

CHANGING MANAGEMENT
A CASE STUDY OF POWER RELATIONS,
CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION IN
INDUSTRY WITH REFERENCE TO A
COMPANY TOWN SET-UP

THE CANESTONE SUGAR MILL : 1960 TO 1998

BY

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TITLE PAGE

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DECLARATION

Unless otherwise stated, the work presented is original.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'K. K. Archary', written over a horizontal line.

k. k. archary

17 / 04 / 2002

DEDICATION

For my sons, Deshaj Dharamduth Parthab and Haren Archary Parthab
who were born on the 23rd of October 1997 and 23rd of April 1999 respectively,
and in memory of my father, Jay Achary who passed away on the 6th of August 1997.

ABSTRACT

Sugar production in Natal agricultural estates and industrial mills began in the 1800's. The Canestone Sugar Mill and Estates (now 145 years old) which is the focus of this study, is still in operation although renovations and improvements have been done over the years. Initially the owners of these sugar farms in the Natal area employed Black labourers but soon realized that this method of cheap and available labour was not entirely suitable for their needs. In the late 1850's they initiated a process of change which saw the first group of Indian nationals arrive in South Africa in 1860. This group of people came specifically to work on these sugar farms; and their descendants, some now in their 5th generation, are still employed by the Canestone Sugar Company. With time, the standards of living have altered and the conditions of work have transformed. Thus, the level of communication has been modified and possibly improved. So the assumption can be made that there has been an element of change in existence.

The following is an account of how the lives of the Canestone Sugar workers have been modified over the years with specific changes that took place from the 1960s to 1998. This thesis considers the world of Canestone from the 1960's to 1998, an area where sugar manufacturing in the North coast of Natal was extremely successful. The main intention of the work is to explain how a majority workforce of illiterate people was monopolised by a handful of literate people who used literacy and the art of writing to subjugate thousands of people into accepting, non-questioning beings. Account is taken of orality and general primary oral practices that were entertained by management whenever necessary.

This thesis breaks new ground as the first detailed account of the challenges of change in a new-found democracy, described in an agrarian and industrial context. It also attempts to identify the way in which managerial changes in corporate environments can take place. In this dissertation I have compiled the many stories of the workers of the Canestone Sugar Company into one story. Against a backdrop of South African history of colonialism, apartheid and its new-found democracy, the Canestone Sugar Company reflects vestiges of the old era. In attitude, perception, and behaviour there are indications of this in the company; interviewees stated that "this is a white man's paradise" where "the black man had to pay for his head" and where many felt that the company "drank their blood, left them with their bones" and where they worked "worse than animals" until "their sweat turned into

blood". I shall investigate the present status of the individuals of this multicultural working community. The individuals that I interviewed share a common work culture and they experience a subservient position as a result of the power dynamics that are in place.

Van den Berghe looked at Canestone with an unbiased opinion and results of his work are the starting point of my discussion. His proposals, made in the early sixties, have not reached fruition as a great sense of dissonance still exists between the workforce and the management. This dissertation looks at how the Company has changed, and what role communication has played in the process.

“We can learn to plough and harrow, sow and reap, plant
and prune, thresh and fan, winnow and grind,
brew and bake, and all without book.”

[Anonymous]

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**THE STRUGGLE FOR LITERACY WAS AS REAL, A SOCIAL STRUGGLE AS
ANY STRUGGLE FOR SUBSISTENCE OR FOOD OR SHELTER.**

[Williams, 1989]

SETTING OUT AND STAYING ON TRACK

THROUGH THIS JOURNEY

Oral style in its pure state still exists in certain milieux that use writing little or not at all. Setting out on this journey was an easy decision: I just had to do it. There was no discussion on it. My mother, like many mothers before her, had decided I was to achieve the highest possible and this inner need she instilled in me to succeed was something I absorbed 'by the by'. She was instrumental in my choice to start out with a degree rather than a diploma in 1984, and it was her stock phrase, almost like formulaic expressions, that pushed me in this direction. Being literate, and in her behavioural patterns, psycho-physiological make-up, and manner of speech, my mother emphasised that the acquisition of literacy changes not only the structure of social life, the structure of language, and the forms in which it is expressed, but also the structure of thought. I was deeply influenced by her; her ability to read and write instilled in me the need to improve upon what she had acquired (she completed the equivalent of grade eight in 1956).

However, I was much more impressed by her because, although she herself grew up in a literate society (both her parents being able to read and write although her mother to a lesser extent), she was a fine example of how a literate person living among the illiterate (in this case other family members, neighbours, the Indian community in general – more the norm in the 1940's and 1950's) was able to possess an extraordinary memory. My mother was able to recall her entire family history on both maternal and paternal sides, as well as later being able to recall my father's entire family history, on both his maternal and paternal sides.

Furthermore, she possessed an adroitness for accuracy and would instantly correct erroneous statements. It was truly amazing, the sum of things she knew. Jousse [1990] says that one observes in our society people who feel somewhat ashamed to say that they have lived in an illiterate milieu. What a mistake! Illiterates can be formidably intelligent. My mother, to me, is most intelligent not because of her eight years of schooling but because of her practical knowledge and wisdom which I believe she has acquired through her social interaction with illiterate people, her aunts, cousins, other relatives, neighbours, etc, where life was categorised as primarily an oral culture consisting of oral traditions and oral styles. It was

against this most colourful, vivid backdrop of hearing “you only hit a good cow once”, “if you see a snake, you would not walk in its path, so walk away from trouble”, and a host of other phrases (which I think are peculiar to her and possibly her parents), that I grew up learning lessons about life.

