Changes in black workers' perception of the role and function of labour unions

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RGN·HSRC

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CONTENTS

EKSERP

In 1981 en 1983 het die Instituut vir Mannekragnavorsing twee opnames gedoen om swart werkers se persepsie van arbeidsverhoudinge en veral hul persepsie ten opsigte van die rol en funksie van vakbonde te bepaal. In 1984 is 'n verdere opname gedoen met die doel om te bepaal of daar intussen enige verandering in swart werkers se persepsies oor vakbonde ingetree het. Dit blyk dat daar inderdaad 'n groter bewustheid is as voorheen van die rol en funksie van vakbonde. Daar is ook baie sterk ondersteuning vir die vorming van oorhoofse kollektiewe bedingingsgroepe soos COSATU.

ABSTRACT

In 1981 and 1983 the Institute for Manpower Research conducted two surveys concerning black worker's perceptions of various facets of labour relations, particularly their perceptions of the role and function of labour unions. During 1984 another survey was undertaken with the aim to determine whether any changes in black workers' perceptions of the unions had taken place. It seems that workers are indeed more aware of the role and function of labour unions than previously. There is also strong support for the forming of collective bargaining groups like COSATU.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   BACKGROUND

Since the first major overhaul of labour legislation in the post-
Wiehahn era the HSRC's Institute for Manpower Research has conducted
two major surveys on black workers' perceptions of various facets of
labour relations, focusing on their perception of the role and function
of labour unions (Terblanche 1983; Slabbert 1984).

The fieldwork for these reports has been undertaken during the latter
parts of 1981 and 1983 respectively. Since these surveys the black
workers have joined unions in large numbers and union membership is
still increasing (Table 1.1), as is labour unrest (Table 1.2).

Table 1.1 indicates that black workers belonging to registered trade
unions have increased just as fast as the membership of unregistered
unions. As could have been expected, once the support at grass roots
level had been consolidated, umbrella organizations have come into
being. At the moment, with the demise of TUCSA, we have three main
groupings among black workers:

(a)   COSATU which is UDF/ANC oriented and of which NUM with about
100 000 members is the biggest single affiliated union. COSATU says
that its affiliated membership now stands at about 500 000. A forerun-
ner of COSATU, FOSATU has originally applied itself strictly to labour
matters but in 1983 there were clear indications that FOSATU had
changed direction and that the leadership had also opted for a politi-
cal role because "political and economic problems cannot be divorced"
(SALDRU 1986). FOSATU has been disbanded and has been absorbed by
COSATU. COSATU has publicly stated that it supports sanctions and its
economic philosophy is one of rather extreme socialism. SALDRU (1986)
indicates that the turning point for the labour movement as a whole
occurred in November 1984 with the mass protest against the new consti-
tutional dispensation.

TABLE 1.1

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP 1969-1985

	Registered				Unregistered	Total
	African	Coloured/ Asian	White	Total		
1969		182210	405032	587242	16040	603282
1970		197817	415847	613664		
1971		204838	421017	625855		
1972				637480		
1973		206742	411952	618694		
1974				646863		
1975		271169	382525	653694	59440	713134
1976		196450	435836	632286		
1977		241669	436477	678146		
1978		254546	444385	698931	60000	758931
1979		267822	433936	701758		
1980	56737	303850	447466	808053	166924	974977
1981	259582	326794	468029	1054405		
1982	394510	343900	488044	1225454		
1983	469260	330176	474454	1273890	271934	1545824
1984	578064	338314	470672	1406302		
1985	511171	295987	458110	1391423	449306	1840729

Source: SALDRU 1986

TABLE 1.2

STRIKES AND WORK STOPPAGES

Year	Number of strikes and work stoppages	Number of workers involved		Number of man-days lost		Loss of man-days per worker
		All workers	Black workers	All workers	Black workers	
1979	101	22803	15494	67099	16515	2,9
1980	207	61785	56286	174614	148192	2,8
1981	342	92842	84706	226554	206230	2,4
1982	394	141571	122481	365337	298256	2,6
1983	336	64469	61331	124594	120962	1,9
1984	469	181942	174897	379712	365096	2,1

Source: Van Vuuren et al. 1985 : 141

(b) The Azanians Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) and CUSA with an estimated 100 000 and 250 000 members, are open to "blacks only" and have a very strong black consciousness orientation. COSATU is multi-racial and it was because of this policy difference and not COSATU's policies on sanctions or economic philosophy that AZACTU and CUSA refused to join COSATU.

(c) The Inkatha-supported UWUSA was formed in March 1986 and one will have to wait and see what support it will eventually gain.

Although the umbrella organizations are of recent formation, the melting pot in which they were formed had been vigorously fermenting for some time. It is clear from the study by Allais (1985) that the leaders of the emergent unions were only waiting until their grass-roots support was consolidated before opting for umbrella organizations to enhance their power in the labour and political arenas.

The unions and the union federations still depend on the support of their members. If they do not have this support their power will eventually not be much more than sound and fury signifying nothing .

It can be expected that the blending of political and economic issues by labour unions on the organizational level, as reflected in the following statement by a CUSA official in the Eastern Cape, will give rise to mounting conflict and tension in the job situation.

"Because of the situation in South Africa, they (political and economic issues) are one. If you talk of improvement in salaries, you are talking about an improvement of your own own image at home and in society. You don't just ask for an increase for the fun of it, but you asked for it to improve yourself. So in our country, if you ask to improve your image, it is political" (Cunningham 1985 : 45).

he aim of this investigation is to determine whether the black perception of and attitude towards labour unions have changed since the two previous HSRC investigations conducted in this regard. Where possible, a comparison will therefore be drawn throughout this report between the findings of this survey and the surveys of 1981 and 1983.

1.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

1.2.1 Survey procedure

The field survey method was used to collect the necessary data during August 1984 in Port Elizabeth. The black interviewers made use of questionnaires during structured interviews to obtain the data.

The questionnaire can be divided into the following sections:

(i) Biographical information (Questions 1-5).

(ii) The need for an organization to protect their interests (Questions 6-7).

(iii) Union membership and function of a union (Questions 8-9, 14, 22).

(iv) Strikes as medium of fulfilment (Questions 10-13, 17).

(v) Problem-solving process (Questions 18-21).

1.2.2 The sample

As described in Terblanche (1983 : 12-13) respondents meeting the following requirements were randomly selected:

(i)   Black male workers
(ii)   in the age category 16-64 years
(iii)   living permanently in the urban area of Port Elizabeth
(iv)   employed at the time of the investigation.

The sample was drawn as described in Terblanche's report (1983 : 10).
The research was conducted in the Port Elizabeth metropolitan area for
the following main reasons:

(i)   To compare the data gathered with that of previous studies con-
      ducted by Terblanche (1983) and Slabbert (1984).

(ii) The large number of active black labour unions in the Port Eliza-
      beth area, and the very serious economic depression experienced in
      that area.

1.2.3   Statistical analysis

The basic statistical analysis technique used in the study is known as
Automatic Interaction Detection (AID). A special application of AID
called CHAID is mainly used in this study.

Basically the CHAID programme divides the statistical population into
subpopulations which differ significantly on the matter under investi-
gation. For a detailed explanation of the programme see Du Toit &
Stumpf (1982).

1.3   SURVEY GROUP

The survey group consisted of 614 black male workers. However, the
totals of the different tables do not always correspond with the total
number of workers, because the respondents did not always answer all
the questions.

1.3.1   Age distribution and employer sector

Table 1.3 shows the age distribution of respondents, whereas the
employer sector is analysed in Table 1.4.

TABLE 1.3

AGE DISTRIBUTION

Age group	N	%
15-19	8	1,3
20-24	79	12,9
25-29	97	15,8
30-34	84	13,7
35-39	90	14,7
40-44	50	8,1
45-49	74	12,1
50-54	64	10,4
55-59	45	7,3
60-64	23	3,7
TOTAL	614	100
Median age	36	

Table 1.3 shows that all age groups were well represented, with the main concentration of workers between the ages of 20 and 39 (57,1 %). From this table it also appears that the median age of respondents was relatively high (Me = 36 years). However if one takes into account that the younger black workers usually constitute the group that is worst hit by unemployment (compare inter alia Slabbert 1982 : 1 and Smit 1980 : 32-35 in this regard), it can be expected that, as in the rest of the country, the economically active workers in Port Elizabeth will come from the ranks of older blacks.

The employer sector of the survey group will depend on the available employment. According to Table 1.4 more than 50 % of the survey group was employed in the manufacturing sector, while the commerce and the government sectors also employed a number of workers (14,4 and 15,3 % respectively).

TABLE 1.4

EMPLOYER SECTOR

Sector	N	%
Commerce	88	14,4
Manufacturing	313	51,1
Services and financing	18	2,9
Public sector/government services	94	15,3
Electricity, gas, water	9	1,5
Building and construction	48	7,8
Transport and communication	43	7,0
TOTAL	613	100
Unspecified	1	

1.3.2   Qualification structure and occupation

Table 1.5 shows the highest educational qualification obtained by respondents, whereas the occupational structure is analysed in Table 1.6.

TABLE 1.5

HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

Educational qualification	N	%
None	33	5,4
Grd 1 - Std 1	25	4,1
Std 3 - 5	205	33,4
Std 6 and 7	176	28,7
Std 8	101	16,5
Std 9	22	3,6
Std 10/NTC III	51	8,3
TOTAL	613	100
Unspecified	1	

From Table 1.5 it appears that a relatively small percentage of the test group had Standard 10 certificates. However when the number of workers with Standard 6 or a higher qualification (57,1 %) is compared with the total number of economically active black workers in the RSA who have similar qualifications, it is evident that the educational level of the test group is considerably higher than that of the average black worker in South Africa. South African statistics show for example that only 14,3 % of blacks in the RSA had a Standard 6 or higher qualification. (Compare Central Statistical Services 1982 : 1.27.) The difference is due to the fact that only urban males living in houses were included in the survey group. This means that contract workers were excluded.

The relatively high educational level of respondents is reflected in the occupational structure shown in Table 1.6, in which only 9,3 % of the survey group was classified as labourers.

TABLE 1.6

OCCUPATION

Occupation	N	%
Professional	9	1,5
Technical	2	0,3
Administrative and managerial	2	0,3
Clerical	47	7,7
Salesworkers	18	2,9
Transport and communication	86	14,0
Tradesmen/apprentices	22	3,6
Operators	260	42,4
Supervisors	37	6,0
Labourers	57	9,3
Service workers	73	11,9
TOTAL	613	100
Unspecified	1	

CHAPTER 2

PROBLEMS AND GRIEVANCES OF WORKERS

2.1   INTRODUCTION

The problems and grievances experienced by workers will not only shape
the negotiating process, but also determine the functioning of the
labour relation system to a large extent. For example, the effective-
ness of problem solving through those channels of communication that
are available to workers can be expected to contribute to labour stabi-
lity. As Kinikow and McElroy (1975 : 8) put it: "Human relations and
communications are inseparable. In fact our communications with our
expected audience can be better than our relations with it, for human
relations are the feelings attached to communication."

Various authors furthermore agree that the significance of communica-
tion can hardly be overemphasized. Rodgers (1976 : 7) states for exam-
ple that: "Communication is the lifeblood of an organization", while
Hicks (1967 : 130) feels that: "... when communication stops, organized
activity ceases to exist. Individual unco-ordinated activity returns".

If it is taken into account that the majority of black workers on the
shop floor function as part of a group or team, it is important not
only to be familiar with the problems they experience, but also to know
their views on the available channels of communication for problem
solving.

2.2   PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY WORKERS

Workers were requested to indicate whether they experienced problems in
the job situation (see Appendix, Question 18). Of the 614 workers in
the survey group 291 said that this was the case. Table 2.1 contains
an analysis of the information that was obtained in this regard.

TABLE 2.1

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY WORKERS

Problems	N	%
Poor wages	149	51,2
Poor fringe benefits	9	3,1
Poor working conditions	49	16,8
Supervisor behaviour	20	6,9
Inadequate promotion structure	5	1,7
Racial discrimination	34	11,7
Inadequate communication structure	12	4,1
Unfair labour practices	6	2,1
Inadequate job security	7	2,4
TOTAL	291	100

From Table 2.1 it seems that more than half the workers who experienced problems in the job situation (51,2 %) gave unsatisfactory wages as the source. This finding corresponds with strike statistics for the period 1979-1984, which indicated that wage disputes were the biggest single cause of strikes (see Figure 2.1). According to Table 2.1 poor working conditions and racial discrimination were also mentioned as problems by a considerable number of respondents. It is interesting to note that black workers' most important complaint about racial discrimination concerned the unjustified favouring of coloureds in employment and promotion. It should however be kept in mind that the investigation was conducted while the new constitutional dispensation was being implemented. The omission of blacks from this dispensation might have given a subjective and emotional slant to their perception of discrimination.

FIGURE 2.1

CAUSE OF STRIKES
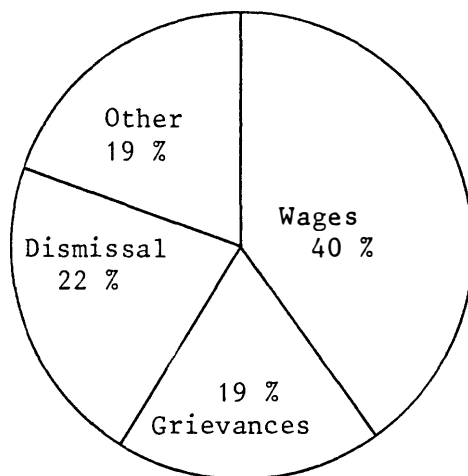
Diagram taken from Van Vuuren et al. 1985 : 147.

2.3   WORKERS' VIEW OF AVAILABLE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

In order to gain some indication of the workers' experience of the
available channels of communication and their effectiveness, the group
of workers who had stated that they were experiencing problems in the
job situation were requested to provide the following information:

(a) Whether the problems that had been experienced, were discussed
with anyone (see Appendix, Question 18.2).

(b) In those cases where the problems had been discussed with someone
- with whom were they discussed, why were they discussed with the par-
ticular person, did it have any effect, and why did it have an effect?
(See Appendix, Question 18.3 and 18.4.)

(c) With whom would they prefer to discuss the problems bothering
them, and why? (see Appendix, Question 20.)

Of the 291 workers who indicated that they experienced problems in the
job situation, the majority (70 %) discussed the problems with someone.
Table 2.2 shows with whom the workers discussed their problems, as well
as their reasons for discussing them with the specific person(s). The
information is compared with the data of the corresponding investiga-
tion conducted by the HSRC in 1983 (Slabbert 1984).

TABLE 2.2

PERSONS WITH WHOM WORKERS DISCUSSED THEIR PROBLEMS AND THEIR REASONS FOR TALKING TO SPECIFIC PERSONS

Reasons	Persons with whom discussed												Total			
	Management		Super-visors		Co-workers		Worker councils		Trade union represen-tative		Labour relations officer		1983		1984	
	1983	1984	1983	1984	1983	1984	1983	1984	1983	1984	1983	1984	N	%	N	%
Not meaningful					1								1	0,6		
Can be dismissed if management is approached directly		5				3				1					4	2,0
Contact person(s)			22	12		5	16	1	12	32		2	50	30,3	57	28,8
Senior	19	38	1	14			3			1		2	20	12,1	55	27,8
Gives good advice			4		2							2	9	5,5	2	1,0
Understands problems	1	6	3	13	37		2	5		8			43	26,1	32	16,2
Work together				1		47									48	24,2
Is responsible and fair			9						1				10	6,1		
No access to higher authority					2				1				3	1,8		
Wanted to help improve conditions	6		13				9		1				29	17,6		
TOTAL N	26	49	52	40	42	55	30	6	15	42		6	165	100	198	100
%	15,8	24,7	31,5	20,2	25,5	27,8	18,2	3,0	9,1	21,2		3,0		100		100
Unspecified													6		6	

Table 2.2 shows some very interesting differences between the communication patterns in the two surveys. Should co-workers (with whom discussion is often informal) be disregarded the most important groups with whom problems were discussed in 1983, were supervisors, worker councils and management, in that order. In 1984 the importance of management and trade union representatives had increased sharply and worker councils had nearly disappeared, while the labour relations officer was also a newcomer (though not yet very important) on the scene.

This information shows the progress that had been made by trade unions. Management's increased involvement is probably partly due to the involvement of the union when grievances remain unresolved as well as the general militant climate in which any negotiating must take place. The data also point towards the growing importance of labour relations in general.

Of the 204 workers who discussed their problems with somebody, 72 % felt that this discussion did not help. The reasons given by the workers as to why the discussion did not help are analyzed in Table 2.3.

TABLE 2.3

REASONS PROBLEM DISCUSSION DID NOT WORK

Reasons	N	%
Management was not informed of the problems	19	13,0
No improvement after discussion of problems	101	69,2
Racial discrimination	2	1,4
Threatened with dismissal	7	4,8
Co-workers do not have the authority to solve problems	9	6,2
Promises were not kept	8	5,5
TOTAL	146	100
Unspecified	1	

From Table 2.3 it is clear that in the workers' opinion the problem remained and therefore the discussion was of no use. It should however be borne in mind that problem solving was often handicapped by the workers' irrational behaviour and their unrealistic demands and expectations. Some workers complain that their problems are not communicated to management; this gives rise to the suspicion that management is apparently not always aware of the problems. When all the workers were asked whether they thought that management was aware of their problems (see Appendix, Question 19) the majority, namely 446 (73 %) workers, nevertheless answered in the affirmative. The reasons for their answers are given in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 indicates that the most important reason the workers considered management to be aware of their problems resulted from the fact that the workers themselves (or the persons with whom they had discussed the problems) had brought these problems to management's attention. The fact that more than a quarter of the workers also stated that management had either already solved their problems or was making an attempt to do so, was proof of management's positive attitude towards problem solving. According to an analysis of the information that was obtained when workers were asked whether they thought that management did enough to solve their problems (see Appendix, Question 21) it appears that the percentage of the workers in the survey group who felt that management was doing enough had increased from 21,2 % in 1983 to 56,0 % in 1984 (compare Slabbert 1984 : 25); this is perhaps indicative of the greater involvement of management as shown in Table 2.2. Apparently management is taking things seriously and their efforts are bearing fruit.

TABLE 2.4

REASONS THE WORKERS BELIEVE THAT MANAGEMENT IS AWARE OF THEIR PROBLEMS

Reasons	N	%
Not meaningful	15	3,5
Workers strike	2	0,5
Workers/supervisors/trade unions/worker committee informed management of problem	248	57,1
Problems were solved or partially solved	116	26,7
Disputes/controversies occurred as a result of problems	12	2,8
Workers who complain are dismissed/threatened with dismissal	31	7,1
Members of management move around among workers and take note of their complaints	10	2,3
TOTAL	434	100
Unspecified	12	

CHAPTER 3

PERCEPTIONS OF THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF TRADE UNIONS

3.1   INTRODUCTION

It was shown in Chapter 2 that workers, in accordance with the general
trend of increasing trade union membership, were more inclined than in
the past to discuss their work related-problems with trade union repre-
sentatives.   This chapter will focus specifically on trade union mem-
bership, the wish to join unions and how the perceptions on the struc-
ture and functioning of unions have changed since 1981.

3.2   TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

Respondents were asked whether they thought workers should come together
and form an organization to protect their interests (Appendix, Question
5).   This question was also asked in the 1981 survey (Terblanche 1983)
and formulated in this rather indirect way because a pilot study showed
that a large number of the respondents did not understand the term
union or trade union. The responses to this question are given are
Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1
DO YOU THINK WORKERS SHOULD COME TOGETHER AND FORM AN
ORGANIZATION TO PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS (PERCENTAGES)?

	1981	1984
Yes	65,4	74,3
No	16,6	12,9
Not sure	18,0	17,9
TOTAL	100	100

N=350   N=595

In line with the general growth of trade unions the respondents in
this survey were more in favour of forming an organization. The number
of persons against forming an organization had dropped but there
remained a reasonably large percentage (18 %) who still were not sure.

Asked if they belonged to a union 28,5 % of the survey group refused to answer. In the previous surveys refusals on this question were negligible. The survey was indeed disrupted by disturbances caused by the introduction of the tricameral parliament. Important black union groupings such as FOSATU for the first time openly and actively supported politically motivated actions. It is possible that these events accounted for the large number of refusals. Of the 439 respondents who did answer the question 58,6 % said that they did belong to a union – this was much higher than the 33,3 % of 1981 and the 44,0 % of 1983. The large number of refusals makes comparisons between the present and the previous surveys difficult. But if the events as described were in part responsible for the refusals, most of the 175 respondents would have been union members. Black labour has clearly become organized.

Those who said that they belonged to unions were clearly <u>au fait</u> with the activities of their unions. The overwhelming majority of trade union members (84 %) knew the name of their trade union and 78 % and 90 % respectively were able to indicate whether their union was registered and whether their union had signed a recognition agreement with their employer.

Workers who had not been members of a union at the time of the survey were asked whether they would prefer to belong to a union and why. Of the 176 workers who supplied reasons, 70 % said they would like to belong to a union compared with 33 % in 1983. The reasons supplied in the two surveys were very much the same. In the 1983 survey the respondents were more inclined to mention specific issues while in the present survey 73 % gave the more blanket reason of "to protect" workers' rights – this underlines an important facet of organized labour, namely that of an awareness of their collective strength. The most important specific factor was the question of job security.

Too little knowledge of trade unions was the main reason supplied by those who did not want to belong to a union. A number also gave political orientation and the possible endangering of job security as well as feeling that the union only causes trouble, as reasons.

