

CONTRACT WORKERS AND JOB SATISFACTION

**A STUDY OF JOB ASPIRATIONS, MOTIVATIONS
AND PREFERENCES AMONG MIGRANTS IN DURBAN**

**Valerie Møller
Lawrence Schlemmer**

**Centre for Applied Social Sciences
University of Natal
Durban**

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In South Africa, contract workers who work in town and periodically return to their homes in the rural areas make up a substantial proportion of the industrial work force. Estimates vary but the proportions of black employees who are migrant contract workers could be as high as 40 percent. It is therefore remarkable that this significant category of workers has seldom managed to capture the limelight on the stage of industrial relations. Despite their large numbers, migrant workers have remained anonymous: they have performed their work in town and upon reaching an ill-defined retirement age have quietly slipped away to where they came from originally. No one has bothered to observe their progress, to inquire how they felt about their work, or if they had succeeded in accomplishing what they had set out to achieve in the first place.

The study presented here is an attempt to redress this oversight. The authors have asked themselves why this significant group of workers have infrequently made themselves heard, except in times of labour crisis, and have seldom been called upon to speak for themselves. The empirical data on which the investigation is based was gathered in the course of a more comprehensive in-depth survey of male migrant workers living in Durban - dominantly without their families. In this study, the men interviewed were invited to speak for themselves concerning a wide range of topics. Inquiries were made into their life goals, their job aspirations, their satisfactions and grievances in the world of work, and the problems they had encountered when living without their families in town.

Perhaps one of the most important findings emerging from this study was that the surveyed men held very strong views on the utility of industrial work for achieving their more general aims in life. It was also observed that their attitudes toward work and their job aspirations did not always conform to popular notions and preconceived ideas about how migrant workers should think about working life. In fact, it was felt that these deviations from the type of opinions and attitudes one would expect to encounter among migrant labourers made it worthwhile to engage in a special study of this, the less permanent sector of the work force.

At the same time, the implications of this type of finding for policy matters cannot be ignored. Given the unconventional views of the workers participating in this survey, it is small wonder that policy makers and management in the field of industrial relations have frequently misinterpreted the needs of contract workers in the past. It is also self-evident that grave misunderstandings between management and workers are likely to arise from situations in which little effort is expended to consider the aspirations and problems of the less permanent members of the labour force. It is also to be anticipated that such misunderstandings will have graver consequences than in the past. Labour disputes may not be resolved as readily as hitherto when migrant workers have tended to resign themselves to the marginality and powerlessness implied by their impermanent status. In more recent times, migrant workers - akin to their brethren in the more permanent ranks of the labour force - have just begun to demonstrate their determination to make their grievances known. They have shown that they will resort to strike action if necessary to achieve their aims. The industrial unrest of 1973, and more recently, the disputes over the introduction of a bill on pensions for black workers might be cited as examples of the greater awareness which has developed among all categories of workers. All this makes it abundantly clear that we cannot afford to exclude any group of the labour force, not even the most humble group of contract workers, when conducting surveys in the field of industrial relations.

Obviously, studies such as the one conducted by this Centre and reported on here represent only preliminary investigations in this field of inquiry. They serve merely to illustrate how important it will be to canvas opinions on a more regular basis on topics such as worker aspirations, job satisfactions, and perceptions of progress in work among rank-and-file workers if we wish to tune into the mood of the working population. We are firmly convinced here that only if worker opinions are monitored at regular intervals will industrial leaders be in a position to formulate sound labour policies which will contribute toward creating a stable and contented work force, which in turn may provide a firm basis for promoting black advancement in other spheres of life.

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Valerie Møller
Research Fellow

Lawrence Schlemmer
Director

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
University of Natal
Durban

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CHAPTER 1.INTRODUCTION.

The issues raised by the system of labour migrancy in South Africa are certainly of grave concern to all persons considering the welfare of this country and its people. Over the years a wide range of people have felt themselves qualified to speak on the costs and benefits of the migrant labour system for all parties concerned. Opinions are clearly divided with regard to the net benefits which can be derived from the system and to date few workable solutions to the problems created by labour migrancy have been proposed by the participants in the debate. Critics of South Africa's labour policies have identified the migrant labour system as a typical example of the social injustice which exists in this country and have urged its abolishment. The more moderate opinion leaders, on the other hand, have referred to the complex interplay of social and economic factors which might be disturbed by such a radical solution and have called for less drastic reform measures. Surprisingly, the people most intimately involved in the system of labour migrancy, the contract workers themselves, have seldom been drawn into the discussion. Relatively few systematic inquiries into the attitudes and opinions of contract workers with respect to their participation in the South African migrant labour system have been made.¹⁾ This, despite the fact that this institution has an impact on virtually all aspects of their lives.

As a consequence of contract workers not having been consulted in the debate concerning labour migrancy, the revisions to the migrant labour system which have been undertaken from time to time have tended to make the system work more efficiently, but may not have succeeded in adapting the system to meet all the more important changing needs and expectations of the people employed in its service.

1) Some notable exceptions include the work of Professors Philip Mayer, Jill Natrass and Francis Wilson; of Gerald Sack; of The Agency for Industrial Mission; and the research programme conducted and sponsored by the Chamber of Mines.

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In the late seventies the Centre for Applied Social Sciences was involved in an effort to rectify this error of omission by conducting a survey of the opinions of over 600 male contract workers in Durban concerning their work circumstances. An in-depth inquiry was made into the perceptions of progress in work which the respondents in the survey had experienced, their job aspirations, and the satisfactions they derived from their employment situations.

Before turning to the discussion of the findings emerging from this study, it may be necessary to first look into the reasons for policy makers failing to consult with contract workers when debating the migrant labour issue and also to attempt to assess some of the consequences of this oversight.

1. The omission under discussion may stem in part from the fact that it is extremely easy to view migrancy as an abstract concept which need only be evaluated at a single level of analysis. For example, if the migrant labour system is observed only at the societal level (the need, say, for certain territories to export labour because of internal shortages of gainful employment), it may be regarded as a social institution which is far removed from the people who actively participate in the system. When this approach to the assessment of the migrant labour system is adopted, it is highly unlikely that policy makers will consider it necessary to monitor the mood of the members of the system, nor will decision makers be receptive to the idea that the rank and file members of an institution may be effective in maintaining its functions or causing its collapse.

2. The exclusion of the migrant workers from the debate concerning migrant labour issues may also stem from an attitude of complacency on the part of policy makers with regard to the hardships created by the migrant labour system for the workers involved. In this connection it must be remembered that the South African economy developed around the migrant labour system and the system still forms an integral part of this country's social and economic structure. It is therefore small wonder that some policy makers will be inclined to assume that African workers have become accustomed to migrancy over several generations, that workers have adjusted their way of life to meet the requirements of the migrant labour system, and that it is unnecessary and indeed amoral to

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implement changes which will destroy an established lifestyle in a large sector of the country's population. Claims are often made that migrant workers themselves accept the system willingly. According to this view the problems associated with the migrant labour system have been overcome and there is little need to introduce major changes to it or to consult with migrant workers to this effect.

3. Arguing along similar lines, policy makers may also reason that contract workers - owing to their personal involvement in the migrant labour system - would not be capable of appreciating the implications of their participation in the complex machinery of the South African economy and consultation with migrant workers would not produce constructive results. This type of attitude is possibly based on the assumption that workers performing menial jobs will be less prone to perceive their underprivileged position in the economy and are therefore less likely to experience discontent and under-achievement and are less capable of expressing their views of the work situation than others. Fortunately, social scientists have been able to demonstrate that this type of view is a misapprehension of the facts. The fact that migrant workers have seldom expressed their grievances openly, does not necessarily indicate that the average worker is without opinions and convictions. It may simply mean that the rank and file worker lacks the means or confidence for adequately expressing his views. If the appropriate methods are developed which allow policy makers to probe attitudes and reactions to life circumstances among blue collar workers who have received little formal education, they will find that relatively unsophisticated workers hold opinions which are far more insightful and discerning than hitherto recognised.

4. Contract workers may have been excluded from participation in the migrant labour debate because they are relatively inconspicuous. To date migrant workers have been overshadowed by the more visible and better organised groups of workers who have tended to dominate the scene of labour relations. As a consequence the grievances of the blacks residing permanently in the urban areas have been given more attention in political circles than those of migrant workers, and economic reforms have frequently resulted in the reduction of privileges for contract

workers in comparison to their urban-based counterparts in the workforce. It is the authors' contention that dismissing the grievances of less conspicuous groups as negligible may have serious consequences in the long run.¹⁾ The fact that some groups voice their discontent loudly does not necessarily mean that they feel deprivation more intensely than other groups; it may merely indicate that their discontent has been politicised. On the other hand, accumulated experiences of relative deprivation which have not been expressed openly, may lead to expressions of protest which may erupt quite unexpectedly and once unleashed may prove to be more unpredictable than more structured manifestations of discontent. The outbreak of the Durban labour unrest of 1973 in which migrant workers participated actively might be cited as a case in point.

5. One might also point out that until recently, an inquiry into the satisfactions which migrants achieved in their jobs and their perceptions of progress might have been considered an academic question. Policy makers might have assumed that because migrants were preoccupied with meeting their immediate material needs, they would show little interest in the concept of job advancement and intrinsic work satisfaction. In other words, policy makers might by implication consider migrant workers to be arrogant, if they were seen to expect full satisfaction in their jobs. Obviously, decision makers holding this view of worker expectations are very likely to summarily dismiss the need for an inquiry into job aspirations among migrants. To this purpose they might refer to the expertise of scholars working in the field of job motivation. Some authorities on job satisfaction among workers have intimated that task variation rather than opportunities for performing interesting and rewarding work may have to suffice in the case of general workers. Arguing along these lines, one might maintain that job turnover among contract workers is sufficiently high to create enough opportunities for task variation, and because the opportunities for achieving some form of job satisfaction in terms of variation in work are built into the migrant labour system, an inquiry into job satisfaction would be rendered superfluous.

1) cf. Schlemmer et al. 1980

This type of argument is not justified in that it overlooks some very basic trends toward stabilisation of the South African migrant labour force. In this and other studies undertaken by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, the survey data indicated that the migrant labour force is fast becoming a permanent workforce in all but name and that job stability among migrants is increasing.¹⁾ Given the increasing industrial commitment which typically accompanies higher job stability, there is every reason to expect that the job aspirations and work expectations of contract workers will soon become very similar to those of their counterparts residing permanently in South Africa's urban centres. In which case, ignoring expectations for progress in work may lead to discontent and unhappiness among migrant workers in the long run. If migrant workers - of their own choice or by the force of circumstances - are becoming more committed to industrial work, one can foresee that opportunities for job advancement will have to be offered to members of the *contract* as well as to members of the permanent workforce. Similarly, it must be anticipated that the question of self-fulfilment in work will increasingly become a critical issue in the migrant labour debate in future.

6) Finally, and perhaps more importantly, we must consider that migrants are forced by statutory restrictions on their urban residential circumstances to assign to their work roles a greater importance than would be the case with settled urban employees. Migrants are to a significant extent deprived of the day to day rewards of a status position in a community and of participation in domestic life. Proof of their awareness of this deprivation may lie in the fact that so many migrants in Durban have chosen to leave their hostels and set up homes with work mates and/or surrogate wives in peri-urban "squatter" areas.²⁾ This option is available only to relatively few, however, and the majority have to concentrate their active concerns on workplace and hostel for many

1) It is important to remember that the call-in card procedure which has been introduced into the migrant labour system to facilitate job continuity for migrants is a tacit acknowledgement of the trend towards job stability in the migrant workforce. The recent evidence of dramatically increased rates of return of migrants to the same job on the mines is noteworthy in this connection.

2) Møller and Stopforth 1980.

months at a time. In a sense they become one-dimensional men, responding with apathy to anything other than work and remuneration.¹⁾ In this setting job aspirations and work satisfaction assume a cardinal importance. It may very well be that in considering the issue of job satisfaction among black employees, the migrants should be the first group to become concerned about.

To conclude this discussion on the need for drawing migrants into the debate on labour policies in South Africa, no sound reasons or justifications for not consulting with contract workers could be cited. On the contrary, it became abundantly clear that every effort should be made to learn from the first hand experience which workers have gained from active participation in the migrant labour system. It was concluded that it was time to explore the reactions of contract workers to their work opportunities. The results of this type of survey might make meaningful contributions to defining the role which migrant labourers should play in the South African economy in future.

The study of job satisfaction and job aspirations among Durban contract workers proves that it is technically feasible to conduct opinion surveys among the rank and file workers. The reporting on the findings emerging from this study is structured as follows:

- The theoretical framework employed in the study of job satisfaction is briefly outlined in Chapter 2: this discussion is mainly of academic interest.
- Chapter 3 is devoted to the discussion of the more practical implications of the migrant labour system for worker satisfaction.
- In Chapters 4 and 5 the methodology of the investigation is recorded and the sample is introduced.
- In Chapters 6 through 13 the substantive survey findings are

1) Gerald Sack witnessed this type of reaction among the migrant workers he studied in a Durban compound in the early 1970s (personal communication).

presented under the appropriate headings including the rubrics: job aspirations, job preferences, job motivations, shifting attitudes toward work, and job satisfactions. Survey statistics have been supplied throughout this section of the report for those readers who wish to have access to the data on which the arguments presented in the report are based. Selected quotations from the interviews are included for those readers who feel that they will gain additional insight into workers' opinions by listening to the respondents' own views. The translations from the vernacular into English will of course not always be able to do justice to nuances in expression. Nevertheless, the authors of the report feel that in some instances the excerpts from the interviews may argue a point more convincingly than figures.

- The main conclusions drawn from the study of job satisfaction among migrants are summarised in Chapter 14.

CHAPTER 2.THEORETICAL ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF JOB SATISFACTION.

2.1 Background to the study of job satisfaction: Inquiries into job satisfaction have traditionally been conducted as part of an ongoing effort to maintain the high standards of work efficiency essential to industrial enterprise and have been based on the implicit assumption that satisfied workers will usually be motivated to maintain high levels of productivity. In more recent times, studies of job satisfaction have been incorporated into a rapidly expanding field of inquiry commonly known as 'quality of life' research. The interest in this field of inquiry has arisen chiefly from the insight that qualitative as well as quantitative aspects of work must be given due consideration when attempting to relate work factors to worker satisfaction and productivity. Traditionally, job satisfaction was reviewed chiefly in terms of the 'quantitative' aspects of work. Of focal concern were those factors in the employment package which could be conveniently described and measured in terms of hours of work, physical working conditions, duration of contract, rates of pay, pay cycle, types and extent of fringe benefits and so forth. Whilst such 'quantitative' aspects of jobs provided useful indicators of working conditions, it was thought that sole reliance on this type of observation yielded only a limited view of the actual work circumstances. It was thought essential that the 'qualitative' aspects of work which included less obvious but nevertheless important dimensions of jobs should also be taken into consideration. It was pointed out that whilst 'quantitative' aspects of jobs referred mainly to the instrumental aspects of work life, to the means of acquiring goods, the 'qualitative' aspects of jobs related more closely to the means of self-fulfilment in the sphere of work. Thus, the approach to job satisfaction adopted by 'quality of life' research posited a more comprehensive set of 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' factors which were influential in the work situation. Worker efficiency and productivity were not necessarily focal concerns in themselves, but were incidentally of interest as correlates of job satisfaction.

2.2 The use of subjective indicators: At the same time, the 'quality of life' approach to studying work life called for a more subtle means of measuring work factors. Typically the 'quality of work life' approach chose to depend on 'subjective' evaluations of the work situation supplied

by the workers themselves, including workers' expectations, perceptions, satisfactions and motivations - rather than relying on 'objective' assessments of work situations and job opportunities found mainly in the types of work statistics kept in employment records. Indeed, the distinction between 'subjective' and 'objective' measures of life quality was in some cases thought to be fictitious, for 'objective' measures might be based on value judgements in the final instance. On the other hand, 'subjective' assessments were certainly 'objective' from the viewpoint of the worker cum observer. Possibly the worker was the only person in a position to give an accurate account of the work situation in which he or she was intimately involved. From this point of view, it could be argued that these subjective evaluations were certainly more real and meaningful to the worker than those of an impartial observer, and if only for this reason, subjective evaluations constituted a valid measurement of the work situation. As such, subjective evaluations might also prove to be more powerful in explaining worker reactions to their work circumstances than other work statistics.

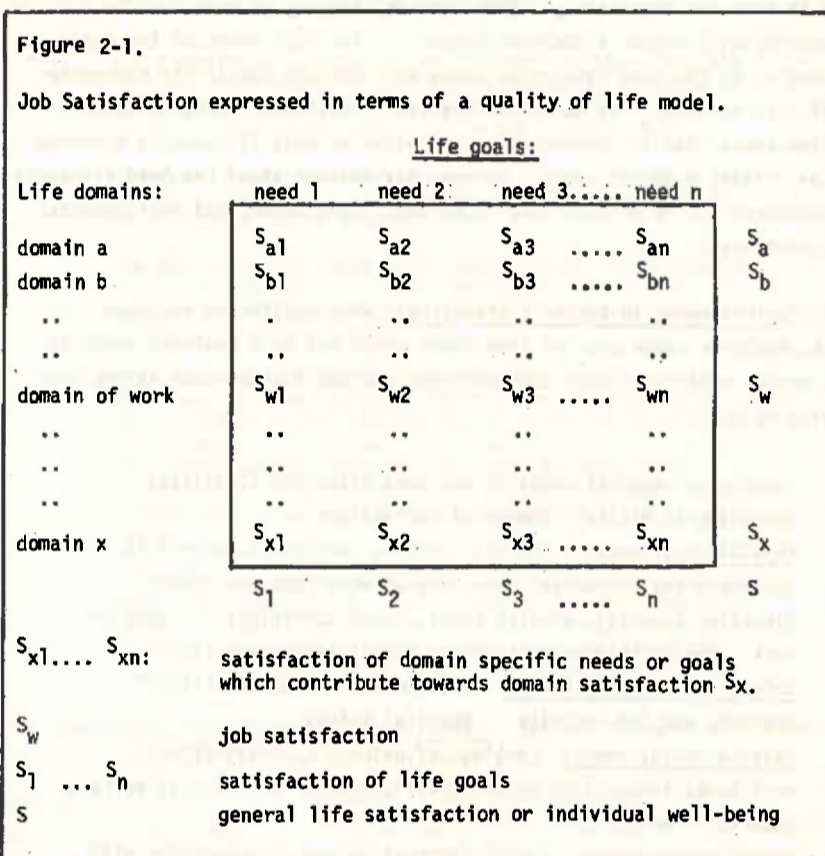
2.3 Concept clarification: In quality of work life research, subjective evaluations are frequently described in terms of goals and needs, aspirations and expectations, and satisfactions. It may be useful to comment on these designations at this point as they will provide the conceptual framework used in the discussion which follows. For the sake of expedience, no finer distinction will be made between 'goals', 'needs', and 'motivations'; in this paper these concepts will be used as synonyms which refer to important issues in life. Reference to 'aspirations' will be made when discussing which needs and goals should ideally be fulfilled to ensure individual well-being. In terms of need fulfilment, 'level of aspirations' reflects the discrepancy between needs presently fulfilled and those which should ideally be fulfilled. The concept 'expectations' refers to the subjective assessments of the probability of aspirations being met. 'Satisfactions' will denote the subjective assessments of the degree to which goals are adequately fulfilled. 'Aspirations' and 'expectations' effectively provide a reference standard against which 'satisfactions' can be measured. 'Goals', 'aspirations'

and 'expectations' may usefully be measured at various levels; they may refer to life in general or to the specific parts of life which will be referred to as 'spheres of life' or 'life domains'.

2.4 Identification of work goals and assessments of opportunity structures:

One of the first tasks for the quality of work life researcher will be to identify work goals and to assess the opportunities afforded in the work situation to realise these goals. The congruity between work goals and opportunities for gratification in work are put into perspective by comparing work-related congruities with the opportunity structures found in other spheres of life. In particular, it will be essential to relate work goals to life goals; for whilst some goals may be domain specific, it is more likely that they will in part reflect superordinate objectives in life. Theoretically speaking, life goals are more likely to correspond to domain goals, if the domain is a central and highly valued sphere of life. Satisfactions experienced in work as well as in other domains of life may be regarded as indicators of the perceived opportunities to fulfil goals or needs. According to quality of life theory, general life satisfaction or well-being is a function of individual domain satisfactions. In particular, satisfaction experienced in central domains are thought to make substantial contributions to general well-being.

2.5 A quality of life model of job satisfaction: The relationship between the basic concepts employed in this paper is shown in Figure 2-1.



Quality of life researchers have commonly sought to arrange the work goals and expectations shown in Figure 2-1 as w1 to wn according to the principle of motivation theory. For present purposes the theories developed by Maslow and Herzberg have provided a conceptual framework for ordering work goals. Maslow has identified five categories of needs, which can be ordered hierarchically according to the principle of prepotency or dominance from 'physiological' needs, to 'safety and security' needs, to 'social' needs, to 'esteem' needs, and finally to 'growth' or 'self-actualisation' needs. It is postulated that a particular type of need will no longer be of focal concern when it is adequately fulfilled

and in turn the immediately higher ranking category of needs in the hierarchy will become a dominant concern. The fulfilment of the needs belonging to the need categories below the dominant one in the hierarchy will - so to speak - be taken for granted. Maslow's theory is dynamic in the sense that it incorporates the notion of what is commonly referred to as 'rising expectations'. Persons may advance along the need hierarchy at differential rates according to personal development and environmental circumstances.

2.6 Typical needs in the work situation: When applied to the domain of work, Maslow's needs ordered from lower order and most dominant needs to the higher order and least dominant ones include factors such as the ones listed below.

Examples of typical needs in the work situation classified according to Maslow's theory of motivation:

Physiological needs: Physical working conditions, access to equipment and resources, proximity of work from domicile (location aspects), working hours, leave conditions - type of work: indoor/outdoor work, heavy manual/light work etc.

Safety and security needs: Pay aspects, fringe benefits, economic and job security - physical safety.

Passive social needs: Feelings of belonging, integration in work team; recognition by co-workers, superiors. Social welfare aspects of work.

Active social needs: Social interaction and relationships with co-workers, superiors, and management.

Passive esteem needs: Respect, recognition for achievement, prestige aspects of work.

Active esteem needs: Self-respect (gained through work achievement), independence, responsibility, self-supervision, opportunity to set up tasks and determine own work pace, etc.

Growth needs: Involvement in interesting, creative or challenging work; opportunity to use skills; opportunity to gain experiences which will promote personal development, etc.

2.7 Variations of need catalogues applicable in the work situation: Some researchers have variously found it expedient to regroup these

categories or to slightly expand the hierarchy:

- For example, an 'autonomy' or 'freedom' category has been isolated from Maslow's self-esteem category, - a type of reclassification which might usefully have been applied to the research data collected in the present study.
- Alderfer ¹⁾ has combined the active element of the esteem need with the rest of the growth needs, a convention we have adopted in the present study.
- The physiological needs which have no real equivalent in the work situation, have been more aptly referred to as existence needs and in some instances regrouped with some of Maslow's safety needs.
- Many researchers have preferred to work with a simple dichotomy of needs which differentiates only between needs ordered at the extreme levels of Maslow's hierarchy. Distinctions between lower-level and higher-level needs and correspondingly between low-level and high-level satisfactions, gratifications or rewards are short-hand references to the fulfilment of hierarchically ordered needs.
- Alternatively, pairs of higher- and lower-order needs and their fulfilment in the work situation are referred to in paired concepts such as 'job extrinsic' versus 'job intrinsic' factors, 'extrinsic' rewards versus 'ego' (gratifying) rewards, and job 'context' versus job 'content' factors.

2.8 Herzberg's motivation - hygiene theory: Perhaps the most well-known approach to job satisfaction which utilises a two-fold division between work goals is presented in Herzberg's 'motivation-hygiene' theory. According to Herzberg,²⁾ feelings of job satisfaction are not the obverse of feelings of job dissatisfaction; attitudes toward work must be measured in terms of a *two* - dimensional need system. Factors contributing to job satisfaction are separate and distinct from those contributing to job dissatisfaction. Factors contributing to job satisfaction represent predominantly higher-order needs including achievement, recognition (for achievement), work itself, responsibility and advancement. In empirical studies conducted by Herzberg such factors were also found to be effective in motivating individuals to superior performance and effort, and were accordingly referred to as 'motivators'. By contrast,

1) Alderfer 1969 cited by Cameron 1973.

2) cf. Herzberg 1968.