More intriguing and thought provoking, however, is her ability to literally rattle off hundreds of Tamil expressions to suit any situation in which we find ourselves. Because of my inability to understand Tamil completely she would always translate into English what she had just said, mainly chiding me. The richness of this language means that there is an abundance of expressions to suit any occasion which the older generation of Indian people can recall and use with ease, even though, as in my mother’s case, they are not able to read and write Tamil.

Thus, getting started on this journey of visiting change being accompanied by Jousse [1990], Finnegan [1988], Goody [1980], Ong [1982], and others making pit stops at culture, communication, power, orality, literacy, and management, I hoped to reach a destination that is an embodiment of how communication and change in an oral – literate industrial company town environment was facilitated.

This journey, which started in July 1996, was a witness to trials and tribulations. In 1997, having been married for only six months after 31 years’ living with my parents, I lost my father to heart failure while he was on a dialysis machine, something which affected me deeply during this period of study. However, the excitement and adventure, tears and joy, of the birth of my first son three months later served as a settling influence to a restless soul searching for answers to so many questions.

As the being of my work became an essence of its own, my second son was born in April of 1999, further enriching my life. Throughout this journey I have observed the oral style and oral traditions come alive not only in the fieldwork, but in daily living and interaction. As I sing rocking melodies to my sons when they sleep, I am reminded once again of the importance of balanced rhythm for the formation of the child’s powers of expression. As my elder son learns to speak I am intrigued by the fact that he hums, mumbles, sings, repeats the same sounds eg. *naa naa na la la nee...* - not words, he does not know enough - every night when he wants to sleep. I have observed that these sounds and rhythmical patterns are the same, thus reinforcing what Jousse [1990] says about children instinctively memorising

things by chanting. Thus, what has kept this journey on track is seeing and experiencing that language is first mimicry, at this stage a mimodrama [Jousse,1990] because of the living gesture projected and inscribed on a surface it is mimogram; written down and pronounced it is phonogram.

However, my sons made their appearances fairly late in my life. Prior to them I was furiously engaged in union work and politics at grassroots level. Setting up trade union desks, attending mass rallies, protesting and demonstrating, toyi-toying, being involved in mass action against the shackles that held the populace in bondage, and fiercely fighting gender issues. This was the general sum and substance of my single life as a university student and teacher. During this period I met my husband and after we were married he introduced me to a new set of cultural experiences. Firstly, there was the culture of understanding a family from a different language group (his family is of north Indian descent while I am of south Indian descent) where their socio-cultural perspective differed greatly from mine. Crossing this terrain proved difficult even though by this time we were living in a multi-cultural democratic rainbow nation. My husband's understanding, compassion and intellectual comprehension salvaged my sanity through this period and gave me the crucial insight needed to understand what it means to be married to a person of a different socio-economic and religious sect. Further, regarding my ineptitude for modern day secondary literacy i.e. the computer and electronic media culture was concerned, I was guided entirely by him. Against this kaleidoscope of personal experiential evidence I have tried to illustrate how the functionally illiterate workers have been manipulated by the minority literate management where the essence of oral cultures was harnessed and exploited to a capitalist advantage.

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**The oral and traditional literature is a survival of an indefinite past from which it was handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. Being oral, it was most alive out of print and in the bookless world of the ancients, for print tends to freeze a story and give it stability.
[Guma, 1963,3]**

SECTION ONE

CHAPTER ONE

PART ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

The focal point of this dissertation is the power relationships at the oral–literate interface in industrial relations in South Africa. As in all ‘oral’ studies, it is of an interdisciplinary nature, drawing on work from history, sociology, industrial and labour studies, human resource management, psychology, language and linguistics. It explores the engaging and fascinating yet complex ‘employment – exploitation’ relationship in South African labour and industrial relations. This dissertation illustrates the issues of a working community where the power struggle is at the core of the South African capitalist paradigm. It is my intention to demonstrate the exploitation of the orality – literacy interface in terms of power perceptions and operations.

2. NEED FOR THE STUDY

The need for this study may be stated briefly in the form of the following five statements:

- Whether power relations in industry have changed with the birth of a relatively new democracy.
- Understanding and accepting change in cultural identities in a multi-cultural working and living environment is necessary.
- Exploitation¹ and employment in South Africa has been influenced by racial bias.
- Oral cultures and oral societies have survived through the technologized era.
- The lack of literacy has relegated the majority to second class citizenship.

3. AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aims of this dissertation, which are expansive, are also restrictive. The thesis focuses on the Canestone Sugar Company, its mill and estates in a particular period from 1960 to 1998.

¹ Exploitation: to exploit a person involves the harmful, merely instrumental utilization of him or his capacities, for one’s own advantage or for the sake of one’s own end. [Wertheimer, 1996, 10]

The fragments of the untold story of the Canestone people, be they retired or presently employed, black, white or brown, estate manager or cane labourer, from the 1960's to 1998, is investigated. This thesis also seeks to draw from the experience of the sugar-manufacturing workers, a broader range of general points relating to Canestone, to South Africa and the effects of the 'colonialist' attributes and the uneven development of capitalism over time. Living in a 'new democracy', I had a need to find out to what extent these people, living within the confined space of Canestone, had experienced freedom in this 'new democracy'. In addition, having read and heard so much about the company, I wanted to see what, if any aspects of the earlier colonial influence remained. Further, the reason I have chosen this particular community of Canestone is because of its accessibility facilitated by the fact that it is no more than 20 kms from where I live, in a northerly direction and no more than 20 kms in a easterly direction from where I work. I needed to find out what were the personal aspirations of the workers of Canestone as my grandparents, being of Indian origin, had overcome the restrictions that apartheid had placed on them.