TABLE 3.2

REASONS PEOPLE WOULD LIKE TO BELONG TO A UNION OR NOT

Reasons	Want to belong		Do not want to belong		Unsure	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not meaningful	1	0,8				
Work security	24	19,4	7	14,0		
Better salaries can be negotiated	5	4,0				
Protection of workers' rights (represents workers' rights)	90	72,6				
It is responsible	4	3,2				
No knowledge of trade unions			17	34,0	2	100,0
Is politically oriented			9	18,0		
Only causes problems			7	14,0		
Not necessary because of good communication with management			10	20,0		
TOTAL	124	100	50	100	2	100

3.3 STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF TRADE UNIONS

Those respondents who were in favour of forming an organization to protect their interests were given a number of statements about the structure and functioning of that organization. They could either agree or disagree with the statement, or indicate that they were not sure whether they agreed or not.

These statements were analysed by means of a CHAID-analysis. This analysis makes it possible to identify whether some of the subgroups in the survey group tend to differ in their response to the statement which is the dependent variable. In the analyses used in this chapter the following subgroups were used as explanatory variables:

Age: 19-24; 25-44; 45+
Educational level: None-Std 5; Std 6-7; Std 8-10
Income: R149 and less; R150-199; R200-300; More than R300

The results of the analyses are presented graphically by means of dendrograms to show which subgroups (explanatory variables) differ in their responses. The dendrograms indicate only those explanatory variables in which differences do occur. The first variable picked up in the analysis explains most of the variance observed in the responses.

3.3.1 Establishment of the organization

Unions are started by the workers and not by management. Concerning the statement "Management must start the organization" the respondents reacted as shown in Table 3.3. Included in the table are the results of the 1981 and 1983 surveys on a similar question.

TABLE 3.3

SHOULD MANAGEMENT START THE ORGANIZATION?

Management must start the organization	1981		1983		1984	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	30	14,9	28	7,6	139	31,6
No	160	79,2	313	84,6	363	59,8
Not sure	12	5,9	28	7,6	38	8,6
TOTAL	202	100	369	100	440	100

The reaction in Table 3.3 is difficult to explain in the light of the preceding findings. One would have expected the percentage of "Yes" answers to be much lower, and at least lower than in the preceding surveys because it was clear from other responses that the survey group was much more knowledgable about union matters. The only reasonable explanation would be that they wanted management to take an active interest in union matters.

The CHAID analysis (Dendrogram 1) indicates that those with an income above R300 as well as those with higher educational qualifications were less inclined to say that management must start the organization but the percentages remain relatively high.

DENDROGRAM 1

MANAGEMENT MUST START THE ORGANIZATION

```
                              ┌─────────┐
                              │ N=440   │
                 Yes          │ 31,6    │
                 No           │ 59,8    │
                 Not sure     │  8,6    │
                              └─────────┘
                                   │
                                Income
              ┌────────────────────┴──────────────────────┐
          <R300                                         R300+
          ┌─────────┐                                  ┌─────────┐
          │ N=211   │                                  │ N=229   │
          │ 39,3    │                                  │ 24,5    │
          │ 51,2    │                                  │ 67,7    │
          │  9,5    │                                  │  7,9    │
          └─────────┘                                  └─────────┘
               │
       School qualification
      ┌────────┴────────┐
  None-Std 5          Std 10
  ┌─────────┐        ┌─────────┐
  │ N=104   │        │ N=107   │
  │ 41,3    │        │ 37,4    │
  │ 44,2    │        │ 57,9    │
  │ 14,4    │        │  4,7    │
  └─────────┘        └─────────┘
```
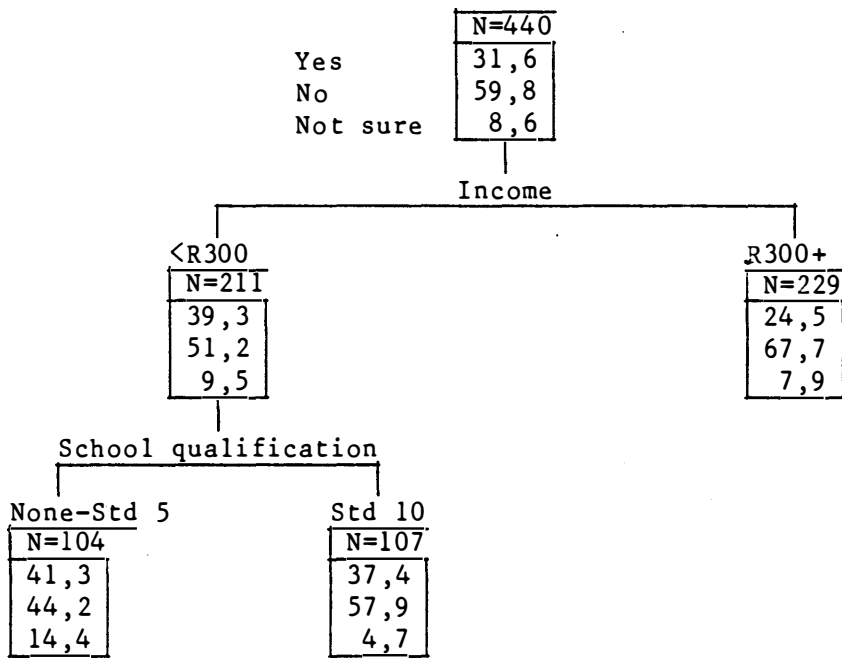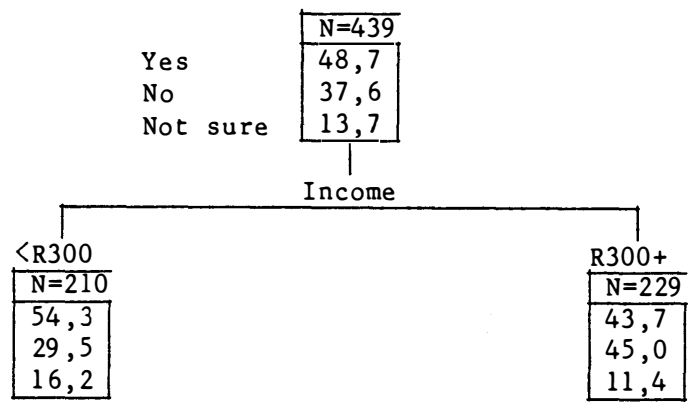
3.3.2   Membership

In the typical union management is never regarded as a member of the union. Dendrogram 2, however, indicates that 48,7 % of the group said that management should be allowed to join the organization and that those respondents earning more than R300 were more inclined to say "no" although the percentage who wanted management to join was still above 40. The percentage of workers who wanted management to "join" in 1981 was much smaller, namely 30 %. These results lend support to the argument that workers want management to become more closely involved in unions.

When asked if only blacks should be members of the organization 60,9 % said "no". This is not much higher than reported for the 1981 survey, but the results still seem to be contradictory because there were a number of workers (56 or 12,8 %) who said that only blacks should be members of the organization and also that management (which is usually white) should be allowed to join the organization. One should not therefore interpret membership in too strict a sense as at least a group of workers regards membership more in terms of involvement.

DENDROGRAM 2

MEMBERS OF MANAGEMENT SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO JOIN THE ORGANIZATION

```
                                        ┌─────────┐
                                        │ N=439   │
                          Yes           │  48,7   │
                          No            │  37,6   │
                          Not sure      │  13,7   │
                                        └─────────┘
                                             │
                                          Income
             ┌───────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
          <R300                                                     R300+
        ┌─────────┐                                              ┌─────────┐
        │ N=210   │                                              │ N=229   │
        │  54,3   │                                              │  43,7   │
        │  29,5   │                                              │  45,0   │
        │  16,2   │                                              │  11,4   │
        └─────────┘                                              └─────────┘
```
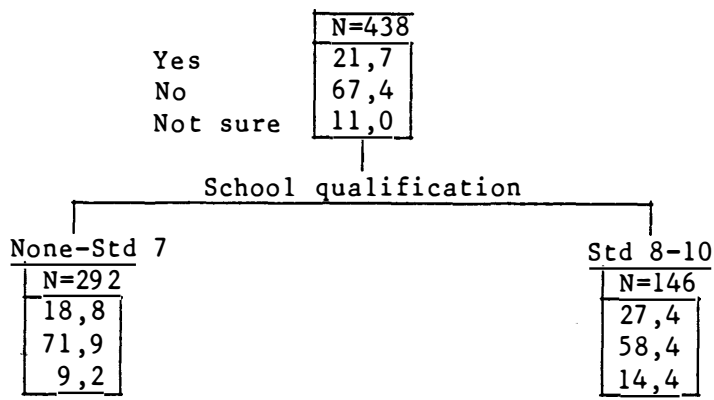
3.3.3   The right to strike

Asked whether the organization should have the right to strike, a remarkable 67,4 % said "no" (Dendrogram 3). This reaction is in stark contrast with the 1981 survey in which 43 % said "no". Although the respondents with qualifications higher than Std 8 were more inclined to indicate that the organization should be allowed to organize strikes, the majority (58,4 %) also replied in the negative.

DENDROGRAM 3

THE ORGANIZATION MUST BE ALLOWED TO ORGANIZE STRIKES

```
                                        ┌─────────┐
                                        │ N=438   │
                          Yes           │  21,7   │
                          No            │  67,4   │
                          Not sure      │  11,0   │
                                        └─────────┘
                                             │
                                   School qualification
             ┌───────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
        None-Std 7                                                  Std 8-10
        ┌─────────┐                                              ┌─────────┐
        │ N=292   │                                              │ N=146   │
        │  18,8   │                                              │  27,4   │
        │  71,9   │                                              │  58,4   │
        │   9,2   │                                              │  14,4   │
        └─────────┘                                              └─────────┘
```

If the results of the previous paragraph are taken into account it would seem as if workers' perceptions of the strike as a medium for solving problems have undergone a marked change. This is an indication that adverse economic circumstances tend to weaken union power because the union does not have the support of the workers should it want to use its main weapon namely the strike. It can therefore be expected that unions in such circumstances will give much more attention to matters such as retrenchments rather than a rise in wages. As in 1981 more than 70 % of the respondents were of the opinion that union leaders should have the support of workers before resorting to strike action.

3.3.4   Closed shop principles

Unions which are recognized by the employer should be in favour of the closed shop principle because it is aimed at union security and trade unions which have closed shop agreements with their employers are mainly in favour of them. If a closed shop principle is accepted, workers have to join the recognized union. Two statements in this regard were included in the questionnaire:

(a) Workers must be free to decide if they want to join the organization.

(b) A worker who is a member of the organization should be allowed to leave the organization if he wants to.

The responses to these two questions showed that workers were against the closed shop principle, and that 97,5 % and 78,6 % respectively agreed with the above statements. While these results are in accordance with the 1981 survey (78,7 % and 71,9 % agreed) it indicates that workers are not inclined to be forced to join an organization if they do not want to.

3.4   COMMUNICATION BETWEEN UNION, MANAGEMENT AND WORKERS

Communication between workers and management is of the utmost importance to the undertaking. Unions are in a position to twist the results of

negotiations and can put management in a bad light if they are the only medium through which results of agreements are communicated to the workers. Those respondents who were union members were asked if workers should be informed of the contents of any agreement reached. As can be expected the overwhelming majority (97,3 %) said yes. They were also asked whom they would prefer to tell them about the contents of the agreement and to give a reason for their answer (see Question 22). The responses are given in Table 3.4.

TABLE 3.4

REASONS FOR PREFERRED COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

Reasons	Preferred channels						Total
	Trade union management		Manage-ment		Both		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Can be trusted			5	12,8			5
Represents workers' interests	164	95,3					164
Management cannot be trusted	4	2,3					4
Understands workers' problems	3	1,7					3
No direct contact with management	1	0,6					1
Management pays salary			15	38,5			15
Management makes final decision			19	48,7			19
To prevent the parties concerned from giving different versions					19	41,3	19
Better decisions can be made					27	58,7	27
TOTAL N	172	100	39	100	46	100	257
TOTAL %	66,9		15,2		17,9		100

The table clearly indicates that workers preferred the union to tell them (66,9 %) because the union represented the interests of the workers. About 18 % would have preferred a version from both because it would have prevented the parties concerned from giving different versions - this would have facilitated decision-making by workers. Those who preferred management to tell them mostly stressed the power of management.

The same group of respondents were also asked whom they would have believed should union and management both have reported back and the two versions had differed. The responses to this question appear in Table 3.5. The credibility of the union seems to be high and the main reason for this is again that the union represent workers' interests. The main reason for the group who would have chosen to believe management again stressed the decisive say that the management of an organization has in the decisionmaking process.

TABLE 3.5

REASONS FOR PARTIES' CREDIBILITY

Reasons	Who should be believed						Total
	Trade union		Manage- ment		Nobody		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Not meaningful	1	0,5			1	5,6	2
Not yet experienced					1	5,6	1
Management takes final decision			41	78,8			41
Management will not tell lies – it listens to workers			8	15,4			8
Trade unions only talk			3	5,8			3
Will decide for myself					16	88,9	16
Represents workers' interests	171	91,4					171
White management cannot be trusted	1	0,5					1
Trade unions understand their members' problems	13	7,0					13
No communication with management	1	0,5					1
TOTAL N %	187 72,8	100	52 20,2	100	18 7,0	100	257

These results show that management must give serious attention to the content of what is reported back – where possible this should be part of the negotiations at least as far as the written version is concerned. The fact that workers are inclined to believe the union rather than management should not prevent management from stating its own case via the means available to it. The results also have a message for management because they point to a credibility gap that management can hardly afford.

CHAPTER 4

THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS STRIKES

The strike remains the union's most powerful weapon and as was men-
tioned in Chapter 1 there was an increase in the number of strikes and
go-slows. In the 1981 survey it was found that 53 % of the workers in
the survey group were against strikes. The percentage of union members
in favour of strikes was higher, namely 57 % and the survey also showed
that the percentage of union members who took part in a strike was
much higher than was the case with workers who did not belong to a
union (33,7 % as against 8,6 %). It can therefore be expected that an
increase in union membership will go hand in hand with an increase in
strikes. Workers are also becoming more militant in their actions and
sit-ins have often occurred of late. Another factor working in favour
of serious disruption on the labour front is the very clear political
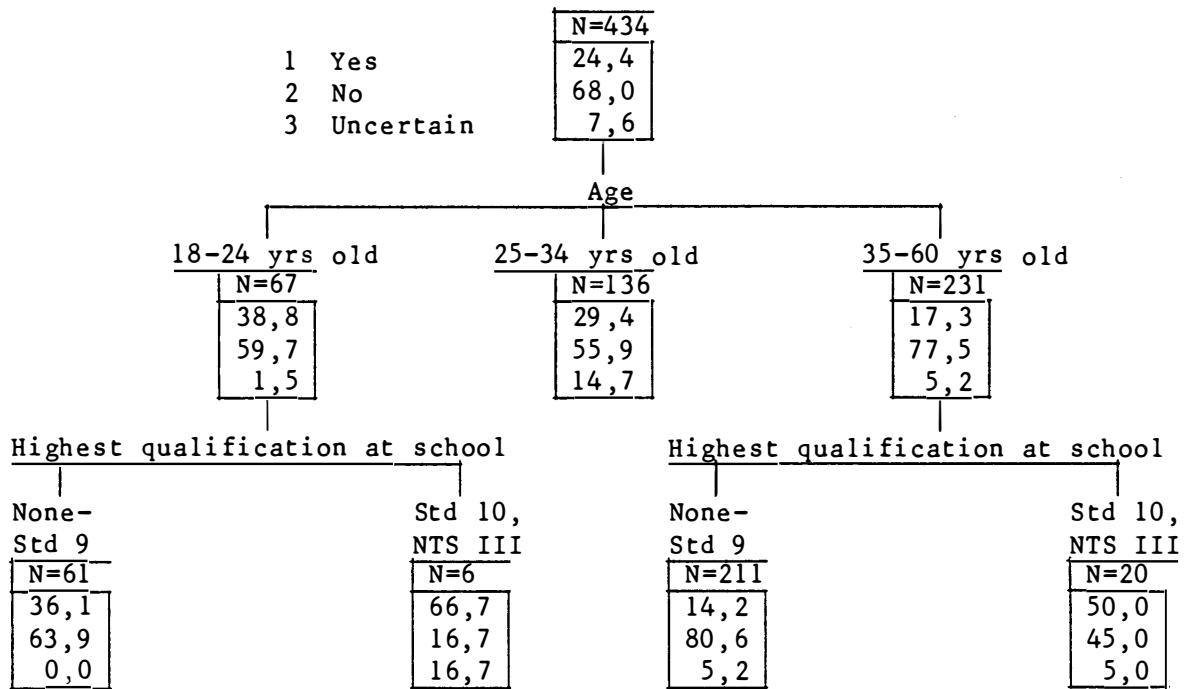message of union federations such as COSATU.

Even at the time of the survey the economy of Port Elizabeth was at a
very low ebb and jobs were at a premium. The question is how the
depression has affected attitudes towards strikes. Two questions were
asked in this regard:

(a) Are you in favour of people going on strike?
(b) Can workers get what they want without striking?

The responses to those questions of those who were in favour of workers
forming an organization to protect their interests are given in Dendro-
grams 4 and 5. In both cases age was the most important explanatory
variable. The younger groups were more inclined to state that they
were in favour of strikes and that workers could not get what they
wanted without striking. The number of workers in favour of strikes
who felt that strikes were the only way to get what they wanted were in
the minority (24,4 % and 15,8 % respectively). When compared to the
1981 survey the percentages have changed dramatically because 45,2 %
was then in favour of strikes and 31,6 % was of the opinion that
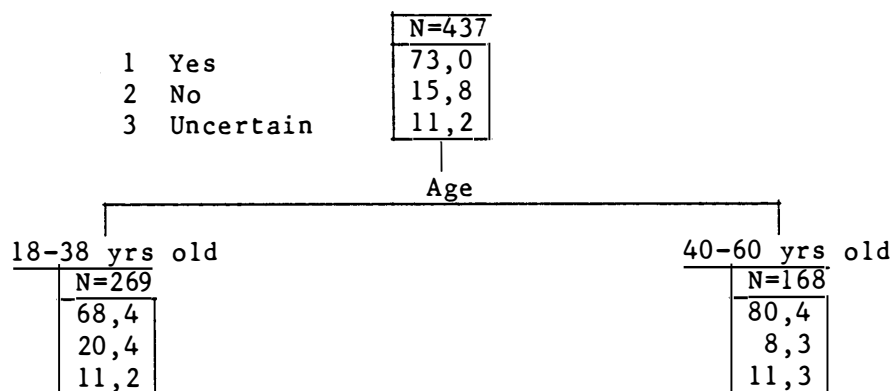workers could only get what they wanted by striking. There is a clear

DENDROGRAM 4

IN FAVOUR OF STRIKES

```
                              ┌─────────┐
          1  Yes              │ N=434   │
          2  No               │ 24,4    │
          3  Uncertain        │ 68,0    │
                              │  7,6    │
                              └────┬────┘
                                   │
                                  Age
     ┌─────────────────────────────┼─────────────────────────────┐
 18-24 yrs old              25-34 yrs old               35-60 yrs old
   ┌─────────┐                ┌─────────┐                 ┌─────────┐
   │ N=67    │                │ N=136   │                 │ N=231   │
   │ 38,8    │                │ 29,4    │                 │ 17,3    │
   │ 59,7    │                │ 55,9    │                 │ 77,5    │
   │  1,5    │                │ 14,7    │                 │  5,2    │
   └────┬────┘                └─────────┘                 └────┬────┘
        │                                                      │
Highest qualification at school              Highest qualification at school
    ┌────────────────────────┐                   ┌─────────────────────────────┐
 None-                    Std 10,             None-                         Std 10,
 Std 9                    NTS III             Std 9                         NTS III
   ┌─────────┐              ┌─────────┐         ┌─────────┐                   ┌─────────┐
   │ N=61    │              │ N=6     │         │ N=211   │                   │ N=20    │
   │ 36,1    │              │ 66,7    │         │ 14,2    │                   │ 50,0    │
   │ 63,9    │              │ 16,7    │         │ 80,6    │                   │ 45,0    │
   │  0,0    │              │ 16,7    │         │  5,2    │                   │  5,0    │
   └─────────┘              └─────────┘         └─────────┘                   └─────────┘
```

DENDROGRAM 5

WORKERS CAN GET WHAT THEY WANT WITHOUT STRIKING

```
                              ┌─────────┐
          1  Yes              │ N=437   │
          2  No               │ 73,0    │
          3  Uncertain        │ 15,8    │
                              │ 11,2    │
                              └────┬────┘
                                   │
                                  Age
     ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
 18-38 yrs old                                         40-60 yrs old
   ┌─────────┐                                           ┌─────────┐
   │ N=269   │                                           │ N=168   │
   │ 68,4    │                                           │ 80,4    │
   │ 20,4    │                                           │  8,3    │
   │ 11,2    │                                           │ 11,3    │
   └─────────┘                                           └─────────┘
```

indication that ordinary workers are beginning to perceive strikes as a danger to themselves. Unions however, especially the umbrella organizations, have become strongly politicized, and it is often extremely difficult to distinguish between political and labour actions.

Respondents were also asked to give reasons for their answers. These are analysed in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Various reasons were given for the negative attitude towards strikes but the most important were that people suffered when dismissed and that the union could not prevent dismissals. There were also those who said that strikes did more harm than good (19,0 %) and that they saw no reason to strike. By and large these reasons strongly underline the fear of job loss through strike action. The unions are of course aware of the fact that workers are faced with dismissals, retrenchments and unemployment and a drop in real wages. They are also more inclined to use the official conciliation machinery. According to SALDRU (1986 : 2) this increase has been dramatic. The hearings by the Industrial Court have increased from 20 in 1981 to 801 in 1985; applications for conciliation boards rose from 24 applications in 1981 to 514 in 1985 and the number of disputes referred to the industrial councils numbered 1127 in 1985. These figures are, however, not only indicative of a greater use of the official conciliation machinery, but also of more industrial action.

TABLE 4.1

REASONS WORKERS ARE NOT IN FAVOUR OF STRIKES

Responses	Total	
	N	%
Response not meaningful	4	1,4
People suffer when dismissed/union cannot prevent dismissals	117	39,7
See no reason for striking/some people strike too easily/do not want to be involved	43	14,6
Does more harm than good	56	19,0
Difficult to find another job	15	5,1
Negotiations/consultations work better	29	9,8
Danger/violence/injury	13	4,4
Working for government/against law	11	3,7
Other	7	2,4
TOTAL	295	100

TABLE 4.2

REASONS WORKERS ARE IN FAVOUR OF STRIKES

Responses	Total	
	N	%
Promises not fulfilled	68	64,2
Improvement of working conditions	1	0,9
It is the only way to make management listen	12	11,3
Solidarity of workers	3	2,8
Only way to express dissatisfaction	2	1,9
Only way to solve problems	19	17,9
Response not meaningful	1	0,9
TOTAL	106	100

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The workers in the survey group earn low salaries and their most pressing needs would be what Maslow would term basic. They do work which Goldthorpe (1968) called manual and (in his terms) they can be expected to have an instrumental approach to work, namely work for what their wages can buy and not for any intrinsic award from the work itself because in the work they do, there is little that Herzberg would term satisfiers. Because wages are low workers have a problem in satisfying their needs; they perceive their environment as one of scarcity (Perlman 1949) and tend to see their salvation in group formation where the groups can look after their interests. The union is such a group and it is, therefore, no surprise that the group strongly supports the idea of forming an organization that would look after their interests. The black union movement has increased its numbers dramatically and the membership in both registered and unregistered unions reached nearly 1,1 million in 1985.

It is also no surprise that black unions have opted for umbrella organizations because they can then organize and act within a spectrum of industries. Unions have also tended to become politicized. The formation of COSATU with its 500 000 affiliated members is probably the biggest. However because of the basic needs of their members these federations will have to retain a very strong in-plant visibility.

The emergent unions could have opted to remain strongly labour oriented organizations. They seem, however, to have decided to follow in the political footsteps of the pre-uhuru labour movements and become labour movements with a clearly demarcated political role. These movements, like other labour movements with strong political orientations, will have a strong bias towards socialism in their socio-economic philosophy. In the case especially of the emergent unions the reasons are not hard to find.

The rank and file black workers can hardly be expected to view the free market system as the best wealth-creating system, because the majority, being in low paid jobs where the chances for promotion are slim, must of necessity view their world as one of scarcity and not of opportunity. They will look towards group control for the assurance that they will receive their share of the very limited economic cake. This survey has again indicated that the younger and better educated worker is also the more militant one. Education does increase the awareness of the individual and the educated black worker will be only too aware of the numerous laws, rules and regulations that have denied the black worker equal access to economic opportunity. It is, however, doubtful whether blacks would opt for a free market system even if there were equal access because traditional attitudes still play a role. There has been a strong tendency for African governments to go for what has been termed African Socialism. Bopape (1975) views African Socialism as a social, economic and political philosophy which perceives society as a social organism where units in the society share mutual responsibility for the production, distribution and consumption of the country's resources. He adds "Although this ideology served as a basic ideology for providing the political, social and economic bene-fits promised by African politicians like Kenyatta, Nyerere, Nkrumah, Lumumba and to a lesser extent Margai, historically this ideology seems indigenous and traditional and it is derived from the African tribal meaning of family. Implicit in it are the notions such as commune, genuine community, brotherhood and solidarity of kinship" (Bopape 1975 : 49).

The extreme socialist stance taken by COSATU is evident from its 1987 COSATU Worker's Diary. The entry which acts as a preamble to October reads as follows "The Russian Revolution of October 1917 is the most important event in world history. For the first time the organised working class placed itself at the head of society.

The new workers' state was invaded by 21 imperialist armies. The Red Army of workers and peasants defeated them all. This heroic spirit of sacrifice turned Russia from an economically backward land, into the world's most powerful industrial country."

At the back of the diary the political policy is spelled out in the COSATU resolutions adopted at the inaugural congress. Under the heading "National minimum wage" we find the following resolution. "Fight to open all the books of every organised company so that workers can see exactly how the wealth they have produced is being wasted and misused by the employers' profit system, and on that basis can demand their full share of the wealth they have produced. Should the wealth not be there, then it will only prove the ineffiency of employer management and strengthen the case for worker control and the management of production."

The unions must, however, remember that their power base lies in the support they get from the workers. Even with the support they receive at the moment it would seem as if the use of force in the form of intimidation is necessary for the solidarity they need in industrial action. Whatever their eventual aims are they have to negotiate with management which is a powerful adversary. The results of the present study have clearly indicated that as jobs become scarce workers strongly prefer not to strike but to negotiate. The percentage of workers in the 1984 survey group in favour of strikes who felt that the strike was the only way in which to get what they wanted, has decreased sharply since 1981. This does not mean that they feel they have nothing to complain about and silence should not be construed as satisfaction, but should the unions be seen as the prime reason for losing jobs, unions could lose support.

As long as man engages in economic activity and sells his labour, there will be disputes between employer and employee. In the labour field bargaining takes place between union and management because both implicitly accepts that the other party has power. Power boils down to the possibility of imposing your will on the behaviour of others. Galbraith (1984) says there are three types of power, namely condign, compensatory and conditioned power. Condign power wins submission by the ability to impose an alternative to the preferences of the group that is sufficiently unpleasant, so as to lead to the abandonment of these preferences. The union with the support of civic bodies can impose its will on the workers by intimidation or other means. If the

attitude of the workers in the survey group reflects that of the large majority of workers in the country, organized labour can find that its use of force can backfire especially if employers do not use unnecessary force in return.

Power of the second type (compensatory power) wins submission by giving the individual something he values in return for his submission. All union members expect their union to improve their economic situation; that is the reward of membership. If the union is constantly being perceived as the cause of loss either of wages or of the job itself, the attitude towards the union may change. Whether such attitude change would occur is also influenced by numerous other factors. Especially important is group pressure and the norms of society. If members, together with their group and society at large, believe that their cause is just the union could in the end wield the strongest type of power, namely conditioned power, where the individual submits to the will of others because he is persuaded that his behaviour is the preferred course of action. The fact of submission is then not easily recognized. Should this happen union members, whatever their individual aspirations and plans, would accept the union's goal and will be followers regardless of their own needs and wants; they will forego pay and accept the risk of losing their jobs.

The UDF and COSATU alliance are doing their best to foster this feeling of solidarity. The COSATU Worker's Diary is full of examples. The following entry which serves as the opening preamble to July is such an example: "Organised workers realised that the struggle in the community is part of the struggle on the factory floor. It helps workers little to win wage increases through struggle with the bosses, only to have hard won gains taken away through the actions of government imposed 'Community Councils' and other undemocratic measures."

The unity of organized workers with students, youth, and the whole community has been demonstrated in rent boycotts, sleep-ins, strikes and stayaways over the last two years. "Many entries stress the solidarity between workers and "youth". The ANC openly urges workers to become organized and all organized workers to unite under the umbrella of COSATU.

Employers are thus faced with an increasingly difficult situation in that political matters about which they can do little are drawn into the labour arena, as the stayaway called by COSATU and the UDF during the 1987 elections illustrates. This is a repeat of the labour troubles experienced during the referendum in which white voters were asked for approval of the tricameral parliament. It is difficult to decide how close the alliances between workers and unions are. The recession has certainly made workers more cautious because they fear for their jobs. Township youths who leave school with very little prospect of obtaining a job are more militant and this difference in approach in the past has led to rifts between unions and civic organizations. The results of this survey and previous surveys show very clearly that union members strongly prefer a democratic organization in the real sense. They want the leaders not only to report back but to make sure that the unions have their support before deciding on a course of action. Unions can play a positive role in South Africa as long as the climate for negotiation remains positive. It is necessary for employers to give very serious attention to labour relations in general and to accept once and for all that the ball game has changed. As Malherbe (1987 :6) puts it: "Gone are the days when your labour problem was a domestic issue. Gone also are the days when you could view with dispassion the problems being experienced by your competitor ... His problem of today is your problem of tomorrow."

Malherbe also points out that the efforts of diverse unions "are being carefully co-ordinated so as to comply with an overall master plan devised by the co-ordinating bodies".

Employers will also have to show a united front in order to nurture a climate for negotiation.

CHANGES IN BLACK WORKERS' PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF LABOUR UNIONS
MM 200

	Office use
Record number	⌴⌴⌴⌴ 1-3
1 How old are you? .... years	⌴⌴⌴ 4-5
2 What is your highest school qualification? Std	⌴⌴⌴ 6-7
3 What kind of work do you do?	⌴⌴⌴ 8-9
4 What does your employer do? (e.g. makes motor cars, railways, education department)	⌴⌴⌴ 10-11

5   Do you think that workers should come together and form an
     organization to protect their interests?

     Yes ⌷1⌷⌷   No ⌷2⌷⌷   Don't know ⌷3⌷⌷   ⌴⌴ 12

     Why do you say so? ....
     ....
     ....   ⌴⌴⌴ 13-14

Fieldworker   If ⌷2⌷ or ⌷3⌷ answer questions 10 to 21. _____ page 3

┌─────────────┐
│ If "Yes" in 5: │
└─────────────┘

6   You say that workers should form an organization to protect
     their interests. Here are some statements on how that organi-
     zation should function. Say if you agree or disagree with the
     statement. If you are not sure that you agree or disagree,
     say you are not sure.

6.1 Only Black workers should be members of the organization.

     Yes ⌷1⌷⌷   No ⌷2⌷⌷   Not sure ⌷3⌷⌷   ⌴⌴ 15

6.2 Workers must be free to join the organization.

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐

6.3 Management must start the organization.

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐

☐☐ 17

6.4 A worker who is a member of the organization should be allowed to leave the organization if he wants to.

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐

☐☐ 18

6.5 Members of management should be allowed to join the organization.

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐

☐☐ 19

6.6 The organization must be allowed to organize strikes.

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐

☐☐ 20

6.7 Before the leaders of the organization ask workers to strike, they must make sure that the majority of the workers want to strike.

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐

☐☐ 21

7 You have said that an organization must be formed to protect workers' interests. What is the most important interest that you can think of?

....

....

☐☐☐ 22-23

8 Do you belong to a trade union?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ If "No" go to 9

☐☐ 24

Fieldworker ☐If "No" go to 9☐ _____ page 3

☐If Yes ask 8.1 - 8.3☐

8.1 If "Yes": What is the name of the union?
(Also answer question 22)

☐☐☐ 25-26

....

....

8.2 Do you know if it is registered?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐   └─┘   27

8.3 Does your employer have a recognition agreement with the union?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐   └─┘   28

9 If "No" in 8:

9.1 Would you like to belong to a union?   Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐   └─┘   29

Why do you say so? ....

....

....   └──┴──┘   30-31

10 Are you in favour of people going on a strike?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐   └─┘   32

Why do you say so? ....

....

....   └──┴──┘   33-34

11 Have you taken part in a strike?   Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐   └─┘   35

12 Can people loose their jobs by striking?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐   └─┘   36

13 Can workers get what they want without striking?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐   └─┘   37

Why do you say so? ....

....   └──┴──┘   38-39

....

14   Does your employer allow union leaders to visit your
      organization to speak to workers?

      Yes ☐1☐   No ☐2☐   Not sure ☐3☐

15   What do you earn at the moment?

      R .... per week   R............. per month

      ☐☐☐☐ 41-43

16   How easy is it to get a job these days?

      Easy   ☐1☐

      Not so easy   ☐2☐

      Difficult   ☐3☐

      Very difficult ☐4☐

      ☐ 44

      Why do you say so? ....
      ....   ☐☐ 45-46

17   Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

17.1 Striking can help the Black people to get more jobs.

      Yes ☐1☐   No ☐2☐   Not sure ☐3☐

      ☐ 47

      Why do you say so? ....
      ....   ☐☐ 48-49

17.2 If workers strike a lot, employers will get machines that can
      do most the work.

      Yes ☐1☐   No ☐2☐   Not sure ☐3☐

      ☐ 50

18   Are there problems at work that bother you?

      Yes ☐1☐   No ☐2☐

Fieldworker   ☐ If "No" go to 19 ☐ _____ page 5

               ☐ If "Yes" ask 18.1 - 18.4 ☐   .   ☐ 51

18.1 If "Yes", what are the problems? ....
      ....   ☐☐ 52-53

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18.2 Have you discussed them with anybody?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ |☐☐| 54

18.3 If "Yes", with whom have you discussed them? ....

.... |☐☐☐| 55-56

Why did you discuss the problem with these person(s)?

....

.... |☐☐☐| 57-58

18.4 Did your discussing your problems with these person(s) do any good?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ |☐☐| 59

Why do you say so? ....

.... |☐☐☐| 60-61

19 Do you think that the management of your firm is aware of the problems that bother the workers?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Don't know ☐3☐ |☐☐| 62

Why do you say so? ....

.... |☐☐☐| 63-64

20 With whom would you prefer to discuss the problems that bother

you at work? .... |☐☐☐| 65-66

Why do you say so? ....

.... |☐☐☐| 67-68

21 Do you think that management takes enough trouble to listen to the workers' problems and the things that bother them?

Yes ☐1☐ No ☐2☐ Not sure ☐3☐ |☐☐| 69

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<u>Fieldworker</u>   If "Yes" in Question 5 ask Question 22

22   You have said that you belong to a union. Imagine that a
meeting between the union and management has taken place on
certain working conditions. The parties reached agreement.

Must the workers be informed about the conditions of the
agreement?

Yes &boxed;1&boxed;   No &boxed;2&boxed;   Not sure &boxed;3&boxed;

|__| 4

If "Yes" who would you prefer to tell you what has been agreed
upon?

The union &boxed;1&boxed;   Management &boxed;2&boxed;   Both &boxed;3&boxed;

|__| 5

Why do you say so? ....

....

....

|__|__| 6-7

If management and the union both tell the workers what has
been agreed upon, and the two stories differ, who would you
believe?

Management &boxed;1&boxed;   Union &boxed;2&boxed;

|__| 8

Why do you say so? ....

....

....

|__|__| 9-10

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