Job dissatisfaction was influenced by the frustration of factors which might be equated with Maslow's lower order needs. According to Herzberg's observations, unfair treatment, or unpleasant or painful work conditions contributed to perceptions of situations of job dissatisfaction. Factors identified as job dissatisfiers included issues related to company policy and administration, supervision, interpersonal relations, working conditions and salary. It is significant that dissatisfiers were also referred to as 'hygiene' factors, a concept borrowed from the field of medicine denoting environmental and preventative factors. According to Herzberg, a 'hygienic' environment might *prevent* discontent with a job, but such an environment could not lead the individual beyond a minimal adjustment consisting of absence of dissatisfaction. This type of adjustment described by Herzberg has variously been referred to in terms of 'passive satisfaction'¹⁾ or 'low-level satisfaction'.²⁾

2.9 Distinctions between satisfiers and dissatisfiers in the work situation:

An interesting notion concerns the possibility of an overlap between the dimensions representing satisfiers and dissatisfiers. The cut-off point between satisfiers and dissatisfiers in terms of Maslow's hierarchy of needs lies somewhere between the active element of the esteem need and the passive element of the social needs. However, some empirical research undertaken into worker motivation has suggested that this cut-off point might be more flexible than originally conceived. The idea was put forward that slightly different constellations of satisfiers and dissatisfiers might crystallise according to the category of workers concerned.³⁾ It was proposed that persons occupying the lower levels of the occupational prestige dimension would have developed to a lesser extent along the need hierarchy than those occupying positions on the upper end of the occupational prestige hierarchy. Thus, one might hypothesise that factors corresponding to the middle range of Maslow's hierarchy of needs might represent satisfiers for individuals low in the occupational hierarchy, whilst representing dissatisfiers for

1) T. Tomaszewski makes a distinction between active and passive satisfaction in a discussion included in K. Lynch (ed.), *Growing Up in Cities*, Paris: UNESCO and MIT Press:1977, pp. 131-133.

2) cf. Schlemmer et al. 1980.

3) cf. Huizinga 1970.

individuals high in the occupational hierarchy. In particular, it was thought that Maslow's social needs might represent 'satisfiers' for groups of workers in the lower prestige jobs, whilst representing 'dissatisfiers' for individuals in higher prestige jobs. Thus, a more flexible approach to ordering satisfying and dissatisfying factors in the work situation might be necessary.

2.10 The dominant need category: A further supposition, which may be relevant to the present research task, concerns the dominant need category which - using Maslow's terminology - indicates the extent of psychological growth of individuals. It is proposed that the needs in the dominant need category - because they are by definition active and present needs - might operate as satisfiers and dissatisfiers simultaneously.¹⁾ Thus, needs in the dominating category will give rise to satisfaction when gratified and to dissatisfaction when frustrated. This represents a slight departure from Herzberg's approach which postulates that some work factors predominantly represent a source of satisfaction whilst other factors predominantly act as sources of dissatisfaction.

2.11 Need development and work values: The notion that job satisfaction is derived mainly from work factors which contribute towards self-esteem and self-fulfilment is based on the notion that work is a central value in life and is recognised as an end in itself. However, if work is viewed purely as a means to an end, for its instrumental value, then extrinsic rewards gained from work may well be reinvested in other spheres of life in order to gain intrinsic or higher level satisfaction there. Thus, it is theoretically possible that extrinsic work rewards, whilst not making essential contributions to job satisfaction in terms of self-esteem or self-fulfilment, may in fact facilitate the achievement of higher order satisfactions in other spheres of life. If work attitudes are viewed along the lines of Herzberg, and reactions to sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction are interpreted as indicators of stage of personality development, this would mean that workers may become fixated at the less mature level of personal adjustment in the work situation whilst developing along normal lines in other spheres of life.

1) cf. Huizinga 1970.

The social circumstances which allow for uneven development of need expectations in various spheres of life must also be taken into account. External constraints may have socialised workers to value work for instrumental rather than for intrinsic reasons. In the present study, the migrant labour institution might represent such a set of external constraints. It is conceivable that need development in different domains of life varies systematically according to the importance or centrality of the domain concerned. Whilst higher order needs are expected to be realised in more central spheres of life, lower level satisfactions may be tolerated in less central spheres of life. Low level satisfactions are likely to result from this motivational constellation, because an individual may aspire to lower level rewards in less central spheres of life in order to gratify life goals in other spheres.

CHAPTER 3.JOB SATISFACTION AND THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM.3.1 Implicit assumptions concerning job expectations among migrant workers:

Turning to the specific case of the migrant worker, an inquiry into the job satisfactions and job aspirations of migrants is tantamount to questioning the basic tenets of the migrant labour system. One might argue that the migrant labour system is based on the premise that the job expectations and aspirations of migrant workers as measured by conventional standards are minimal. Traditionally, the migrant labour force has always been recruited to fill the lowest ranks of the occupational hierarchy. Only minimal skills were required to fulfil the tasks performed by migrants, thus contract labour with its high rate of turnover was ideally suited to this purpose, because it was cheap and easy to replace. Contract labour could be hired according to seasonal demands and the size of the labour force could conveniently be adjusted to match the shifting needs in the economy. The chief advantage of the migrant labour system for the employers was that they did not have to shoulder the responsibility of caring for migrants' dependents and for making provisions for the long-term security needs of migrants. The family left behind in the rural areas was considered to be partially or fully self-sufficient. In some instances, migrants' wages were regarded merely as cash supplements to rural sources of income. Because the migrants' families were not brought to town, there was also a tendency to review migrant wage scales in terms of single men's wage levels regardless of the actual marital status of the migrant workers concerned.

From the viewpoint of the labour supply side, easy access to wage labour was willingly traded off for independence in former days. The migrant labour system afforded access to wage earnings at times of life when cash was needed most. Contract service was often preferable to permanent service because intermittent periods spent in the work centre could be fitted in between the periods in which family and agricultural commitments were met in the home area. According to some theorists, migrant workers were ideally in a position to divide their time optimally between wage labour in the work centre and subsistence agriculture in the rural areas and could derive economic benefits on both fronts.

3.2 Implicit assumptions concerning instrumental values attached to migrant labour: The migrant labour system has traditionally perpetuated a situation in which migrants are not required to make substantial investments in their urban work in terms of training, ethos, continuous service, and skills. Consistently, the typical migrant worker is thought to enter the industrial world with few expectations. The belief is commonly held that migrants regard work solely in instrumental terms, as a means of temporarily securing wage incomes. It is again assumed that this entrenched situation is reasonably satisfactory for all parties concerned. Contract workers are not thought to be interested in job advancement and in an urban career. Employers do not consider migrants to be suitable material for training programmes due to their usually poor educational qualifications and low industrial commitment. In sum, it is not an economically attractive proposition for employers to invest in the job advancement of migrants. Advancement, which might increase the intrinsic rewards which migrants could derive from their work in industrial centres. As a consequence, migrants are socialised in terms of the system not to expect or desire such opportunities for job mobility. In fact, cause and effect factors regarding job expectations may in part be circular in the migrant labour situation.

3.3. 'Cycle of poverty' type explanations for typical migrant reactions to blocked opportunities in the work situation: It is interesting to compare the constraints involved in the migrant labour system to those involved in the 'cycle of poverty' situation first described by Oscar Lewis.¹⁾ Typical traits emerge among the poor which may be seen as *adaptations* to the situation of poverty rather than as the *cause* of their poverty. Adaptation of this kind makes the poverty situation somewhat more tolerable for those immediately involved. Analogously, contract workers' behaviour and attitudes may be shaped by their need to derive some form of minimal satisfaction from the migrant labour system. In cases of extreme adaptation, migrants will acknowledge that the system is equitable and just. For example, low work rewards are

1) Oscar Lewis, *La Vida-A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty*, San Juan and New York: Random House 1966.

considered legitimate because they are commensurate with the migrants' low educational designation. Deprivations caused for the migrant by the system may be rationalised or even euphemised,¹⁾ or the migrant may think of himself as a martyr or a hero.

Similarly, the concept of the self-fulfilling prophesy might be applicable to the migrant labour situation. Industrial commitment and job expectations may be low among migrants, precisely because migrants are aware of their limited opportunities for job advancement. By adjusting their aspiration levels downward to meet the expectations of the system, migrants are at least capable of achieving low-level satisfaction. Furthermore, it must be remembered that participation in the migrant labour system is involuntary in most cases. Our survey findings show that the majority of migrants enter the system to avoid economic hardship and in the process many migrants forego their chances of completing their education, which is most certainly a prerequisite for job advancement.

3.4 The significance of locality factors for job satisfaction: The study of life goals and job aspirations among migrant workers is more complex than in the case of local workers. It calls for the introduction of an additional analytic dimension. Satisfaction of aspirations and basic needs must be measured in spatial terms if a full picture is to be gained of the circumstances in which migrants must seek the gratification of their needs. The migrant labour system is based on the assumption that the migrant will seek only pecuniary rewards in the work centre and will be able to fulfil many of his other needs, especially those of a higher order kind, in the area of origin. In terms of the migrant labour system, the contract worker is forced to schizophrenically seek satisfaction of the full range of basic human needs in two physically and culturally separate worlds.

1) cf. Möller and Schlemmer 1977.

1) The spatial dimension has important implications for the perception of relative deprivation among migrants. The migrant labour system is conducive to migrants making low level comparisons which will lead to inferior satisfactions rather than to feelings of relative deprivation and frustration. To ensure that migrants continue to experience satisfaction from relatively low monetary rewards, they are encouraged to retain a rural frame of reference with regard to life goals and aspirations. The differential level of material development pertaining in town and country distorts standards of reference and operates to boost migrant satisfaction. If migrants systematically apply a rural standard of comparison to the monetary rewards derived from labour migrancy, the value of pecuniary gratification is inflated. Similarly, comparisons are likely to be more favourable and conducive to satisfaction if migrants measure the progress they are making in the world of work with the progress achieved by other *contract* workers rather than by workers employed on a permanent basis.

3.5 Comparative research on worker motivations: It must be conceded that the basic assumptions of the migrant labour system are not without foundation. Inquiries into worker motivations elsewhere have indeed supplied empirical evidence for the proposition that persons in positions at the lower end of the occupational prestige hierarchy tend to emphasise extrinsic work rewards such as pay and fringe benefits, job security, and relatively attractive working and leave conditions rather than rewards derived from the content of work and the opportunities it affords for personal growth.

3.6 Research aims: In this paper some of the assumptions on which the migrant labour system is based are to be subjected to an empirical test by examining the job aspirations and expectations of migrants and relating them to the satisfactions they derive from work and other aspects of migrancy. In particular, we shall attempt to assess the degree to which persons currently participating in the migrant labour system exhibit the

1) The time dimension has also received much attention in the study of work motivations among migrants (cf. Mitchell's (1969) paradigm of a migrant labour career). However, it might be argued that the time dimension is of equal importance to all types of workers. Quality of life studies have generally discovered that levels of aspirations, including levels of job aspirations, tend to decrease with age.

work attitudes described above, which have made the system function smoothly in the past. For instance, is it true that migrants adopt a purely instrumental approach to work and expect to derive only pecuniary rewards in return for their labour? Do contract workers seek higher order life goals in non-work spheres of life and predominantly in their areas of origin? How do migrant aspirations in the sphere of work compare with manifestations of job satisfactions and perceptions of progress in work life?

These kinds of questions are posed in the light of our knowledge that the classical migrant who works intermittently in the work centre and in the rural homestead is in fact being replaced by the 'permanent target worker' whose aims in life seem never to be fully satisfied in the course of a working lifetime, or whose goals are replaced by new ones as fast as his original ambitions are realised. In the present study approximately two-thirds of the migrants interviewed (ca 70% of the Zulu and 55% of the non-Zulu respondents) stated that they wished to stop working in the city before retirement age. Nevertheless, approximately 60 percent of the respondents (ca 58% of the Zulu and 66% of the non-Zulu respondents) conceded that they most probably would be able to stop work in the city *only* by the time they had reached retirement age.¹⁾

If it is true that expectations among migrants are rising as fast as among other groups of blacks in South African society, and if the cost of living continues to increase at alarming rates, then it is also reasonable to predict that the migrant labour force will become 'permanent'. At the same time, consider that the migrant labour force may become a 'permanent' workforce at a time when the demand for skilled labour is increasing. Under circumstances such as the ones outlined above, it will be important to learn in which respect the work attitudes of the current members of the migrant labour force are at variance with those attributed to the classical 'target workers' of former days.

1) These replies were obtained in response to the survey questions:
 "If you could choose to stop work if you wanted to, *how long would you like to go on working in the city?* - Apart from what you would like to do, *when do you think you will stop work in the city?*"

CHAPTER 4.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE SAMPLE OF DURBAN MIGRANTS
INTERVIEWED IN THE STUDY OF JOB SATISFACTION.

A study of job aspirations and satisfactions was undertaken among Durban-based contract workers as part of a general survey of their life circumstances. During the period 1976 to 1979 in-depth interviews were conducted with 626 men. The sample included men of all ages, who were employed in the various sectors of the economy which typically rely on migrant labour. The majority of the men (510 or 82%) were Zulu speakers, the remainder (116 or 18%) had originated from areas outside Natal, mainly from the Transkei. Survey findings showed that the background and work situation of the two major subgroups represented in the sample differed significantly. It was assumed that the different background of the two groups of migrants in the sample might to some extent influence their attitudes toward issues concerning migrants. For this reason, a distinction between the Zulu and the non-Zulu groups represented in the sample will frequently be made when reporting.¹⁾ Before commencing with the reporting, the major characteristics which differentiate the two subsamples and are of importance to this study will be briefly outlined.

4.1 Differential employment opportunities in Durban for Zulu and non-Zulu workers: The location of the Durban work centre is such that migrants originating from KwaZulu will find it easier to avail themselves of the employment opportunities offered in Durban than in other parts of the country. Survey findings suggest that the Zulus in the sample were more likely than the non-Zulus to feel that Durban was 'their' industrial centre. In a study of job aspirations it is important to note that the major differences obtaining between the Zulus and non-Zulus in the sample are indicative of a situation of substratification, which typically occurs when ethnic groups compete for limited job opportunities. In the case of Durban, at least two layers of substrata exist. Non-Zulu migrants must

1) For the sake of convenience reference to the 'Zulus' and the 'non-Zulus' will be made when discussing results based on the two subsamples respectively.

compete against rural Zulu migrants who in turn are at a greater disadvantage compared to the local Zulu workers living in Durban townships. Labour statistics may be misleading in this respect: some local workers are enumerated as contract workers due to the fact that the two largest Durban townships for blacks fall under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Government.

The substratification of the non-Zulu migrant group in Durban was clearly reflected in the occupational positions occupied by the Zulu and non-Zulu members of the sample. The Zulu group represented in the study were a younger and more stable group of workers whose job aspirations were oriented mainly toward the work opportunities found in Durban. Significantly higher proportions of the Zulu than the non-Zulu respondents had embarked on their migrant careers at an early age and occupied higher positions in the employment hierarchy than the non-Zulus. In contrast to the non-Zulu migrants in the sample, the Zulu migrants were less committed to industrial life¹⁾ in the long run, and significantly higher proportions of the Zulu than the non-Zulu subgroup had strong rural ties and access to rural landholdings. The members of the non-Zulu group had frequently experienced greater variation in their careers. They were more likely than the Zulus to have gained experience in different jobs in various work centres. The non-Zulus in the sample were employed mainly in menial positions in the service sector of the economy. Higher proportions of the non-Zulu subgroup had come to Durban later in life and it would appear that the non-Zulus had experienced greater difficulty than the Zulus in the sample in gaining access to employment in Durban. The very fact that the non-Zulu respondents were seeking employment in Durban at an advanced stage in their careers may have indicated that these men represented a negative selection in the sense that they had not been successful in finding suitable employment elsewhere. Despite occupying subordinate positions in the economy relative to the Zulu group in the sample, a higher proportion of the non-Zulu than the

1) The concepts 'industrial life', 'industrial work' and 'industry' are used in a general sense in this paper and refer to a non-agricultural occupation and to the non-agricultural sector of the economy. By definition, all rural-to-urban migrants originate from an economy based on (subsistence) agriculture.

Zulu subsample was relatively committed to industrial life, and in some cases to living in the city on a more permanent basis. In part, industrial commitment may have been a simple matter of expediency for the non-Zulus, because a higher proportion of the non-Zulu than the Zulu respondents had no rural land on which to fall back. Moreover, quite a few of the non-Zulu respondents were living in informal housing which enabled them to lead family lives in town. By contrast, a substantial proportion of the Zulu migrants in the sample was living in single sex hostels and compounds.

CHAPTER 5A SURVEY OF WORK PREFERENCES AND JOB SATISFACTIONS.

Our first task consisted of testing some of the generally held beliefs concerning the work attitudes of migrants. Do migrant workers hold only low-level job aspirations which reflect a purely instrumental attitude toward work and are they fully accepting of the constraints imposed on their social mobility in the industrial sphere by the migrant labour system?

In order to probe into the work attitudes of migrants, several exercises were undertaken with the respondents in the survey. In all, three basic types of questions concerning work preferences and aspirations were posed to the respondents in the course of the interview session:

Questions concerning

- A) job and work aspirations, including levels of aspirations, work goals, identification of positive and negative aspects of work.
- B) particular aspects of work including location factors, working conditions and types of work.
- C) respondents' evaluations of their present job situation in terms of perceived progress, satisfactions and dissatisfactions.

Explorations into the evaluation of work life (questions in category C) were undertaken in order to put aspirations and work attitudes (responses to questions in category A) into perspective. The assumption was made that past job experience would be influential in shaping the job attitudes and aspirations expressed in response to the A and B type questions.

Open-ended and closed questions were employed in the survey. The latter type of question required respondents to make a choice

26.

between mutually exclusive options. In some cases the forced choice question represented a decision-making situation in which migrants might typically be involved in the course of their working careers.

CHAPTER 6.JOB ASPIRATIONS.

6.1 General survey findings: Contrary to the expectations formulated in the working hypothesis, the survey evidence strongly suggested that many respondents wished to advance in their jobs. When asked which work they preferred and which type of job they aspired to, 33 percent of the Zulus and 26 percent of the non-Zulus indicated that they would like to perform skilled or superior work, and 45 percent and 37 percent of the Zulus and non-Zulus respectively wished to be employed in superior jobs or in jobs requiring skills.¹⁾ Work preferences and job aspirations were statistically seen similar in both subgroups. Because the Zulu subgroup was numerically stronger, it will be more convenient to base the discussion on the data referring to the Zulu migrants in the sample. Similar, but weaker trends were detected in the data referring to the non-Zulu respondents.

6.2 Typical responses to questions concerning job aspirations: The questions concerning job and work expectations typically elicited the following types of responses:

- A) Preference to engage in a particular type of industrial work or job.
- B) Preference to remain in the present job.
- C) Preference to engage in agricultural work.

No ordering principle could be simultaneously applied to all three categories of responses. At least two distinct dimensions including level of aspirations and rural-urban commitment were contained in the responses to the questions concerning work preferences and job aspirations (cf. Table 6.1).

1) Respondents who wished to remain in their present jobs whilst performing skilled or superior work are included in these percentages.

Table 6.1.

Work preferences and job aspirations.

Work preferences: "What kind of work would you prefer to do other than the work you are doing at present?"

Job aspirations: "What job are you aiming for in life?"

Type of occupation:	Work preferences			Job aspirations		
	Zulus	non-Zulus	Total	Zulus	non-Zulus	Total
unskilled	4,5	10,4	5,6	1,8	1,7	1,8
semi-skilled	16,3	17,4	16,5	10,6	9,6	10,4
skilled	29,4	23,5	28,3	43,7	34,8	42,1
farming	11,4	10,4	11,2	19,1	20,9	19,4
present occupation	32,2	30,4	31,8	9,8	10,4	10,0
undecided (any job, don't know, etc.)	6,3	7,8	6,6	15,0	22,6	16,4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N = 510	N = 115	N = 625	N = 508	N = 115	N = 623

6.2.1 Expression of specific aspirations: It was thought that a scale measuring levels of aspirations could only be meaningfully applied to the first type of response (category A). Descriptions of work or jobs were classified in terms of job prestige or level of skill required to perform the job, and categories ranged from 'unskilled', 'semi-skilled', to 'skilled or superior' work.

6.2.2 Desire to remain in present job: It was also noted that the type B response (desire to remain in present position in work) did not necessarily reflect a *lack* of job aspirations but may have indicated the *fulfilment* of job aspirations at an acceptable level. Indeed, some persons responding in this manner may have felt that they had reached the upper limits of their capacity for occupational mobility. It was also noted that a few persons occupying higher skill positions thought there were opportunities for advancement if they continued to work in their presently held jobs. By isolating category B type responses, an

opportunity was gained to explore motivations concerning job stability.

6.2.3 Displaced job aspirations: In the case of stated preference for agricultural work (category C), aspirations appeared to be displaced. It was difficult to reconcile this type of answer with the conventional job prestige scale used in the study, because agricultural work was classified as one of the lowest prestige types of 'industrial' work on our scale, whilst the respondents obviously did not consider farming to be an inferior occupation. On the contrary, farming carried considerable prestige as we shall see later. Moreover, it was difficult to distinguish between the desire to engage in subsistence farming and cash-cropping. For purposes of the present paper all references to farming have been aggregated and placed into a single category and no attempt was made to measure this type of response in terms of occupational prestige or levels of aspirations. More appropriately this type of displaced aspiration was interpreted in terms of the spatial dimension which tends to complicate the issue of job aspirations among migrants. As we shall learn, the job aspirations and work preferences of migrants can only be accurately measured on a 'three-dimensional' prestige scale. The third dimension refers to a rural-urban distinction which is an integral part of the migrant's perception of life chances.

6.3 Factors influencing job aspirations: Survey findings suggested that job aspirations were shaped by influences such as age, education, past experience of advancement or success in the industrial world, and industrial commitment. The latter factor was in turn highly dependent on the perception of the rural opportunity structure.

6.3.1 Age and educational factors were most influential in shaping high aspirations for skilled and superior jobs. The determination to make good in the industrial sphere was in all probability symptomatic of the greater demands for social change made by the younger generation of blacks - migrants included - in the hope of improving their life chances. The younger men in the sample were more likely than the older men to challenge the migrant labour system on issues such as urban political rights for migrants and the right for migrants to live in the city as family men.

However, it is important to note that not all persons in the sample desiring higher prestige jobs were highly committed to industrial life. (If this were the case, the common dimension underlying all the responses referring to work and job aspirations would be 'degree of rural versus industrial commitment'.) It was observed that among those respondents aspiring to higher prestige occupations, substantial proportions wished to become self-employed.

- *I wish to be a greengrocer. I am keen to be self-employed and see how much money I can make from my own efforts.* (General labourer in a sugar mill, 21 years of age, Std. 7 level of education.)
- *I would like to have a tractor and do farming in the rural area and be independent.* (Stevedore, 25 years of age, no education.)
- *I am aiming at being a hawker selling clothes for a few years and then later running a tearoom or restaurant.* (Induna in a construction firm, 49 years of age, Std. 4 level of education.)
- *I am not aiming for any job except if I could earn more money and start a business of my own.* (Night soil remover, approximately 40 years of age, Std. 1 level of education.)
- *I have had enough of being under a white man. I would like to be a boss of my own for a change and maybe I would make more money than I am earning now.* (Laboratory assistant, 40 years of age, ca 10 years of schooling.)

Some 24 percent of the Zulus and 21 percent of the non-Zulus in the sample desired to become owners of substantial and smaller businesses. Under present circumstances trading opportunities are more likely to be open to blacks in the rural rather than the urban areas, especially in the case of migrants. Thus, one can assume that similar to the respondents wishing to become agriculturists, traders and small businessmen will not need to be urban or industrially committed in order to reach their goals of job mobility. The results of an exercise undertaken to classify job aspirations by locality (cf. Table 6.2) supported the supposition that the respondents most probably expected to fulfil higher occupational aspirations in the country rather than in town.

Table 6.2.
Job aspirations by locality.

Percentages choosing to occupy jobs in the urban and rural areas.

Type of job	locality ^{a)}							
	urban*		rural**		either		Total	
	Z %	NZ %	Z %	NZ %	Z %	NZ %	Z N=	NZ N=
unskilled job	62	100	13	-	25	-	8	2
semi-skilled job	66	60	19	20	15	20	41	10
skilled or superior job	29	28	61	69	10	3	202	35
farmer	3	-	97	100	-	-	97	24
present job	91	92	9	8	-	-	46	12
undecided, any job	81	81	10	13	9	6	21	16

Rows add up to 100%.

* includes peri-urban locality.

** includes occupation in rural-based transport operations.

a) locality was inferred from job descriptions and responses to interviewer probes.

Z Zulus

NZ non-Zulus

6.3.2 Present standing in the economy also constituted an important factor which influenced job aspirations. It was observed that higher proportions of the younger persons in skilled rather than in semi-skilled jobs aspired to higher prestige jobs. Regarding the younger persons in the survey it is likely that targets referring to the level of job prestige are reset once the migrants have gained a foothold in town. This notion is supported by the finding that the occupation of a position of higher job prestige was only significantly effective in motivating respondents in the intermediate age class in the study (30 to 39 years of age) to aspire to skilled or superior work or jobs. This finding suggests that migrants at mid-career may be most influenced by objective measures of success when assessing their opportunity costs for advancing in industry.

6.4 The application of relative standards of comparison: For present purposes we had equated a high level of aspirations with the desire to perform skilled or superior work. Alternatively, we might have attempted to measure level of aspirations in relative terms. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Zulu domestic workers in the sample, unlike other groups of workers in the survey, tended to aspire only to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Considering that domestic work is typically the first job held in the migrant career by Zulus (33% of the Zulus in the sample started their careers in domestic work and this was the modal job category in the case of first jobs held), this option may well represent a strong need for achievement whilst objectively seen, the level of aspirations is modest. According to this type of argument, it would be invalid to uniformly interpret aspirations for less skilled jobs as an indicator of lack of aspirations. For example, in the case of the Zulu domestic workers, levels of aspirations would be low only in terms of the more objective standards of measurement.

6.5 Profiles of typical aspirants: The profiles of the typical representatives in the major response categories a) aspirations for skilled or superior jobs, b) desire to remain in present job, c) aspirations for a job in farming and d) low job aspirations, which were compiled from the survey data may be described as follows:

6.5.1 Profile: Aspirants for skilled and superior jobs: The profile of persons desiring to work in skilled and superior jobs is basically characteristic of that of the youthful migrant and includes such attributes as relatively high education, occupation of relatively high prestige and high income job, and some experience of job mobility since entering the migrant labour system.

Youthfulness and high expectations tended to be associated. Generally speaking, the youthful migrants in the sample held higher jobs aspirations than the older migrants. In part, the higher aspirations of the youthful were most probably justified by the higher educational qualifications which some of the younger migrants possessed. It would appear that some youths, particularly those without such qualifications, were frequently indecisive about their future prospects in the world

of work.

- *I would prefer the same job I am doing now, it is not tough and it is not dangerous like construction work. For the time being I have no visions beyond the present, I shall see if I can make some money. A plan will hatch itself then. (Cleaner in shop, approximately 25 years of age, no education.)*

By contrast, the older migrants tended to make more conservative choices and more frequently stated that they wished to remain in their present jobs or to farm.

- *I am old now and do not envisage any change in my position. I should be content with my present job and work within it. (Hoist operator in a sugar mill, 45 years of age, Std. 1 level of education.)*

However, it is noteworthy, that substantial proportions of those aspiring to a job as a farmer were members of the lower age classes. Seventeen percent of the Zulu and 15 percent of the non-Zulu respondents under 45 years of age held this type of job aspiration. Educational qualifications also tended to influence perceptions of job advancement. Significantly higher proportions of migrants with some than those with no schooling were likely to aspire to skilled or superior jobs. The occupation of a higher prestige job and the experience of occupational mobility in one's migrant career in the past tended to reinforce this kind of aspiration.

6.5.2 Profile: Persons wishing to remain in their present job:

Respondents wishing to remain in their present jobs showed signs of high industrial commitment and relative success in their work. For example, relatively high proportions of the respondents in this group had worked in their present job for many years, had been upwardly mobile in the course of their migrant careers, were occupying a skilled position at the time of the survey, and were members of the highest income class represented in the sample. The majority of those opting to remain in their present jobs wished to and expected to remain in town until retirement age or beyond. More importantly, it would appear that persons wishing to remain in their present job tended not only to be relatively

satisfied with their lot in the industrial world, they also seemed to be content with their involvement in the migrant labour system. Higher proportions of the persons wishing to remain in their present places in industry than to switch to another job stated that they had made progress in their jobs and claimed that they had not encountered any problems when travelling to and from their jobs in town. They were also less likely to be unhappy about leaving their wives behind at the rural home.

It is possible that the relative success which members in the group opting to remain in their present jobs had achieved was inflated by the relatively low educational qualifications of the majority included in this group. It is very likely that the relative success in the industrial world achieved by some of the persons opting to remain in their present jobs was due to their perseverance in the labour system rather than to other status designations.¹⁾ As noted above, desiring to remain in one's present job or to continue to perform the same type of work is not necessarily indicative of low aspirations or low-level job satisfaction. Consider that occupational prestige achieved in the industrial world was strongly associated with the choice of remaining in one's present job. Given the record of long service and few educational qualifications of some of the relatively successful migrants in the survey, the choice to remain in one's present job undoubtedly represented a 'safe option' for migrants who felt they could not advance much further in the industrial world and at the same time saw few alternatives for mobility outside the migrant labour system. We shall be exploring this interpretation of the preference to remain in one's present occupational position in more detail later.

6.5.3 Profile: Aspirants for a job in farming: Aspirations for a job in farming were more typical of the older than the younger migrants in the survey. For many, farming was associated with a retirement job:

1) As one respondent observed regarding the progress he had made in work:
"Things are still the same as when I started except that now I am an Indana at the factory. But I don't regard that as progress, because this position was given to me for long service."

higher proportions of the persons aspiring to become farmers had served many years in the city. The most distinctive characteristics of this group of men were their perceptions of rural as opposed to urban opportunities for progress and their rural commitment. A certain disenchantment with the migrant labour system was evident. A high proportion of the men in this response group indicated that they were unhappy about leaving their wives on their own in the rural areas.

Judging from the survey data, it is possible that the respondents wishing to farm perceived that channels of advancement in the industrial sphere were blocked despite the fact that they had been relatively successful in their city jobs by objective standards. The majority in this response group occupied semi-skilled jobs, whilst a substantial proportion was in the highest wage class represented in the survey.

6.5.4 Profile: Persons expressing low levels of aspiration: Low aspirations, indecision, and undefined aspirations were typically found among those respondents whose personal limitations tended to rule out choice and dispel hopes of advancement.

It was thought that indecision was frequently an expression either of youthful *inexperience* and naivety or alternatively of youthful adaptability and willingness to test one's skills in various types of work. Some youths who had not yet gained a foothold in town may not have been in a position to make an accurate assessment of their urban opportunities. Youthful indecision was more often expressed in response to the question concerning work preferences than to the question concerning job aspirations.

By contrast, *indecisiveness* regarding job aspirations was more clearly an indication of low aspirations. Lack of aspiration was most remarkable amongst those respondents who appeared to be somewhat disoriented and maladjusted in the migrant situation. Survey evidence suggested that low aspirations were more closely linked to perceptions of blocked opportunities than to experiences of low-level satisfactions in work.

- *So far I do not see a possibility of a job beyond my present job, so my aims remain limited to the present. At the moment I am restricted by my needs and the money I earn. It is difficult to think outside one's situation and probable chances.* (Young machine operator who would prefer to farm at his rural home, Sub Std. B level of education.)
- *I can't aim for anything because we are refused permits to work in factories. So I am doomed to work here unless they relax these regulations in Pinetown.* (Municipal service worker from the Transkei, 25 years of age, Std. 3 level of education.)

It would appear that persons with low job aspirations were bound to a system in which they had not achieved success and satisfaction and saw few chances for achieving these in future. Age factors tended to reinforce this perception of life chances. The few incidences of downward occupational mobility which were easily discernible in the data were found in this group of respondents. Typically, the respondents expressing low job aspirations occupied low prestige jobs and belonged to the lowest wage class represented in the sample despite their tendency to be committed to industrial work. Members of this response category tended to be older, less educated and to come from families in which migrant workers were employed in jobs requiring few skills. It is interesting to note that respondents with low aspirations felt they had made little progress in their jobs and could not remit adequate sums of money to their families in the country. A substantial proportion of the members in the low aspiration group had not been able to form urban friendships.

6.6 Survey statistics on correlates of job aspirations: The survey evidence which provided the basis for the discussion of job aspirations and work preferences has been compiled in Tables 6.3 through 6.6 and is included in this report for reference purposes.

Table 6.3.
Selected correlates of work preferences.

Zulus

Respondent group:	Percentages in respondent group expressing preference for:				N	C./d.f. significance p <
	no specific preference	un-/semi-skilled work	skilled superior work	work done at present, farming		
29 years or younger	8	29	38	20	5	184, .36/10
30 - 44 years of age	5	21	32	29	13	192, .0000
45 years or older	6	9	14	54	17	134
no education*	12	19	18	41	10	177, .31/10
4 - 11 years formal education	0	22	44	27	7	144, .0000
low industrial commitment**	2	23	35	24	16	125, .29/10
high industrial commitment	0	20	26	48	6	128, .0000
worked 8 years or less*	6	32	35	20	7	137, .34/10
worked 21 years or more	5	11	17	46	2	166, .0000
worked less than 4 years in present job*	5	32	32	23	8	202, .31/10
worked 10 years or more in present job	7	10	19	43	2	135, .0100
earns R93 per month or less	12	28	24	28	8	229, .29/5
earns R100 per month or more	2	15	33	36	14	279, .0000
presently employed as unskilled worker	10	25	26	30	9	288, .27/10
presently employed as semi-skilled worker	2	18	31	33	16	171, .0000
presently employed as skilled worker	0	6	47	39	8	51

Continued/...

Table 6.3 Continued.
Selected correlates of work preferences. Zulus

Respondent group:	Percentages in respondent group expressing preference for:					N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	no specific preference	un-/semi-skilled work	skilled, superior work	work done at present	farming		
all migrants in family perform unskilled work*	14	26	25	31	4	118	,23/10
all migrants in family perform skilled work	2	19	34	34	11	130	,0008
downward mobility regarding skill category	7	41	26	26	0	27	,24/8
no mobility regarding skill category	9	22	29	30	10	277	
upward mobility regarding skill category	1	15	31	36	17	165	,0003
perception of progress in work	2	20	30	38	10	247	,21/5
perception of no progress in work	10	22	28	27	13	260	,0004
problems when travelling to work centre	7	22	31	26	14	348	,20/5
no travel problems	5	17	26	46	6	160	,0007
feels unhappy about leaving wife on own	7	23	32	25	13	344	,21/5
is not worried about leaving wife on own	6	15	24	47	8	161	,0001
claims urban rights ^{b1)}	7	22	32	29	10	386	,17/5
no claims to urban rights ^{b2)}	4	19	19	43	15	112	,0077

Continued/...

38.

Table 6.3 Continued.
Selected correlates of work preferences. Zulus

Respondent group:	Percentages in respondent group expressing preference for:					N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	no specific preference	un-/semi-skilled work	skilled, superior work	work done at present	farming		
sees prospects in farming	1	21	21	34	23	95	,21/5
sees no prospects in farming	8	21	31	31	9	412	,0004
farming tradition in home district	4	23	28	30	15	248	,20/5
no farming tradition in home district	9	19	31	34	7	259	,0008
prefers farming to city work	11	22	26	22	19	260	,34/5
prefers city work to farming	2	19	34	42	3	245	,0000
remits R29 per month or less*	8	28	29	29	6	184	,19/10
remits R50 per month or more	4	17	28	34	17	104	,0434

Notes:

- Rows add up to 100%. Percentages referring to "unskilled" and "semi-skilled" work have been combined for a better overview.
- Except in the case of the occupational mobility variable, values for the contingency co-efficient (CC) and degrees of freedom (d.f.) were calculated for tables in which the categories 'unskilled' and 'semi-skilled' were not combined.

* Excerpt from original table shown.

a) Refers to scores on an industrial commitment index. The index is calculated on the basis of responses to the questions: "... how long would you like to go on working in town?" and "... when do you think you will stop work in the city?"

b1) Agrees with statement: "A city like Durban belongs to everyone who works in it, Africans included."

b2) Agrees with statement: "A city like Durban does not belong to us Africans. Our places are elsewhere in the country areas."

39.

Table 6.4.
Selected correlates of work preferences. non-Zulus

Respondent group:	Percentages in respondent group expressing preference for:					N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	no specific preference	un-/semi-skilled work	skilled, superior work	work done at present	farming		
single	11	42	42	0	5	19	,33/5
married	7	25	20	37	11	96	,0175
started migrant career at 17 years or less	7	50	3	27	13	30	,34/5
started migrant career at 18 years or more	8	20	31	32	9	85	,0109
has never worked in one job for at least 8 years	14	33	25	23	5	64	,36/5
has worked in one job for 8 years or more	0	22	22	38	18	50	,0046
earns R99 per month or less	12	39	18	23	8	66	,37/5
earns R100 per month or more	2	12	29	42	15	48	,0035
perception of progress in work	8	13	23	43	13	47	,33/5
perception of no progress in work	7	38	24	22	9	68	,0186
problems when travelling to work centre	10	21	25	28	16	43	,29/5
no travel problems	2	40	21	35	2	71	,0589
prefers farming to city work	0	23	31	20	26	39	,42/5
prefers city work to farming	11	31	20	35	3	74	,0002

Continued/...

40.

Table 6.4 Continued.
Selected correlates of work preferences. non-Zulus

Respondent group:	Percentages in respondent group expressing preference for:					N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	no specific preference	un-/semi-skilled work	skilled, superior work	work done at present	farming		
prefers to work in rural areas	9	26	24	23	18	66	,31/5
prefers to work in city	6	31	22	41	0	49	,0274

Notes:

- Rows add up to 100%. Percentages referring to "unskilled" and "semi-skilled" work have been combined for a better overview.
- Values for the contingency coefficient (CC) and degrees of freedom (d.f.) were calculated for tables in which the categories 'unskilled' and 'semi-skilled' were not combined.

41.

Table 6.5.
Selected correlates of job aspirations.

Zulus

Percentages in respondent group aspiring to:

Respondent group:	no aspirations	un-/semi-skilled job	skilled, superior job	continue in present job	farm	N	CC/d.f. significance p <
29 years or younger	15	18 ↑	50 ↑	6 ↓	11	183	,28/10
30 - 44 years of age	10	11 ↑	48 ↑	9 ↓	22	191	,0000
45 years or older	22	6 ↓	30 ↓	16 ↓	26	134	
no education*	23	6 ↓	35 ↓	13 ↓	23	176	,29/10
4 - 11 years formal education	8	17	58	8	9	144	,0000
low industrial commitment* ^{a)}	6	10	53	8	23	125	,22/10
high industrial commitment	18	13	39	17	13	127	,0024
worked 8 years or less*	15	20	50	6	9	137	,30/10
worked 21 years or more	19	7	29	16	29	166	,0000
worked less than 4 years in present job*	15	19	47	5	14	202	,27/10
worked 10 years or more in present job	16	5	33	19	27	134	,00000
earns R99 per month or less	20	18	39	7	16	229	,22/5
earns R100 per month or more	10	8	47	13	22	277	,0000
presently employed as unskilled worker	19 ↑	15	39 ↓	8 ↓	19	287	,23/10
presently employed as semi-skilled worker	11 ↑	9	46 ↓	12 ↓	22	170	,0009
presently employed as skilled worker	6 ↓	8	62 ↓	16 ↓	8	51	
all migrants in family perform unskilled work*	22	13	39	9	17	117	,20/10
all migrants in family perform skilled work	15	17	49	8	11	130	,0119

Continued/...

42.

Table 6.5 Continued.
Selected correlates of job aspirations.

Zulus

Percentages in respondent group aspiring to:

Respondent group:	no aspirations	un-/semi-skilled job	skilled, superior job	continue in present job	farm	N	CC/d.f. significance p <
downward mobility regarding skill category	19	11	52	7	11	27	
no mobility regarding skill category	16	15	42	8	20	276	,17/8
upward mobility regarding skill category	9	9	46	15	21	164	,0871
perception of progress in work	12	11	45	13	20	246	,15/5
perception of no progress in work	18	14	43	6	19	259	,0256
satisfied with ability to remit	9	11	45	13	22	193	,16/5
dissatisfied with ability to remit	19	13	43	8	17	313	,0256
prefers wife to live in rural home	15	12	41	11	21	438	,19/5
prefers wife to live in town	15	18	57	4	6	68	,0030
has friends in town	11	12	46	10	19	393	,21/5
is isolated or encapsulated in 'homeboy' group	29	13	32	7	19	110	,0002
claims urban rights ^{b1)}	15	12	46	11	16	385	,17/5
no claims to urban rights ^{b2)}	14	14	34	7	31	111	,0108
demands city leaders ^{c1)}	16	12	46	11	15	346	,18/5
accepts homeland leaders ^{c2)}	12	13	38	8	29	160	,0035
access to at least 2 hectares arable land	14	14	38	9	25	224	,16/5
access to less than 2 hectares arable land	16	10	49	11	14	264	,0214

Continued/...

43.

Table 6.5 Continued.
Selected correlates of job aspirations.

Respondent group:	Zulus				farm	N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	no aspirations	un-/semi-skilled job	skilled, superior job	continue in present job			
sees prospects in farming	10	10	34	8	38	95	,22/5
sees no prospects in farming	16	13	46	10	15	410	,0001
farming tradition in home district	12	14	39	9	26	258	,20/5
no farming tradition in home district	17	11	49	11	12	247	,0008
prefers farming to city work	17	11	37	7	28	260	,26/5
prefers city work to farming	13	13	51	14	9	243	,0000
prefers to work in rural areas	17	10	41	10	22	348	,17/5
prefers to work in city	11	17	50	9	13	157	,0143
remits 30% of wages or more	17	14	38	7	24	278	,22/5
remits 29% of wages or less	11	10	51	14	14	220	,0002

Notes:

- Rows add up to 100%. Percentages referring to "unskilled" and "semi-skilled" work have been combined for a better overview.
- Except in the case of the occupational mobility variable, values for the contingency coefficient (CC) and degrees of freedom (d.f.) were calculated for tables in which the categories 'unskilled' and 'semi-skilled' were not combined.
- * Excerpt from original table shown.
- a) Refers to scores on an industrial commitment index. The index is calculated on the basis of responses to the questions: "... how long would you like to go on working in town?" and "... when do you think you will stop work in the city?"
- b1) Agrees with statement: "A city like Durban belongs to everyone who works in it, Africans included."

Continued/...

44.

Table 6.5 Notes Continued.

- b2) Agrees with statement: "A city like Durban does not belong to us Africans. Our places are elsewhere in the country areas."
- c1) Agrees with statement: "We Africans from the country areas must have leaders in the cities to represent us about our problems."
- c2) Agrees with statement: "We Africans from the country areas have our own leaders in our own 'Homelands' - we must depend on them."

Table 6.6.
Selected correlates of job aspirations.

Respondent group:	non-Zulus				farm	N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	no aspirations	un-/semi-skilled job	skilled, superior job	continue in present job			
29 years or younger	22	22	39	0	17	23	
30 - 44 years of age	18	11	43	13	15	61	,36/8
45 years or older	32	3	16	13	36	31	,0248
no education*	39	11	25	3	22	36	,36/8
4 - 11 years formal education	15	12	36	22	15	41	,0308
desire to stop work before retirement age	8	10	43	10	29	60	,33/4
desire to continue working until pension	34	12	28	12	14	50	,0090
started migrant career at 17 years or less	20	23	20	17	20	30	,27/4
started migrant career at 18 years or more	24	7	40	8	21	85	,0520
worked 8 years or less*	23	23	27	4	23	22	,40/8
worked 21 years or more	22	6	19	12	41	32	,0103

Continued/...

45.

Table 6.6 Continued.
Selected correlates of job aspirations.

Respondent group:	non-Zulus				C/d.f. significance
	no aspirations	un-/semi-skilled job	skilled superior job	farm job	
worked less than 4 years in present job*	20	16	36	12	16 56 .37/8
worked 10 years or more in present job	21	8	12	17	42 24 .0228
earns R99 per month or less	26	17	35	4	18 58 .28/4
earns R100 per month or more	19	4	33	19	25 42 .0377
perception of progress in work	28	4	23	19	26 47 .33/4
perception of no progress in work	19	16	43	4	18 68 .0074
problems when travelling to work centre	25	6	36	6	27 43 .32/4
no problems	16	21	32	19	12 71 .0079
prefers wife to live in rural area	27	14	28	6	25 88 .39/4
prefers wife to live in city	7	4	56	26	7 27 .0003
sees prospects in farming	0	13	25	6	56 16 .35/4
sees no prospects in farming	26	11	37	11	15 99 .028
farming tradition in home area	16	9	31	13	31 50 .30/4
no farming tradition in home area	30	14	40	8	8 64 .0212
prefers farming to city work	13	5	28	5	49 39 .41/4
prefers city work to farming	27	15	38	13	7 74 .0010
prefers to work in rural areas	23	6	35	4	32 66 .37/4
prefers to work in city	23	18	35	18	6 49 .0013

Notes:

- Rows add up to 100%.

* Excerpt from original table shown.

Table 6.7.	
Reasons for indicating no job preferences.	Subsample of Zulu and non-Zulu respondents
Qualifying statements given by respondents in the 'no job aspirations' category:	
	%
no qualification	12,7
undecided, not thought of job preferences	17,6
age or health, due to retire	19,7
lack of education, skills or training	16,7
insufficient means, no savings	12,7
restrictive employment regulations	4,9
other	1,0
reference to job-related factors:	
job context factors	2,9
job security factors	10,8
social relations at work	1,0
	100%
	N = 102

6.7 The effect of the education factor on job aspirations: Survey results showed clearly that work preferences and job aspirations in particular were influenced by perceived limitations such as lack of education, training and skills.

- *I have little education, so I have no choice of work. It's the educated people who can make such choices. (Cleaner, 25 years of age, Std. 4 level of education.)*
- *I have no qualifications to do any better job. My present job is quite suitable for me. I do not see why I should aim at what I can never be - I am happy where I am. (Cleaner in a large organisation, 28 years of age, no formal education.)*
- *I can't prefer anything because I would not be comparing it with anything. I have this garden work, which is the only thing I have experience in. I have always done jobs which leave me with no trade. (Gardener, 37 years of age, Std. 1 level of education.)*

Respondents who were handicapped by these limitations felt they were not entitled to express high job aspirations. For example, of the 102 respondents who did not indicate a particular job aspiration, approximately one-fifth were constrained by age or health factors and approximately a further 17 percent by the lack of education, training or skills (cf. Table 6.7).

6.7.1 The background to unequal educational opportunities: Generally speaking, the survey data convincingly tells a story of the discrimination suffered by the rural workers who enter the migrant labour system at an early age. In the present study significantly higher proportions of the migrants entering the system before the age of 18 years than at a later age did so for reasons of economic hardship. As a consequence, those migrants in the sample who started working before the age of 18 years were significantly less likely than other survey respondents to have received any formal education. It would appear that 'early starters' never managed to overcome their initial disadvantage. According to survey findings, not only were those persons who started work before 18 years more likely than others to have begun their careers in unskilled jobs, they were also more likely to remain in low occupational positions throughout their lives. Significantly higher proportions of early than later starters in all age groups in the sample were occupying unskilled jobs at the time of the survey. The cross-tabulation exercise in Table 6.8 illustrates the situation of multiple deprivation for the two subgroups in the sample.

6.7.2 Implications of unequal educational opportunities: In this connection it is important to note that at a time when more and more blacks are receiving some primary education and various parties in South Africa - recognising the crucial role which education plays in black advancement - are urging for educational reform, migrant workers seem to have been left behind. Drawing on the survey evidence, there is a tendency for the new generations of migrants to start work at an earlier age than in former days. As a result of this situation the number of poorly educated migrants entering the industrial sector may actually be increasing at a time when education should theoretically be more accessible to blacks than in the past and industry requires increasing sophistication from members of its workforce.

Table 6.8.

Cross-tabulation exercise demonstrating the disadvantages of being forced to enter the migrant labour system at an early age.

	Age when first started working		N = Tau B or C p <
	17 years or younger	18 years or older	
<u>reason for becoming a migrant worker:</u>			621
economic hardship	51	39	,11
other	49	61	,0024
<u>formal education:</u>			
none	42	29	621
3 years or less	44	33	,23
4 to 11 years	14	38	,0000
<u>skill level in first job:</u>			573
unskilled worker	90	80	,09
semi-skilled and skilled worker	10	20	,0009
<u>skill level in present job:</u>			206
- 29 years : unskilled worker	71	58	,14
semi-, skilled worker	29	42	,0177
30 - 44 years : unskilled worker	68	49	253/,17
semi-, skilled worker	32	51	,0021
45+ years : unskilled worker	77	50	164/,23
semi-, skilled worker	23	50	,0006
<u>Notes:</u>			
- Figures for the total sample are given, because trends were statistically similar in the Zulu and the non-Zulu subsamples.			
- Tau C or B was calculated for tables in which the semi-skilled and skilled categories were not combined.			

Some 46 percent and 41 percent of the Zulu and non-Zulu respondents respectively in the youngest age class in the sample (29 years and younger), 37 percent and 23 percent respectively in the intermediate age class (30 to 44 years of age) and 27 percent and 23 percent respectively in the highest age class (45 years and older) had started working before 18 years of age. At the same time significantly higher proportions of the Zulu workers in each age group who had started work before age 18 than those

who started work later had received no education. The proportions of educated vs. uneducated respondents in the low, intermediate and highest age classes in the sample respectively were: 36 percent vs. 18 percent; 46 percent vs. 28 percent; and 58 percent vs. 42 percent. In the non-Zulu subsample the effect of an early start in the migrant career on educational achievements was only evident among the members of the lowest age class.

6.8 To sum up findings regarding levels of work and job aspirations, it is predominantly the younger migrants who hold the highest aspirations, except in those cases in which the lack of education is seen to limit prospects for advancement. It would appear that aspirations cannot be assessed only in terms of prestige distinctions between the jobs preferred, a rural-urban dimension of work must also be taken into consideration. Typically, the maturer migrant who has achieved some degree of success in the industrial world by objective standards tends to make a choice between remaining in his present job or becoming an agriculturalist. Essentially this is the basic choice which migrants must make at some stage in their careers: Should they stay with the migrant labour system or leave it? Survey evidence supports the view that despite educational disadvantages persons wishing to remain in their present jobs have adjusted to migrancy, have made good in their urban careers and derive some satisfaction from this set of circumstances.

It is difficult to determine the causal connections between the various factors influencing aspirations in the case of those respondents who wished to pursue a career in agriculture. Perhaps migrants aspire to jobs in the agricultural sector of the economy because they are disenchanted with the migrant labour system and have failed to adjust to the migrant way of life. The fact that members of this aspiration group have rural opportunities on which to fall back, would lessen the loss of esteem which would usually be experienced by persons who have failed to succeed in the cash economy. Alternatively, one might hypothesise that urban aspirations and industrial commitment were never of great importance to members of this group. Their rural security may have been such that they adopted a target worker attitude to migrancy right from the outset of their working life and retained a rural frame of reference

during the many years of service in industry. In the present study, the latter type of explanation was considered more powerful than the former, mainly because agricultural aspirations were held by a substantial number of younger migrants in the sample, and according to survey evidence it is likely that *perception* of limited progress rather than actual lack of progress (measured in terms of relative occupational standing and earning capacity) characterised persons opting to abandon the migrant labour system. By contrast, the low occupational aspirations expressed by some of the more mature migrants in the survey may be interpreted as acts of resignation in a situation in which opportunities are thought to be blocked in both the urban and the rural sphere.

In broad outline then it would appear that the majority of migrants starting out in their working lives have high hopes for occupational advancement and wish to perform a skilled or superior job at some stage of their careers. If these job aspirations are realised will by and large be determined by educational factors. Approximately at mid-career the decision to stay with the migrant labour system or to leave becomes a relevant issue. Migrants who have achieved at least low-level satisfaction in their jobs and have no rural opportunities to turn to are most likely to wish to remain in their present jobs. The more dissatisfied migrant with no rural alternatives to wage labour will continue to shift jobs to increase work congruence, whilst the target worker will return-migrate. It is important to note that dissatisfaction with the migrant way of life rather than lack of relative success in the industrial world may precipitate the decision to leave the system.

CHAPTER 7.

JOB PREFERENCES.

7.1 A forced choice exercise in job preferences: general survey findings:

In a second exercise undertaken in the survey, respondents were asked to select the job they would most prefer from a list of jobs including - in the order in which they were read out to the respondents: the jobs of labourer, factory worker, farmer, driver, messenger, and clerk. Pay factors were held constant by asking the respondents to imagine that all jobs commanded the same pay. According to the migrants interviewed, the most popular jobs were those of the farmer and the driver, followed by the jobs of the clerk and the factory worker, whilst the jobs of the messenger and the labourer were least popular. The preference distribution differed significantly for the two subsamples. The non-Zulus tended to prefer urban jobs which required less skill such as the labourer's and the messenger's jobs and were slightly under-represented in the 'driver' and 'farmer' categories of choice (cf. Table 7.1).

Table 7.1.

Job preferences in a forced choice situation.

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

	Zulus	non-Zulus	Total
	%*	%*	%*
farmer in homeland	30,6	25,0	29,6
driver of a truck	24,9	21,3	24,3
factory worker working with machines	15,3	17,6	15,7
clerk in an office	15,1	11,1	14,4
messenger in a shop	9,5	12,0	9,9
labourer - building and construction	4,6	13,0	6,1
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 497	N = 108	N = 605

* Adjusted percentages : The 21 missing observations include multiple choice (Zulus : 2, non-Zulus : 1), no choice (Zulus : 11, non-Zulus : 6), no information (non-Zulus : 1).

Table 7.2.

Relationship between results of inquiries into work preferences, job aspirations and job preferences in a forced choice situation.

Percentages in modal categories

job preference: (forced choice)	work preference:	job aspirations:
farmer	Z : farmer 32%, skilled job 24% NZ : farmer 33%	Z : farmer 74% NZ : farmer 52%
driver	Z : skilled job 48% NZ : semi-skilled job 41%	Z : skilled job 59% NZ : skilled job 52%
factory worker	Z : present job 41% NZ : present job 42%	Z : skilled job 64% NZ : skilled job 37%
clerk	Z : skilled job 43% NZ : skilled job 75%	Z : skilled job 40% NZ : skilled job 53%
messenger	Z : present job 45% NZ : present job 46%	Z : skilled job 40%, any job 30% NZ : any job 45%
labourer	Z : present job 74% NZ : unskilled job 28%, semi-skilled job 21%	Z : present job 39% NZ : any job 36%

Z: Zulus
NZ: non-Zulus

Table 7.3.
Selected correlates of job choices.

Zulus

Percentages in respondent group selecting job in a forced choice exercise:

Respondent group:	Factory						N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	Labourer	Messenger	Worker	Clerk	Driver	Farmer		
29 years and younger	3	7	15 \uparrow	19 \uparrow	35 \uparrow	21 \downarrow	182	
30-44 years of age	4	11	14 \downarrow	16 \uparrow	27 \uparrow	28 \downarrow	186	,31/10
45 years and older	8	11	18 \downarrow	8 \uparrow	8 \uparrow	47 \downarrow	129	,0000
no education	6	14	14	12	20	34	171	,26/10
4-11 years formal education	4	4	12	26	30	24	141	,0001
low industrial commitment* ^{a)}	5	6	10	14	27	38	124	,23/10
high industrial commitment	9	12	22	18	22	17	124	,0018
desire to stop work before retirement age	3	8	12	13	26	38	339	,22/5
desire to continue working until pension	8	11	21	19	24	17	140	,0001
worked 8 years or less*	3	7	13	22	37	18	134	,30/10
worked 21 years or more	6	14	16	10	10	44	161	,0000
worked less than 8 years in any one job	4	7	14	17	33	25	275	,24/5
worked 8 years or more in one job	6	12	16	12	15	39	219	,0000

Continued/...

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Table 7.3 Continued.
Selected correlates of job choices.

Zulus

Percentages in respondent group selecting job in a forced choice exercise:

Respondent group:	Factory						N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	Labourer	Messenger	Worker	Clerk	Driver	Farmer		
presently employed as unskilled worker	5	13	17	12	24	29	282	
presently employed as semi-skilled worker	4	5	16	14	27	34	166	,26/10
presently employed as skilled worker	8	0	4	37	22	29	49	,000
demands city leaders ^{c1)}	5	10	13	18	29	25	337	,21/5
accepts homeland leaders ^{c2)}	4	8	18	10	17	43	158	,0003
feels unhappy about leaving wife on own	3	9	16	14	25	33	334	,15/5
feels happy about leaving wife on own	8	11	15	17	23	26	158	,0532
feels healthy	6	6	15	17	27	29	386	,25/5
feels not so healthy, weak or sick	1	20	15	9	17	38	108	,0000
positive attitude regarding strenuous work ^{d1)}	6	8	18	12	22	34	251	,14/5
negative attitude regarding strenuous work ^{d2)}	3	11	12	18	28	28	245	,0690
respondent is head of household	5	13	15	11	15	41	193	,25/5
respondent is not head of household	4	7	15	18	32	24	304	,0000

Continued/...

55.

Table 7.3 Continued.
Selected correlates of job choices.

Respondent group:	Zulus						N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	Percentages in respondent group selecting job in a forced choice exercise:							
	Labourer	Messenger	Factory Worker	Clerk	Driver	Farmer		
sees prospects in farming	6	10	9	8	15	52	94	,23/5
sees no prospects in farming	4	9	17	17	27	26	495	,0000
farming tradition in home district	6	8	11	11	25	39	254	,22/5
no farming tradition in home district	4	11	20	19	25	21	240	,0001
prefers farming to city work	3	10	9	11	21	46	256	,34/5
prefers city work to farming	7	9	22	19	29	14	236	,0000
prefers to work in rural areas	5	9	10	15	24	37	338	,27/5
prefers to work in city	4	9	28	15	27	17	156	,0000
visits rural home monthly or more often	4	6	14	13	32	31	180	,15/5
visits rural areas infrequently	5	12	16	16	21	30	315	,0418
remits 30% of wages or more	4	9	17	10	24	36	274	,16/5
remits 29% of wages or less	5	11	14	19	26	25	213	,0215

Notes: Rows add up to 100%.
Values for the contingency coefficient (CC) and degrees of freedom (d.f.) are calculated for original tables.

* Excerpt from original table shown.

Continued/...

Table 7.3 Continued.
Selected correlates of job choices.

- a) Refers to scores on an industrial commitment index. The index is calculated on the basis of responses to the questions:
"... how long would you like to go on working in town?" and "... when do you think you will stop work in the city?"
- b1) Agrees with statement: "A city like Durban belongs to everyone who works in it, Africans included."
- b2) Agrees with statement: "A city like Durban does not belong to us Africans. Our places are elsewhere in the country areas."
- c1) Agrees with statement: "We Africans from the country areas must have leaders in the cities to represent us about our problems."
- c2) Agrees with statement: "We Africans from the country areas have our own leaders in our own 'Homelands' - we must depend on them."
- d1) Agrees with statement: "Some people say that if a man works hard and exhausts himself for many months he will recover strength if he rests."
- d2) Agrees with statement: "Others say that if a man exhausts himself for months he will not regain strength with rest", or indicates indecision regarding the effects of strenuous work and exhaustion.

Table 7.4.
Selected correlates of job choices. non-Zulus

Respondent group:	Percentages in respondent group selecting job in a forced choice exercise:						N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	Labourer	Messenger	Factory Worker	Clerk	Driver	Farmer		
29 years and younger	4	4	22	31	30	9	23	,48/10
30-44 years of age	18	9	21	9	23	20	56	
45 years and older	10	24	7	0	10	49	29	,0002
worked 8 years or less*	15	5	5	25	35	15	20	,42/10
worked 21 years or more	3	23	19	0	13	42	31	,0095
has held 2 jobs or less*	4	8	4	30	23	31	26	,49/10
has held 4 jobs or more	27	19	13	3	11	27	37	,0002
doing heavy manual labour	24	14	9	5	5	43	21	,31/5
not doing heavy manual labour	9	12	20	13	25	21	86	,0406
farming tradition in home district	16	12	10	8	20	34	61	,32/5
no farming tradition in home district	9	11	28	15	24	13	46	,0305
prefers farming to city work	16	5	11	5	8	55	38	,48/5
prefers city work to farming	12	13	22	15	29	9	68	,0000
prefers to work in rural areas	14	11	10	14	13	38	63	,42/5
prefers to work in city	11	13	29	7	33	7	45	,0004

Continued/...

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Table 7.4 Continued.
Selected correlates of job choices. non-Zulus

Respondent group:	Percentages in respondent group selecting job in a forced choice exercise:						N	CC/d.f. significance p <
	Labourer	Messenger	Factory Worker	Clerk	Driver	Farmer		
experience of mine work	17	20	19	2	12	30	41	,31/5
no experience of mine work	10	8	16	16	27	23	62	,0408
feels unhappy about leaving wife on own	9	17	10	10	20	34	59	,36/5
is not worried about leaving wife on own	23	3	29	14	14	17	35	,0134

Notes: Rows add up to 100%. Values for the contingency coefficient (CC) and degrees of freedom (d.f.) are calculated for original tables.

* Excerpt from original table shown.

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Typically the younger persons in the sample opted for the types of jobs included in the exercise which required skills and possibly some formal education, whilst the older persons tended to opt for what might be considered the less demanding jobs. Thus, the clerical and the driver's job were more frequently selected by the younger than the older migrants in the survey.

7.2 The interrelationship between job preferences and aspirations: Job preferences tended to reflect work aspirations and job aspirations, and the distribution of responses on the job preference variable used in this exercise was significantly correlated with the distribution of responses elicited by the questions concerning 'work aspirations' and 'job aspirations' (cf. Table 7.2).

Three main findings emerged from this cross-tabulation exercise:

- a) Respondents choosing to farm were most consistent in their reactions to the cues given in this exercise as well as in other decision-making tasks involving options to farm or work in the country.
- b) The more popular choices referred to jobs for the more ambitious, which involved skills and training: the jobs of the driver, the clerk, and the factory worker were selected chiefly by respondents who had also expressed higher job aspirations (usually for skilled work).
- c) The less popular choices referred to jobs which required few skills and little training. These options were selected by relatively higher proportions of the persons who had expressed lower job aspirations (response categories 'indecision', 'any job') and who perceived few job opportunities.

The industrial commitment dimension emerged as the decisive factor in determining job preferences: Higher proportions of the less industrially committed respondents tended to choose the jobs of the driver or the farmer rather than other jobs (cf. Table 7.3 and 7.4).

7.3 Typical characteristics of persons selecting the job of messenger: It would appear that the choice between the job of the messenger or the

job of the labourer was frequently made according to the respondents' perceptions of their physical health and attitudes toward strenuous physical labour. The profile of the typical Zulu aspiring to the job of the messenger derived from a multivariate analysis of the survey data (cf. Table 7.3 and 7.4) included characteristics such as middle-aged and in poor health, negative attitudes toward hard physical labour, little education and few job skills. The messenger job may also have represented a conservative option for those migrants who for education reasons felt that they could not aspire to the job of clerk. It is interesting to note that relatively high proportions of the persons aspiring to the jobs of the clerk and the messenger were of the opinion that hard physical labour could be harmful under certain circumstances.

7.4 Characteristics of persons selecting the more popular jobs, a comparative survey: According to the survey data, the more popular jobs of the farmer, the driver, and the clerk were less accessible and acceptable for some classes of migrants. The *farmer's* job was definitely the optimal choice for the older, less committed migrant who perceived farming prospects in his home area. As mentioned earlier, persons expressing aspirations to work in agriculture in the first exercise on occupational and job aspirations were most likely to select the farmer job in the present exercise.

The *clerk's* job was most attractive to the better educated members of the sample and to those in skilled positions at the time of the survey. However, it is noteworthy that the profile of the persons choosing the clerical job and those choosing the driver's job were in some respects similar. Respondents aspiring to be clerks or drivers tended to be younger, in better health, to have worked for shorter periods in town, to hold more radical views on urban rights for migrants and to come from families in which migrants predominantly occupied the ranks of skilled or superior workers. However, the members of the two groups differed distinctly in their commitment to industrial work and their rural connections. Higher proportions of the persons selecting the driver's than the clerk's job paid frequent visits to the rural areas and stated their discontent with leaving their wives on their own in the rural areas.

Regarding industrial commitment and educational qualifications, the persons opting for the *driver's* job tended to have more in common with the persons wishing to become farmers than with their peers selecting the clerk's job. Thus, the conclusion is easily drawn that the outcome of the decision concerning the driver's job and the farmer's job options depended chiefly on age and rural security factors. Whilst the rural-oriented persons who were too young to be household heads in their own right would most likely opt to become drivers in the present exercise, the older migrants with land holdings in the rural areas would most likely prefer to farm.

7.5 Job affinity: It is also interesting to note that among Zulu migrants (the number of non-Zulu migrants in the sample was too small for trends to be discerned clearly), there was a tendency for respondents to select the type of job which was fairly similar to the job held at the time of the survey. The choices made by the members of the various occupational groups represented in the sample suggested that persons were better able to size up the jobs with which they were familiar. For example, 45 percent of the 76 Zulus voting for the factory worker's job were employed in manufacturing. Just under one-fourth of the 47 Zulus selecting the messenger's job were employed as service workers. The messenger's job was the most coveted job following the popular favourites, the farmer's and the driver's jobs, among the cleaners (18% of the cleaners' votes) and service workers (16% of the service workers' votes) in the Zulu subsample. Thirty-seven percent (the modal category) of the Zulu transport workers in the sample selected the driver's job. Respondents employed as construction workers were over-represented among the Zulus voting for the job of labourer in building and construction (57% of 23 votes). Thirty-five percent (the second highest percentage) and 28 percent (the highest percentage) of the Zulu office and sales workers in the sample respectively stated they preferred the job of the clerk in the forced choice exercise.

7.6 Summary: The findings concerning job preferences in a forced choice exercise were consistent with the results emanating from the less structured inquiry into work and job aspirations. The most popular choices included the occupations of farmer and driver. It was observed that respondents tended to favour jobs which were comparable to the ones they were performing at the time of the survey. Migrants, who were less privileged regarding occupational and educational status designations than other respondents in the survey, were also less inclined to select the more coveted jobs. Persons wishing to farm appeared to be most consistent in stating their job aspirations and job preferences. These findings suggest that perceived opportunity structures play an important role in shaping job preferences and aspirations among migrants.

CHAPTER 8.JOB MOTIVATIONS.

8.1 Working hypothesis: In this section of the report, we shall turn to the working hypothesis which states that migrant workers seek predominantly instrumental rewards for industrial work rather than opportunities for personal fulfilment and development.

In order to test this supposition, the motivations underlying the work and job aspirations discussed in Section 6 of this report, and the job preferences discussed in Section 7 were reviewed. Statements of intent were either volunteered by the respondents, or the interviewers were instructed to elicit reasons for aspiring to certain types of work and jobs by probing. Motivations were classified along the lines of Maslow's need schema and included the categories: *physiological factors* (mainly physical working conditions), *physical safety and security factors* (job security and pay factors), *social factors*, and *esteem and growth factors*. Esteem and growth needs were subsumed under a single heading, because it proved difficult to distinguish between these two categories of needs. Motivation patterns did not differ significantly for the Zulu and non-Zulu subgroups. However, the patterns were more distinct in the Zulu data due to the higher number of observations made among Zulu migrants.

8.2 Survey findings: When classified according to need level, the job motivations expressed by the respondents in the survey did not lend much support to the working hypothesis set out above. Whilst it was true that security factors were dominant when reviewing work preferences, higher levels of aspirations tended to be associated with needs for esteem and growth as well as for security. Although numbers were relatively small, there was evidence in the data,

- a) that respondents aspired to *unskilled* jobs chiefly for *physiological and security reasons*, and
- b) to *semi-skilled* jobs chiefly for *security* reasons.
- c) By contrast, respondents aspired to *skilled* jobs for *esteem* as well as security reasons.

d) It was also apparent that the respondents wishing to remain in their *present* jobs and the respondents who were *indecisive* or uninspired regarding job preferences were preoccupied with *security* concerns.

8.3 The need for security: The strong need for security among persons making conservative choices (response categories 'present job', 'any job') was particularly prominent when comparisons of the job aspirations elicited in the first exercise and the job preferences emerging from the forced choice exercise were made. High proportions of the persons desiring to remain in their present job made 'conservative' choices and expressed preferences for the jobs of the labourer, the messenger, and the factory workers. Among non-Zulus, the preference for the labourer's job was most highly associated with unskilled and semi-skilled work aspirations (cf. Table 8.1).

Table 8.1.
Motivation patterns corresponding to type and level of job aspirations.

8.1A Work preferences	Work goals associated with work preferences									
	Physiological		Security		Social		Esteem/ Growth		N =	
	Z %	NZ %	Z %	NZ %	Z %	NZ %	Z %	NZ %	Z	NZ
unskilled work	45	33	45	45	5	-	5	22	20	9
semi-skilled work	30	22	51	50	-	6	19	22	69	18
skilled or superior work	15	32	40	32	3	4	42	32	123	25
farmer	24	20	32	50	5	-	39	30	38	10
present job	15	14	66	59	1	-	18	27	93	22
any job	3	13	97	63	-	12	-	12	29	8

Z : Zulus
NZ : non-Zulus

Continued/...

Table 8.1 Continued.
Motivation patterns corresponding to type and level of job aspirations.

8.1B		Work goals associated with job aspirations (Zulus only)								
Job aspirations	Physiological Security				N =					
	Z %	Z %	Social Z %	Esteem/Growth Z %						
any job	-	100	-	-	8					
unskilled and semi-skilled jobs	41	55	-	4	27					
skilled and superior work	9	40	4	47	95					
farmer	30	40	-	30	30					
present job	40	50	10	-	10					
(note small numbers)										
8.1C		Work goals associated with job preferences								
Job preference in a forced choice exercise	Physiological Security				Social Esteem/Growth				N =	
	Z %	NZ %	Z %	NZ %	Z %	NZ %	Z %	NZ %	Z	NZ
labourer	9	7	23	43	-	-	68	50	22	14
messenger	64	61	21	31	-	-	15	8	47	13
factory worker	24	39	41	50	-	-	35	11	75	18
clerk	75	50	6	-	-	-	19	50	73	10
driver	16	26	44	32	1	-	39	42	109	19
farmer	20	19	22	33	4	15	54	33	147	27
8.1D		Work goals associated with driver's job (Zulus only)								
The driver's job	Physiological Security				Social	Esteem		N =		
work preferences	19	(19)*	55	(52)	-	(3)	26	(26)	67	(305)
job aspirations ^{a)}	17	(20)**	66	(40)	-	(4)	17	(36)	35	(135)
forced choice exercise	16	(37)***	44	(23)	1	(1)	39	(39)	109	(473)
* goals associated with other work preferences in brackets.										
** goals associated with other job aspirations in brackets.										
*** goals associated with other job choices in brackets.										
a statistically significant at ,05 level										
Row percentages add up to 100%										
Z: Zulus NZ: non-Zulus										

8.4 The need for esteem and growth: It is interesting to observe that the importance of finding work which gratifies the esteem needs of migrants was more evident in the second exercise, in which security factors were held constant. In this exercise, respondents were asked to imagine that the six jobs in the forced choice exercise were associated with identical pay scales. In circumstances in which the fulfilment of security needs could be taken for granted, the respondents clearly evaluated jobs in terms of the 'esteem' and 'growth' criteria even though the actual choice made reflected the individual constraints applicable in the particular situation of choice as is evident in the following excerpts from interviews:

- (Job preferences?): *Cleaning work, such as window cleaning. It is a light job and a clean one, and there is the art of cleaning and the satisfaction of accomplishment.* (Worker in a municipal sewerage farm, 45 years, no education.)
- (Qualification for selecting job of a 'factory worker on machines'): *There is some training offered which is easily grasped even by an uneducated person like me.* (Elderly cleaner, no education).
- (Qualifications for selecting job of 'labourer in construction'): *One can learn the building trade which would later enable me to start my own business.* (Construction worker, 29 years of age, no education.)
- *Since in such work one has greater benefits and is also paid well. Besides, it is a job, in which one gets chances of gaining more in terms of skills. And one has a chance of seeing a piece being finished as a whole. When we start a bridge and finish it on our own, this gives one a sense of achievement.* (Construction worker, approximately 45 years of age, no education.)

8.5 Job motivation and the two-factor theory: Clearly the majority of the respondents saw opportunities to fulfil higher order needs in the particular job they had chosen. The strength of the association of intrinsic rather than extrinsic rewards with job satisfaction is highlighted when a comparison of factors associated with job dissatisfaction and job satisfaction is made. Consistent with Herzberg's motivation theory, predominantly 'physiological', and 'safety and security' factors were identified as the aspects which made some jobs extremely unattractive (cf. Table 8.2).

It is interesting to note that in the case of the gardener's job which involves little danger (a 'physiological' factor) the importance of prestige factors in job evaluation emerged more clearly. Long working hours (a 'physiological' factor) and poor pay (a 'security' factor) were less likely to be cited than 'esteem' factors such as lack of respect on the part of employers, monotony, and few opportunities for advancement and learning new skills.

Reactions to selected jobs:

- (Miner): *I think I have a phobia for depths.* (Zulu factory worker, 42 years, Std. 3 level of education.)
- (Miner): *People are made to work underground and eventually get themselves buried.* (Zulu, induna in a mechanical workshop, 31 years, no education.)
- (Construction worker): *Death is inescapable due to the nature of the work, - the tall buildings.* (Zulu office attendant, 57 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)
- (Construction worker): *It is a dangerous job moving around with a wheelbarrow on the scaffolds or catching bricks at heights where one could easily fall.* (non-Zulu sewerage worker, 43 years, Std. 3 level of education.)
- (Cane cutter): *Sugar cane cuts you all over and you wear a sack and you get scabies and lice become part of your body.* (Zulu construction worker, 40 years of age, no education.)
- (Cane cutter): *One can contract serious rheumatism because of working in swampy areas.* (Zulu domestic worker, 24 years of age, Std. 1 level of education.)
- (Cane cutter): *This type of work can be dangerous, for example, there are many kinds of big snakes in the sugar cane fields. One is liable to be bitten by a poisonous snake at any time.* (Zulu labourer, 30 years of age, Std. 2 level of education.)
- (Gardener): *One is working under a madam and is always regarded as a boy and never as a man. Also a gardener's job is very monotonous.* (Zulu nightwatchman, approximately 48 years of age, no education.)
- (Gardener): *It's not a man's job, it's just like being castrated - it's very unmanly.* (Zulu driver, 39 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)

- (Gardener): *The wages are very low and it's difficult to be pushed from pillar to post by a white woman who gives you all kinds of names like Jim, John, etc. (Zulu petrol pump attendant, 29 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- (Cleaner): *Hanging onto windows is dangerous. (Sotho hoist operator on the railways, 36 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- (Cleaner): *I don't want to work kneeling, it affects the knees. You don't get a chance of going home because you even work on Sundays and the wages are very low. (Zulu shop assistant, 38 years of age, no education.)*
- (Road ganger): *I don't want this one because it means being exposed to rain. Intense heat and rain would result in my ageing before my time. It's a 'shame of a job', because when people go past, they say: "Oh shame, in this heat, and they are still working". (Assistant bricklayer, 21 years of age, no education.)*
- (Road ganger): *The sleeping conditions are bad and (you eat) unhealthy food prepared in pots made of tins. (Zulu security officer, 56 years of age, no education.)*
- (Road ganger): *It kills one's blood beyond repair. (non-Zulu sewerage worker, 35 years of age, Std. 5 level of education.)*

Table 8.2.
Motivation patterns corresponding to job preferences and dislikes (forced choice exercise).

	Work factors associated with most preferred and least preferred job				N
	Psychological %	Safety/ Security %	Social %	Esteem/ Growth %	
most preferred job Z:	32	28	1	39	475
NZ:	30	33	4	33	102
most disliked job* Z:	49	41	1	9	473
NZ:	34	52	1	13	103

Row percentages add up to 100% .
* Statistically significant, Tau C = ,09 p < ,0003
Z = Zulus
NZ= non-Zulus

In all the examples of job motivations given above the margin dividing 'physiological' and 'safety and security' factors from higher order esteem needs is extremely narrow. It is obvious that 'dirty', 'dangerous' and 'poorly paid' jobs are low prestige occupations in the opinion of the majority of the respondents. Bearing this argument in mind, one might consider that the 'physiological' factors which were regarded as the most positive attributes of the messenger's and the clerk's job by the respondents might in fact have been categorised as 'prestige' aspects of a job. Seen from this vantage point, the type of work done - light work, simple tasks, sedentary work - might have been classified as an esteem factor although this aspect of work is conventionally regarded as a job context factor (physiological category) in the quality of work life literature.

A clerk sits in his office, protected from the rains and earns money without sweating. I don't like to work hard exhausting myself, so I think clerical work is just the job for me. (General labourer in a factory with previous experience as a domestic worker and cleaner, 47 years of age, Std. 3 level of education.)

- *It's less strenuous compared with the other jobs (in the list). Just sitting behind a desk with a pen and paper. (Labourer in a factory, 43 years of age, Std. 3 level of education.)*
- *It's a light, decent and civilised job. I would be respected by the people coming for help. (Weaver, 32 years of age, Std. 4 level of education.)*

8.6 Motivations for becoming a driver or a farmer: In the Zulu subsample, security needs tended to be emphasised by those persons wishing to become drivers. The majority of the respondents opting for the driver's job in response to questions regarding work aspirations, job aspirations and job preferences respectively consistently indicated that their choice was based on security motivations. Among the non-Zulus esteem goals were most likely to be associated with the driver's job (cf. Table 8.1 D).

In the case of the Zulu subsample, it is intriguing to attempt to explain the preoccupation with security in connection with the driver's job by contrasting it with the farmer's job which competes for the votes of persons whose background is in many respects similar. By comparison, the farmer's job tended to be valued more highly in terms of meeting esteem needs (cf. Table 8.1C). This might indicate that persons making the 'farmer' choice felt confident that their needs for security were likely to be met. Alternatively, one might suggest that security issues were de-emphasised by the respondents opting to farm, precisely because their disillusionment with the migrant labour system and the rewards dispensed to migrants in the industrial world made esteem and growth goals appear more worthwhile. It is also possible that the driver's job represented a compromise solution which did not demand a high degree of urban or industrial commitment whilst it promised to meet 'security' and 'esteem' needs simultaneously. Typically, the proportion of 'esteem' type motivations increased when multiple reasons for wishing to become a driver were taken into consideration. In connection with the driver's job, security factors were perceived in terms of 'job' security and opportunities to find employment in the urban or rural areas. It was thought that driving skills could be put to good use in the rural areas and would also provide a basis of self-employment. Security in terms of the farmer job referred mainly to the capability

to meet existence needs by tilling the soil. Esteem goals were remarkably similar in the case of both types of jobs. Autonomy in organising one's work and determining one's work pace, and lack of supervision whilst working, were some of the most attractive features of both the driver's and farmer's jobs.

The driver's job:

- *Driving is a provision for life. One will find that driving is a recommendation for many jobs advertised. (Assistant welder, 32 years of age, Form 1 level of education.)*
- *I wish to work as a truck driver. It is a better paying job and it is not a heavy job. One uses more brains than muscles in it. (Handyman, 25 years of age, Std. 2 level of education.)*
- *It is a decent job. One appears to be an educated and intelligent man even if one has no education. It is rewarding and enhances one's status. (Steel fixer, 55 years of age, Std. 1 level of education.)*
- *If I knew driving, I would buy my own car and visit my family more often than when I have to wait for the train. (Night watchman, 43 years of age, no education.)*
- *If I were a driver, I should be able to work both in the rural areas and in town. (Domestic worker, 19 years of age, Std. 5 level of education.)*
- *I am aiming to be a bus driver who operates between Durban and home. In this way I feel I shall be in town daily and at the same time stay at home with my family. (Caretaker at a school, 30 years, Std. 4 level of education.)*
- *There is money in truck driving. It is the type of job that does not push one around. There are people to load and offload and one just cruises along. (Messenger, 19 years of age, Std. 4 level of education.)*
- *I don't want to be controlled by indunas. I want to struggle on my own with a vehicle on the road. (Refuse collector, 27 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- *I like the adventure involved in it. I would be in a position to see places I have never seen before and be able to relate new ideas to my friends. And the job is not strenuous. (Temporarily unemployed - formerly worked as clerk, 20 years of age, Std. 5 level of education.)*

8.7 Perceived opportunities to fulfil esteem needs in farming: It is noteworthy that of the jobs included in the forced choice exercise, the farmer's job was most highly valued in terms of meeting esteem needs (cf. Table 8.1C). Considering that low industrial commitment was highly associated with the 'farmer' option, this finding might be interpreted to mean that contract workers felt that their higher order needs could probably best be fulfilled outside the migrant labour system. At this point of the discussion, one might suggest that one of the chief reasons for contract workers leaving the migrant labour system is because they cannot fulfil their needs for self-actualisation within the constraints of the system. This type of interpretation is given additional weight by the fact that esteem type motivations form the basis for aspirations for superior jobs which are sought in the rural rather than in the urban context.

CHAPTER 9.SHIFTS IN ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK IN THE COURSE OF A MIGRANT LIFETIME.

9.1 Theoretical issues: When studying work expectations and job satisfaction, it will be essential to have some knowledge of the standards of reference which are employed by the particular groups of migrants concerned. Consider that variations in satisfactions between groups of migrants may in part be explained by the different reference standards employed by migrants rather than by actual progress achieved in work. Thus, changes in satisfactions in the course of a migrant lifetime may not reflect a genuine improvement of objective circumstances but merely a shift in values and life expectations.

To draw on survey findings discussed earlier, the increase in work satisfaction experienced by some of the senior workers in the sample may not have reflected the fact that they had advanced according to their expectations, but might have been caused by readjustments of their levels of aspirations or by their diminished concern with work rewards. Similarly, the signs of high job dissatisfaction, observed among some of the youthful migrants in the sample, may have been indicative of raised expectations, high aspirations and possibly impatience with slow progress rather than of fundamental discontent with their job situation. Moreover, the type of job dissatisfaction observed among youthful migrants may have been temporary, because novice migrants may have anticipated achieving job satisfaction in some years hence. Thus, a useful distinction between chronic and short-lived job dissatisfaction might be made.¹⁾ Whilst chronic dissatisfaction might result in a readjustment of reference standards, or migrant action, temporary dissatisfaction may automatically be removed at a later stage of the life cycle.

1) Herzberg applied a time dimension to work attitudes and associated it with specific types of motivators and dissatisfiers. He found that peak periods of satisfaction tended to be of shorter duration, whilst feelings of dissatisfaction were usually prolonged.

9.1.1 Shifts in life goals in the course of a migrant lifetime: In this section of the report, changing standards of reference, and shifts in life goals and values in the course of migrant lifetime will be the focus of concern. The discussion is based on the notion that the life cycle factor represents an important determinant of standards of reference which in turn may influence the experience of work satisfaction. This is certainly not a novel approach to studying the situation of contract workers; life cycle factors have traditionally been used to explain migrant behaviour. One of the most well-known paradigms of the migrant labour career demonstrates that the classical target migrant seeks wage income throughout his working career mainly to satisfy his own consumer needs and those of his family in the rural areas which become dominant at certain peak periods in his life. According to the life cycle explanation of migration, motivations for engaging in industrial work are invariably based on instrumental considerations throughout the migrant career. Satisfaction derived from work is correspondingly related to the extrinsic rewards a migrant can gain from temporary industrial commitment. Whenever the worker succeeds in saving adequate proportions of the monetary rewards from his labour to satisfy the needs of the moment, involvement in industrial work ceases to be attractive to him. According to the life cycle model, the classical migrant may retain this rural frame of reference - which allows him to regard industrial rewards merely as the means of gratifying rural needs - throughout the working career, but his rural orientation will become most pronounced toward the end of his working years.

9.1.2 The rural dimension: Obviously, the inclusion of the rural-urban dimension in the explanation of job satisfaction among migrants complicates the issue, but the introduction of an extra explanatory dimension seems unavoidable. In correspondence with the life cycle explanation of migrancy, it is proposed that shifts in work values during the course of a lifetime, which are commonly observed among all industrial workers, are closely linked to shifts in rural-urban orientation in the case of contract workers. Based on survey findings, one might also hypothesise that the patterns of shifting reference standards in the migrant lifetime may well be curvilinear. Whilst novice migrants who have just left the rural areas of influence and those

migrants just about to return-migrate to the rural home, may orient themselves by the traditional or rural frame of reference, migrants in mid-career may be more committed to industrial standards of reference.

9.2 Empirical measurement of value shifts: In the present study, value shifts in the course of a migrant lifetime which might affect the experience of job satisfaction were not observed directly. Instead, an approximation of value shifts in time was attempted by observing migrants in the sample who had reached different stages in their careers.

9.3 Survey findings: Our survey data suggested that two major factors are dominant and active throughout the migrant lifetime. These factors included not only the 'security' factors (mainly monetary rewards) predicted to be all-important in the life cycle model of migrancy, but also 'esteem' factors. Consistent with Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory extrinsic factors such as pay and less often physical working conditions acted as push forces and caused respondents to *shift* jobs whilst 'esteem' factors were more likely to *attract* people to jobs. The overwhelming majority of all the respondents in the sample who had held two jobs or more had left their previously held job for security reasons (cf. Table 9.1). As reported in the preceding section, 'esteem' factors are closely related to work preferences and job aspirations.

9.3.1 Motivating factors in the early phases of the migrant career: Contrary to popular belief, we also found that 'esteem' factors as well as 'security' factors played an important role at the outset of the migrant career. The dominance of 'active' as well as 'passive esteem' needs was evident in the motivational pattern obtained from the compilation of respondents' reasons for starting out in their migrant careers and gravitating to their first place of employment (cf. Tables 9.2 and 9.3).

<u>Table 9.1.</u>		
<u>Reasons for leaving previous job.</u>		
<u>Need category:</u>	<u>Zulu</u> <u>%</u>	<u>non-Zulu</u> <u>%</u>
physiological	17,4	28,9
security	70,5	58,8
social	8,0	4,1
esteem and growth	4,1	8,2
	100,0	100,0
	N = 414	N = 97
Tau C = -.06 p < .04		

<u>Table 9.2.</u>		
<u>Reasons for starting work.</u>		
<u>Need category:</u>	<u>Zulu</u> <u>%</u>	<u>non-Zulu</u> <u>%</u>
security	46,3	57,8
social	11,0	15,5
esteem and growth	42,7	26,7
	100,0	100,0
	N = 508	N = 116
Tau C = -.09 p < .01		

<u>Table 9.3.</u>		
<u>Attractions of first job.</u>		
<u>Need category:</u>	<u>Zulu</u> <u>%</u>	<u>non-Zulu</u> <u>%</u>
physiological	36,0	31,9
security	23,9	24,8
social	35,8	38,0
esteem and growth	4,3	5,3
	100,0	100,0
	N = 506	N = 113

The 'security' motivation for starting work (cf. Table 9.2) referred mainly to economic hardship in rural families which had forced the younger generation to go out to work. 'Esteem' needs included the desire to prove oneself in industrial life and to acquire the prestige symbols of industrial success, such as clothes and money. 'Self-actualisation' needs referred mainly to the desire for a change of environment and adventure.

The attractive factors associated with the first workplace included mainly locality factors (conventionally categorised under 'physiological' needs), and convenient access to the work centre, job and wage opportunities ('security' needs), introduction to job opportunities through contacts ('social' needs), and in some few cases prestige aspects of working in a particular location ('esteem' needs).

It is important to note that 'social' motivators were well represented at this stage of the migrant career. Contacts, kinfolk or other persons from the home area, were most likely to assist in finding a job for the novice migrant. The desire to join the peer group at a particular work centre was also a strong motivating force which influenced the young men in the sample to become migrants. It was also abundantly clear that the peer group was a very important reference group for migrants starting out in their working careers. It was observed that 'social' and 'esteem' needs were partially congruent at this stage in the migrant career, because novice migrants sought the approval of co-workers who might also be their peers.

- *I had no other place in which to look for employment. The poverty at home was so great that I could not travel further than X (local work centre) to look for better employment. (Sewerage worker, 50 years of age, no education.)*
- *I was forced to become a domestic servant because I was under age. I could not be employed in factories or other places. I had no choice. (Baker, 46 years of age, no education.)*
- *It was the first available job for me and I wasn't selective then - I just wanted to see myself working. It was near home and I could be with my parents every weekend. (Painter's assistant, 47 years of age, no education.)*

- *I had a friend who had found me work there and I was young then, so I accepted anything which came my way. (Railway worker, 34 years of age, no education.)*
- *All the young men of my age were leaving school and rushing to Johannesburg, so I joined them. (Induna, 48 years of age, Std. 4 level of education.)*
- *I wanted to work in order to avoid the stigma of being a 'stay-at-home'. (Machine operator, 50 years of age, no education.)*
- *My age mates who were already working were showing off in their nice clothes and were attracting all the girls. I felt inferior in their presence. But we were pals and they persuaded me to come to Durban to work. (Mechanic, 48 years of age, Std. 3 level of education.)*
- *Our home town offered no jobs and even if there was work it was poorly paid. Contract labour in X (a local mine) meant that we could go as a group of pals even though the pay was low. (Messenger, 45 years of age, no education.)*

9.3.2 Peer group influence: It is proposed that the strength of peer ties is a factor which will reinforce the retention of a rural rather than an urban-industrial standard of comparison throughout the migrant lifetime. As discussed earlier, the migrant labour system operates with this type of mechanism to maintain low expectations and aspirations among migrants which will lead to low-level rather than to higher-order satisfaction for the migrants concerned. Survey findings indicated that encapsulation in 'home-boy' or kinship circles in town may decrease systematically in the course of a migrant lifetime. In the survey sample, 30 percent of the respondents with less than 8 years of service were encapsulated in such groups, whilst only 22 percent in the 8 - 20 years of service category and 21 percent in the over 20 years of service category had made no intimate friends among townspeople. (This difference is statistically significant at the .05 level.) In this connection, it is interesting to note that in later stages of the migrant career, the minority of the migrants in the sample who were socially isolated were significantly more likely than other respondents to exhibit low levels of job aspirations. Forty-one percent of the socially isolated but only 18 percent of the socially integrated persons in the oldest age class in the sample (45 years and older)

held no job aspirations.

9.3.3 Motivating factors in the later stages of the migrant career.

As discussed when reporting on job aspirations, the rural alternative to industrial work emerged as a more promising solution to satisfying both 'security' and 'esteem' needs towards the end of the migrant career. As we shall see shortly, a shift in value orientations as well as changing circumstances concerning tenure and family factors possibly made the rural job alternative extremely attractive to the more mature migrant.

Motivation category:	Work preference:	
	Farming %	City work %
physiological	1	22
security	27	70
social	34	1
esteem and growth	38	7
	100	100
	N = 170	N = 270

Tau C = .65 p < .001

9.3.3.1 Motivational aspects of rural work options: In the discussion of work preferences and job aspirations, the 'farmer' choice epitomised this type of rural alternative. Most strikingly, the choice of the farmer job was highly associated with the fulfilment of 'esteem' needs (cf. Table 9.4). Correspondingly, 43 percent of the respondents with 21 years or more service, but only 33 percent of those with less than 8 years of service named 'esteem' needs as the factors which prompted them to select a particular type of job in the forced choice exercise concerning job preferences and 47 percent of the respondents in the highest but only 15 percent in the lowest service category selected the farmer job. According to survey findings, 'esteem' goals were

certainly important motivating factors with respect of the other job choices made by respondents in all service categories, but they appeared to be the decisive factors for the more senior migrants, who were most prone to seek gratification of 'esteem' needs in the rural areas. In this connection, it was speculated whether senior migrants were forced to seek fulfilment of 'esteem' needs in the rural areas because the opportunities for doing so in the industrial world were extremely limited for them at this stage of their careers.

According to survey data, the rural work options were consistently more attractive alternatives for the mature rather than for the novice migrant (cf. Tables 9.5 and 9.6). The promise of being able to fulfil 'social' and 'esteem' needs in the rural areas was particularly attractive for the mature migrant. Being able to live with one's family was certainly one of the most dominant motivations classified under the 'social need' rubric. In some cases respondents referred to family members in terms of congenial co-workers. Most importantly, persons wishing to become farmers or rural-based workers hoped to gain self-esteem through work autonomy, financial independence and self-sufficiency. To many, farming was seen as a challenge, a fight against odds such as lack of capital, poor access to markets, uncertain climatic conditions, and poor soil.

Table 9.5.
Preference for farming rather than urban work by years of service.

Work preference:	Number of years worked:		
	Less than 8 %	8 - 20 %	21 or more %
farming	45	46	55
city work	55	54	45
	100	100	100
	N = 158	N = 259	N = 193

Tau C = .09 p < .03

Table 9.6.
Preference for a rural rather than an urban job by years of service.

Job preference:	Number of years worked:		
	Less than 8 %	8 - 20 %	21 or more %
rural job	59	67	72
urban job	41	33	28
	100	100	100
	N = 158	N = 258	N = 198

Tau C = ,11 p <,005

Reasons for selecting the 'farmer' option:

- *You are motivated to work harder because the work is yours and all the profits are yours. (Technical assistant, 55 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- *If the work is your own, you respect it and you also respect money since you know if you eat it carelessly, you are killing your own business and your future. (Laboratory assistant, 40 years of age, ca 10 years of schooling.)*
- *It gives one a sense of responsibility, because it's your work. Mistakes will reflect badly on you. (Stevedore, 41 years of age, Std. 2 level of education.)*
- *I would be staying with my family and I would be working for myself without anybody shouting at me each time I make a mistake. (Refuse collector, 36 years of age, no education.)*
- *There is good health in farming: my children would be well fed. (Sewerage worker, 60 years of age, Std. 3 level of education.)*
- *It is a profitable job and it is a pleasure to be a farmer in the homeland because you stay with your family and also work together. (Security guard, 60 years of age, no education.)*
- *In the rural areas the people are starving and I would be of use to them. At the same time, my family would be kept together and I would be with them all the time. It's not a nice thing to lead the life of a bachelor when you are a married man. (Cleaner, 46 years of age, Std. 1 level of education.)*

- *I would not be working under a white man who treats you like a small child when I am a man with a family.*
(Cleaner, 58 years of age, no education.)

It is interesting to note that consistent with Herzberg's conceptualisation of job motivations, respondents who rejected the 'farmer job' option, were also more likely to emphasise the financial gamble and the insecurity involved in farming rather than the lack of esteem associated with farming (cf. Table 9.4).

Table 9.7.
Observations of value shifts in the course of a working lifetime.
Percentages in each service group considering the following items high priorities:

Priorities in rank order of importance:	Number of years worked:			N =
	Less than 8	8 - 20	21 or more	
a happy family	96	96	96	610
many cattle and land to plough	82	80	90*	608
a nice house in the country	77	83	79	609
be respected by relatives and kinsmen	79	75	68**	607
be treated with respect at work	74	76	69	612
have skill in work in the city	70	64	52**	611
a nice house in the city	20	21	9**	609
be a member of committees and clubs in townships	23	18	13**	607
many friends among city people	12	12	5**	611
be known as a city man	10	4	4*	607

Figures for the total sample are given because trends were very similar in the Zulu and the non-Zulu subsamples. Cattle and land were important for similar proportions of non-Zulus in each service group.

*, ** Differences between service groups significant at .05 and .01 levels respectively.

9.3.4 Empirical observations of value shifts in the migrant life cycle:

The survey data revealed that some of the shifts in work attitudes reviewed were in fact a reflection of general value shifts in the course of the migrant lifetime. At one point during the interview survey respondents were required to express their attitudes toward general issues in life by rating 10 items according to importance. Table 9.7 shows that all the respondents representing three phases in the migrant career were generally less concerned with urban goods and values than rural ones. A trend in the importance ratings was detected which suggested that rural orientations and conservatism increased with years of service. This interpretation of the results of the exercise in observing value shifts was further supported by the finding that only 37 percent of the respondents in the lowest service category discussed rural affairs with their best friends in town, whilst 59 percent in the intermediate and 72 percent in the highest service category did so.

9.3.4.1 Personal esteem : a stable value: Given the pronounced rural rather than urban-industrial orientation of the majority of the migrants interviewed in the study, it was all the more remarkable that the two work-related value items included in the rating exercise: 'respect at work' and 'acquisition of work skills' ranked immediately after the highest priority issues concerning family life, the possession of rural wealth and prestige, and the possession of a country home and social recognition. The two personal esteem items: 'respect afforded by kinsmen' and 'respect at work' were ranked as approximately equally important, suggesting that the fulfilment of 'passive esteem' needs are imperative, regardless of the context in which the migrant finds himself. More significant in the present discussion is the result that roughly equal proportions of the respondents representing migrants in various stages of their careers considered the 'respect' items important. This intimates that 'esteem' needs are active and dominant throughout the migrant career. All respondents irrespective of the particular stage of the migrant career in which they found themselves at the time of the survey, wished to be respected for the work that they did. The significantly higher priority ranking of the 'kin respect' item by the younger than the older migrants in the sample may be partially accounted for by the fact that peers, who may at the same time

be relatives of the migrant, are dominant reference persons from whom social recognition will be sought.

9.3.4.2 The value of training and opportunities to learn skills: The desire to gain work skills which may be instrumental in achieving esteem in work, - a motivation which is certainly indicative of higher job aspirations - is also a relatively high priority among migrants in all stages of their careers. However, the respondents who had entered the migrant labour system more recently, tended to be more ambitious in the sense that they valued job skills more highly than their predecessors. It will also be noted that this result is consistent with the findings regarding the job aspirations of younger persons. According to the inquiry into job aspirations reported on earlier, younger persons were more likely than the more mature persons in the sample to wish to perform skilled or superior work.

9.4 Value shifts : future prospects: One last word of caution is perhaps indicated at this point in the discussion. The survey data reviewed so far suggests that migrants tend to lower their expectations for advancement in the industrial world in the course of their working lives and to revert to a rural frame of reference towards the end of their urban careers. However, because we are only observing value shifts which have been artificially simulated rather than have evolved naturally, we cannot exclude the possibility that external factors may disturb the predicted pattern. For instance, the possibility lies close at hand, that migrants joining the labour force in future may not be prepared to relinquish the urban standard of reference adopted in the course of their urban careers, in order to make inferior rural comparisons as they grow older. In which case they would not resign themselves to accepting low-level work satisfactions and deferring gratification of higher order needs until they have returned to the rural home at the end of the migrant career.

9.5 To sum up, a review of value shifts in the course of a migrant life time was undertaken by employing survey data collected at one point in time as a proxy for longitudinal observations. Two major observations were made:

Firstly, migrants tended to become increasingly conservative and more amenable to rural standards of comparison in the later phases of their working lives. However, with only data collected at one point in time at our disposal, it was not possible to predict with any accuracy if the younger generations of migrants would actually follow the same pattern of reference orientation as their predecessors.

Secondly, it was concluded that the attractiveness of non-industrial work opportunities among the maturer migrants in part reflected a shift in values in the course of a migrant lifetime. In this connection, it was particularly striking that 'esteem' needs related to the work situation appeared to be dominant in all phases of the migrant career. Judging from the survey findings, industrial work is less capable of providing the framework in which the 'esteem' needs of the more mature contract worker can be fulfilled. It was thought that evidence of worker dissatisfaction and of aspirations to leave the migrant labour system among senior migrants might be a reflection not only of the search for old-age security but also of the gratification of 'esteem' needs which had been neglected throughout a working lifetime.

CHAPTER 10.JOB SATISFACTION.

10.1 Theoretical issues: In this section we shall look into the satisfaction which migrants derive from work. From a theoretical viewpoint, we can say that job satisfaction is the factor which should ensure continued commitment to a particular job and in the wider context should promote commitment to industrial work and to the migrant labour system. Conversely, it is proposed that job dissatisfaction may promote job turnover and in extreme cases of job dissatisfaction return migration. If a distinction between higher and lower levels of job satisfaction is made, low level job satisfaction would refer to the fulfilment of 'instrumental' and 'security' needs whilst higher level job satisfaction would also include the gratification of 'esteem' needs. As the relationship between job performance and job satisfaction is by no means clearly defined in the literature on job motivations, a discussion of worker productivity will be foregone in this report. However, it might be pointed out that on the macro-economic level, correlates of job satisfaction such as low labour turnover will obviously relate to productivity.

10.2 Indicators of job satisfaction used in the study: Following the quality of life approach to the study of job satisfaction we shall be mainly concerned with a subjective assessment of job satisfaction, namely with the progress that workers felt they had made in industrial work. This indicator was singled out for special consideration here, because it was thought to be the most relevant type of evaluation of work satisfaction for the migrants concerned.

In order to gain a more complete picture of job satisfaction among migrants, some of the more conventional indicators of job satisfaction and its correlates were also included in the study. Objective type indicators reflecting worker reaction to job satisfaction or job dissatisfaction were employed such as measures of job stability and turnover. The variables in this rubric included service in present job, average service in any one job during the migrant career, and number of jobs held. Further variables referred to absenteeism record, reports of career interruption in the past and intention of interrupting one's career in the future. These data were considered to represent objective rather than subjective assessments of job

satisfaction despite the fact that the information relating to these variables was supplied by the respondents themselves. However, one might argue that under other circumstances, these data might have been taken off record files placed at the researcher's disposal.

As job dissatisfaction is also thought to be closely associated to occupational position and occupational mobility, objective measures of status position in the industrial world were likewise included in the study. Variables in this rubric included: current occupational status, current wage earnings, wage increases since started working, occupational mobility since started working, proportion of salary remitted, and absolute sum of money remitted.

A further subjective indicator of perceived progress: satisfaction with remittance capability, was also included in the variable set.

Although discrepancies between objective and subjective assessments of worker satisfaction have been reported in the quality of work life literature in the past, the measures employed in the present survey yielded comparable results and many of the variables were significantly associated with each other.

Table 10.1.

Perception of progress in work.

"Do you feel you have made progress in your work or not?"
"Why, why not?" (Since first started working).

	Zulus %	non-Zulus %	Total %
progress made in work	48,4	40,5	47,0
slight progress	4,9	6,9	5,3
some factors inhibit progress	2,2	5,2	2,7
uncertain	,6	1,7	,8
no progress made in work	43,3	44,8	43,6
no information	<u>,6</u>	<u>,9</u>	<u>,6</u>
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N=510	N=116	N=626

10.3 Perceptions of progress in work: survey findings: In terms of our subjective indicators of job satisfaction, just under half of the total sample, or 49 percent of the Zulu and 41 percent of the non-Zulu respondents, felt they had made progress in work (cf. Table 10.1).

Table 10.2.	
Criteria employed to measure progress in work.	
	<u>%*</u>
<u>Progress made in work:</u>	
paid lobola, married and started a family	23
wage increase	17
purchased cattle, livestock	16
better job, better position at work	15
built a house, established own home	12
able to support family/dependents	9
educated, raised children	9
savings	7
purchased consumer durables (furniture etc.)	4
purchased vehicle	2
purchased personal consumer goods (clothing)	2
fulfilled duties to parents	2
Other: Purchased agricultural implements or invested in farming; personal growth or acquisition of skills; purchased land.	
<u>No progress made in work:</u>	
low wages	14
high cost of living	8
no savings	7
many dependents to support, many financial responsibilities	7
struggling to make ends meet, financial difficulties	6
type of job	5
short service	3
unemployment, declared redundant, put onto short-time	3
poor health (self or family)	2
Other: Frequent job shifts, has few possessions, owns no property, owns no cattle, low standard of living, poor agricultural situation, not paid lobola, high travel costs, high education costs, could only work illegally.	
*Multiple responses	N=626

Progress in work was assessed mainly in terms of security and instrumental rewards (cf. Table 10.2). The most common criteria for measuring adequate returns from migrant work included such values as familism, prestige in the rural community and consumerism. The ability to finance one's marriage, support one's family, educate one's children, and establish a home of one's own were frequently used as qualifications of progress in work by our respondents. Wage increases, the purchase of cattle and other consumer durables, and the ability to save were also cited as proof of success in work. It was observed that rewards derived from migrancy were with few exceptions invested in providing for the rural family, and in increasing one's social standing in the rural community. A notable exception were some 15 percent of the survey respondents, who measured progress in terms of a 'better job' or a 'better position at work'. Of course it is not quite clear if a 'better job' is associated with increased monetary rewards or increased prestige or both. Judging from the results obtained in the study of job preferences, we may conclude that promotion at work is associated with the gratification of 'esteem' as well as 'security' needs. Unambiguous reference to self-actualisation criteria of progress was made by less than 1 percent of the sample.

- *I started as a domestic worker earning very little money. I have progressed over the years and am now earning R35,50 per week doing very easy work. (Security guard, 43 years of age, Std. 1 level of education, interviewed in 1976.)*
- *I feel I have made progress in my work because I have married, raised a family and buried my parents without help from anyone in our family. (Machine operator, 38 years of age, Std. 2 level of education.)*
- *I started working as an ordinary labourer. I have worked my way up to an independent machine operator and I can do a few minor adjustments to the machine without waiting for the fitter. (Machine operator, 54 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- *I now hold a Code 10 driver's license, earn better pay and send home more money. (Driver, 26 years of age, Std. 4 level of education.)*
- *I used my first earnings to buy cattle to boost my social standing. Then I lobola'd a wife. Thirdly, I put up my own homestead. And I sent my children to school. (Construction worker, 47 years of age, Sub-Std. B level of education.)*
- *I suppose I have (made progress), because I started work earning 75 cents. Now I am getting much more than that and I now do light work because of my long service. (Gardener in a private house, estimated to be over 60 years of age, equivalent to Sub-Std. B level of education.)*

- *I have always done menial and low-paying jobs. Nevertheless, I have managed to save for lobola and build my own homestead. (Gardener in a large organisation, 54 years of age, no education.)*
- *I started at X (construction firm) as an ordinary labourer doing odd jobs, now I am doing a semi-skilled job. Though there is not enough money in it, I think all the same that it is an achievement. (Carpenter, 36 years of age, Sub-Std.B level of education.)*

Dissatisfaction with progress in work was measured mainly in terms of inadequate financial rewards. Respondents were of the opinion that migrants received low wages which were completely unrelated to the cost of living, and to their financial responsibilities. In some cases, individual employment patterns or the constraints of the migrant labour system were cited as the cause of limited progress in work. Respondents observed that migrants were only employed in inferior and low paying jobs, or were the first ones to lose their jobs when the economy was depressed. Small numbers of respondents attributed lack of advancement to the fact that they had only been working for a short while, had shifted jobs quite often, or had interrupted their migrant career for various reasons including ill-health.

- *I do not earn enough money to look after my family. At times we get chased away from work due to the shortage of work and this retards progress. (Labourer, 39 years of age, Std. 2 level of education.)*
- *I do not think I have made progress: whatever I get goes into the pot. Prices seem to rise faster than wages. Forty Rand simply disappears before one realises what has been bought with it. (Cleaner interviewed in 1976, approximately 49 years of age, no education.)*
- *I see absolutely no progress because I am married. All my earnings have something waiting for them: the children's stomachs at home, my stomach here, rent, transport, clothing, etcetera. So it's very difficult to make any progress under these circumstances. (Postman, 33 years of age, Std. 2 level of education.)*
- *I do not see much progress. To me progress means establishing my own job and stopping to work for a white man. As it is, I have not achieved that independence. (Carpenter, 34 years of age, Sub-Std. B level of education.)*

- *I have not made progress in work because of the type of jobs which I have done for very low wages. And I kept on changing jobs hoping for something better.* (Construction worker, 42 years of age, Sub-Std. A level of education.)
- *I have made no progress at all because there is nothing to which I can point as proof of progress.* (Stevedore, 25 years of age, no education.)

Judging from the results of this survey of progress in work it would appear that - contrary to Herzberg's contentions - security factors may represent a source of job *satisfaction* as well as job *dissatisfaction* among migrants. It is likewise apparent that the utility value derived from instrumental aspects of work has certainly not been saturated in the case of migrants.

10.4 Statistical profiles of satisfied and dissatisfied workers: Because the sample was fairly evenly divided regarding the issue of progress in work, remarkably clear-cut profiles of the satisfied and dissatisfied worker respectively emerged. Based on the results of the multivariate analysis of the survey data, a 'statistical portrait' of the satisfied and dissatisfied worker respectively was assembled. As the profile of the second type of worker can be obtained by inverting the profile of the first type of worker, it will suffice to describe the major characteristics of a single type. The attributes of the opposite type can easily be inferred from this description.

We shall commence with the characterisation of the satisfied worker: According to his statistically defined image, this worker is a more mature man, who has been relatively successful in the world of work by migrant labour standards. His success may be due to the fact that he entered the migrant labour market with several advantages. However, his success may also be attributed to his positive attitude toward industrial work. He has a reputation for being a stable and conscientious worker and intends to continue to maintain this record of faithful service. His political views tend to be relatively conservative, and this attitude is not merely a reflection of advanced age. The satisfied worker appears to be well adjusted to the migrant way of life and derives some satisfaction from the instrumental aspects of migrancy. However, the picture tends to lose its sharpness when we try to focus on industrial commitment. The

satisfied worker's prospects for a premature rural return to subsistence farming are above average and consistently he is most likely to be a self-confessed target worker. However, his attitude toward industrial work is contradictory to his ambition to remain in his present job.

In short, the worker described in terms of the statistically defined profile resembles the ideal type of permanent target worker who is for the most part content with his prospects in the migrant labour system. He is a conscientious worker for the duration of a migrant lifetime and is happy to leave the migrant labour system when he has outlived his usefulness in the industrial world.

If we wish to paint in the details in the portrait of the satisfied worker outlined above, it will be necessary to contrast the migrant who is satisfied with progress made in work with the dissatisfied migrant drawing upon statistics in the data file:

Maturer workers were more likely to be satisfied: Fifty-two percent of the respondents over 30 years and 52 percent of the married respondents, but only 38 percent of the respondents under 30 years and 34 percent of the single men indicated satisfaction in their work. Fifty-three percent of the satisfied workers were heads of homesteads, whilst 44 percent were not heads.

Objective measures of success in the industrial world were related to job satisfaction: Sixty-one percent of the persons who had made a 6 to 15 fold wage gain during their migrant careers, but only 45 percent of those who had experienced smaller gains, and 35 percent of those who had experienced wage losses were satisfied workers. Sixty-four percent of those who had been upwardly mobile on the occupational hierarchy, but only 40 percent of those who had been stable or had experienced downward mobility were satisfied workers. Satisfied workers included 77 percent of the skilled (vs. 38 percent of the unskilled workers), 51 percent of the men working in physically non-strenuous jobs (vs. 36 percent working in physically strenuous jobs), and 62 percent in the higher wage class represented in the survey (R100 per month or more in 1977 wage rates) (vs. 31 percent in the lower wage class).

Remittance capability, which is a strong indication of success among migrants, was superior among satisfied workers: Forty-four percent of those remitting at least 30 percent of their earnings (vs. 52 percent of those who remitted less) and 61 percent of those persons who remitted R50 or more (vs. 44 percent of those who remitted less) were satisfied workers.

Likewise subjective assessments of success were more frequently made by the satisfied than the dissatisfied workers: Fifty-seven percent of the satisfied workers but only 19 percent of the dissatisfied workers felt they remitted enough money to their rural homes. And 40 percent of the satisfied, but only 32 percent of the dissatisfied workers said they were able to see enough of their families.

The data suggests that the relative success experienced by satisfied workers may have been influenced by the 'head start' they had been afforded when entering the industrial world:

Seventy-three percent of the satisfied, but only 57 percent of the dissatisfied respondents had first participated in the labour market at the age of 18 years or older. Thirty-six percent of the satisfied, but only 24 percent of the dissatisfied respondents had received four or more years of formal education.

Measured by a series of conventional indicators, satisfied workers were relatively stable workers: Seventy-eight percent of the satisfied workers (vs. 70 percent of the dissatisfied workers) had worked for 8 years or more, only 30 percent of the satisfied (vs. 36 percent of the dissatisfied) workers had held only two jobs or fewer, 15 percent of the satisfied (vs. 7 percent of the dissatisfied) workers had spent on average over 10 years in any one job, 53 percent of the satisfied (vs. 37 percent of the dissatisfied) workers had spent 8 years or more in any one job held, 36 percent of the satisfied (vs. 17 percent of the dissatisfied) workers had worked for 10 years or more in their present jobs. Only 37 percent of the satisfied (vs. 46 percent of the dissatisfied) workers had interrupted their migrant career in the past, and only 44 percent of the satisfied (vs. 60 percent of the dissatisfied) workers wished to take a longer break from their urban work in future. Only 40 percent of the satisfied (vs. 51 percent of the dissatisfied) workers stated that they had stayed

away from work in the past without making prior arrangements with their employers.

Satisfied workers were more likely to perceive rural opportunities than dissatisfied workers: Fifty percent of the satisfied (vs. 39 percent of the dissatisfied) workers stated that they had access to two or more hectares arable land, 73 percent of the satisfied (vs. 61 percent of the dissatisfied) workers anticipated that they would have access to land after retiring from industrial work, 78 percent of the satisfied (vs. 66 percent of the dissatisfied) workers felt their land was secure. Sixty-five percent of the satisfied (vs. 59 percent of the dissatisfied) workers originated from districts in which there were some successful farmers. Nineteen percent of the satisfied (vs. 13 percent of the dissatisfied) workers were not farming by preference rather than because they thought farming was not a viable proposition. In this connection it is interesting to note that only 34 percent of the satisfied but 49 percent of the dissatisfied workers wished to farm for subsistence purposes after retirement.

Satisfied workers tended to hold traditional or rurally oriented political views: Thirty-nine percent of the satisfied (vs. 23 percent of the dissatisfied) workers agreed that migrants needed homeland rather than city leaders ¹⁾, and 28 percent of the satisfied (vs. 16 percent of the dissatisfied) workers made no claim to urban rights. ²⁾ On the other hand, satisfied workers were significantly less likely to pay allegiance or tributes to a chief in the home district. Seventy-two percent of the satisfied (vs. 88 percent of the dissatisfied) workers stated that they paid allegiance and tributes respectively.

Satisfied workers were better adapted to a migrant way of life than dissatisfied workers: Eighty-four percent of the satisfied (vs. 70 percent of the dissatisfied) workers had made friends with people they had met in town. Thirty-six percent of the satisfied but only 26 percent of the dissatisfied workers managed to visit their families on a regular basis.

1. cf. Table 7.3, footnote c.

2. cf. Table 7.3, footnote b.

Regarding the industrial commitment of the satisfied worker survey results were inconclusive: Thirty-one percent of the satisfied (vs. 15 percent of the dissatisfied) workers did not know how long they would work in town and 62 percent of the satisfied (vs. 70 percent of the dissatisfied) workers intended to stay in town until retirement age. By contrast, 38 percent of the satisfied (vs. 29 percent of the dissatisfied) workers said they would prefer to work in their present occupation in town rather than in the country. Fifty-seven percent of the satisfied but only 47 percent of the dissatisfied workers indicated a preference for city work rather than farming.

10.5 Job satisfaction and the fundamental dilemma: return migration or industrial commitment: Our data suggests that some of the respondents had been able to achieve real progress within the constraints of the migrant labour system and this contributed to their perception of job satisfaction. Subjective assessments of progress in work were positively associated with all the subjective measures of progress included in the study.

It is important to note that according to survey findings, job satisfaction is achieved mainly in mid-career. In this connection it is hypothesised that the perception of progress is the crucial factor which determines the outcome of the fundamental decision which migrants must make at this stage of their careers. Consider that novice migrants may be prepared to patiently persist in the migrant labour system in order to wait for signs of success in their careers. At this stage of their lives, a rural return is premature and may be interpreted by significant others as failure. Moreover, the tenure situation for younger migrants is often incompatible with an early retirement. However, at mid-career the factors involved in the decision-making situation are more clearly defined. Maturer migrants will be more aware of their opportunities and of the constraints which will force them to abandon their youthful hopes of success. At the same time justifying the progress made in the industrial world may be a more painful exercise and disillusionment more acute in the case of perceived failure or bad luck. It is suggested that the typical migrant dilemma: to stay in town or to return home, becomes most relevant at mid-career.

Drawing on the lessons learnt from the analysis of job aspirations and work preferences, our survey findings suggest that the decision constellation in its simplest form may be outlined as in Figure 10-1.

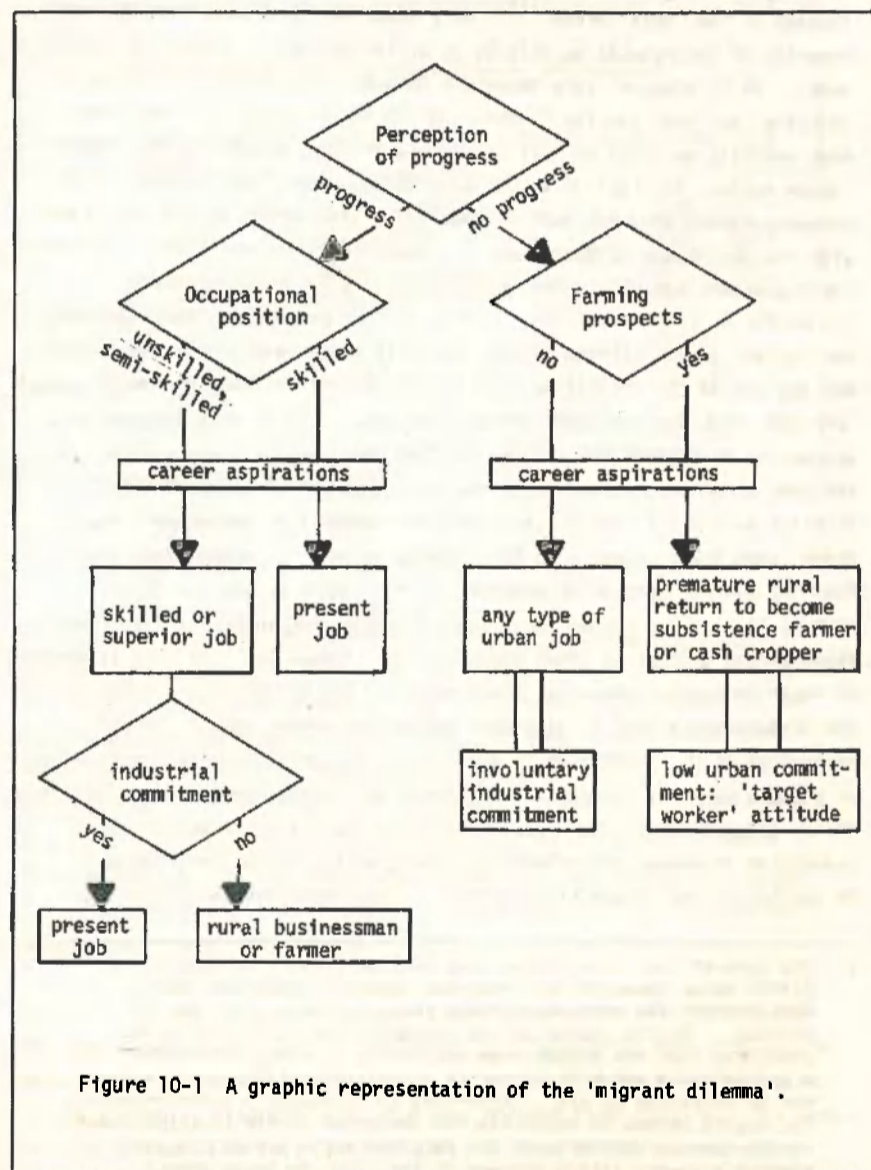


Figure 10-1 A graphic representation of the 'migrant dilemma'.

The diagram shows that only some of the workers who feel that they have made insufficient progress in the migrant labour system will indulge in the 'rural dream'.¹⁾ Only those who have some form of rural security of tenure will be able to solve the migrant's dilemma by returning home. It is however, very important to note, that whilst the persons choosing 'any job' and the 'farmer job' in the forced choice job preference exercise may both be disillusioned with some aspects of the migrant labour system, the typical worker wishing to retire from migrant work to become a farmer also has much in common with the person who is satisfied with his job prospects and wishes to remain in his present job. Considering his mature age, the worker wishing to farm has been relatively successful in industrial life. After all, 41 percent of the respondents who aspired to the 'farmer's job', but only 35 percent of the respondents who aspired to the 'unskilled job' and 16 percent of those who would accept 'any job' felt they had made progress in work. It is also possible that perception of progress may in part reflect the greater opportunities which are open to the migrant for whom the rural channel of escape is open. Relative success in town is certainly instrumental in making the 'rural dream' come true. Seen from this vantage point, it appears consistent that the persons perceiving progress in their work as well as those wishing to become a farmer are characterised by low industrial commitment. (Eighty-four percent of those selecting the 'farmer job' but only 65 percent of those indicating other job preferences in the forced choice exercise on job preferences wished to stop work before retirement age.) In this connection it is interesting to note that although 'potential target workers' or persons with low industrial commitment were in the minority in the sample, higher percentages of the dissatisfied than the satisfied workers were indecisive regarding retirement decisions, whilst higher percentages of satisfied than dissatisfied workers stated target worker intentions

1. The idea of the 'rural dream' has been borrowed from Plotnicov (1970) whose research into Nigerian migration gave him some insight into the myth surrounding return migration to the country. In the course of his research work Plotnicov became convinced that the return home was merely a widely held myth, a golden dream which could not be fulfilled completely and might not be fulfilled at all. According to Plotnicov's interpretation, the legend served to reconcile the immigrant to the loneliness and to the absence of family in the faceless city. Also, if the migrant achieved little success in the city, he would have a ready psychological compensation and retreat: he belonged and had value in a better place - back home. (Plotnicov 1970: 174.)

(cf. Table 10.3).

Table 10.3.
Perception of progress in work by industrial commitment.

Perception of progress in work		Expectations of stopping work in the city		
		target worker intentions (premature retirement from industrial work)	undecided	committed urban worker intentions (of working until retirement age or beyond)
		%	%	%
progress	N=284	31	7	62
no progress	N=311	15	15	70

Row percentages add up to 100%

Kendall's Tau C = .11, p < .003

10.5.1 Return migration: A form of individual protest against the migrant labour system? One might argue that it is precisely the perception of relative success or progress in work which makes the members of the satisfied group bolder when expressing their real career intentions. From the migrant point of view, industrial commitment is not necessarily a virtue nor is it an indication of progress, but merely a factor which prolongs the migrant worker's dependence on the white man's economy indefinitely. *Only the successful migrant who has reached his target can afford to sever his ties with the industrial world and dispense with involuntary industrial commitment.*

On the other hand, the strategists selecting the 'farmer job' and the 'present job' options differed significantly in their ability to adjust to migrancy and derive some satisfaction from their participation in the system. Alternatively, migrancy created fewer hardships for those wishing to remain in their present jobs, in that it had not disrupted family relationships, so that little adjustment was required. For instance, the person wishing to remain in his present job was more

likely to be content with his opportunities to visit his family as well as being satisfied with the progress he had achieved in work. Given the inclination of the satisfied worker to remain in business or industry in an employed or independent capacity, his rural return might be postponed indefinitely despite his professed target worker convictions. By contrast, the person making the 'farmer choice' tended to be less satisfied with his remittance capabilities despite the fact that measured in absolute and relative terms he was most probably sending home comparatively large sums of money. The persons opting to farm were also more likely to be unhappy about leaving their wives alone at home.

More importantly, our inquiry into job motivations suggests that not only was the migrant selecting the 'farmer' alternative reacting very strongly to the violations of his rights as a family man, but he may also have been protesting against discrimination in the sphere of work. According to survey findings, the persons making the 'farmer' choice may have been actively seeking to increase self-esteem by return-migrating or at least by expressing escapist intentions in reply to our questions concerning job preferences. The preoccupation of the persons opting to remain in their present jobs with security issues, suggests that they were more compliant and willing to accept the low-level job satisfaction which contract work typically affords.

CHAPTER 11.EVALUATIONS OF QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF WORKING LIFE.

11.1 An inquiry into pleasant and unpleasant incidences at work: In a second exercise which was modelled on the incidence technique developed by Herzberg, respondents were first asked to think of the pleasant things which had occurred to them at work during the past month and then of the unpleasant things at work.

11.2 Typical response patterns: The response to these questions was poor. There was a high incidence of no recall to both questions. Recall of unpleasant rather than pleasant events was more pronounced among members of the Zulu rather than the non-Zulu subgroup. In all, just over 40 percent of the respondents described unpleasant and pleasant events which had occurred during the past month (cf. Tables 11.1 and 11.2). It was quite striking that over 10 percent of the sample recalled pleasant and unpleasant events which were not related to work. In part this type of response may have been elicited by the phrasing of the cues: the concept of work was not repeated in the second of the two questions in the schedule. However the research team soon realized that the interviewees may have misunderstood our research intentions and after some few interviews had been conducted, interviewers were instructed to make certain that respondents were aware that we were interested in their evaluation of work related events. Similarly it was observed that the respondents frequently disregarded the time restriction incorporated in the question and reported incidences which had left a lasting impression on them during the past year or even earlier.

11.2.1 Explanation of typical response patterns: This type of response pattern may simply have reflected the lack of sophistication of some of the men we were questioning. For example, 48 percent and 47 percent of the educated but only 40 percent and 37 percent of the uneducated respondents were in a position to recall unpleasant and pleasant events at work respectively in this exercise.

Table 11.1.

Unpleasant events at work.

"Think of the last month in your work. What things that you had to do or which happened to you did you find most unpleasant?"

	Z %	NZ %	Total %
no recall of unpleasant event	49,6	62,9	52,0
recall of unpleasant event at work	31,4	25,0	30,2
recall of unpleasant event outside of work	14,1	6,9	12,8
not applicable (on leave), no information	4,9	5,2	5,0
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 510	N = 116	N = 626

Table 11.2.

Pleasant events at work.

"In the same month: what things you have done or which have happened to you have you found most pleasant and rewarding/enjoyable?"

	Z %	NZ %	Total %
no recall of pleasant event at work	55,9	63,8	57,3
recall of pleasant event at work	29,0	26,7	28,6
recall of pleasant event outside of work	14,1	8,6	13,1
not applicable (on leave), no information	1,0	,9	1,0
	100,0	100,0	100,0
	N = 510	N = 116	N = 626

Alternatively, one might have attributed poor response to the inability of the interviewers to encourage men of few words to describe their work situation. The latter explanation hardly seemed plausible in the light of the response to other sections of the interview. Other interpretations of general response patterns seemed far more reasonable:

- 1) It is possible that the respondents perceived migrant life to be uneventful due to routine, lack of opportunity for change or excitement and this was reflected in the typical response patterns elicited by the incidence exercise. As shown in responses to other sections of the questionnaire the sameness of workaday life may prove monotonous. Alternatively the predictability of working life might be welcomed by workers - especially by older men - because it signifies security, and the opportunity to concentrate one's energy on things of greater importance to one's personal life than work. Two job evaluations illustrate these contrasting viewpoints.

- (The messenger's job): *It is a light job with no problems. In the other jobs (on the list) you sweat all the time, and as a clerk you have to think all the time.* (Labourer in the sugar industry, 48 years of age, no education.)

- (A security officer complaining about his job): *Just look what I am doing now. I am sitting here hours on end, tomorrow it will be the same thing and so on - this job doesn't make my blood move, it's monotonous.* (27 years, Std. 3 level of education.)

If work life is monotonous or highly predictable, it follows that events outside the working situation proper may become more significant.

- 2) If migrants value work mainly for instrumental reasons - and we have every reason to believe that this is the case because security needs appeared to be particularly dominant and active in the work situation, then events in important life domains may be seen as being closely linked to the work situation. For example, the purchase of a consumer item apart from representing a milestone in the migrant's life, may also be regarded as a work reward. Its purchase is the result of remuneration from work.
- 3) Migrant workers may hold a very fluid conception of events related to work life. Consider that life in town - that is time spent away from the rural home - might be considered work life in migrant terms. In the study it was observed that events which took place on the journey to work were frequently recalled. For example, a serious train accident on the black commuter train was recalled as an

unpleasant event. Respondents also tended to relate incidences - usually unpleasant ones - involving co-workers which occurred during and after working hours. This type of recall may have reflected the importance of social relations at work or anxiety concerning the respondent's chances of meeting a similar fate in future. For example, respondents were shocked when their friends at work were involved in accidents or lost their jobs.

In conclusion to this discussion, the rigid definition of time and space in our questions concerning pleasant and unpleasant events at work was possibly not acceptable and relevant to the respondents. In this connection, it is interesting to note that quality of work life researchers conducting studies in western industrial settings have in recent years employed a more comprehensive definition of the work domain. This new approach to the study of working life does not assume that people compartmentalize each aspect of their everyday lives.

11.3 Substantive survey findings: When reviewing the concrete factors which made working life in its widest sense more unpleasant or pleasant than usual, it was observed that unpleasant events included mainly misfortune to family, to self, and to co-workers; threats to job and financial security, and deteriorating working conditions (cf. Table 11.3). The majority of the unpleasant events could be subsumed under the heading 'work extrinsic' factors or in Maslow's terminology under the heading 'security' and 'physiological' conditions. 'Security' factors referred mainly to pay factors and job security.

It is important not to overlook the fact that a minority of respondents mentioned esteem-related events. Loss of esteem was also implicit in the loss of job security or in cases of demotion. The impression was gained that events concerning pay issues were sometimes interpreted as acts of discrimination against workers. Respondents felt they were not respected in the work situation when they were not paid promptly or were not informed of the date when benefits were to be issued to them.

Unpleasant events at work:

- *I was not paid my overtime wages and my case is still pending. (Handyman, 24 years of age, Std. 4 level of education.)*
- *I was laid off for one week and lost a week's wages. (Labourer, 45 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- *We were forced to do overtime after we had been promised a Saturday off and therefore I missed a football match. I was very angry. (Weaver, 24 years of age, Std. 5 level of education.)*
- *I was made to do heavy work. And I have had operations which hurt. I had asked them not to give me such a heavy job because of my state of health, but they would not (consider my request). (Factory worker, 43 years of age, Std. 5 level of education.)*
- *We worked very hard on a heavy job and our foreman was very inconsiderate. He treated us like non-humans. (Plasterer's assistant, 28 years of age, Std. 3 level of education.)*
- *Management has decided that all the chefs in our hotel should assist with dish washing, something we have not done since the hotel started 12 years ago. (Chef in a hotel, 60 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- *I taught an Indian how to operate the machine. Immediately thereafter he was made our supervisor - yet he was hardly two months with the company. (Machine operator for 23 years, 54 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- *One of my assistants fell from a pole we were fixing and had a broken spinal cord and is in hospital at the moment. (Electrician, 41 years of age, Std. 9 and technical training.)*
- *A colleague of mine was murdered on his way from work to the township because it was on pay day. (Security guard, 58 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- *I went to the shop to buy a lot of stuff only to find that I could not buy even half - all the money was finished. (Flat cleaner, 25 years of age, Std. 4 level of education.)*
- *My children became sick and I had to spend all my money on doctors. (Shop assistant, 38 years of age, no education.)*

- *We went to northern Zululand to repair a damaged section of the railway line. This place was not very far from my home, but I could not visit home. (Railway worker, 48 years of age, Std. 1 level of education.)*
- *I was expecting a letter from home after I had posted them money and I have heard nothing about it. (Office cleaner, 29 years of age, Std. 3 level of education.)*

Table 11.3.

Nature of unpleasant events at work.

	%*
negative family events	6
lessened job security	5
inability to meet financial commitments	5
worsened working conditions	5
loss of dignity, status	3
pay matters (deductions, delays, irregularities)	3
reprimanded, disciplined by superior	2
social relations with superiors	2
victim of crime, loss of possessions	1
experience of frustration concerning promotion, pay increase	1
dismissals, declared redundant	1
casualties, accidents at work	1
disturbed by misfortune of colleague	1
social relations with co-workers	1
accident, injury to self	1
not granted extra leave (compassionate, business)	1
Other: low wages, friction with Indian co-workers, promised bonus failed to materialize, misfortunes of others outside of work, demotion (financial), demands for extra work refused.	

N = 625

* multiple responses

Pleasant events referred mainly to an unexpected break in the usual work routine, to spontaneous gestures of goodwill, or recognition on the part of supervisors or management, and to windfalls (cf. Table 11.4). Visits to the rural home were frequently recalled as pleasant events. In the early months of the year the Christmas party and the holiday bonus were most likely to be cited as pleasant events in the recent past. In particular, events associated with increased financial rewards and job security left a lasting impression on many of the respondents in the survey. Regarding social factors at work, good working relationships with co-workers and supervisors were mentioned by some few interviewees. It is interesting to note that events related to esteem issues were more frequently associated with pleasant than unpleasant moments at work.

Pleasant events at work:

- *There was nothing important, the only thing which pleased me was that I was still on good terms with my employers. (Factory worker, 47 years of age, Std. 3 level of education.)*
- *We have been placed on a new contract which we are starting at the end of the month and we have been told that it is going to last for two years. This means we are secure job-wise for that period. (Construction worker, 26 years, Std. 2 level of education.)*
- *I discovered that my pay packet was R5 extra and when I asked my employer, I was told it was a bonus for my working hard. (Domestic worker, approximately 36 years of age, no education.)*
- *We were given a high increase by the Transportation Board for our loyal services. (Transport worker, 21 years, no education.)*
- *We were given free sorghum beer by our foreman to thank us for our speedy service during busy hours. (Brewery worker, approximately 40 years of age, Std. 2 level of education.)*
- *My boss bought me second-hand building material to put up a house (2-roomed), and doesn't require me to repay the money. We have been promised annual increments too. (Railway worker, 47 years of age, Std. 2 level of education.)*

- *There was nothing pleasant I can think of except to say that my employer gave me some fruits and vegetables to take to my family at home. (Domestic worker, 30 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)*
- *I have been promoted to supervise others and I felt on top of the world. (Assistant induna, 41 years of age, no education.)*
- *I sent money home for the medical bill of my son and I heard from my wife that he is now better. (Construction worker, 26 years of age, Std. 9 level of education.)*
- *I had a visit from my wife and I was a happy man to be reunited with my wife. (Domestic worker, approximately 38 years of age, no education.)*

Related pleasant and unpleasant events at work:

- *(Unpleasant events?): I was reprimanded because the trains between Kwa Mashu and work were not on schedule. The foreman thought of suspending me for two days because I was telling lies at my age. (Pleasant/rewarding episodes?): I paid a visit to my family. I felt it was rewarding after quarrelling with my foreman. (Baker, 46 years of age, no schooling.)*
- *(Unpleasant events?): My employer did not deliver my coal and I was forced to face the night cold. (Pleasant events?): A new Watchman's room has been built, where I can shelter when it is windy or raining.*

Table 11.4.

Nature of pleasant events at work.

	**
unexpected reward or treat (bonus, leave, present, party, etc.)	8
financial improvement, promotion to better paid job	8
family events, family visit	7
ability to meet financial commitments	4
job security	3
monetary rewards received in full	3
improved working conditions	3
acquisition of new possessions	2
social relations at work	2
extra responsibility at work	1
recognition	1
work was enjoyable, went well	1
Other: Access to a better job, increased status or new role at work, fair pay, extra paid work.	
* multiple responses	N=625

11.3.1 Differential recall of pleasant and unpleasant events:

According to survey findings, the more mature and the better educated members of the sample were more likely than others to consider work life more eventful. Fifty-six percent of the respondents who recalled pleasant events also recalled unpleasant ones, and 63 percent of the respondents who could not think of any pleasant events at work could also not remember pleasant ones.

11.3.1.1 Recall of pleasant events and job satisfaction: The recollection of pleasant rather than unpleasant job factors tended to reflect the respondents' perception of their migrant situation. The survey data suggested that persons most dissatisfied with the migrant way of life were more likely to emphasise unpleasant events, whilst those who had made good in the migrant labour system or saw possibilities for breaking out of the system were more likely to recall pleasant events.

In support of this supposition, respondents most likely to recall unpleasant events included persons who experienced problems with working away from home, those whose families encountered problems arising from the respondents' absence, those who were unhappy about leaving their wives behind, and those who felt they were not able to visit their families sufficiently often. By contrast, the respondents most likely to recall pleasant events included those persons who felt they had made progress in work, those who were satisfied with their remittance capabilities, those who were employed as skilled workers, those who encountered no problems when travelling to and from the work centre, and those who had made friends in town. Many of the respondents who recalled pleasant events at work were reputed to be stable workers. On the other hand a sizeable proportion of the group recalling pleasant incidences at work aspired to absent themselves from work in future and to engage in some type of occupation which excluded subsistence farming (cf. Table 11.5).

In this connection it is interesting to note that whilst persons who aspired to the farmer's job tended to recall both pleasant and unpleasant events at work, those persons who wished to remain in their present jobs were more likely than others to name only pleasant events.

Table 11.5. Correlates of recall of pleasant and unpleasant events in working life.	
	Percentage of respondents recalling unpleasant events (N = 595)
Zulus	48
non-Zulus	34
respondent experiences problems with working away from home	48
respondent experiences no such problems	33
respondent's family experiences problems due to his absence	49
respondent's family experiences no such problems	33
is not able to see enough of family	48
is able to see enough of family	41
unhappy about leaving wife on her own	51
is not worried about leaving wife on her own	35
aspires to remain in present job	37
holds other job aspirations	49
	Percentage of respondents recalling pleasant events (N = 620)
45 years and older	50
under 30 years of age	37
perception of progress in work	50
perception of no progress in work	35
satisfied with ability to remit	56
dissatisfied with ability to remit	34
presently employed as skilled worker	49
presently employed as unskilled worker	39
no problems when travelling to work centre	49
travel problems	39
has made friends in town	47
socially isolated	27
desire to engage in subsistence farming after retire- ment	48
desire to engage in other occupation after retirement	34

Recall of events of any kind was minimal among those respondents who stated they would accept any job or were indecisive regarding the question of job preferences.

11.4 To recapitulate, security issues figured prominently among the factors which made working life satisfying or dissatisfying for the respondents in the survey. Existence needs appeared to dominate the migrants' perceptions of life chances. It would appear that the fact that monetary rewards can never be taken for granted increased feelings of insecurity in the work situation. It was also observed that esteem factors tended to be more predictive of job *satisfaction* as opposed to job *dissatisfaction*. The instrumental value of work on migrant life was confirmed in the survey results. The close relationship between rewards derived from work and the promotion of more central values such as familism were evident in the recall of pleasant and unpleasant moments at work. Ambivalence towards migrant work was detected in the response to this evaluation of the job situation. Whilst the migrant's absence from the home when working in the industrial centre detracts from the family's emotional needs, the monetary rewards gained from work make a vital contribution to its existential needs.

CHAPTER 12.THE EFFECTS OF WORK EXTRINSIC FACTORS ON JOB PREFERENCES
AND JOB SATISFACTION: ATTITUDES TOWARD LOCATION FACTORS.

12.1 Theoretical considerations: In quality of work life studies location factors are conventionally regarded as hygiene or extrinsic aspects of work. Factors such as the journey to and from work, and the distance from the home to the workplace are considered in terms of convenience which do not really impinge on work itself and the rewards derived from it. However, in the case of the migrant worker, it is proposed that location factors gain greater significance. Distance from the home to the place of work determines in part the privation which the classical migrant must endure in order to profit from the instrumental aspects of work. The location aspects of work are an integral part of the fundamental dilemma which every migrant faces. He is forced to trade-off the emotional well-being of his family against its economic welfare. In cases of dire poverty there is little difficulty in deciding to migrate to ensure that the family has an income, but once a certain level of affluence has been reached, the social costs of migrancy may outweigh the economic benefits gained from migrant labour and the rural option may become very attractive.

12.1.1 The decision to return-migrate: According to survey results the migrant dilemma typically becomes an issue at mid-career. It was evident that the older class of migrants in the sample represented a selection of industrially committed persons. Only 12 percent of the respondents in the highest age category represented in the sample (45 years and over) were given a low score on the industrial commitment index employed in the study. In all probability the migrants who held target worker ambitions had retired from industrial work some time after mid-career.

It was hypothesised that three factors were involved in the decision-making situation concerning the issue of return migration: Firstly, growing disillusionment with the system and one's opportunities for making progress within the system; Secondly, perceptions of alternative options for achieving economic

well-being in the home area; and
Thirdly, the need for esteem which might be easier to gratify in a non-industrial work situation.

Survey findings on job satisfaction suggest that, if the first two factors are given, the decision to forfeit the instrumental rewards of migrancy in order to gain fulfilment of esteem needs by return migrating may be relatively easily taken by the mature migrant.

12.2 Survey findings concerning location aspects of work: Survey results clearly showed that the location aspect of work cannot be relegated to the level of the physiological work needs in the case of the migrant workers. Social and esteem factors appeared to be linked to the location aspects of migrant work. If they were assured of a basic income with which to support their families, the majority of the respondents said they would prefer to work close to home. Just under one-half of the respondents indicated that they would prefer to farm rather than work in the city and over four-fifths of the sample would not contemplate working in a distant work centre such as Johannesburg. In all three instances, the non-Zulus in the survey were more likely to be prepared to work in industry than the Zulus (Tables 12.1 through 12.3).

Table 12.1.
Rural or urban job preference.

"Let us think it is possible to get jobs like the one you have anywhere - even in the rural areas or near your home - where would you prefer to work : here in Durban, some other city, town or rural area?"

	Z %	NZ %	Total %
Durban	31	42	33
other city or town	1	3	2
rural area (nearer home), home district	65	51	62
no choice	2	3	2
no information	1	1	1
	100	100	100
Z: Zulus NZ: non-Zulus	N = 510	N = 116	N = 626

Table 12.2.

Preference for farming versus city work.

"If you were sure that you could make the same money you are making now by farming at your home - would you prefer to farm or to work?"

	Z %	NZ %	Total %
work in town	47	62	50
farm	51	34	48
other, indecisive	2	3	2
no information	0	1	0
	100	100	100
	N = 510	N = 116	N = 626

Table 12.3.

Attitude toward working in Johannesburg.

"How do you feel about working in Johannesburg - pretend you can get the same job/same pay as you have now?"

	Z %	NZ %	Total %
positive attitude toward working in Johannesburg	8	11	9
conditional acceptance of a job in Johannesburg	6	11	7
negative attitude toward working in Johannesburg	86	77	84
no information	0	1	0
	100	100	100
Z: Zulus NZ: non-Zulus	N = 510	N = 116	N = 626

Tables 12.4 through 12.6 illustrate that proximity to one's family and the rural home and the opportunity to lead a normal family life were by far the most attractive features of the rural alternative to migrancy. The economic advantages of working close to home were also significant.

Table 12.4.	
Reasons for wishing to work in the rural areas.	
	<u>%*</u>
proximity to family, can lead a family life	46
economic factors, lower cost of living	24
can attend to farming, home duties (after work)	17
age factor	1
sentimental attachment	1
other: rural way of life, physical safety, security of tenure, prestige factor	
	N = 626
* multiple responses	

Table 12.5.	
Reasons for wishing to farm rather than work in the city.	
	<u>%*</u>
can live with family	11
independence in work	9
lower cost of living	4
prospects of success in farming	3
contribution to community welfare	1
has made investments, has interests in farming	1
economic self-sufficiency	1
other: relatively light work, gratifying work, farming tradition	
	N = 626
* multiple responses	

Table 12.6.

Reasons for not wishing to work in Johannesburg.

	%*
separation from family	37
distance from home area	16
age, health	8
travel expenses	8
family commitments prohibitive	6
strange environment, different lifestyle	5
reluctance to be uprooted, has local ties	5
unqualified dislike	3
crime and violence associated with Johannesburg	3
previous negative experience or hearsay	3
cost of living	3
pay factors (mainly pay cycle)	1
other: political climate, climate, personal factors, ethnic mixing	
	N = 626
* multiple responses	

In many cases the respondents described the 'rural work' option as economically *and* socially rewarding. Factors such as the low cost of living in the rural areas, reductions in travel costs, running one instead of two households, and the migrant's labour in and around the house would all benefit the family financially. At the same time, the social and emotional needs of the family would be more adequately met if all members of the rural household were able to lead a normal family life.

Similarly, the anticipation of being separated from one's family and home was a factor which prevented the majority of the respondents from seriously considering working in Johannesburg. Especially in the hypothetical situation outlined to the respondents, in which no compensation for prolonged separation from one's family was offered. Whilst the 'rural work' option offered two mutually *supportive* types of

reward: social and economic, the 'Johannesburg work' option involving a distant work location offered only social and economic *costs*.

12.3 Spatial solutions to the fulfilment of migrants' esteem needs:

A most important finding which supports contentions made elsewhere in this paper, is that some respondents saw a promise to fulfil their 'esteem' needs in the 'farmer' option. A fact, which may have accounted for the popularity of the 'farmer' job. This was less the case with the 'rural work' option. 'Independence in work' was the second most important motivating factor for wishing to farm rather than to work in the city. Factors such as 'economic self-sufficiency', and the 'opportunity to perform gratifying work' were mentioned by some of the respondents who favoured the 'farming' option. One might also consider whether the desire to lead a normal family life is not essentially an 'esteem' need, which is chronically neglected in the case of the migrant worker.

- (If I worked in the rural areas) *I would be near my family and not be called a migrant worker.* (Security officer, 50 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)
- (If I worked in the rural areas) *I would have a chance of looking after my family and becoming a father and a citizen and not a migrant worker. And I would sleep with my wife every day.* (Construction worker, 32 years of age, Std. 6 level of education.)
- *I want to be there and not have to depend on letters for news from home during a crisis situation.* (Cleaner, approximately 32 years of age, no education.)
- *I would like to stay with my wife and children. Letters are not enough to let us know about and hear of each other.* (Assistant induna in a local authority organisation, 41 years of age, no education.)

Theoretically, gratification of this type of 'esteem' need is not possible within the constraints of the migrant labour system. In order to gain respect as a family man, a worker must either:

- a) Settle in the industrial centre permanently with his family, or
- b) Return-migrate and work at home or closer to home.

In the former case, the migrant would become an 'immigrant' in the

industrial centre, in the case of working closer to home, the worker would exchange his 'migrant' status for a 'commuter' designation.

The first solution referring to bringing one's family to town was impractical according to our respondents, in particular in the case of the Zulus. Only a negligible percentage in the sample wished to obtain urban rights for other than instrumental reasons such as job security and occupational mobility, and only some 13 percent of the Zulus and 23 percent of the non-Zulus wished to bring their wives to the city to live there permanently. In the case of migrants having access to land, the family left behind assumed a caretaker role and it was essential that the wife remained rurally based. The fact that a substantial proportion of the non-Zulu subsample were informally leading family lives in town may have in part accounted for lower percentages of non-Zulus than Zulus favouring the 'rural job' and the 'farming' options.

The second solution to achieving self-esteem as a family man involves *return migration*, an option which - according to survey findings - is more feasible in mature age. Moreover, it would appear that the need for social recognition as husband, father, and head of the household becomes more dominant at this stage of life. The impression was gained from the survey that some migrants only became fully aware that they had been deprived of their family rights for the better part of their working lives when they evaluated their career after say 20 years of service in industry. The saturation of youthful dreams of achieving personal prestige through the acquisition of material goods may have contributed to the increased relevance of 'esteem' needs such as effectively heading a household and becoming self-employed.

12.4 Characteristics of migrants who wish to leave the migrant labour system: In the preceding sections we have only mentioned some of the characteristics of the migrants who wished to return-migrate in passing. In Table 12.7 an overview of the most important factors associated with the desire to effectively leave the migrant labour system is given. As the decision to return-migrate was very closely associated with long service and mature age, we have excluded the youngest class of migrants from the Table. A distinction between the two higher age classes

included in the sample has also been made. As we have pointed out earlier, return migration is most likely to be a foregone conclusion among migrants whose working careers are slowly coming to an end, whilst it may represent a genuine decision-making situation in mid-career. The data appears to support this contention in that the distinctions between migrants wishing to return and those wishing to remain in the city are much more sharply defined in the case of the respondents in the intermediate age class.

The evidence compiled in Table 12.7 shows that even among the more mature migrants in the sample who had served in the industrial world for many years, attitudes toward industrial work, rural ties and commitments, and evaluations of costs and rewards of migrancy differed significantly between those who wished to remain and those who wished to return. Respondents whose prospects for farming were considered good were more likely to wish to return-migrate. The desire to return to the rural areas prematurely was also reflected in the industrial commitment and absenteeism records of the respondents. The target worker attitude was most pronounced among potential return migrants, who were also more likely than others to have established a record of absenteeism and career interruptions. It was also evident that proportionally fewer respondents who wished to return-migrate prematurely rather than to stay on in town were satisfied with the progress they had made in work.

Most telling perhaps was the *relationship between the desire to return-migrate and dissatisfaction with the migrant way of life*. Potential return migrants were more likely than others to perceive problems related to living apart from their families. Respondents wishing to return home were more likely than others to worry about leaving their wives on their own in the rural home. According to the statistical picture obtained from the survey data, the potential return migrants in the sample typically felt they saw too little of their families and did not remit enough money to their dependents. They encountered difficulties when travelling to and from the work centre and home, and certainly did not wish to work further away from home than Durban. They were socially isolated in the city, yet they did not wish to hypothetically solve the problem of family separation by bringing

their wives to live in town.

By the same token, it would appear that although age and ethnicity were important factors in determining whether the migrants in the study would accept a job far away from home, persons who were more settled and content in their jobs, and those who wished to return-migrate, were least likely to wish to work far away from home (cf. Table 12.8). It is interesting to note that those respondents who visited home regularly and those who felt they saw enough of their families were less likely than others in the sample to wish to disrupt their family relationships by shifting to a distant work location.

12.5 To sum up, by contrast to work studies conducted among permanent workers, the location factor is an integral part of the migrant work situation. Correspondingly, the survey data has demonstrated that the location preferences of migrants tend to shape attitudes toward work and job preferences.

Table 12.7.
Selected correlates of preference for a job in the country and preference for farming.

Personal characteristics and job history:	Percentage preferring to work in the country rather than in the city		Percentage preferring to farm at home rather than work (in the city)	
	30-44 years % N sign.	45+ years % N sign.	30-44 years % N sign.	45+ years % N sign.
Zulus				
non-Zulus				
6 or fewer persons in rural household		78 134	56 191	36 61 **
10 or more persons in rural household		55 31 **		
65 51				
83 80 *				
respondent only migrant in rural household	71 171		57 172	
other migrants in household	61 79 *		37 79 **	
anxious about danger in work situations			43 72	31 40
normal reaction regarding danger at work			55 174 *	53 116 *
positive attitude regarding strenuous work				61 88
negative attitude regarding strenuous work				43 73 **
has held 2 jobs or less	57 51			
has held 4 jobs or more	74 91 *			
worked only in Durban	60 87			
worked in other work centres and Durban	72 164 *			
worked less than 8 years in any one job			43 125	
worked 8 years or more in one job			58 126 **	

Continued/...

Table 12.7 Continued.
Selected correlates of preference for a job in the country and preference for farming.

	Percentage preferring to work in the country rather than in the city				Percentage preferring to farm at home rather than work (in the city)			
	30-44 years		45+ years		30-44 years		45+ years	
	%	N	sign.	%	N	sign.	%	N
Personal characteristics and job history:(cont.)								
worked less than 4 years in present job ^{e)}					44		88	
worked 10 years or more in present job					59		68	*
employed as unskilled worker in first job					47		200	
employed as semi-skilled or skilled worker in first job					40		43	*
earned less than R19 pm in first job (1977 prices)	78	102			61		103	
earned R20 pm or more in first job	62	131	*		44		131	**
doing heavy manual labour	79	42		87	30		61	44
not doing heavy manual labour	65	203	*	69	134	*	48	202 n.s.
presently employed as unskilled worker	72	137						
presently employed as semi-skilled worker	63	87						
present employed as skilled worker	59	27	*					
Rural ties:								
visits rural home monthly or more often	60	79						
visits rural areas infrequently	72	170	*					
access to land at retirement age ^{e)}	75	169						
no access to land at retirement age	56	32	**					

Continued/...

122.

Table 12.7 Continued.
Selected correlates of preference for a job in the country and preference for farming.

	Percentage preferring to work in the country rather than in the city				Percentage preferring to farm at home rather than work (in the city)			
	30-44 years		45+ years		30-44 years		45+ years	
	%	N	sign.	%	N	sign.	%	N
Rural ties: (continued)								
feels rural land is secure	72	170						
no access to rural land	50	32	*					
sees prospects in farming	83	48			75		47	
sees no prospects in farming	64	202	**		46		204	**
not farming because prefers city work					23		30	37
not farming because it would not be profitable					55		222	**
farming tradition in home district	74	137			59		137	60
no farming tradition in home district	61	112	*		41		113	**
remits 30% of wages or more	79	133			60		134	
remits 29% of wages or less	55	114	**		39		113	**
remits R50 per month or more ^{e)}					64		52	67
remits R29 per month or less					39		85	**
pays tributes to tribal Chief	71	191		76	127		55	190
does not pay tributes	52	54	**	58	38	**	36	56
					36		56	**
					38		37	*
Job satisfaction, attitudes toward migrant labour and related factors:								
low industrial commitment ^{e)a)}	75	73		90	19		54	74
high industrial commitment	45	61	**	59	64	**	15	61
							37	63
							37	63

Continued/...

123.

Table 12.7 Continued.
Selected correlates of preference for a job in the country and preference for farming.

Job satisfaction, attitudes toward migrant labour and related factors: (continued)	Percentage preferring to work in the country rather than in the city				Percentage preferring to farm at home rather than work (in the city)							
	30-44 years		45+ years		30-44 years		45+ years					
	%	N	sign.	%	N	sign.	%	N	sign.			
desire to stop work before retirement age	74	176		81	88		63	177	66	85		
desire to continue work until pension	52	68	**	60	73	**	19	68	**	39	72	**
target worker attitude ^{e)}	75	65					56	66				
intends to work in town until retirement or beyond	61	152	**				45	152	*			
wishes to subsistence farm after retirement							63	78				
has other aspirations							43	83	**			
has interrupted migrant career in the past	75	117										
has not interrupted migrant career in the past	61	134	**									
has absented himself from work in the past	78	110		86	65				69	64		
has not absented himself from work in the past	59	137	**	62	98	**			41	95	**	
intends to interrupt career in future	76	131		85	91		57	133		64	90	
does not intend to interrupt career in future	59	119	**	57	74	**	43	118	*	38	71	**
perception of progress in work	62	126		63	89		44	126		47	87	
perception of no progress in work	73	124	*	83	75	**	58	125	*	60	73	*
problems when travelling to work centre	73	167										
no travel problems	58	83	**									
perceives problems for himself because he works away from home									56	136		
no problems caused by migrancy									36	25	*	

Continued/...

124.

Table 12.7 Continued.
Selected correlates of preference for a job in the country and preference for farming.

Job satisfaction, attitudes toward migrant labour and related factors: (continued)	Percentage preferring to work in the country rather than in the city				Percentage preferring to farm at home rather than work (in the city)							
	30-44 years		45+ years		30-44 years		45+ years					
	%	N	sign.	%	N	sign.	%	N	sign.			
migrancy causes problems for family at home	77	206										
migrancy causes no problems for family at home	58	38	*									
respondent feels he sees enough of family at home	55	85		59	49		43	84		42	48	
respondent feels he sees too little of family at home	77	158	**	79	112	**	56	160	*	59	109	*
feels unhappy about leaving wife on own	77	167					57	168		63	109	
is not worried about leaving wife on own	53	75	**				40	75	**	31	49	**
prefers wife to live in rural home	75	204					54	205				
prefers wife to live in town	38	47	**				38	47	*			
would not consider working in Johannesburg							53	219				
would consider working in Johannesburg							31	32	**			
satisfied with ability to remit	58	91		61	70							
dissatisfied with ability to remit	73	158	**	80	95	**						
has friends in town				68	125							
is isolated or encapsulated in 'homeboy' group				87	39	**						

Notes:

Only percentages which meet criteria of statistical significance are shown, but trends in the data not included in the Table are consistent.

*, ** Statistically significant difference at .01 and .001 level respectively according to the Kendall's Tau B or C statistic. (n.s.: not statistically significant).

e) Only the extreme classes in the distribution are shown.

a) See Table 6.3, footnote a for details of the calculation of the industrial commitment index.

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<u>Table 12.8.</u>	
<u>Selected correlates of not wishing to work in Johannesburg.</u>	
	<u>Percentages wishing not to work in Johannesburg.</u>
Zulus	86
non-Zulus	77
29 years or younger	78
45 years or older	90
1 - 4 dependents	80
6 or more dependents	87
visits rural home monthly or more frequently	93
visits rural home infrequently	82
feels he sees enough of family	89
feels he sees too little of family	82
remits R29 or less per month	81
remits R50 per month or more	90
employed 4 years or less on present job	79
employed 10 years or more in present job	94
earns R99 or less in present job	80
earns R100 or more in present job	89
perception of progress in work	87
perception of no progress in work	83
prefers wife to live in town	74
prefers wife to live in rural home	87
desire to stop work before retirement age	88
desire to continue working until pension	80
prefers farming to city work	87
prefers city work to farming	81
prefers to work in rural areas	87
prefers to work in city	81

Percentages in each set are significantly different according to Kendall's Tau B or Tau C.

CHAPTER 13.THE EFFECTS OF WORK EXTRINSIC FACTORS ON
JOB PREFERENCES AND JOB SATISFACTION:
ATTITUDES TOWARD STRENUOUS WORK.

13.1 Theoretical considerations: As a rule, migrants are employed to perform menial tasks or physically strenuous work. The respondents in the survey were no exception to this general rule. Assuming that migrants are only permitted to occupy those positions in the urban economy which no one else wishes to fill, they may resent the migrant labour system, simply because it restricts job advancement. Moreover, because the migrant labour system forces contract workers to become general labourers, the system may also be despised because it is associated with hard physical labour. Arguing along these lines, return migration may signify release from hard physical toil and escape from discrimination in work.

Survey findings presented so far have shown that the jobs most favoured by the respondents were in many cases the ones which involved light or sedentary work. Even the farmer's job was sometimes considered light, because a person working independently could set his own pace of work. The results of the job preference tests suggested that in those cases in which upward mobility from unskilled jobs to skilled jobs was limited due to lack of education, unskilled jobs which required little physical effort were highly valued. Thus, one might propose that the prestige of non-manual jobs is inflated in some migrant circles.

Light work may represent an alternative source of prestige which is also attainable for older migrants, persons who by virtue of their advanced age should be shown respect in all spheres of life. Apart from prestige considerations, physical constraints are also involved: Unless a senior migrant is able to advance to a routine non-manual or supervisory position in industry, he may be forced to retire because he cannot perform adequately in his job. In which case, access to light work in the later career may prolong the urban sojourn.

13.1.1 Strenuous work and job satisfaction: In our survey, persons doing heavy work were also more likely than others to indicate job dissatisfaction.

Consistently, a significantly higher percentage of the respondents performing very heavy rather than physically less strenuous work wished to return-migrate. The impression was gained from the survey that the opportunity to perform light work would not necessarily compensate for low monetary rewards, but some concessions might be made in this respect by older migrants who did not wish to or were unable to return-migrate. If, for instance, a mature migrant who was dependent on industrial work for his livelihood could prolong his career in town by gaining access to a physically less strenuous job, he might accept a cut in his wages. The circumstances of the persons accepting the 'messenger' job in the job preference exercise might be cited as an example. On the other hand, it would appear that light work was also associated with higher prestige and more highly paid work. Perhaps migrants performing strenuous work were more resentful of the fact that they were inadequately compensated for their toil, than dissatisfied with the type of work they did. As we have seen, monetary rewards for work are major sources of satisfaction as well as dissatisfaction for the migrants in the sample and contract workers doing heavy work may feel particularly underprivileged with regard to pecuniary rewards.

13.2 Survey of attitudes toward strenuous work: In order to check if attitudes toward hard physical labour influenced the work values of the survey respondents, a question concerning the lasting effects of physical exertion was posed to the respondents. Approximately 50 percent of the respondents believed that a man would recover his strength after hard physical labour and exhaustion if he rested, whilst just under one-third were undecided and roughly one-fifth were uncertain about the lasting effects of hard work (cf. Table 13.1).

13.3 Correlates of attitudes toward strenuous work: A multivariate analysis of the survey data revealed that attitudes toward strenuous work may be reflected in job preferences. In a previous section we reported that respondents with negative attitudes toward strenuous work were more likely than others to select the jobs of messenger, clerk and driver, jobs which might be considered physically less strenuous than other options included in the forced choice exercise on job preferences. Similarly, 60 percent of those who were emphatic about not accepting a fictitious proposal to work on the mines as against 45 percent of those

who did not accept but were not emphatic about rejecting the job on the mines, were suspicious of the effects of strenuous work.

Table 13.1.
Attitudes toward physical strain and exhaustion.

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

	Z	NZ	Total
	%	%	%
<u>Recovery</u>	50	51	50
full	16	22	17
conditional or partial	34	29	33
<u>Undecided</u>	18	22	18
<u>No recovery</u>	32	27	32
	100	100	100
Z: Zulus	N=510	N=116	N=625
NZ: non-Zulus			

In this connection it is important to note that the association between the educational factor and attitudes toward strenuous work was not linear. Negative attitudes towards strenuous work were significantly more often observed among the respondents with no educational qualifications and among those with the highest qualifications in the sample, than among respondents with some qualifications. Fifty-six percent of the respondents with no schooling, and 57 percent of those with 4 or more years of schooling, but only 37 percent of those with 3 years or less schooling held negative views regarding strenuous work. On the other hand, survey results indicated that attitudes toward strenuous work may be related to subjective assessments of one's physical strength and personal courage. Among respondents over 30 years of age, 64 percent of the 107 respondents who felt themselves to be unhealthy or weak, held a negative view of the effects of exhaustion, whilst only 47 percent of

the 309 respondents who considered themselves to be healthy, did so. Similarly, a significantly higher percentage of the respondents (63% of 166) who expressed anxiety concerning physical danger in the work situation than those who did not (45% of 438), held negative attitudes toward strenuous work.

The supposition that negative attitudes toward hard work may influence work attitudes was also corroborated by the survey findings. Persons suspicious of strenuous work tended to hold jobs only for brief periods of time and expressed the desire to leave the migrant labour system prematurely. For example, in the intermediate age class in the survey (30 to 44 years of age), 62 percent of the 124 respondents who had not held any one job for 8 years were convinced that strenuous work had lasting negative effects, whilst only 48 percent of the 127 respondents who had not held any one job for 8 years were convinced of this. Similarly, 58 percent of the persons who intended to absent themselves from work in the future, but only 41 percent of those who did not intend to do so, believed that one would not recover from strenuous work if one rested.

13.4 To recapitulate, the results of this brief survey of attitudes toward strenuous work suggest that some migrants may believe that the migrant labour system is capable of robbing them of their physical and in some cases also of their spiritual strength. Persons who hold this type of view will be more likely than others to avoid working in jobs which require hard physical labour and will aspire to jobs which involve only light work. The decision to return-migrate may be precipitated if a migrant performing hard physical labour is convinced that his work will damage his health.

CHAPTER 14.CONCLUSIONS.

A study of job preferences and job satisfaction among 526 male migrant workers in Durban revealed that a substantial proportion of the men interviewed held high job aspirations and that only approximately half of them were satisfied with the progress they had made in work. It was discovered that job satisfaction was not consistently related to occupational position and job circumstances. Subjective perceptions and evaluations of the work situation were also influential in determining the satisfaction which the respondents experienced in work.

The impression was gained from the survey that very few migrants saw any scope for job mobility within the migrant labour system. The most popular jobs named by the survey respondents were ones which would ultimately lead to independence from wage labour. This finding is consistent with observations made in other studies of job satisfaction. Self-employment for the blue collar worker who has received no or only little formal education tends to be perceived as offering one of the few possibilities of advancement.

The image of the satisfied migrant worker which emerged from the statistical analysis of the survey data was one of a conscientious worker who conformed to the rules of the migrant labour institution, and was able and willing to make the best of his life chances within the constraints of the system. By contrast, the dissatisfied migrant worker was portrayed as a disillusioned worker who yearned for his personal freedom.

For purposes of the study, an analytical distinction between lower and higher level job satisfaction was made. According to this distinction, lower-level job satisfaction referred in rough outline to a work situation in which workers were content with working and pay conditions, whilst higher-level job satisfaction referred to a work situation in which workers also found self-fulfilment and self-respect in work.

The survey revealed that the respondents in the study who were content with their work situation were by and large experiencing only lower-level job satisfaction. The instrumental aspects of work were of chief concern to the survey respondents and when evaluating the progress they had made in industrial work, the respondents considered mainly the security and pay aspects of work. At the same time, however, the majority of the respondents described the ideal job in terms of work which would fulfill their needs for social recognition and personal development. The men interviewed also intimated that they did not expect that their esteem needs could be gratified within the migrant labour system. Jobs unlike those typical of migrant work, for example farmer and driver, were cited as two kinds of work which might provide satisfaction.

The survey also highlighted the critical role of education in advancement for migrants. Those migrants in the study who had not received any education, felt they were not entitled to hold higher job aspirations. The job histories of the migrants who participated in the survey also showed that those migrants who had received no education remained underprivileged throughout their careers in respect of occupational mobility and earning capacity. Survey respondents who had received some education were more likely than their uneducated counterparts to achieve at least low-level job satisfaction in the course of the migrant career. A small group of workers in the survey whose responses indicated some degree of higher level satisfaction were more educated, and occupied skilled jobs.

Although industrial work was valued chiefly for instrumental reasons, it was proposed that other aspects of work might also have contributed towards feelings of job dissatisfaction. Survey results suggested that migrants' esteem needs were chronically neglected in the migrant labour system. It was thought that esteem needs remained latent for the larger part of the migrant cycle because job security was a more immediately felt problem. It was hypothesised that those migrants who had experienced some degree of progress in work by mid-career, would be more likely than others to become aware of their esteem needs and of the fact that migrancy was only conducive to inferior job satisfaction. The data indicate that disillusioned migrants at mid-career are tempted

to fulfil esteem needs by return-migrating to country areas.

Thus, contrary to conventional views, the most ambitious migrant may not be committed to industrial life, but may seek to escape the migrant labour system to investigate the employment opportunities in the country. This implies that the migrants remaining in industry after mid-career may typically not exhibit satisfactory aptitudes, initiative, or ambition.¹⁾ They may be better suited to performing routine jobs which require diligence and a sense of responsibility, but little else.

The type of motivation constellation which reflected the ambition to emancipate oneself from the migrant labour system was referred to as the 'rural dream'. The 'rural dream' is best described as a form of escapism in which migrants indulge when the migrant labour system seems particularly oppressive to them. When dreaming the 'rural dream' the privations which migrants must endure whilst participating in the system tend to vanish. It was observed that dissatisfied workers were more likely than others to believe in the 'rural dream', but that some migrants who were equally disillusioned with the system could not avail themselves of this escape mechanism. The survey highlighted the plight of the 'men of no world' who were without any rural ties and therefore had no line of rural retreat, and at the same time were incapable of achieving some satisfaction in their work. These men were committed to industry simply because they perceived no alternatives to wage labour. Their resignation to an unsatisfactory work situation was evident in that they tended to express fewer job aspirations and chose the lower prestige jobs if forced to indicate their work preferences.

The study also suggested that job satisfaction plays an important role in shaping attitudes toward industrial and job commitment. It was observed that persons who perceived progress in work tended to have been stable workers throughout their careers. However, the relationship between labour turnover and job satisfaction proved difficult

1) cf. Allen(1978) for a fuller discussion of this point in connection with labour in a decentralised industrial plant.

to interpret unequivocally. Workers may have sought to justify long service in their present jobs or in industry by expressing job satisfaction. Alternatively long service may have led to their receiving higher rewards from work which in turn were conducive to their experiencing job satisfaction.

In some instances, job satisfaction was also associated with approval of the migrant way of life. Again the direction of causality was not altogether clear. Obviously, persons who had adapted their personal lifestyles to meet the demands of the system were most likely to be able to achieve some satisfaction within its constraints. One might argue along the lines of cognitive dissonance theory and suggest that some migrants may have attempted to rationalise their membership in an oppressive system by convincing themselves that they could actually benefit from it. Alternatively, the relationship between job satisfaction and acceptance of migrancy may be akin to the 'halo effect', a phenomenon which has frequently been documented in quality of life studies. Perception of well-being in one sphere of life may spill over and lead to genuine or imagined contentment in another sphere of life. The 'halo-effect' type of explanation may be particularly valid in the case of the migrant workers in the survey. It was observed that the respondents in the survey made very little distinction between the work situation and other life domains. When they were required to describe positive and negative incidents at work, events which had occurred at the rural home were relatively frequently recalled. Whilst this type of orientation may be characteristic of many groups in non-industrial circumstances who tend not to rigidly compartmentalise their lives, this type of outlook may have significant consequences for the experience of job satisfaction among migrants. If migrants perceive their participation in the industrial world as instrumental to gaining higher rewards in the rural home, it is feasible that events which occur at work may be seen to have an immediate effect on home affairs and vice versa.

Seen from this vantage point, it is obvious that the schizophrenic division between work life and home life which characterises the migrant way of life must require considerable accommodation on the part of the migrant and may overtax his capabilities for adjustment. Certainly only a minority of the migrants in the sample stated

that they were not concerned about having to work away from home. It is significant that only a minority of the respondents in the survey did not acknowledge problems of privation connected with long absences from the rural home and these respondents were also more likely than others to indicate job satisfaction. The majority of the migrants interviewed were very keen to find a job which would reunite them with their families. The impression was gained from the survey that many migrants would pack up their bags and return to the country if they were offered the opportunity of earning a livelihood closer to home.

An attempt was made to trace the typical shifts in attitudes toward work which the migrant labourer might make in the course of his working career. Survey findings suggested that the young migrant was likely to be opposed to the migrant labour system, but nevertheless hoped to benefit from the instrumental aspects of migrant work in order to fulfil his life ambitions. At mid-career the typical migrant would either be relatively satisfied with what he had achieved within the system constraints and opt to remain in his job in town. Alternatively, if he was dissatisfied with the work situation, he would seek to escape the system and return to the rural home at this stage of his career. Correspondingly, the oldest group of migrants in the survey represented a selection of men who were relatively highly committed to industrial work and tended to be satisfied rather than dissatisfied. The minority of the older migrants in the survey who remained in their city jobs despite being dissatisfied with their jobs, did so because they perceived no opportunities to return migrate.

One did not gain the impression from the survey that the migrants who were dissatisfied with their jobs were angry or frustrated, rather that they were disillusioned or resigned and in some cases bitter. According to the survey findings it would appear that migrants' reference standards became depressed in the course of the migrant career and that this was conducive to their experiencing low-level job satisfaction at mid-career. It may be a worthwhile exercise to consider what would happen if this shift in expectations did not occur among the new generations of migrants who are entering the migrant labour system today. It is foreseeable that young contract workers who have experienced the

'revolution of rising expectations' may not be prepared to adjust their levels of aspirations and may continue to voice their discontent with the system by the time they reach middle age. However, it is likely that the 'rural dream' may no longer be available to operate as a safety valve to contain the anger of the disillusioned migrant at mid-career. By contrast to the apathetic 'man of no world' encountered in the present study, the new generations of migrants may agitate for their rights as workers and family men. They may react in this manner, precisely because they know that, unlike their fathers, they may not be able to realise their full potential by escaping to the country. Alternatively, some will defy the migrant labour system by bringing their families to town and informally attempting to establish their rights to family life under the constant threat of removal.

These results combine to form a disturbing picture. The idea of progress in work and life is highly salient in the consciousness of typical migrant workers. Yet the range of work available for typical contract migrants in a city is limited in its scope for progress and hence satisfaction. Older migrants who have wormed their way into the relatively few positions that can meet the restricted aspirations of migrants of their age and education, may very well be the only largely satisfied class of workers in a migrant force.

Many of the others resort to modes of adjustment which are not conducive to industrial commitment, nor to labour peace in the longer run:

- some find refuge in a dream of 'rural return';
- some think of escaping contract work by venturing into petty entrepreneurship;
- some - the better-educated - can aim strategically at obtaining petty white-collar or operative work;
- the remainder however, - those who face the full consequences of lifelong unskilled contract work - seem to be faced with the choice either of lowering their aspirations or translating frustrations into labour activism. In 1973, Durban contract workers showed their formidable capacity for informally organised labour action. Our results suggest that migrants are not highly politicised at this point. This will not always be so, and the prospects for even more focussed labour unrest can only grow in future.

The prospects of the 'rural dream' continuing to act as a safety valve for the urban industrial migrant system are limited. With rising densities on tribal land and the need to control settlement in order to facilitate agricultural development, more and more younger migrant workers will have to locate their lives and aspirations fairly and squarely in the world of work in industrial areas. The education of these young men may be improving over time, but the numbers of academically educated black school leavers are likewise increasing, and therefore lower-level high-school certificates may become downgraded as passports to more rewarding work.

The key point being made here is that only two things can compensate the migrant worker for the social and personal costs of working away from his family and living in unrewarding hostel or single quarters; either the hope that he will return to his land and freedom, or the hope of job advancement. If neither are available, his choice is between apathy or dissent, and this choice will be forced increasingly on people unless the scope for job advancement keeps pace with rising numbers.

If this is true for the relatively varied work in a large industrial complex like Durban, how much more true will it not be in more restricted or standardised work situations, say on the mines, rural estate industry, or newer growth points.

It would seem that people who make decisions affecting contract work in the South African economy must bear in mind the need for contract work, like any other industrial work, to offer scope for climbing ladders of skill, experience and reward. The results of this study have shown clearly that migrant contract workers are not tough stoics, inured to poorly paid hard manual labour as a way of life. They want exactly what the townspeople want and what relatively better educated workers want - adequacy of material comfort or the hope and scope for overcoming material insecurity, and thereafter enjoying social prestige and finally self-fulfilment in work. This implies the need for industrial training of migrant workers, the need for job classification systems which will facilitate job progress with experience, and the need for labour stabilisation, despite the system of annually renewed contracts.

If the system of annual contract work on a migrant basis, whether on call-in cards ¹⁾ or not, limits this possibility of these developments, then migrant work surely will be the Achilles' heel of South African labour stability. The results of this study of job satisfaction suggest that such a potentially explosive situation can only be defused if migrant workers are given some reassurance that they will in future receive adequate compensation and social recognition for their contribution to the South African economy.

1) A procedure whereby migrant workers can reclaim the jobs of their last contract period and retain some career continuity.

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