The history of the Indian struggle in South Africa was also another reason for this choice. The Canestone Sugar Company was the largest company in this area and boasted the largest Indian workforce on the north coast of Kwazulu Natal.

It was also a microcosm of the apartheid system in its living conditions and in structure. The company town set-up definitely displayed an attitude that was in keeping with the style of colonial managerialism that Van den Berghe [1964] refers to constantly in his writings. I wanted to examine the conditions of the Black labour force and the migrant labour systems that were used by the bigger conglomerates in the old South Africa. As a South African, I was particularly interested in how the White workforce fitted into the structures although they were a very small percentage of the workforce in this company.

4. CONSTITUTION OF THE INVESTIGATION

In essence, the fundamental economic, political, social and moral reasons for exploitation and employment in South African industry need investigation. The country is a fledgling democracy and power relations are being questioned as companies are being pressurized to implement equal employment opportunities for all.

The country has faced internal pressures in the form of predominantly black worker strikes and urban unrest. It is clear that communication at the oral-literate interface in multicultural, non-racial communities and in industry in particular have changed over the decades. With regard to studies conducted on power relations, cultural change, the oral-literate interface in modern societies, employment in South Africa, exploitation in industry and communication in any company town set-up, investigations and discussions have been parochial. These studies seemed to have placed a great deal of emphasis on the perception of South African White managers, the social oppression of the Black workforce and the token roles of Black managers in the work environment. They have neglected to focus on:

- The new electronic culture, which greatly depends on the written word, disadvantaging an illiterate workforce;
- The significance of the spoken word in modern day society; and
- The structure of oral language usage as used by a majority illiterate workforce.

5. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Two broad types of study, namely, exploratory and hypotheses testing are distinguished and used generally by researchers investigating social, political, economic, psychological and historical issues, basically interdisciplinary work. As a result of the constitution of the problem being contemplated in this research, and the need to lay the groundwork for further analysis, an exploratory, more 'open' research strategy was thought to be essential.

The general purpose of the project was to identify important areas of power relations and communication in industrial relations and to determine whether democracy had changed the lives of people and to what extent. Thus, the focus was not on the rigorous testing of hypotheses derived from the literature, but the investigation as a whole focused on the Black and Indian employees as the primary unit of study. This approach enabled me to examine the Black and Indian employees' situation from multiple perspectives, enriching understanding and acquiring insight in the process. It was hypothesized that the predominantly white management in the case under study would have at least implemented the fundamental steps to start the process of change and changing attitudes.

I was interested in comparing the subjects' perceptions of power relations and communication, identifying the main areas in which there was a need for change and presenting recommendations on how they could be implemented.

The corpus of literature on 'non-white' employees in South Africa frequently alludes to the kinds of problems faced by 'non-white' employees [see for example, Coldwell and Moerdyk, 1981; Human, 1981a, 1981b, 1984; MacKay *et al.*, 1980; Wella, 1983]. Nevertheless, I have not uncovered any systematic fieldwork study in South Africa that has focused directly on:

- A company town set-up where change has been implemented along the lines of the principles of a free democracy;
- A company town set-up where power relations in industry, and in that particular community has been extrapolated, challenged and commented on;
- A company town set-up where the oral-literate interface is at the heart of communication;
- A company town set-up that is multiracial where the greater portion of that town's population is employed by one major industrial enterprise.

6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

South Africa's social, cultural, political and economic problems provide excellent opportunities for socially relevant studies by psychologists, sociologists, historians, and researchers in general. Researchers should start by getting out of the libraries and research office environments and should continue by getting into the material world in which we live, that is out of an environment controlled and manipulated by experimental motivations only. Researchers should go into places where people live and work in terrible conditions, poverty and hopelessness. I believed that the exploration of the topical issue of Black and Indian employees' work-related perceptions and experiences of change, along with their managers' interpretations thereof, in an oral-literate society where power relations and communications are questioned, study of an interdisciplinary nature certainly represents a socially responsive and socially meaningful study.

Nevertheless, in a society as complex and seemingly out of step with the external world as is South Africa, it is perhaps advisable to regard this investigation as having taken a set of instant vivid snapshots at specific times in history – as having captured 'sugar cane' episodes over the decades. This is not to say, of course, that an illustrative photograph is not of extensive importance in an environment widespread with dilemmas. The relevance of this investigation lies in its potential to highlight the nature and extent of differences in perceptions of power relations and change held by Black and Indian employees as opposed to their White managers. Such discrepancies may, in fact, reflect patterns of interaction and certain behavioural tendencies that typically prevail between White and Black employees at

all levels in South African organizations. These discrepancies may have individual, group and organizational repercussions.

The research findings could contribute to theory-building in interdisciplinary studies with respect to Black and Indian employees in particular who were predominantly of a minority status in general – for instance, in terms of identifying, understanding and explaining the pervasive problems that these individuals still feel they encounter as out-groups in the business environment. The inquiry has both applied and theoretical relevance by providing explanatory and descriptive details on the type and nature of power relations experienced by a majority Black and Indian workforce and which arose from, or was related to, their minority group status in White-dominated companies. Given the paucity of general interdisciplinary studies on employment and exploitation in industry, power relations and communications, this study adds to the literature by documenting the need for understanding the concept of a company town set-up in an oral literate society.

Local history as it is portrayed in this dissertation provides the opportunity to explore the relationships and social responsibilities of the various components of the company and the community and to expose the various needs and shortcomings in the company. Watson [1960] and Van Den Berghe [1959] have given interesting accounts of the Canestone area from 1925 until 1960. However, there is no detailed account of this area that has been categorised as a company town since then.

This dissertation attempts to insert a chapter in the local history of the Canestone area from 1960 to 1998 to enlighten future generations. The contributions of this dissertation may be summarised as follows :

- The issue of culture as it appears in modern day society juxtaposed against the backdrop of a powerful oral culture.
- Oral society as it appears in Canestone being conscious of the astronomical network of powers permanently unavailable without literacy. This cognizance signifies distress for individuals whose roots are embedded in primary orality. But these very people want literacy dearly even though they are aware that moving into the new and creative world of literacy means leaving behind much that is interesting and fondly thought of in the earlier oral world.
- Communication, power, tradition and technology as they are envisioned and affect the workforce of this area are key to this dissertation.

- The changes in social, economic and political status of the inhabitants of this area are also documented.
- The position or status of this company town set-up in a multicultural democratic country.

7. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Research on contemporary issues using an interdisciplinarian approach is best handled in a way where the scope of the topic is delimited. Since I was dealing with an exploratory study of complex issues, for a significant contribution to result, it was necessary for an application of limited resources. Consequently, the scope of the topic was delineated as follows.

7.1 Content

It was decided to limit the focus of the investigation to the examination of power relations and changes in a company town set-up where communication is at the core of the oral-literate interface. Thus, the subjects' actual behaviour in the work environment was not observed.

7.2 Research Approach

The general view among social scientists is that the appropriate analysis method for survey data is completely dependent on who is surveyed, the survey design, and the type of data that is handled. Therefore, for the purposes of this study both the quantitative and qualitative methods were used as the study itself was of an interdisciplinary nature. It is therefore important to explicate what I understand by management, power, culture and communication and each of these concepts will be discussed in chapter two.

PART TWO

MOTIVATIONS FOR THIS STUDY

1. PERSONAL PERSPECTIVES

This thesis was initiated and driven by an insistent curiosity to identify whether a relationship exists between orality in cultures, literacy in communities and changes in the dynamics of labour relations considering a majority illiterate workforce against a capitalist management ideology in South Africa. The concepts of orality, literacy and management change are inextricably linked to power, culture and communication, thus there is a need for an investigation into these concepts as well. This study was embraced because it is the focal association in any industrialised country, the element of interaction [social, political, psychological, economic, etc] between the workforce and capital, and in South Africa, amongst people of colour.

I hope at the end of this study, to reach the result that any truly interdisciplinary study will yield, namely different kinds of change, from the growth of systematic, correlated dimensions to a more conceptually based investigation of commonalities. My parochial, yet detailed investigation of the significance of oral testimony as it applies to our modern technological society at the end of this millennium is certainly most important.

2. SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Local History

As a student of interdisciplinary studies in the fields of Oral Studies, History, Language and Linguistics, Psychology, Sociology, Education, Labour and Industrial Studies, and Human Resource Management, and in addition to being a teacher, a union steward and grassroots political worker, I have nurtured a particular interest in local history. The following paragraphs outline my reasons for considering a study of local history, more particularly the industrial and agrarian sectors of sugar manufacturing in South Africa. I have considered studying local history because basically 'people make history.' This dissertation portrays the picture of apartheid not only in the broader South African state, the Canestone society, and the sugar cane community, but even the mill environment and estates. It provides a picture of the historical development of the people from the area and their [limited] success.

Knowledge of one's local history is necessary and vital for the processes of change and transformation. A comparison between the clothing workers' union, the food manufacturing workers' union and sugar workers' union in the neighbouring areas of Canestone will show how different the workers' experiences of trade unions, of industrial councils, of employers and of general attitudes are. This substantiates the fact that the South African working class did not share a single experience. Yet, a broad assessment may be made as documented local histories enable one to define differences and similarities. A study of local history, with reference to Canestone, shows how the colonial policy worked in the initial years to a significant degree and how the politicisation of some of the workers led to the introduction of the trade unions by the 1970's. Conditions of "class struggle differ between cities, between industries, between factories. When one examines the history of a group of workers, conditions of class struggle are local conditions. Local history is where mistakes are seen and understood as they occur. Local history is where trade unionists and political activists can learn lessons" [Nicol,1986,17].

According to Nicol [1986,17-18] the history of local areas show people that opposition is not only in important events, nationally remembered. Resistance is found in the 'nooks and crannies' of their own past. The chronicle of class conflict is their history. The "oneness of regional history can meet a civic need." [ibid] Thus, in conducting this research, I have covered the oral cultures and oral traditions of local communities, the effects of literacy on a majority illiterate workforce, changes in management style, culture, civilisation, technology, power, and communication. These are the various issues that have held my interest over time and as the thesis unfolds, these terms and concepts will be explained in the context of the themes that are the main building blocks of this dissertation.

2.2 Social Fabric

This study attempts to find the link in the social fabric of this community and in so doing also highlight the problems, achievements and obstacles that the Blacks and Indians experienced and still experience. Further, it portrays the differences in attitudes, opinions, relationships and interactions between people of different colour. It also highlights the cultures and communicative patterns that the particular group under study have utilised and still utilise.

The following tabular list of personal and interpersonal issues will be discussed at relevant sections in the dissertation because these motives are important in socio-cultural relationships which is pertinent to the social fabric of any society.

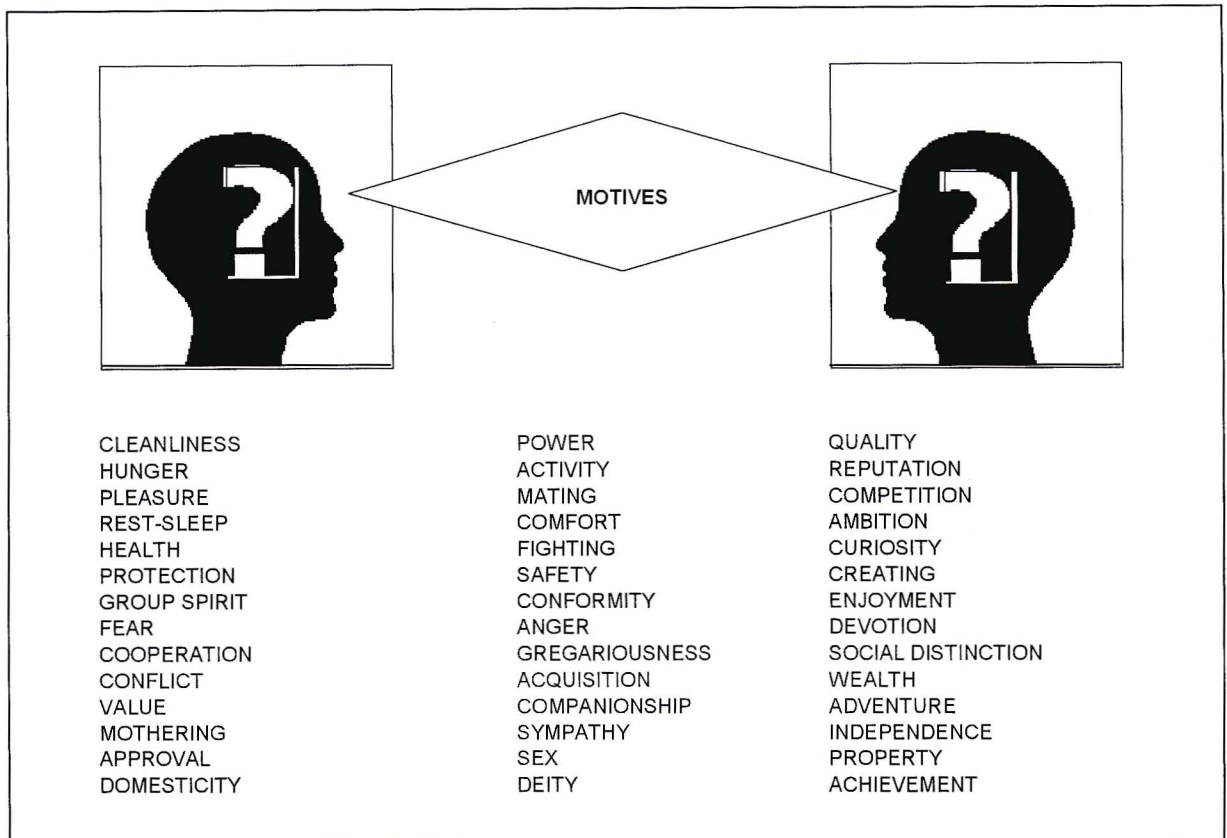


Figure 1: Motives

2.3 The Oral-Literate Management Paradigm

As this work is of an interdisciplinary nature it fills a gap in the oral-literate interface which contributes to an understanding of the South African industrial and management paradigm as texts written prior to or post 1960 do not give attention to the aspects of power, oral-literate management, change and communication as they affect a company town set-up or a sugar manufacturing area with a majority illiterate workforce.

3. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The significance of culture and power are important to this discussion because they are the central concepts that were utilized by the company over a period of time to maintain the status quo of control over its workforce. Communication, in its different forms, was used by the management to ensure a successful financial outcome although the company generally had a low turnover.

This thesis in the field of oral studies has as its main theoretical focus the concepts of culture, communication, power, orality, tradition, technology, civilisation and literacy. The diagram below, entitled 'THE GROUP BEHAVIOUR MODEL' indicates the different aspects at play in this interdisciplinary study where communication and other interpersonal issues involved in a company are experienced. The central theme of this thesis is communication and diagrammatically we see the relationship between the contingency variables, the group structure, the group performance, conflict, power and politics, and group decision making as experienced in any company.

In this company the various roles assumed by the workers, the norms accepted by them as well as the status they were allowed affected the manner of communication. The workers worked in groups in the different forms e.g. the gangs, the office staff, the machine operators etc. therefore their personalities, the diversity of the members as well as the group sizes affected interpersonal relationships and how members communicated with each other.

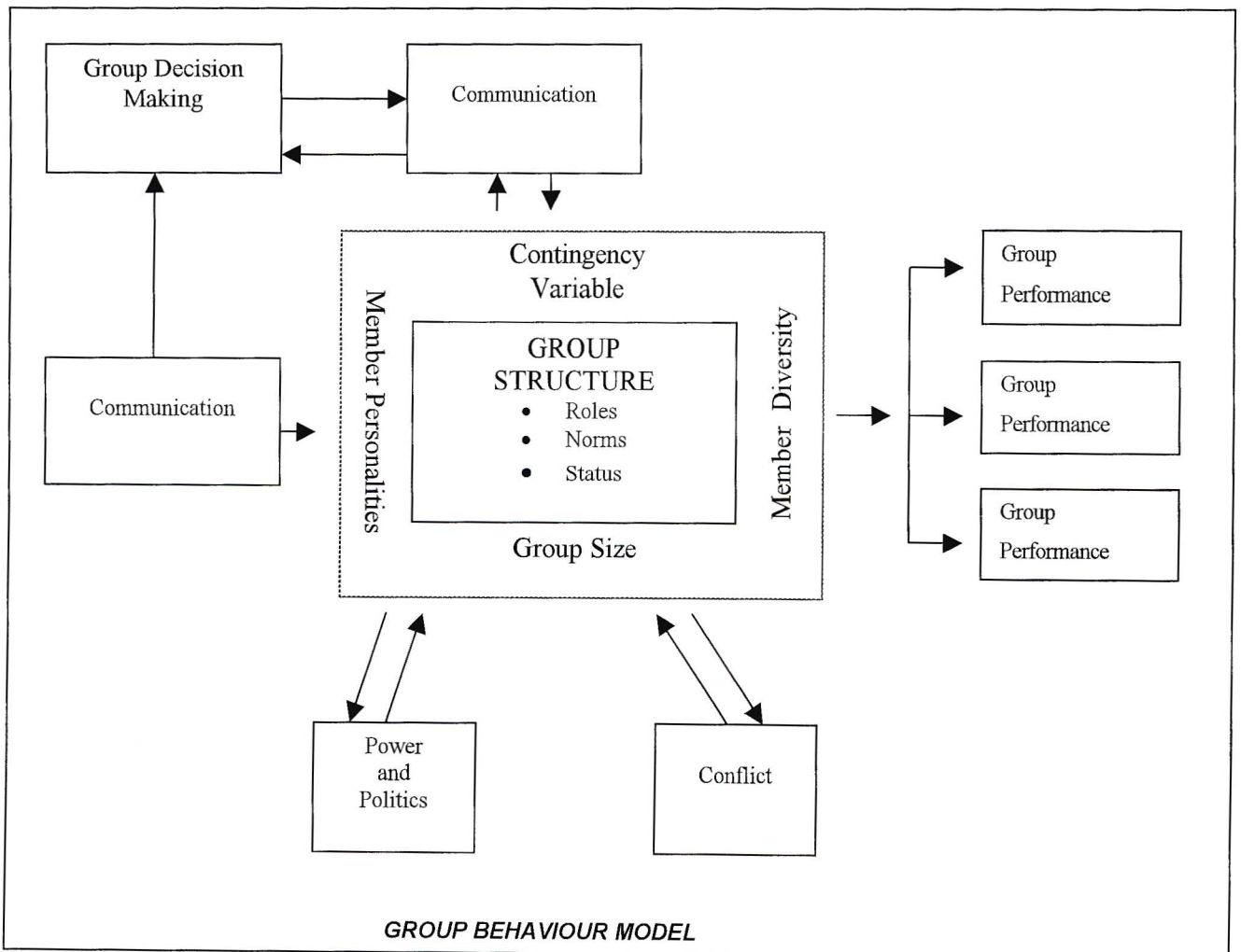


Figure 2 [Robbins, 1994, 108]-Group Behaviour Model

**At the beginning, the Bantu were found to be devoid
of the knowledge of letters. While their spoken languages
were highly developed and their traditional lore abundant,
they had not so much as a written alphabet.**

Shepherd [1936,32]

CHAPTER 2

PART ONE

1. MANAGEMENT

1.1 Introduction

Management has been popularly defined as getting things done through people. It could for the purposes of this dissertation be viewed as:

- the process of setting objectives,
- organising resources to attain these predetermined goals, and then
- assessing or evaluating the results for the purpose of planning for the future.

Whether or not this took place in Canestone will be analysed in later chapters. Since management style affects our productivity, employers, leaders, foes, or the success of any institution, as well as playing a role in moulding society, it is imperative, for a study of this nature, to provide some kind of information on management styles as they are key to success or failure. Harris and Moran, 1979; Berryman-Fink, 1989; Armstrong, 1977; 1989; Orpen 1981; Odiome, 1989; Albanese and Van Fleet, 1983; Northcott, 1955; Robbins, 1994; Rasberry et al, 1986 and Hodgetts, 1982, 1990 have been consulted for the discussion on management.

1.2 Key Theories Of Management

A brief account of the major management theories will be given.

1.2.1 Classical Management Theory

Frederick Taylor's approach was labelled "scientific management" [Hodgetts, 1982,23] and focussed on the systematic observations of production and shop operations. His definition of management, which is widely accepted today, is the process of getting things done by others, either independently or in groups. Henri Fayol was the first to advocate management as a body that could be taught. He defined its functions as forecasting and planning, organizing, commanding, controlling and coordinating [Rasberry and Lemoine; 1986,9]. Frank and Lillian Gilbreth focussed on the human side of management and used "time and motion studies" [Hodgetts, 1982,26]. Rasberry et al [1986,9] are of the opinion that inherent in all three of these contributions are the ideas that:

- There is a human side of management,
- Management and labour must cooperate,
- Communication is an important tool.

Each of these writers detailed specifics. Fayol noted in his writing the difference between “oral and written communications, the importance of explaining complicated problems, and the need to give instructions face-to-face” [ibid,9].

Taylor recognized the “importance of providing recognition and rewards to keep the human machine running” [ibid,9] in other words “if the employees worked harder, they would earn more money” [Hodgetts, 1982,37].

Frank Gilbreth emphasised “studying the impact of fatigue and skill on performance” [Rasberry, 1986,9].

Lillian Gilbreth never “wavered in her belief that the worker needed attention and recognition” [ibid,9]. As the classical approach to management became more widely accepted, however, “a new theory, which emphasised the human factor, emerged” [ibid,10].

1.2.2 Human Relations Theory

Mary Follett [1949,61-67] made major contributions to shifting management focus from the scientific approach to the human relations approach. She set forth three principles of coordination in business:

- using integration and finding alternatives that all employees can live with, as opposed to compromise or domination by managers as a method of working out differences;[Rasberry et al, 1986,10]
- cross-functioning, or the manager’s ability to confer and solve problems at various levels of the organisation instead of being limited to upward and downward communication [ibid]; and
- sharing collective responsibility or the ability to integrate knowledge and experience in order to produce effectively [ibid].

In the case under study it is quite apparent from literature available (see Van den Berghe, 1964 and Watson, 1960) that the basic management strategy of the company was to use communication in such a way that a paternalistic relationship was encouraged and most definitely maintained. Furthermore, in an apartheid context “indirect different forms of paternalism” was used as Blacks, Whites and Indians were treated differently with the degree of harshness greatest towards the Blacks.

For the rest of this chapter, I shall give an account of the coercive forms of power and communication via indirect rule, which was used by the company to maintain control. The management style utilised ensured that the communities remained separate. In this way the Indian, Black and White communities maintained their individual cultures. As a result of the entrenched different cultural groupings, the company was able to continue enjoying the powerful status that it possessed. Thus, it is possible to state that the sugar barons possessed power, used indirect communication strategies to maintain power and control and were able to succeed because of the separate cultural groupings that existed. The research process then, will show whether the transition to democracy has changed in the perception of employees.

2. POWER

In any organisational concern, such as Canestone, in order to achieve goals and ensure success in all aspects, management deploy power over the work force. Different institutions employ different strategies. In the apartheid era, the Canestone Company maintained control using “paternalism” as a basic form of approaching issues. Van den Berghe, (1964) discusses this in great detail. According to Van den Berghe (1964), a ‘paternalistic model of master-servant relations between Africans and Europeans’ existed in Canestone. On the White side, the argument runs something as follows: the ‘native’ is a ‘dull-witted’, but ‘good natured’, ‘grown-up’ child and must be treated as such, i.e., ‘kindly’ but ‘sternly’, as a good father would do to his own children. Van den Berghe is of the opinion that the ‘Native as a child requires both guidance and protection’. ‘The Native, on the other hand, must show his gratitude for all that is done for him and must respect his Great White Father’.

Human beings are restless, purposive, and rational, striving to increase their enjoyment of the good things of life and capable of choosing and pursuing appropriate means for doing so. These are the sources of power. In most senses, power is the ability to pursue and attain goals through mastery of ones’ environment [Mann, 1986; Clegg, 1989]. Particular attention to the above mentioned issues will be detailed in later chapters.

2.1 Introduction

Power is an intangible, elusive process in organisations. Power is a force that cannot be seen, but its effects can be felt [Daft, 1986]. According to Robbins [1994]; Hersey and Blanchard [1982] and Richard Plunkett [1979] power refers to a capacity that one individual has to influence the behaviour of another individual, so that that individual does something he or she would not otherwise do. This definition implies a potential that need not be actualized to be effective, a dependence relationship, and that the second individual has some discretion over his or her own behaviour. Power may exist. However, this power may not be used. It is, therefore, a capacity or potential. In certain companies, a manager may have power. Everyone is afraid of him yet that particular manager has never actually had to use his power to get others to comply with his wishes. They respond in fear that he might use his force but as long as no one calls his bluff, his capacity to influence others is as effective as if he actually used force. The point is that one can have power but not impose it. Perhaps the most important aspect of power is that it is a function of dependence. The greater the employee’s dependence

on the company, the greater the company's power in the relationship. A person can have power over you only if he or she controls something you desire. For A to get B to do something he or she otherwise would not do means B must have discretion to make choices. At the extreme, if B's job behaviour is so programmed that he is allowed no room to make choices, he obviously is constrained in his ability to do something other than what he is doing. For instance, job descriptions, group norms, family values, organisational rules and regulations, as well as community laws and standards, constrain people's choices.

2.2 Basis Of Power

2.2.1 Coercive Power

The coercive power base depends on fear. One reacts to this power out of fear of the negative ramifications that might result if one fails to comply. It rests on:

- the application or the threat of application of physical sanctions such as infliction of pain, deformity or death;
- the generation of frustration through restriction of movement; or
- the controlling through force of basic physiological or safety needs [Robbins, 1994; Nel et al, 1987].

At organisation level, the company has coercive power over the employees if the company has the ability to :

- impose sanctions,
- dismiss,
- suspend, or
- demote the employee, assuming that he or she values his or her job.

Similarly, if the company can assign the employee work activities that he or she finds unpleasant or can treat the employee in a manner he or she finds embarrassing, the company possesses coercive power over him or her [Robbins, 1994; Hersey and Blanchard, 1982]. In the Canestone Sugar Company, the management used coercive power to ensure the smooth running of the company.

2.2.2 Reward Power

The opposite of coercive power is the power to reward. People comply with the wishes of another because it will result in positive benefits. In industry those who can distribute rewards, will be seen to have power over others. The definition of rewards is limited only to material rewards. These would include salaries and wages, commissions, fringe benefits and other incentives. [Robbins, 1994; Nel et al, 1987].

2.2.3 Persuasive Power

Persuasive power rests on the allocation and manipulation of symbolic rewards. You have persuasive power within the company if you have the ability to :

- decide who is hired,
- manipulate the mass media,
- control the allocation of status symbols,
- influence a group's norms.

For instance, when a teacher uses the class climate to control a deviant student, or when a union steward arouses the members to use their informal power to bring a deviant member into line, these are examples of persuasive power. [Nel et al, 1987; Robbins, 1994]. This was a form of indirect rule used by the company.

2.2.4 Knowledge Power

Knowledge, or access to information, is the final base of power. We can say that when an individual in a group or organisation controls unique information, and when that information is needed to make a decision, that individual has knowledge-based power. [Nel et al, 1987; Hersey and Blanchard, 1982; and Robbins, 1994]. To summarise, the bases of power refer to what the power holder controls that enable him or her to manipulate the behaviour of others. The coercive base of power is the control of punishment. The reward base is the control of material rewards. The persuasive base is the control of symbolic rewards. The knowledge base is the control of information. However, according to Blake and Mouton [1975] power to win over others is a test of 'one's' strength.

2.3 Conclusion

Further, a person's power tends to increase -

- if s/he is granted more authority by the official organisation,
- if s/he possesses knowledge and skill that is valued by others,
- if s/he is personally liked and respected,

- if he s/he has friends in 'high' places,
- if the job s/he performs is vital and essential,
- if s/he is the only one performing that job, and
- if s/he has resources in the organisation with which one can trade and deal.

Ragins and Sundstrom [1989] quoted by Magojo [1996] are of the view that power develops over time and grows out of an accumulation of resources during a person's career. However, though the acquisition of power may be perceived as running parallel to the development of a career [Magojo, 1996], this thesis will show that that situation was not possible in Canestone. The individuals were not able to reach positions of power and the Black and Indian workers belonged to a powerless rank. The contribution of this research is to identify the factors that the Canestone Sugar Company used to manipulate its workers into a state of acceptance, investigate the channels of communication and finally draw out the features of the racial segregation that helped / hindered this process and show the extent to which change has taken place against a backdrop of culture and power. From the available readings, it is evident that the Canestone management used their power over the Canestone work force to maintain control. During the apartheid era there was no problem with entrenching a life of different cultural groupings and this was successfully achieved through the power they possessed, as well as through the communicative channels the company employed. In light of this culture will be discussed.

3. CULTURE

Most people are aware that they will be faced with unfamiliar customs when interacting with people from other cultures [Brislin, 1988]. According to Malinowski [1945], knowledge of the social and economic conditions and of the cultural characteristics of colonial peoples is necessary in the framing of all schemes of development, whether medical, agricultural, ... for the planning of the general economic policy of a territory. Whether this was done or not in Canestone will be visited in later chapters. However, now, many modern societies are multicultural societies and their members typically relate to their own ethnic culture [and to others] in ways not typical of other historically prior societies or contemporary non-modern societies [Young, 1996].

The study of human communication is convoluted, multidimensional, and subject to countless variations. When the component of culture is added to this topic, the complexities and the problems facing any systematic study of the two are compounded greatly. The study of culture is as elusive as the study of human communication [Samovar & Porter, 1991].

Social factors that affect and influence the nature and effectiveness of management have been a topic of discussion and debate with many writers in the field. As far as the influence of culture is concerned, early writers such as Kerr et al [1960] and Harbison and Myers [1960] have played down the culture factor, claiming that industrialism was leading to a convergence in patterns of organisation, and the elimination of significant national cultural differences. Other writers, however, stressed the pervasive and persistent nature of national culture and its influence upon organisational systems, attitudes and activities [Neal, 1998].

Various researchers have:

- identified the practical problems the culture factor posed for the management of organisations;
- characterised national culture as a critical environmental constraint upon the nature and efficiency of companies;
- identified significant differences in the way common organisational concepts were understood and used in different concerns;
- observed that whereas organisational technology and structures were converging at various levels, micro and social interactive variables rooted in national cultures were resisting this process.

The debate about the nature of culture has a long history and has been at the heart of many academic disciplines concerning themselves in debates about the relationship between individual action and the natures of society. According to socialist thinkers the capitalist system of production was rooted in two things:

- the ideology of the bourgeoisie, who saw it as their right to exploit the ownership of productive capital to their own ends; and
- the fragmentation of working class culture, which sustained a feeling of impotence, and atomised workers to such a degree that they could be manipulated by the bourgeoisie.

3.1. The Issue Of Culture

The issues of culture [organizational and social] and power considering the Canestone Sugar Mill and Estates or any other industrial or agrarian sector can be summarized, according to Williams et al [1990]; Harzing and Van Ruyseveldt [1995]; Nel, Gerber and Van Dyk [1987], and Robbins [1994] as follows: if culture is this, then, it is learnt, culture is both an input and an output, culture is partially unconscious, organisations are developed from the original assumptions, strategies and structures made by their founders, and culture is heterogeneous:

3.1.1 Culture is learnt

Culture is learnt as the employee's beliefs, dispositions, attitudes and values are gained from his or her environment. The culture of the organization is gained from the environment common to its members. The internal and external environment of the organization influences culture. The social and technical systems of the organization form part of the internal environment, therefore culture can be considered as a product of these socio-technical systems.

3.1.2 Culture is both input and an output

Organizational culture is both the product of action and a conditioning element of future action. It is influenced by the socio-technical systems of the organization, but these systems are in turn influenced by the common beliefs, attitudes and values of the members.

3.1.3 Culture is unconscious

The commonly held beliefs that exist in an organization are unconscious in two ways. Firstly, members may unconsciously process information, which influences the way they think. Secondly, the conscious beliefs, attitudes and values that underlie behaviour may repeatedly lead to success to the extent that they become taken for granted.

3.1.4 Organisations are developed from the original assumptions, strategies and structures made by their founders

Once the organization has made a strategic decision – reflecting its environment at that time – degrees of freedom for succeeding generations are limited. The die has been cast and the original structures, procedures and assumptions may be presented many generations after their foundation.

3.1.5 Culture is heterogeneous

Clearly, common beliefs form around objects of common concern. Issues of common concern at work relate to the purpose, tasks, methods, and nature of authority and social relations of the organization. These issues will vary from one organization to another. