation, desertion, etc., and to have been designed in such a way that preventitive action was not allowed for. It was also stated that many of these acts were only applicable in some areas and that workers in 'black areas' were unprotected even when working for a 'white concern'. Conversely, some employers considered certain measures unnecessarily protective and were relieved they were not strictly enforced. One stated: "We should not try to price ourselves out of international markets by overspecifying the working conditions as if we were a fully developed nation".

Despite any misgivings expressed here and elsewhere in the survey with regard to existing industrial legislation, over 70 per cent of respondents considered that mine workers, casuals, farm workers and domestics should be brought within the orbit of industrial relations

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(1) Question 2, Appendix I.

legislation.[1] Some however, did feel that special legislation
would be needed.[2]

2.3 Structure, Recognition and Registration of Trade Unions

Once the right to freedom of association has been accepted, as
evidenced in Table 2, the nature of the debate changes and moves into
the area of the structures within which the union movement can be ex-
pected to operate. A number of questions relating to this general
area were asked dealing in particular with the nature of the unions,
the recognition and registration of unions and the right to picket.

2.3.1 Nature of Trade Unions

Respondents were asked whether, in their opinion, unions should
be craft-based, industry-based, plant-based, racially exclusive or
general workers unions.[3] The answers are given in Table 4.

It is interesting to note that, firstly, there was a clear pre-
ference amongst all three groups for industry-based union membership,
and secondly, there was no support whatsoever for racially exclusive
trade unions. However, in respect of this second observation, it must
be realised that although no respondents opted for racially based unions,
the existence of such unions in the past and even today is responsible,
now that the right to associate has been extended to black workers, for
the recent proliferation of black unions. Proliferation is also caused
by the fact that since there has been no corresponding recognition of

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(1) Question 21, Appendix I.

(2) A typical comment was: "All workers should be legislated for - but
the categories cited here need special legislation - they cannot
simply be brought within the orbit of existing legislation which is
dependent upon there being a continuing relationship between employer
and employee (i.e., not casuals) and a collective relationship (i.e.,
not domestics). There should be some wage determination for these
people".

(3) Question 17, Appendix I.

Table 4   The Preferred Basis for Union Membership

Basis for mem- bership	Percentage of group favouring basis[a]		
	Employers	Unions	Black unions
Craft	15,7	12,5	4,2
Industry	77,1	67,5	66,7
Plant	9,6	7,5	8,3
Racially ex- clusive	-	-	-
General workers' union	9,6	22,5	25,0
N=100%	83	40	24

Note: (a) Totals sum to more than 100 per cent as more than one
           alternative could be selected.

black rights in spheres other than labour, political differences among
blacks can find few outlets other than in the union movement. Thus,
despite the clear preference for industry-based unions shown in the
table, proliferation, racialism and overlapping mean that few unions
can truly claim to represent all the workers in any particular indus-
try at present.

    The only significant differences in the outlook of the groups in
this area were the 22,5 per cent support amongst the unions for general
workers unions as against 9,6 per cent support from the employers and
the minimal support amongst the black unions for craft-based unions.

2.3.2 Registration of Unions

    The question of the registration process that should be applied to
trade unions has given rise to much recent controversy and the present
practice is under severe attack from the black union movement. Respon-

dents were asked an open question namely, "If registration of trade unions was compulsory on what grounds might registration be refused".[1] Of the respondents, 35,8 per cent, gave the predictable answer, namely, "Lack of representativeness". Other reasons that were given arose largely from a combination of the racial history of the trade union movement in South Africa and the interface between the movement and the current political situation.

The recent changes in labour law have not been accompanied by equivalent changes in other spheres and consequently have resulted in the introduction into the labour area of matters which, in some opinions, do not rightly belong there. This in turn has led people (employers in particular, but some unions as well) to suspect the motives of those claiming to represent workers so that some respondents gave the following as reasons for refusing recognition to unions: political involvement, unacceptable objectives or objectives that are not primarily industrial, a lack of bone fides on the part of the union, a suspicion that unions were not able or willing to act in their members' interests and proof of overseas funding or influence.

The view was also expressed that 'company unions' or unions in whose formation the employer had played some role should be denied registration. Nine per cent of respondents stated specifically that recognition should be refused to an applicant union which was racially exclusive. (Referring here not only to the exclusively white unions of the past but to the new exclusively Black unions as well). In addition there were those who thought recognition should be refused in cases in which either the constitution of the union or the degree of financial control exercised were unsatisfactory. However, apart from those relating to representativeness, the majority of the grounds cited reflect the particular political history of the union movement in some way.

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(1) Question 19, Appendix I.

2.3.3 Recognition of Trade Unions

The same lines of thought as those relating to registration were present in the replies to a question dealing with the grounds for recognition of a union by an employer. Respondents were asked the open question: "On what legitimate grounds might an employer refuse to recognise a union". Again lack of representativeness was the ground most frequently mentioned - 57,8 per cent of the employers and 47,5 per cent of the unions.

The next most commonly selected ground for refusal of recognition was non-registration which was mentioned by 13,8 per cent of the respondents. It should be noted that some of those considering lack of representativeness a legitimate ground went on to say that in practice the power of a particular union rather than its representativeness would ultimately be the deciding factor in determining whether or not to accord recognition to it. One of the most militant union respondents, commenting on the fact that lack of registration was considered by some as grounds for refusing recognition stated: "There should be no strings attached to recognition. Employers use registration as a shield to avoid recognition. They are still shocked at having to recognise unions at all. They trust that the government will protect them in the end". Another respondent stated that to ensure the registration of all unions, the legislative requirements for registration should be relaxed as far as is possible.

At the other end of the scale 3,6 per cent of employers and 10,0 per cent of unions considered there to be no legitimate grounds for refusing recognition. Otherwise the reasons given for refusal of recognition related to political involvement, unacceptable objectives and lack of bona fides, but in all these cases the percentage of respondents supporting the particular ground was very small.

2.3.4 Right to Picket

The question, "Should peaceful picketing of employers premises be allowed?"[1] elicited vastly different responses from employers and trade unions and was another example of the difference in perception of the two groups regarding the structure of labour relations they would like to see operating in South Africa. Of the employers responding to the questionnaire, 79,5 per cent were opposed to allowing peaceful picketing to take place. On the other hand, 62,5 per cent of the responding unions were in favour of peaceful picketing. It should be pointed out, nevertheless, that there were unions which felt that picketing interfered with the democratic rights of workers and that if dispute procedures were adequate, picketing would become unnecessary.

2.4 Collective Bargaining Procedures

Although in the question relating to basic labour rights the right to bargain collectively received undeniable support from both employers and unions, there was a significant difference of opinion between the two in relation to the relative importance placed upon it. In a question asking respondents to rank collective bargaining rights, participation in management, training, wage rates and protection against arbitrary dismissal in terms of their relative order of importance in determining job acceptability, employers as a group ranked collective bargaining rights fourth out of the five. Unions, on the other hand, ranked them a close second. Indeed, only 36 per cent of the employers ranked collective bargaining rights in the first three, whereas 72,5 per cent of the unions did. Similarly, in a subsequent question asking respondents to assess certain factors as impediments to Black advancement in the workplace, only 3,6 per cent of employers rated the 'absence of labour organisation" as a very important impediment, whereas 50 per cent of the unions did.[2]

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(1) Question 11, Appendix I.
(2) Question 31, Appendix I.

It would seem that, although most employers find it impossible to deny the right to associate and to bargain collectively and appear in favour of its recognition, their thinking has not yet progressed sufficiently far in practice to enable them to take this recognition into account in their everyday activity.

That employers do consider collective bargaining to be of some value was indicated by the fact that whereas 83,1 per cent of them believed codes of employment practice to be relevant and necessary in an industry where trade unions for all workers were not organised and recognised, only 62,7 per cent considered them necessary in cases where such trade unions were organised and recognised. The trade union response showed a similar drop in percentage.[1]

Employers probably attached the greatest level of importance and credibility to the concept of collective bargaining in the case in which 50,6 per cent of them indicated that "the ideal industrial relations system should be based upon the acknowledgement of the difference in interests between workers and management, which must be resolved by collective bargaining, rather than be based on the assumption of common interests between workers and management - differences being caused by a breakdown in communication".[2] Here again, however, their support was considerably weaker than that of the unions at 62,5 per cent.

These differences in viewpoint raise the question whether the professed recognition by employers of the right to bargain collectively is mere window-dressing or whether employers simply do not believe that the unions have the power or support that they profess.

With regard to the nature of the labour relations system itself respondents were asked the open-ended question: "What industrial relations system is most appropriate to conditions in South Africa?". The

(1) Question 25, Appendix I.
(2) Question 13, Appendix I.

replies received are given in Table 5.

Table 5   Preferences Relating to Industrial Relations System

System	Percentage of group considering system most appropriate		
	Employers	All unions	Black unions
Industrial councils	27,7	30,0	25,0
Two-tier system	14,5	5,0	8,3
Works councils	15,7	2,5	4,2
Liaison councils	4,8	-	-
Collective bar-gaining	6,0	25,0	29,2
Other	18,1	20,0	20,8
N=100%	83	40	24

Whilst it is clearly difficult to interpret the replies in the
general form in which they were given, it is very clear that the
present system based as it is upon the Industrial Councils, received
relatively little support from all three groups, although it was the
system most favoured by the employers and the White unions. A clear
preference is also evident for collective bargaining in some form.
What is not clear, however, is the nature of that form. Employers
opted in the main for collective bargaining through the Industrial
Councils or on the basis of a two-tier structure, the one being again
at the industry level and the other at plant level. Black unions, on
the other hand, showed a preference for collective bargaining at the
plant level opting for the Industrial Council system as a second choice.

What also emerges very clearly from the replies in the table is
the total rejection both of works councils and liaison committees by
the union movement. The reservations expressed in connection with the
Industrial Council system indicate a concern that, whatever the merits
of the system may be, it is unable to cope with current developments,

particularly the recent proliferation of unions (whether registered
or unregistered) outside of the system - much of this proliferation
being based on grounds other than strictly labour grounds. Respon-
dents pointed out that the Industrial Council system was too slow
and inflexible to respond suitably to the considerable changes occu-
ring in the labour field. One respondent commented: "The system is
too slow, unwieldy, remote and delaying to meaningfully respond to
black worker expectations. It needs streamlining". Respondents poin-
ted out that even if there were sufficient changes in the system to
allow the new, unregistered black unions to become members of Indus-
trial Councils, black workers would probably still not be satisfied,
as the influence of these unions in the Industrial Councils would in
no way be equivalent to the percentage of the total workforce which
they represent. The issue is further complicated by the concurrent
existence of both works councils and liaison committees, which intro-
duce further aspects into this multi-facetted system.

Notwithstanding the low overall levels of support shown for the
Industrial Council system it nevertheless received significantly less
criticism than did the Wage Board. Approximately one-fifth of the res-
pondents stated that they were ignorant of the workings of the Wage
Board and therefore could not comment as to whether or not it gave ade-
quate protection to workers in unorganised industries. Of those who
did comment, however, 79,8 per cent said that they did not believe that
the Wage Board system gave sufficient protection. Those who were more
specific stated that the wage levels set by the Board were too low and
that it sat too infrequently for wage adjustments to keep pace with in-
flation. Some went so far as to call for the abolition of the Wage Board
and its replacement by Industrial Councils.

2.5 The Industrial Court

Almost three-quarters of those surveyed believed that there was a
need for a specialised industrial court,[1] 17 per cent of the respon-

(1) Question 16, Appendix I.

dents expressed themselves in favour of a special division of the
Supreme Court, whilst a further 7 per cent felt that the regular
courts could cope adequately with the enforcement of labour laws.
The percentage in favour of an industrial court might well have
been higher were it not for the large degree of ignorance concer-
ning the role and operation of the existing Industrial Court. Few
respondents knew the rights of access, whether it could give judge-
ment on rights or merely determine interests, whether representa-
tion by advocates was allowed or required or whether the court could
only be approached after all conciliation and arbitration procedures
had been exhausted. Respondents clearly felt the need for a court
specialising in labour matters, a court that would not only have spe-
cialised knowledge but would be able to act with the speed necessary
in labour disputes and to follow a procedure simpler and less expen-
sive than that of the regular courts. However, if the decisions of
such a court were not enforceable and did not create legal precedent,
it was considered they would be valueless. A fear that this was the
case with the existing Industrial Court led some respondents to opt
for the regular courts or a special division of the Supreme Court.

3. ATTITUDES RELATING TO THE DETERMINATION OF WAGES
AND WORKING CONDITIONS

A number of questions were asked in this field ranging over such items as the determinants of wage rates, the constraints on wage levels, attitudes to certain non-wage benefits, the relationship between productivity and worker participation in management and factors determining job acceptability to workers. These are all discussed separately in the following sections.

3.1 Determinants of Wage Rates

With a view to discovering whether or not there was a significant difference in the groups' perception of the factors that determine wage levels, respondents were asked to rank the following factors in terms of how they saw their relative importance as determinants of wage rates (and wage differentials): skill levels, skill scarcity, occupation, experience, job responsibility, length of service, location of work, productivity, sex, race and working conditions. The results are given in Table 6.

There was an overall view relating to the importance of skill levels as a determinant of relative wage levels. However, from the percentage of the groups placing greatest emphasis on skill, i.e., ranking it first, it does seem that the white unions placed greater importance on skills (with 56 per cent of the group placing it first) than did either management or the black unions.

In respect of other factors affecting relative wage rates there was a clear difference of opinion regarding the importance of the scarcity of skilled labour. Employers ranked it as the second most important determinant close behind skill levels. The unions as a group also ranked it second, but the proportion supporting it was only just over one-third of that supporting skill levels. Black unions conside-

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Table 6   Attitudes Relating to the Determinants of Wages[a]

Factor	Percentage of the group ranking the factor					
	First			In the first three places		
	Employers	Unions	Black unions	Employers	Unions	Black unions
Skill level	36,1	47,5	41,7	73,5	65,0	58,4
Skill scarcity	32,5	17,5	8,3	49,4	27,5	20,8
Occupation	12,0	7,5	12,5	32,5	20,0	29,2
Productivity	8,4	10,0	12,5	39,8	27,5	29,2
Responsibility	7,2	2,5	4,2	61,4	52,5	54,2
Experience	4,8	5,0	8,3	31,3	40,0	37,5
Length of service	-	-	-	3,6	22,5	29,2
Location of work	-	-	-	4,8	-	-
Working conditions	-	2,5	4,2	-	20,0	20,9
Race	1,2	-	-	2,4	5,0	4,2
Sex	-(b)	-	-	-	2,5	-

Note: (a) The total of the figures in the last three columns exceed
            100 per cent as a maximum of 300 was possible.

      (b) Percentages exceed 100 per cent as joint ranking possible.

red the factor to be less significant and ranked it joint fourth with
'experience'. Further, whilst 49 per cent of employers ranked skill
scarcity in the first three most important determinants of wage levels,
only 21 per cent of the black union group did likewise. There was a
similar difference in the perceptions of the importance of length of
service and working conditions as determinants, with less than 4 per
cent of employers ranking the former in the first three and none the
latter. In the case of the unions, however, 22,5 per cent ranked ser-
vice in the top three and 20 per cent, working conditions. The degree
of difference between employers and black unions was even greater.

The other very interesting feature of the responses was the virtual non-response to the factors of race and sex as wage determinants. As all the historical evidence on wage rates in South Africa clearly shows a strong relationship between both race and sex and relative wage levels, these low level response rates are extremely surprising, particularly those from the black union group. There are two possible reasons that one could advance as tentative explanations. The first is the possible existence of what Marxist analysts like to refer to as 'false consciousness' in which people within a particular situation fail to perceive it for what it actually is; the second and probably more plausible explanation is that the structure of jobs in the South African labour market is such that Black and White workers do not see themselves (and are not seen by the employers) as being capable of performing the same tasks. This difference in capability is perceived as being solely attributable to skill acquisition and access to training and the links that clearly exist between race and access to skill training have not been made by the respondents.[1]

3.2 Constraints on Wage Rates

Respondents were asked to list what factors they saw as operating as legitimate constraints upon employers' ability to increase wage rates. The answers obtained are given in Table 7. It can be seen that there were significant differences between the groups in respect of the answers given to this question. Employers listed productivity, profitability and the ability to pay as the most common legitimate constraint on wage increases and 40 per cent supported this view. The largest proportion of the union group (just under one-third) on the other hand, argued that there were no legitimate constraints on wage increases. Amongst the factors supported by smaller proportions of both groups, however, there was a less noticeable intergroup differential.

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[1] A third possibility is that the question itself was mis-interpreted by respondents and read in terms of what should be, rather than in terms of what actually is the case.

Table 7 Legitimate Constraints on Wage Increases

Constraints	Percentage of group mentioning constraints[a]		
	Employers	Union	Black Unions
Nil	19,3	30,0	33,3
Productivity, profitability and ability to pay	39,8	17,5	12,5
Within industry competition, ability of export market and consumers to pay increased prices	12,0	7,5	4,2
Whites already overpaid, need to close wage gap	13,2	12,5	16,7
Large supply of labour	9,6	5,0	4,2
Lack of skills, productivity, education	16,8	17,5	12,5
Industrial agreements	6,0	5,0	4,2
Other	9,6	10,0	12,6
N=100%	83	40	24

Note: (a) Totals sum to more than 100 per cent as some respondents mentioned more than one constraint as legitimate.

A second question asking: "Do you believe that higher wages would increase the level of unemployment?"[1] yielded responses that suggested that the present numbers of unemployed workers were also not seen as presenting any legitimate constraint to wage increases. Only 22,5 per cent of the unions and 42,2 per cent of the employers stated that they believed there was a trade-off between rising wage rates and job creation. Some respondents pointed out that whilst the immediate result of wage increases might be higher levels of unemployment, in the long term the increase in the size of the domestic market that would follow from the wage increases, would create more jobs than were initially destroyed.

(1) Question 7, Appendix I.

3.3 Non-wage Employment Benefits

In an attempt to evaluate non-wage employment benefits to em-
ployees, respondents were asked to select the three they believed
to be most important to workers from the following: leave, leave
pay, pensions, transferable pensions, medical aid, educational as-
sistance for the worker, educational assistance for his children
and funeral benefits.   The answers are contained in Table 8.

Table 8   Attitudes Relating to the Acceptability of Benefits

Factor	Percentage of group ranking factor[a]					
	Emplo-yer	Union	Black union	Emplo-yer	Union	Black union
Leave	28,9	12,5	12,5	53,0	35,0	25,0
Leave pay	9,6	15,0	16,7	39,8	32,5	33,3
Pensions	27,7	20,0	8,3	57,8	57,5	58,3
Transferable pensions	4,8	15,0	8,3	15,7	30,0	20,8
Medical aid	3,6	20,0	29,2	44,6	65,0	62,5
Education assis-tance for em-ployee	10,8	15,0	20,8	34,9	27,5	37,5
Education assis-tance for em-ployee's child	16,9	5,0	8,3	47,0	37,5	45,8
Funeral bene-fits	0	0	0	14,5	7,5	12,5
N=100%	83	40	24	83	40	24

Note: (a) Percentages sum to more than 100 per cent as some respon-
            dents ranked alternatives jointly.

If one takes the percentage of the sample ranking the relevant
benefit in the top three as an indicator of its relative overall im-
portance, then the results given in Table 8 show quite a difference

in perception among the three groups. This is illustrated in Table
9 which relists the benefits in terms of their rank order by group.

Table 9 Rank Order of Benefits by Group

Rank	Employers	Unions	Black Unions
1	Pensions	Medical aid	Pensions
2	Leave	Pensions	Medical aid
3	Education (child)	Education (child)	Education (child)
4	Medical aid	Leave	Education (self)
5	Leave pay	Leave pay	Leave pay
6	Education (self)	Transferable pensions	Leave
7	Transferable pensions	Education (self)	Transferable pensions
8	Funeral benefits	Funeral benefits	Funeral benefits

Medical assistance is clearly seen as more valuable to the workers
by the unions than it is by employers. Similarly, leave is seen as less
important by the unions. Group perceptions of leave pay, transferable
pensions and funeral benefits were very similar and the low rank order
of both transferable pensions and funeral benefits are interesting, the
former particularly so in view of the recent wave of labour unrest in
Natal which was sparked off by a fear that all pensions were in immediate
danger of being converted into transferable pensions.

Employers and unions had very similar perceptions of the relative
value to workers of pensions, educational benefits in relation to the
children of the employee, leave pay, transferable pensions and funeral
benefits. The areas of greatest difference were those of leave, medical
aid and educational benefits for the worker himself. However, it is in-
teresting to note that, in relation to the difference in group evaluation

of medical aid, some employer respondents defended their low rating
for medical aid by referring to ballots conducted within the firm
which gave an anti-medical aid result, particularly where the state-
provided medical facilities in the area were reasonable.

3.4 Participation in Management and Labour Productivity Levels

It is often argued that the inclusion of worker representation
in the management process has a positive spin off in that it gives
workers an insight into the control process, reducing the degree of
management/labour conflict and consequently, increasing labour produc-
tivity levels. Respondents were asked to give their views on this re-
lationship[1] and the results are given in Table 10.

Table 10   Worker/Management Relations & Productivity

Factor	Percentage of group conside-ring factor would lead to improved productivity[a]		
	Employer	Union	Black union
Worker representation on the board of directors	38,6	72,5	75,0
Profit sharing	55,4	67,5	70,8
Worker shareholding	37,3	67,5	70,8
N=100%	83	40	24

Note: (a) Percentages sum to more than 100 per cent as respondents
           could mark more than one alternative

It is clear from the data in the table that there was a signifi-
cant difference of opinion between the groups on this issue. Three
forms of worker participation were included for comment: worker repre-
sentation on the board of directors, profit sharing and worker sharehol-

(1)Question 23, Appendix I.

ding schemes. Of these three, worker representation on the board
gives labour the greatest direct access to the management function.
Participation in profit-sharing schemes, on the other hand, gives
no role in management to labour but seeks to defuse the potential
class conflict by linking returns on labour to both effort and pro-
fitability. Worker shareholding schemes fall somewhere between these
two extremes.

Taking the concept of the incorporation of labour into the manage-
ment function as a whole, it is evident that there is much greater sup-
port for it from labour than from management. Further, amongst the
employer group the degree of support declined with the increase in the
level of worker participation in decision making. Whilst more than
half of the employer group thought that labour productivity levels were
positively linked to profit-sharing schemes, the proportion supporting
worker representation and worker ownership schemes was below 40 per
cent.[1] On the union front, on the other hand, whilst over two-thirds
felt that the introduction of anyone of those schemes would improve
labour productivity, the greatest degree of support shown was for wor-
ker representation on the board of directors.

3.5 Factors Affecting Job Acceptability

In an attempt to discover to what degree employers and trade unions
had a similar view of what constituted an acceptable overall work
situation, we asked respondents to rank the following five factors in
terms of their importance as determinants of job acceptability: collec-
tive bargaining rights, participation in management, in-service training,
wage rates and protection against arbitrary dismissal. The results are
given in Table 11.

Whilst there was a common perception of the factors that were the

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(1) Some respondents said their answers would differ for the different
     levels of employees and that the answers would depend upon the em-
     ployees' knowledge of the workings of the stock market, etc.

Table 11   Factors affecting Job Acceptability

| Factor | Percentage of group ranking factor | | | |
| | First | | In first three | |
	Employer	Unions	Employer	Unions
Collective bargaining rights	3,6	30,0	36,1	72,5
Participation in management	6,0	2,5	28,9	20,0
In-service training	8,4	15,0	68,6	55,0
Wage rates	69,9	47,5	94,0	85,0
Protection against arbitrary dismissal	10,8	2,5	66,3	57,5
N=100%	83	40	83	40

most and least important of the five as determinants of job accepta-
bility, namely, wage rates and participation in management respectively,
there was a significant difference regarding the group perceptions of
the importance of collective bargaining rights. Whilst only 3,6 per
cent of employers ranked collective bargaining rights first and 36 per
cent in the first three, the corresponding proportions for the union
group were 30 per cent and 72,5 per cent respectively. The differences
between the groups in relation to in-service training and protection
against arbitrary dismissal were slight variations in the overall rank
order rather than serious differences of opinion.

4. ATTITUDES TO THE 'CODES OF CONDUCT'

Respondents were asked two questions in relation to 'Codes of
Conduct': firstly, whether the three specific codes that are in use
in South Africa at present (the SACCOLA Code, the Sullivan Principles
and the EEC Code), were achieving their intended purpose, and secondly,
whether they thought there was a need for a code of conduct of employ-
ment practice in general and particularly in industries in which trade
unions were fully operational.

4.1 Existing Codes

In respect of the first question 28 per cent of employers said they
did not know what the SACCOLA, Sullivan and EEC Codes were and, there-
fore, were unable to say whether they were achieving their intended pur-
pose.[1] Of those employers who replied to the question, 52,2 per cent
considered the codes were achieving their intended purpose, whereas only
21,2 per cent of unions felt this to be the case. The codes appeared to
cause considerable antagonism among the respondents, particularly the
unions, largely because of their foreign origins and because they were
drawn up without the involvement of employers or employees. These res-
pondents felt the codes were no substitute for collective bargaining
rights which might themselves in time lead to the development of local
codes which would be more likely to cover matters considered important
by workers. There was some feeling that the codes were politically moti-
vated and, in order to retain international credibility, too radical,
which lead to their being the cause of unrest resulting from unrealis-
tically high labour expectations. Of the respondents, 13,8 per cent
thought the codes led to mere window dressing and that they could not be
effective without the simultaneous education of the white public. A fur-
ther 9,8 per cent saw the codes as being ineffective largely because they
were unenforceable. It was stated that the codes would only be effec-
tive where the workers were aware of their contents and were sufficiently
well-organised to be able to ensure their observance. Only one employer

(1) Question 24, Appendix I.

stated that the codes were not achieving their intended purpose be-
cause they had pushed wages to unrealistic levels. The feelings of
those who thought the codes were effective because they supplied a
standard, a specific objective or guideline and because there were
provisions for monitoring or auditing their observance are probably
typified by the respondent who stated: "The codes have brought home
to employers that certain employment conditions are minimum require-
ments over and above the low requirements that an over-supply of
labour may demand".

4.2 Need for a Code

Table 12 illustrates the answers to the question: "Do you consider
codes of employment practice to be relevant and necessary in an indus-
try (a) where trade unions for all workers are organised and recognised,
and (b) where trade unions for all workers are not organised and recog-
nised?" [1]

Table 12   Attitudes to the Relevance of Employment
                            Codes

	Percentage of group consi-dering codes relevant		
Factor	Employer	Unions	Black unions
Where trade unions are recognised or organi-sed	62,7	42,5	41,7
Where trade unions are not recognised or organised	83,1	67,5	62,5
N=100%	83	40	24

These answers indicate an acceptance of the value of codes among
both employers and employees, but a significantly greater degree of ac-

(1) Question 25, Appendix I.

ceptance in the case where trade unions are not organised and recognised. Here again some respondents pointed out the value of employers and employees in a particular company determining their own code. In view of the support of overseas trade unions for the codes of employment practice it is interesting to note that on the local scene there was a greater degree of support for the codes from employers than from unions, although there was considerable support from both groups.

5. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

It was clear from the answers to a number of different ques-
tions in the survey that the respondents perceived education and
training - or the lack of them - as major problems.

5.1 An Overview of Attitudes

Over and over again respondents blamed the problems of unem-
ployment, difficulties in training, productivity, advancement, etc.,
on the education system. Basically, the call was for more and better
quality education. Respondents stressed the need for education to be
more technically orientated to equip pupils for life in an industria-
lised society. Some wanted free and compulsory education, both for-
mal and technical; some a unified education system; others streaming
to be introduced at an earlier age and many pleaded either for more
black technikons of a quality equal to those of whites or alternatively
for integrated technikons. The frustrations of employers were typi-
fied by the employer who, in pleading for more technical schools, stated:
"Today we are simply producing a race of administrators". There were
also requests for further tax incentives to encourage employers to
continue employees' education.

The entire apprenticeship system was seen to be undermined by edu-
cational problems. Those few aspirant apprentices who have obtained the
standard required for entrance to the apprenticeship system were seen
to have an education totally unsuited to an industrial career, and the
majority, although possibly capable of achieving artisan status, to have
had little or no education through no fault of their own, making it ex-
ceedingly difficult for trainers to select prospective artisans or to
ensure efficient and productive use of their training facilities. Fur-
thermore, respondents considered black technikons too few in number and
inferior in quality. These problems caused respondents to call for
a relaxation in the entrance qualifications, for the introduction of
modular qualifications and for literacy programmes and crash courses
to cope with the immediate problems.

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It was also pointed out that the education system had failed
to accord to agriculture the position that it should hold. It was
considered essential that rural dwellers should view agricultural
employment as desirable and that the quality and quantity of agri-
cultural education at all levels be improved. It was appreciated
that the absence of migrant workers from rural areas meant that even
less attention was given to rurally oriented education in those areas,
than might have been the case otherwise.

The absence of educational opportunity was even seen to influence
the method of wage determination. Employers stated that although they
would have preferred this to have been left to the market alone, they
realised the lack of education among the large numbers of unskilled
unemployed, through no fault of their own, in addition to their large
numbers meant that this was impossible, as in such circumstances the
absence of minimum wage determinations must lead to exploitation.

5.2 Attitudes Relating to Present Apprentice Training System

A number of specific questions were asked in relation to the pre-
sent apprenticeship system.[1] It was very clear from the replies re-
ceived that there was a significant measure of dissatisfaction with
the present system. This is shown by the fact that the response to
the question: "Should the present system of training skilled craft wor-
kers through the apprenticehsip system be retained as it is?"[2] was
67,5 per cent negative.

However, despite the fact that more than two-thirds of the respon-
dents did not like the system as it is, they did not appear to have
put a great deal of thought into ways and means of improving it. Of
those opposed to the present system, only approximately 50 per cent com-
mented on the subsequent questions: "Should the educational standards for

(1) Question 3, Appendix I.
(2) Question 3, Appendix I.

entrance be raised or lowered?" and "Should the length of appren-
ticeship be lengthened or shortened?". Although these respondents
appreciated the need to upgrade apprenticeship training, they felt
that, bearing in mind the current desperate shortage of skilled wor-
kers and the very inadequate nature of black education, this should
be achieved not by raising entrance standards, but by making it
possible to admit all those who, although formally uneducated, might
yet be highly trainable. They considered the entrance tests should
be more suited to each trade, more technically oriented and that
the system should allow for selection at a later stage. The feeling
that the actual training should be upgraded led respondents to re-
quest more supervision of the training, both at the workplace and at
educational institutions, and more and better quality black techni-
kons, or the opening of technikons to all races. The replies to the
specific questions asked are given in Table 13.

Table 13   Attitudes to Apprenticeship System

| Question | Answer | Percentage of group responding | |
		Employers	Unions
Should the present system be retained as it is?	Yes No	25,0 75,0 N=74	25,7 74,3 N=35
Should the entrance standard be raised or lowered?	Raised Lowered	66,7 33,3 N=30	20,0 80,0 N=15
Should the period of appren-ticeship be lengthened or shortened?	Lenthened Shortened	27,6 72,4 N=29	25,0 75,0 N=20
Should artisan status be achieved solely through testing and not alterna-tively by the effluxion of time?	Test Time	80,7 19,3 N=57	88,5 11,5 N=26
Should there be a modular testing system with inter-mediate qualifications	Modular Complete	92,9 7,1 N=56	76,9 23,1 N=26

Although the smaller numbers of people replying to the ques-
tions relating to the specific recommendations for the reform of
the system has reduced the overall level of reliability of the
survey in respect to this question, the replies are nonetheless
very interesting. There appears to be a group concensus relating
to the need to shorten the length of the apprenticeship period to
abandon the system of qualification through the effluxion of time
and to the need to introduce a system of modular testing and in-
termediate qualifications.

There was, however, a significant difference in the answers
given by employers and unions to the question whether the entrance
qualifications should be raised or lowered, with employers favouring
the raising and unions the lowering of entrance standards. This is
probably indicative of the unions' more personal experience of black
education and black educational opportunities. Black unions in par-
ticular expressed dissatisfaction with the current system, stating
that it was being used to preserve job reservation after this had
been removed from the statute book. And that it enabled employers to
reduce costs and exploit black workers who, although doing the work
of artisans, did not receive artisan rates as they lacked the formal
entrance qualifications to be accepted for trade testing. Although
in favour of sub-grades and intermediate trade testing, a fear was ex-
pressed by some unions that this might lead to employers training to
suit their own needs and not to produce a fully qualified craftsman.

5.3 Financing of In-service Training

Respondents were asked how they felt that the costs of training
workers should be defrayed. Table 14 contains an analysis of the replies.

Employers and unions had different opinions on this matter. Amongst
the employer group the greatest degree of support was for the maintenance
of the present system of granting tax concessions to the employer in res-
pect of the amount expended upon worker training. Amongst this group

Table 14   Attitudes to the Defrayment of Costs of Worker Training

System	Percentage of group favouring particular system[a]		
	Employers	Unions	Black unions
Grant and levy system	43,4	20,0	16,7
State subsidy	26,5	37,5	54,2
Tax concession	73,5	30,0	16,7
The Employer	36,1	42,5	50,0
The Employee	14,5	5,0	4,2
Other	1,2	-	-
N=100%	83	40	24

Note: (a) Percentages add to more than 100 as respondents could choose
more than one alternative.

there was also support for the defrayment of training costs by means
of a system of grants and levies. Unions showed no clear preferen-
ces, apart from a certainty that they did not feel that the employees
should be responsible for the costs of their own training. Overall,
however, since respondents could, and did, mark more than one of the
alternatives offered, the replies are difficult to analyse and one
should not place much weight on small differences in the relative
rankings.

5.4 Provision of Training in Industrial Relations

There was almost unanimity on the need for training in the field
of industrial relations and 91 per cent of the respondents stated that
they felt such training to be necessary.[1] There was, however,
not surprisingly, a sharp difference of opinion regarding the manner
in which the training should be provided, with employers favouring an
employer/employee combination to provide the training, whereas most
unions wanted employee organisations alone to provide the training.

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(1)   Question 4, Appendix I.

Both parties showed very little support for state involvement in in-
dustrial relations training. Again a majority of both groups (60
per cent) felt that there should be control over such training, the
chief reason given being to ensure a unified approach to the subject.
Other reasons given were - to ensure the training was relevant, appli-
cable and effective; to maintain standards to ensure the trainee re-
ceived a marketable qualification; and, finally, to keep political
bias out of the training.

6. PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY LABOUR OUTSIDE THE WORK-PLACE

In view of the generally high level of dissatisfaction present with respect to housing and transport facilities and the level of social amenities available to Blacks, together with the fact that a significant proportion of the work-force participate in the migrant labour system and so suffer the concomitant social hardships it imposes, respondents were asked to give their views on the extent to which these problems affected the African work-force.[1]

6.1 Nature and Extent of Problems

The answers to this question are given in Table 15 below.

Table 15   Attitudes to Problems Experienced Outside the Workplace

Factor	Percentage considering the Black workforce experienced					
	Serious problems		Problems		No problems	
	Employers	Unions	Employers	Unions	Employers	Unions
Housing	77	90	22	8	-	-
Transport	47	48	49	50	2	-
Social amenities	49	50	47	40	1	3
Family relationships	51	63	46	30	2	-
Family income levels	37	58	58	30	1	-

It is clear from the data in the table that the views of employers and unions regarding the problems experienced by the Black work-force in the areas of transport facilities and access to social amenities largely coincide. However, the union group's reaction to problems in the areas of housing, family relationship and family income levels was very much stronger than that of the employers, the difference being

(1) Question 29, Appendix I.

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most marked in respect of income levels. Whereas 58 per cent of
all unions and 92 per cent of black unions considered the black
work-force to have serious problems in this area, only 37 per cent
of employers did. However, a number of employers stressed that
they were referring only to people who were currently employed and
60 per cent of this group considered that the problems in this area
were serious. Only one respondent thought there was no problem here.

The reaction to the housing situation produced the greatest
overall response with over 80 per cent of those completing the survey
considering that very serious problems were experienced by the Black
work-force in this area. Respondents pointed out that the Group Areas
Act required many people to live great distances from the work-place
which increased transport costs and caused considerable inconvenience.
They commented on the unsatisfactory nature of 'compound housing' for
migrant workers, pointing out that it could lead to political and social
unrest. They felt it wrong that by merely housing a migrant worker in
inferior conditions, the employer or government could avoid the normal costs
of providing family housing and other social amenities. They stated that
the employers and/or the central government were being subsidised by the
homeland governments which were left to supply these services. Legis-
lation was considered to have prevented housing being provided in the
normal way in the natural areas. Although respondents generally held
the government responsible for providing housing (see Question 28), espe-
cially sub-economic housing, they also felt that there was too much
legislation and red tape preventing the employer and employee from taking
steps to provide housing themselves. The general inability to buy land
and build a house to one's own liking in the area of one's choice was
seen to be a problem, as was the difficulty experienced in raising hou-
sing loans. The lack of variety in housing or residential choice was
also criticised. In fact, all housing problems, including the prohibi-
tion on migrants being housed with their families, were considered to be
contributory causes of instability, lack of productivity, lack of morale
and lack of advancement. This latter point will be discussed in more de-
tail in a following section dealing with the migrant labour system.

6.2 Responsibility for Improving the Situation

Having established that it is generally accepted that the Black work-force experiences serious problems outside of the work situation, the question arises as to who is responsible for the solution of these problems. Answers to a number of questions in the survey indicate the respondents' attitudes to the apportionment of responsibility not only for the solution of these problems, but also for the supply of social amenities in general.

In response to the question: 'Bearing in mind that the vast majority of Black workers in Natal work in an area subject to one public authority and yet reside in an area subject to another, on whom do you consider does the responsibility for the provision of such services as housing, education, training and transport fall - the central government, the homeland government, the employer or the employee?'[1] 80 per cent of the respondents placed the responsibility firmly upon the shoulders of the central government. They did so because, firstly, it was central government policy which had created the situation where people could not avoid having their lives ruled by two different public authorities and residing considerable distances from their workplace, and secondly, the central government was the only body with the financial ability to accept the responsibility. A number of respondents who placed the responsibility upon the homeland government did so under the mistaken impression that the homeland governments received all taxes (including general sales tax) collected from Blacks and therefore should accept the responsibility. Others, however, pointed out that the homeland governments were totally dependent on Pretoria financially and therefore wondered whether it mattered who accepted the responsibility. Seven per cent of employers saw it as a matter of mutual responsibility which should be dealt with by some form of integrated provincial government. This, they felt, would be the only way to avoid unnecessarily costly duplications and to ensure certain services were not neglected totally.

(1) Question 28, Appendix I.

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Where people divided responsibility according to the particular
service to be provided, they tended to place responsibility for edu-
cation on the central government, for training upon the employer, for
housing on the government (at least where it was sub-economic) and
for transport upon private enterprise. Both employers and unions
placed least responsibility upon the employee (one respondent stating:
"Employees do not have the freedom of choice re place or type of work
therefore it is not possible for them to accept responsibility for
their own services') and most upon the central government.

In response to questions, which might be said to be of a general
nature, the employers showed a reluctance to become involved outside
of the sphere of employment and indicated that they felt the govern-
ment was responsible. However, when they were questioned about the
provision of particular amenities such as industrial and industrial
relations training, medical aid and pensions, employers tended to
place a low degree of responsibility on the state. This view is consis-
tent with a belief in the free enterprise system and a desire on the
part of employers to allow the system to operate with the bare minimum
of government interference. In some cases it also indicated an accep-
tance by employers that although greater state involvement might be desi-
rable, as there was no sign that the state intended undertaking the res-
ponsibility, the employers perforce had to shoulder it themselves. Thus,
today one finds that employers have to a considerable extent undertaken
responsibility for training and to a lesser extent for worker housing,
though ideally (judging from their answers to Question 28 and Question
15), they see neither as their responsibility. The education system at
present is so poor, and the lack of skills so great, that employers have
accepted that they have no hope of finding the staff they need unless
they train them themselves. Similarly the housing backlog is so large
and the shortage so chronic, that in the hope of acquiring a stable, con-
tented work-force, some employers have undertaken certain responsibilities
in this field too.

It is interesting to note that employers in particular did not see a

role for trade union activity to improve social and political condi-
tions notwithstanding the fact that they accepted that their work-
forces were seriously deprived in these areas. When asked to comment
on the statement: 'Trade union and employers' organisation activity
should not be restricted to labour and employment issues, there being
a need for them to become involved in socio-political activity',[1]
almost three-quarters of employers stated that they disagreed with the
statement whereas approximately 55 per cent of the unions agreed with
it.

The trade unions, when questioned about the provision of particu-
lar amenities, tended to place most responsibility upon the State which
is consistent with their answer to Question 28. However, in view of
their attitude that trade unions should become involved in socio-politi-
cal activity, it was surprising that they placed so little responsibility
on the employee or trade unions. Indeed, in every case the employer
placed more responsibility on the employee than did the employee himself
(cost of training 14,5 per cent as against 5 per cent, pensions 49,3 per
cent as against 28,2 per cent and medical aid 50 per cent as against 25,6
per cent).

It is interesting to note that, notwithstanding employers' views on
trade unions becoming involved in non-labour issues, it was frequently
stated by respondents that the recognition of Black-worker rights (in
particular the right to associate and form trade unions), in the absence
of the recognition of similar rights in other spheres, would ensure that
trade unions would almost inevitably become involved outside of the sphere
of labour and employment issues.

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(1) Question 15, Appendix II.

7. MEASURES SUGGESTED TO COMBAT BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT

The survey contained an open question asking the respondents to list the three measures that they thought, if introduced, would have the greatest success in reducing Black unemployment levels. The answers are given in Table 16.

Table 16   Measures Suggested to Combat Unemployment

Factor	Percentage of group listing factor as an important measure reducing unemployment [a]			
	Employers	Unions	Black unions	Total Sample
Education	67,5	60,0	66,6	65,1
Economic growth	45,8	37,5	20,8	43,1
Removal of race discrimination	33,8	32,5	41,6	33,3
Change in production methods	16,9	20,0	29,2	17,8
Decentralisation of industry	12,0	5,0	4,2	9,8
Growth of small businesses	13,3	2,5	4,2	9,8
Encourage exports and import substitution	9,6	7,5	12,5	8,9
Job creation programmes	2,4	20,0	8,3	8,1
No overtime and shorter shifts	3,6	15,0	25,1	7,3
Population growth control	10,8	-	-	7,3
Stop immigration	1,2	5,0	8,3	2,4
Place ceiling on wage increases	6,0	2,5	-	4,9
N=100%	83	40	24	123

Note: (a) Percentages sum to more than 100 per cent as some respondents listed more than one alternative.

It is clear from the data in the table that all the groups believed that an increased effort in the fields of education and training would be the most effective means of combating Black unemployment. There was also a common view of the importance in this respect, of removing race discrimination and also of the need to introduce measures that would encourage the use of more labour-intensive methods of production. However, the degree of support drops rapidly as one moves down through Table 16 and the overall support for measures to encourage labour intensity in production was just over one-quarter of that for measures to improve Black education and training levels. There was relatively little overall support for increased efforts in the area of the decentralisation of industry, for measures to encourage the growth of small businesses, export promotion and import substitution schemes as well as for the other factors listed in the table.

Table 17 shows how the different groups in the sample ranked the factors in terms of their overall importance[1] and the data highlight some differences in opinions among the three groups. Improved Black education was ranked first overall by all the groups shown in Table 17. However, White unions ranked this measure second in importance behind that of economic growth. Another interesting aspect of the differences in ranking is the relatively low priority given by the black union group to measures to encourage economic growth (ranked fifth) and to speed up the decentralisation of industry as well as for the development of small businesses[1] (ranked joint ninth). There were also marked differences of opinion over the effectiveness of measures to reduce the rate of population growth (ranked seventh by employers and last by both groups of unions), measures to stop immigration (ranked last by employers, eighth by the unions and seventh by the black unions) and measures to

(1) The order of importance was determined according to the number of times a particular factor was mentioned by a group.

(2) This is probably more a reflection of the interests of their members than a denial that they are a cause of unemployment.

Table 17   The Relative Ranking of the Factor Alleviating
            Unemployment by Group

Rank	Rank order of importance by factor by group		
	Employers	Unions	Black unions
1	Better education	Better education	Better education
2	Economic growth	Economic growth	Removal of discrimination
3	No discrimination	No discrimination	Change in production methods
4	Change in production methods	Change in production methods	No overtime, shorter shifts
5	Growth of small businesses	Job creation programmes	Economic growth
6	Decentralisation of industry	No overtime, shorter shifts	Exports and import substitution
7	Population control	Exports and import substitution	Job creation programmes
8	Exports and import substitution	Decentralisation of industry	No immigration
9	Ceiling on wages	No immigration	Decentralisation of industry
10	No overtime, shorter shifts	Small businesses	Small businesses
11	Job creation programmes	Ceiling on wages	Population control
12	No immigration	Population control	Ceiling on wages

reduce overtime or to introduce shifts of shorter duration (ranked tenth by employers, sixth by all unions and fourth by the black unions).

Overall there was relatively little support for the imposition of a ceiling on wage rates; employers ranked this measure ninth, the union groups tenth, and the black unions joint last with population growth controls. This view was substantiated by the answers given to a specific question relating to the links between rising wage costs and increased unemployment levels. There 56 per cent of the respondents, (47 per cent of employers, 70 per cent of the unions and 79 per cent of the black unions) stated that, in their opinion, higher wages would not increase the level of unemployment.[1] In fact, a number of respondents stated that the spin-off from higher wages would increase employment opportunities through the impact that this would have on the size of the market, production runs and the unit costs of production.

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(1)   Question 5, Appendix I.

8.   ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE MIGRANT
LABOUR SYSTEM

The extent and pervasiveness of the system of migrant labour
amongst the Black workforce, is probably the most outstanding charac-
teristic of the South African labour market.   Opinions as to the ad-
vantages and disadvantages of the system have, over the years, been
varied and have ranged from the conservative view that the system has
been beneficial both to employer and worker,[1] through the more
liberal views which largely see the system as disadvantageous to both
parties[2] to the radical view which sees the system as the main en-
gine of South Africa's modern economic development.[3]   The survey
contained two questions that dealt specifically with the migrant
labour system.   The first asked respondents to identify the major
advantages and disadvantages of the system as they saw them and the
second for suggestions for ways in which the disadvantages of the
system could be removed.

8.1   Disadvantages and Advantages of the System

The full answers to the question: 'What would you identify as
the main advantages/disadvantages of the migratory labour system?'
are tabulated in Appendix II and only the main results will be dis-
cussed here.[4]

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(1)   W. Hutt.   The Economics of the Colour Bar, Institute of Economic
      Affairs, London: 1964.

(2)   D. Hobart Houghton.   The South African Economy, Oxford: 1964.

(3)   H. Wolpe,   'Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa,
      from Segregation to Apartheid', Economy and Society, Vol.1, 1973,
      pp.425-458.

(4)   Questions 26 and 27, Appendix I.

8.1.1   Disadvantages

The responses indicate very clearly that the greatest disadvan-
tage was seen to be disruption of family, social, cultural and com-
munity life with its resultant ill effects both in rural and urban
areas.   Some 53 per cent of respondents identified this as a dis-
advantage in the strongest possible terms.   Thereafter, respondents
spoke of the ill-effects the system (with its inherent instability
and the necessity to renew labour contracts annually) has upon produc-
tivity, training, commitment, advancement, etc.   They pointed out how,
in the first place, migrants had difficulty in obtaining employment and
that having done so, they would still have problems developing their
skills and advancing in the workplace. Further, 41 per cent of the res-
pondents stated that the system implied the non-recognition of the
'right to work' and denied migrants both geographical and vertical
mobility which made the optimal use of labour impossible.

Whilst both employers and unions felt that the system affected the
structure of the labour market itself, they differed in terms of the
degree to which they emphasised this aspect.   More union respondents
than employers mentioned that migrants were in a weak bargaining posi-
tion and tended to be exploited (17 per cent as against 3.6 per cent).
More employers also considered as a disadvantage the fact that migrants
undercut the wages of urban dwellers and increased urban unemployment
levels (23 per cent as against 2 per cent).   One tenth of the employers
considered that the system prevented the development of a stable middle-
class with pride in their possessions, their position and social status,
and that instead of developing reciprocal feelings of loyalty and res-
ponsibility between employer and employee, it caused resentment and a
negative attitude to management.   Eight per cent of the respondents
thought that housing people in compound-type accommodation was unsatis-
factory and inhumane and led to social and political unrest.

8.1.2 Advantages

When it came to the advantages of the migratory labour system,
23 per cent of the respondents considered there to be none.   Another
23 per cent considered the fact that the system provided jobs, income,
training, experience and insight into industrialised society for those
who would not otherwise have had the opportunity to be an advantage.
One fifth of the respondents considered the system provided, in a cen-
tralised and controlled way, a large stable flow of labour to areas
where there were labour shortages.   One tenth of the employers, but
no union respondents, considered it an advantage that the system con-
trolled the influx of squatters into urban areas and thus prevented
the development of slums, overcrowding, crime, market saturation and
unemployment.   One employer said simply: "It hides unemployment
behind the hills".   Another respondent stated that retrenchment,
hiring and firing were less traumatic "where a worker's family were
not involved", one saying: "labour can be used and returned".

Respondents saw the system as a provider of cheap and seasonal
labour, a system that allowed a man to keep a foot in the homelands
and provided the homelands with economic assistance.   They considered
it an advantage that it relieved the employer or the government of the
responsibility to provide the housing, schools, etc., that would nor-
mally be required by a worker and his family.   However, others men-
tioned this point as a disadvantage as it meant that the homeland was,
in fact, subsidising the employer or central government.

Overall it seems that both groups had a realistic view of the
system.   However, all groups had a great deal more difficulty in
giving the potential advantages of the system than they did its dis-
advantages.   This suggests either that the liberal view of the system
has always been the more correct of the three forms of analysis or that
the system has now outlived its major useful functions.   Further in-
dications of the extent of the overall opposition to the system came
from the replies to the question asking for suggestions to alleviate

its disadvantages since, as will be seen in the next section, by far
the majority of the suggestions received implied the termination of
the system itself.

8.2   Measures to Alleviate Hardships

It is very interesting to note that, in answer to a question
relating to the introduction of measures designed to alleviate the
hardships of the migrant labour system, 58 per cent of employers and
73 per cent of unions (88 per cent of black unions) gave answers that
implied the elimination of the system itself.   The details are con-
tained in Table 18.

Table 18   Suggestions for the Elimination of the Disadvantages
              of the Migrant Labour System

Measure Recommended	Percentage supporting measure[a]		
	Employers	Unions	Black Unions
Recommendations relating to increased urbani- sation			
Removal of influx control	8	25	38
Relaxation of influx con- trol	12	10	13
Removal subject to employ- ment	7	5	4
Removal subject to hou- sing	4	-	-
Provision of family hou- sing	27	33	33
Other suggestions			
Increased efforts to de- centralise industry	24	8	4
Other	27	35	37

Note: (a) Percentages sum to more than 100 per cent as some respon-
            dents offered more than one suggestion.

Amongst the respondents there were those who thought the process of urbanisation should be allowed to run its natural course, those who thought influx control should be completely scrapped, those who thought it should be relaxed to allow entry to anyone with a house, and those who thought entry should be limited to migrants with a job. Some 30 per cent saw the solution in the provision of family housing for all workers without saying whether it would be necessary to alter the influx control laws to achieve this. Such a change would clearly be necessary if families were to accompany workers and if the right to land ownership near the place of work was to be granted to all workers as requested by some respondents.

Next one quarter (24 per cent) of employers, but only 8 per cent of union respondents, saw the answer in decentralisation and in the provision of incentives which would discourage rural dwellers from migrating to urban areas. This, they stated, would require more investment in the homelands and more rural education and training, particularly in the field of agriculture. Elsewhere in the survey, the view was espressed that if mine workers, casuals, farm workers and domestics were brought within the orbit of industrial relations legislation, this, too, would decrease the rate of migration to towns. A significant proportion (29,3 per cent) of respondents suggested remedies which would simply make the system more palatable without necessarily undermining it - more frequent home visits, visits by the migrants' families to the workplace, subsidised and improved transport, improved accommodation and working conditions and more flexible contracts. However, if more flexible contracts were introduced and contracts could be for a longer or shorter period than at present, could be automatically renewed or could allow the the migrant to change employer if he so desired, this, too, would ultimately have the effect of undermining the system.

Those who looked at the problem purely from the urban dwellers' point of view felt the situation could be remedied by legislative measures to protect local labour. A totally depersonalised view was expressed by the respondent who said: "at the moment we seem to have to live with it - mechanisation to a larger degree (if possible) may help".

Finally, there were those who saw the migrant system purely as a
result of the political system and who, therefore, thought that
a solution could only be found in the field of politics.

The undoubted emphasis placed by respondents on the need for
measures to facilitate the urbanisation process amongst the Black
community is in line with a number of other studies undertaken on
the migrant labour system [1] and possibly more interestingly, is in
direct opposition to the present thrust of government policy which
is aimed at the generation of a more effective decentralisation
strategy which will form the keystone in the new regional develop-
ment strategy.

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(1)   See, for example, V. Møller and L. Schlemmer, The Situation of
      African Migrant Workers in Durban, Centre for Applied Social
      Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, 1977 and S. van der Berg,
      "Adjusting the Todaro Model to South Africa's Institutional Cir-
      cumstances: A Conceptual model of migration within the National
      States", Development Studies Southern Africa, 3(3), April 1981.

9. ATTITUDES TO BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT

The development of the South African economy has, until very recently, been achieved without the need for a great deal of Black upward occupational mobility. The increase in skills and the growing demand for more educated workers that accompanies economic growth, was met from the upgrading of the white work-force, increased immigration (white) and the more limited advancement of the Indian and Coloured work-forces. The present size of the modern economy and the relative proportions that the different races form of the total population are, however, now of such magnitude that this process is no longer feasible and any further increases in the demand for high level, skilled and semi-skilled workers, will have to be met largely from the Black work-force. Black advancement has, therefore, virtually become a prerequisite for continued growth in South Africa.

Upward occupational mobility translates into a need for additional training and, in its turn, most training has as a prerequisite a reasonable level of basic education. In view of recent estimates of the average levels of education of the Black work-force made by the Human Sciences Research Council, this could prove a serious barrier to Black advancement. Further, these estimates stated that in 1981 90 per cent of all the work-force with no education or primary education only were Black, and estimated that less than one per cent of the Black work-force of both sexes had had a full school education. [1]

Other factors apart from a lack of basic education, also limit Black job advancement. Factors often listed in this connection include race discrimination, a lack of adaption to the western culture on which the business evnironment is based and the migrant labour system - through

(1) J.A. Vermaak, J.J. Jacobs and S.S. Terblanche, The Demand for and supply of Manpower, Vol. I, Report MM. 70, The Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1971.

its impact on training and labour turnover rates. The survey tested a number of such factors, namely, basic education, job training, white-worker attitudes, the legal constraints on spatial mobility, a conflict with western attitudes to work, high labour turnover rates and a lack of organised labour movements. Respondents were asked to state, in respect of each factor, whether they thought that it was very important, important or unimportant, in inhibiting Black advancement. The results are given in Table 19.

Table 19   Attitudes to Factors Limiting Black Advancement

| Factor | Percentage of group considering factor | | | |
| | Very important | | Very important or important | |
	Employers	Unions	Employers	Unions
Basic educational level	84	83	99	88
Job training	64	78	96	90
White worker attitudes	52	45	89	80
Management attitudes	51	50	82	85
White union attitudes	39	53	77	70
Legal restrictions on geographical mobility	30	35	69	80
Conflict with western attitudes to work	30	33	81	58
High labour turnover	25	38	69	78
Absence of trade unions	4	50	49	73
N=100%	83	40	83	40

The results confirm the earlier view held by employers and
unions alike that the provision of basic education holds the key
to the solution of most problems in the employment field. The
table shows that 84 per cent of the respondents listed the factor
as 'very important' and 95 per cent as 'very important and important'.
On-the-job training was also seen as a crucial element in Black ad-
vancement. After education and training, the next most important fac-
tor listed was attitudes: 50 per cent of respondents listed both
white-worker attitudes and management attitudes as very important and
43 per cent white union attitudes. It is interesting to note that
three factors often listed in this regard, namely, restrictions on
geographical mobility, a conflict with western attitudes to work and
high labour turnover rates were not seen as being 'very important' by
more than two-thirds of the respondents.

In general, employers' and unions' attitudes towards the factors
listed were similar, the most notable exception being their views on
the relevance of union membership for Black advancement. Whereas only
4 per cent of employers rated the absence of unions as a very impor-
tant factor limiting Black advancement, 50 per cent of unions did. There
were also differences of opinion, although not so marked, with respect
to the importance of job training, white-worker and union attitudes and
high labour turnover rates.

The importance of both education and training as factors facilita-
ting Black advancement was underlined by the answers given to another
question in the survey which asked respondents whether they had experien-
ced problems in respect of the level of available skills, 45 per cent of
employers stated that they experienced severe problems in this area and
a further 46 per cent said that they had some problems. The importance
of skill and training was also emphasised in the answers given to a ques-
tion relating to the determinants of wage rates. When asked to select
the three most important factors influencing wage levels from productivity,
skill and training, occupation, experience, responsibility, service, scar-

city, location, race, sex and working conditions, 40 per cent of
the respondents ranked skill and training first and 71 per cent
ranked them in the first three.

10. LEGISLATION OTHER THAN INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION
AFFECTING LABOUR

In answer to the question: 'Which legislation, other than spe-
cifically industrial legislation, affects the position of labour in
South Africa?'[1] 39 per cent of respondents mentioned the Urban Areas
Act and 31 per cent the Group Areas Act. However, very few respon-
dents reported any problems in answer to the questions: 'Does the pre-
sent system of labour administration pose problems for your organisa-
tion in the following areas - labour recruitment, mobility, training,
productivity, stability and morale?'[2] or 'As regard the supply of
labour to your industry, could you indicate for each of the following
whether there are serious problems, problems, or no problems - quantity
of labour, labour bureaux, ability to relocate your labour force at
will and administrative requirements?'[3]

In view of the fact that the above two acts were cited in answer
to Question 32 and because 'lack of mobility', training, etc., were
cited earlier in the survey as causes of unemployment and as some of
the disadvantages of the migratory labour system, one must presume that,
as the respondents did not report serious problems to be experienced by
themselves in these areas, they are considered to operate chiefly to
the detriment of the unemployed, including those who would wish to be-
come self-employed. However, in accordance with answers given elsewhere
in the survey, 38 per cent of respondents recorded severe problems with
the 'level of skill' of the labour supply to their industry and 45 per
cent severe problems with the provision of accommodation for the labour
supply to their industry.[4]

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(1) Question 32, Appendix I.
(2) Question 30, Appendix I.
(3) Question 33, Appendix I.
(4) Question 33, Appendix I.

11. CONCLUSIONS

Apart from the specific findings of the study that have been discussed in the main body of the paper, there are three overall conclusions that can be drawn from the results of this survey. These are (i) there is a considerable degree of confusion between employers and unions in respect of the immediate direction that government labour policy is taking; (ii) there is a growing overlap between labour and political issues in South Africa; and (iii) there is a significant difference between the perceptions of employers and unions with respect to a number of key labour issues which, if maintained, could be the seedbed for future labour unrest. These conclusions are discussed separately in the following sections.

11.1 Apparent Lack of Clarity Concerning Government Policy

Considering the answers given to the questionnaire as a whole, it became evident that there was a significant lack of clarity on the part of the respondents with respect to government labour policy.

Respondents were concerned that although the government had been very active in the sphere of industrial relations recently, appointing two important and wide-ranging commissions and subsequently implementing some of their proposals, there was a lack of clarity about the government's policy. Respondents were uncertain as to the extent of acceptance by the government of the recommendations of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions. They were not clear as to the grounds for the introduction of certain recommendations and not others. Some respondents simply requested that the recommendations of the commissions be implemented but there were those who felt the situation was still so confused as to merit the appointment of yet another commission. One respondent stated that he had the feeling that the policy was being developed 'brick by brick and that no one had any clear idea of what the final building might look like'.

11.2 The Growing Overlap between Labour and Political Issues

Not only were the respondents concerned about the lack of cla-
rity but also that labour policy was being developed in a vacuum
and bore no relation to developments in other spheres. This, they
felt, would ultimately undermine any good there might be in current
labour policy innovations. One commented: "the whole system has
not been sufficiently thought through. Have the implications of ope-
ning the gates to Black labour (as opposed to Blacks in general) been
full considered?"

The increased recognition of the labour rights of Blacks in the
absence of a corresponding recognition of social and political rights
was considered to have had a particularly strong effect on the recent
developments in the Black union movement which in turn have affected
the Industrial Council system, but the proliferation of unions outside
of the Industrial Council system was seen to be undermining it. Res-
pondents pointed out that the racial history of trade unionism in South
Africa and the denial of the rights of association to Blacks until re-
cently, had led to the current proliferation of unions. Not only were
Blacks forming exclusively Black unions, but there were splits in the
Black union movement itself. In the face of the non-recognition of
Black social and political rights, it was considered inevitable that
Black unions would become involved in socio-economic matters outside
of the sphere of labour and employment issues, causing the creation of
unions representing a political rather than an industrial standpoint.
Both employers and unions expressed themselves clearly in favour of in-
dustrially based unions (74 per cent), but the recent proliferation of
unions on racial and political grounds means few unions can truly claim
to represent the majority of workers in a particular industry. Again,
both unions and employers expressed more support for the South African
Industrial Council system than for any other industrial relations sys-
tem (28,5 per cent) and yet if this proliferation of unions outside of
the Industrial Councils continues, that system can no longer be effec-

tive. Respondents were also unsure as to where the works committees
and liaison committees fitted into the system and felt this aspect
needed clarification.

Although concerned that labour policy was being developed in a
vacuum without reference to social or political issues, respondents
showed themselves desirous of removing labour matters from the politi-
cal arena. They wanted all labour matters viewed solely as 'labour
matters'; they wanted all labour administration to be brought under
the Department of Manpower Utilisation and not confused with politics
as a result of being administered by the Department of Cooperation and
Development and its agents. Even the registration of trade unions had
become a political rather than a labour matter as a result of the in-
troduction of criteria for registration which went beyond pure 'labour
matters'. They pointed out that systems such as the migrant labour sys-
tem were not developed on economic grounds but on political grounds,
and that it was, therefore, impossible to treat the matter solely as a
labour issue. Even the most recent legislation (and proposed legisla-
tion) governing labour mobility was seen to be based on political rather
than economic thinking and respondents saw it increasing the differen-
ces between urban and rural Blacks, e.g., levels of unemployment, stan-
dards of living, degrees of mobility, which might be to the short term
advantage of urban dwellers but would eventually be to everyone's disad-
vantage.

11.3 Need for Better Communication between Employers and Unions

Apart from determining attitudes to various labour issues, the sur-
vey gives valuable information as to where employer and union attitudes
coincide and where they differ. There was little or no significant dif-
ference between employer and union attitudes in many sections of the sur-
vey, particularly where questions were of a theoretical as opposed to an
immediately relevant nature. Employers today clearly accept the right
of workers to associate and to bargain collectively. However, a diffe-
rence of opinion between employers and unions did emerge when it came to

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assessing the power of the unions and the measure of support they
enjoyed. When asked to rate certain factors in order of importance
in determining job acceptability to employees, the employers rated
'collective bargaining rights' fourth, whereas the unions rated them
a close second. Again, when asked to assess certain factors as im-
pediments to Black advancement at the workplace, only 4 per cent of
employers rated the 'absence of labour organisation' as a very im-
portant impediment whereas 50 per cent of the unions did. However,
employers indicated belief in the importance of collective bargaining
with 51 per cent of them stating that the "ideal industrial relations
system should be based upon the acknowledgement of the difference be-
tween workers and management in interests which must be resolved by
collective bargaining rather than on the assumption of common interests
between workers and management, differences being caused by a breakdown
in communications?"[1]

Today, although most employers find it impossible to deny the
right to associate and to bargain collectively and probably are genuinly
in favour of its recognition, their thinking has not progressed sufficiently
in practice to take this recognition into account in their everyday acti-
vity. That employers do consider collective bargaining to be of some
value was indicated by the fact that whereas 83 per cent of them believed
codes of employment practice to be relevant and necessary in an industry
where trade unions for all workers were not organised and recognised,
only 63 per cent considered them necessary where trade unions for all wor-
kers were organised and recognised. The trade unions response showed a
similar drop in percentage. There was also a difference in perception
relating to the effectiveness of the Codes of Employment Practice. In
general employers believed them to be more effective than did the unions.

Both unions and employers thought that ideally unions should be in-
dustry based. However, a difference in viewpoints emerged from the de-
gree of support given by the unions to general workers unions as compared
to that given by employers.

(1) Question 13, Appendix I.

When asked to comment on the statement: "Trade union and employers' organisation activity should not be restricted to labour and employment issues, there being a need for them to become involved in socio-political activity", almost three-quarters of employers stated that they disagreed, whereas the unions agreed in respect of trade unions but not of employers.

There were also differences of opinion regarding the social responsibility of the employers, the unions and the State itself. When they were questioned about the provision of particular amenities such as industrial and industrial relations training, medical aid and pensions, employers tended to place a low degree of responsibility on the State which would be consistent with their belief in the free enterprise system and their desire to allow the system to operate with the bare minimum of government interference. In some cases it also indicated an acceptance by employers that, although greater State involvement might be desirable, as there was no sign that the State intended undertaking the responsibility, the employers perforce had to accept it themselves. The trade unions, on the other hand, when questioned about the provision of particular amenities, tended to place most responsibility upon the State. However, in view of their attitude that trade unions should become involved in socio-political activity, it was surprising that they placed so little responsibility on the employee or trade unions. Indeed, in every case the employer placed more responsibility on the employee than did the employee's own representatives.

The answers to the question concerning the recognition of various labour rights produced a remarkable unanimity of views between employers and unions. Only once were they seriously divided in opinion. A mere 28 per cent of union respondents considered that the right to lock out labour should be recognised whereas 51 per cent of employers were in favour of its recognition. With respect to the corresponding right to 'withhold labour by way of strikes' the difference in the percentage acceptance was not significant with employers at 67,2 per cent and the

unions at 70 per cent.

Another divergence in viewpoint emerged in answer to the question:
"Should peaceful picketing of employers' premises be allowed?" Here 80
per cent of employers answered 'no' and 63 per cent of unions 'yes'.
Other answers indicated a difference of attitude rather than opposing
views. When asked whether higher wages would increase the level of un-
employment, although both answered 'no', the unions' attitude was con-
siderably more emphatic than that of the employers. Similarly, when
asked what the legitimate constraints on employers increasing wages
were; only 18 per cent of the unions considered productivity, profita-
bility or the ability to pay a legitimate constraint whereas 40 per
cent of employers did.

When it came to giving the three most important measures that might
reduce the level of unemployment, there was complete agreement between
unions and employers as to the chief measures suggested - education,
economic growth, the removal of all forms of discrimination and restric-
tions on mobility and the encouragement of the substitution of labour
for capital. Thereafter the unions and employers parted company, the
employers suggesting decentralisation, population control measures and
the removal of restrictions on and encouragement of black and small busi-
ness. There was little support for any of these measures among unions.

Decentralisation was raised by employers again as a means of remo-
ving the disadvantages of the migratory labour system, but here again
the unions did not attach much importance to it.

Interesting differences also emerged in the assessment of the impor-
tance of particular non-wage benefits accruing to workers and in that
of the factors determining job acceptability. These differences could
well be crucially important since they reflect attitudes to the conditions
present in the workplace itself and consequently could form the basis of
future labour unrest.

Probably the most important single difference in attitudes
that the survey revealed related to the collective bargaining pro-
cess itself and to the role played by the union movement. Since
these are both basic to the development of a healthy labour re-
lations system, differences in attitude in this area are particu-
larly ominous.

Finally, differences of perception of the magnitude revealed
by the survey can only be the result of a lack of communication be-
tween employers and the growing union movement. Since successful
labour relations are built upon an understanding and appreciation
of other group's viewpoint, it is important that both unions and em-
ployers make every effort to bridge this communication gap as rapidly
as possible.

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SURVEY OF ATTITUDES TO LABOUR RELATIONS AND LABOU MOBILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Please return your completed questionnaire to Professor Jill Nattrass
at the above address BEFORE 30TH APRIL 1981.

Are you   (1)   an employer or employers' organisation   ☐

                 (2)   an employees' organisation?   ☐

Is your industry covered by

                 (1)   Industrial Council Agreements   ☐

                 (2)   Wage Board Determinations?   ☐

What is the size of your labour force/membership?

0 - 100	100 - 500	500 - 2000	Over 2000

1. Do you consider that the following labour rights

    a.   are fully recognised in South Africa;

    b.   should be legally recognised in South Africa;

    c.   should be extended to all racial groups?

                                                            YES   NO

(i)   The right to work, i.e. the freedom to work   a. ☐ ☐
         and sell one's labour to the best advantage b. ☐ ☐
                                             c. ☐ ☐

(ii)   The freedom to associate and organise, i.e. a. ☐ ☐
         to form trade unions   b. ☐ ☐
                                           c. ☐ ☐

(iii)   The freedom to join (or not to join) the   a. ☐ ☐
         trade union of your choice (i.e. should   b. ☐ ☐
         closed shops be prohibited)   c. ☐ ☐

(iv)   The freedom to bargain collectively   a. ☐ ☐
                                            b. ☐ ☐
                                           c. ☐ ☐

(v)   The freedom to withhold labour by way of   a. ☐ ☐
         strikes   b. ☐ ☐
                                             c. ☐ ☐

(vi)   The freedom to lock out labour   a. ☐ ☐
                                            b. ☐ ☐
                                         c. ☐ ☐

(vii)   The right to be protected against victimi- a. ☐ ☐
         sation, unsafe working conditions and   b. ☐ ☐
         unfair labour practices   c. ☐ ☐

(viii) The right to be trained and developed   a. ☐ ☐
         for a specific job.   b. ☐ ☐
                                           c. ☐ ☐

Yes No

2. Are there any major aspects of the Shops and Offices ☐ ☐
    Act, the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act
    and the Mines and Works Act regulating conditions at
    the work place which you consider unsatisfactory?

    If yes, please specify.

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

Yes No

3. Should the present system of training skilled craft ☐ ☐
    workers through the apprenticeship system be retained
    as it is?

    If no, should

    a. the educational standards for entrance: be raised   ☐

                                            or lowered   ☐

    b. the length of apprenticeship: be lengthened   ☐

                                          or shortened   ☐

                                                        Yes No
    c. artisan status be achieved solely by trade testing ☐ ☐
        and not alternatively by the effluxion of time?

                                                        Yes No
    d. there be sub-grades and intermediate trade testing ☐ ☐
        within the existing apprenticeship system (i.e. a
        modular system)?

4. Should the costs of training workers be defrayed by:

                        a. Grant and Levy System   ☐
                        b. State Subsidy   ☐
                        c. Tax Concession   ☐
                        d. The employer   ☐
                        e. The employee   ☐
                        f. Other?   ☐

5. Do you believe that higher wages would increase the level of unemployment?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If so, how?

....

....

....

....

6. What are the legitimate constraints on employers' increasing wage levels for

(a) Whites ....

....

(b) Coloureds ....

....

(c) Indians ....

....

(d) Blacks?......................................

....

7. Give, in your opinion, the three most important measures that might reduce the level of unemployment

....

....

....

....

8. Which three of the following factors are first, second and third most important in determining wage rates?

Skill (training and ability)	Location
Skill scarcity	Output per worker
Occupation	Sex
Experience	Race
Responsibility	Working conditions
Length of Service	

First ....

Second ....

Third ....

9. Which three of the following benefits do you see as the first, second and third most important to employees?

Leave
Leave Pay
Pensions
Transferable pensions
Medical Aid
Educational assistance for the employee
Educational assistance for the employee's children
Funeral benefits

First ....

Second ....

Third ....

10. Should the responsibility for the provision of
(a) Pensions, and
(b) Medical Aid

fall upon

	Pension	Medical Aid
(1) The State		
(2) The employer		
(3) The employee		
(4) Trade Unions?		

11. Rate the following factors in order of importance in determining job acceptability

Collective bargaining rights	....
Participation in management	....
In-Service Training	....
Wage Rates	....
Protection against arbitrary dismissal	....

12. What Industrial Relations System is most appropriate to conditions in South Africa?

....

....

....

13. Should the ideal Industrial Relations System

(a) be based upon the acknowledgment of the difference
in interests between workers and management which
must be resolved by collective bargaining

or

(b) be based on the assumption of common interests
between workers and management - differences
being caused by a breakdown in communications?

14. Should peaceful picketing of employers' premises be
allowed?

Yes   No

15. Please read and then state whether you agree or disagree
with the following statement:

Trade Union and employers' organisation activity should
not be restricted to labour and employment issues,
there being a need for them to become involved in socio-
political activity

(i) Trade Unions   Agree

Disagree

(ii) Employers'   Agree
     Organisation
                        Disagree

16. Do you consider

a. there is a need for an Industrial Court, or

b. that the parties to a dispute would be adequately
protected through the enforcement of the law by

(i) the regular court system

(ii) a special Industrial Division of the
Supreme Court?

17. Should Trade Unions be:

a. craft based

b. industry based

c. plant based

d. racially exclusive

e. general workers' unions?

Yes   No

18. Is Industrial Relations training necessary?   ☐ ☐

If yes,

(a) who should provide the training?

                           State   ☐

                           Employer   ☐

                           Employee Organi-
                           sations   ☐

                                              Yes   No

(b) Should there be any control over such training?   ☐ ☐

If so, why?

....

....

....

....

19. If registration of Trade Unions was compulsory, on what grounds might registration be refused?

....

....

....

....

20. On what legitimate grounds might an employer refuse to recognise a Trade Union?

....

....

....

....

Yes   No

21. Accepting the organisational difficulties involved, should workers* currently excluded from industrial relations legislation be brought within its ambit?   ☐ ☐

   * domestic, farm, casual and mine worker

22. Do you consider that the Wage Board gives adequate protection to workers in unorganised industries?

Yes ☐ No ☐

23. Would the introduction of the following result in the improvement of worker/management relations and productivity?

   a. worker representation on boards   ☐ ☐

   b. profit sharing   ☐ ☐

   c. worker shareholding   ☐ ☐

24. Do you consider that the SACCOLA, Sullivan and EEC Codes are achieving their intended purpose?   ☐ ☐

   Please motivate your answer.

   ....

   ....

   ....

   ....

25. Do you consider Codes of Employment Practice to be relevant and necessary in an industry

   (i) where Trade Unions for all workers are organised and recognised   ☐ ☐

   (ii) where Trade Unions for all workers are not organised and recognised?   ☐ ☐

26. What would you identify as the main advantages/disadvantages of the migratory labour system?

   Advantages ....

   ....

   ....

   ....

   Disadvantages ....

   ....

   ....

   ....

27. What steps would you recommend to remove the disadvan-
tages of the migratory labour system?

....

....

....

....

28. Bearing in mind that the vast majority of Black workers
in Natal work in an area subject to one public authority
and yet reside in an area subject to another public autho-
rity, on whom do you consider, does the responsibility for
the provision of such services as housing, education,
training and transport fall?

Central Government ☐

Homeland Government ☐

Employers ☐

Employees ☐

Please motivate your answer:

....

....

....

....

29. Do you consider that the Black workforce of industry in
general experiences problems in the following areas:

	Serious Problems	Problems	No Problems
Housing			
Transport			
Social amenities			
Family Relationships			
Family Income Levels			

Comment: ....

....

30. Does the present system of labour administration pose problems for your organisation in the following areas?

	Serious Problems	Problems	No Problems
Labour recruitment			
Mobility			
Training			
Productivity			
Stability			
Morale			

31. How would you assess the following factors as impediments to Black advancement in the work place?

	Very Important	Important	Un-important
Basic Education			
Absence of Labour Organisation			
Job Training			
White Worker attitudes			
Management attitudes			
White Union attitudes			
High Job turnover			
Restrictions on geographical movement			
Conflicts between Western/traditional work attitudes			

32. Which legislation, other than specifically industrial legis-
lation affects the position of labour in South Africa?
Apart from naming the relevant Acts, please briefly state
the effects of the Act cited.

....

....

....

....

33. As regards the supply of labour to your industry could you
indicate for each of the following whether there are severe
problems, problems or no problems?

	Severe Problems	Problems	No Problems
Quantity of labour			
Level of skill			
Labour Bureaux			
Ability to relocate your labour force at will			
Administrative requirements i.e. red tape.			
Workers' accommodation			

34. What features of the present Industrial Relations System do
you consider undesirable?

....

....

....

35. How would you like to see the system improved?

....

....

....

APPENDIX II The Advantages and Disadvantages of the

Migrant Labour System

(i) The Advantages of the System

Details	Percentage listing advantages		
	Employers	Unions	Black unions
1. No advantages whatsoever	21	28	38
2. Social advantages			
(a) Controls influx, limits squatting, prevents slums, urban overcrowding, crime and unemployment	10	–	–
(b) Enables those who wish to, to keep a foothold in the rural areas	2	–	–
3. Economic advantages			
(a) Provides jobs, income, training, skills, experience and an insight into an industrial society for those who would not otherwise have the opportunity	25	18	17
(b) Provides a large stable flow of labour to areas where needed in a centralised and controller manner	19	20	13
(c) Provides source of cheap labour	5	10	8
(d) Provides seasonal labour	6	3	–
(e) Relieves employer (or central government) of responsibility for provision of housing, schooling, etc.	7	3	–
(f) Retrenchment is less traumatic where families are not involved	1	8	–
(g) Migrant labour tends to be more committed	2	3	4
(h) Unemployment is hidden in rural areas	1	–	–
4. Political advantages			
(a) Provides economic assistance to homelands	7	5	4

(ii) The Disadvantages of the System

D e t a i l s	Percentage listing disadvantages		
	Employers	Unions	Black Unions
1. Social disadvantages			
(a) Disruption of family, cultural & community life with resultant social dislocation in urban and rural areas	58	43	42
(b) Compound housing is inhumane & leads to social & political unrest; migrants live in urban slum areas	8	8	8
2. Economic disadvantages			
(a) Causes instability in labour force with serious results for productivity levels, training commitment & advancement	30	23	25
(b) Non-recognition of 'right to work' which hinders spatial & occupational mobility	11	5	8
(c) Hinders acquisition of skills which in turn generates rural unemployment	4	5	4
(d) Migrants are in weak bargaining position & liable to exploitation	4	18	21
(e) Leads to wage undercutting & increasing urban unemployment	7	23	16
(f) Causes leakage of expenditure from areas employing the migrant	1	5	-
(g) Causes outflow of ablebodied men from rural areas and a corresponding decline in rural productivity & an increased reliance on wage labour.	5	-	-
(h) Labour in urban areas is subsidised by homelands	3	-	1
(i) Other	7	8	8
3. Political disadvantages			
(a) Prevents creation of stable Black middle-class with pride in position & emergence of reciprocal feelings of loyalty between labour & management & instead cultivates resentment & negative attitude particularly with respect to management	10	3	4
(b) Leads to unending beaurocracy and red tape	4	3	4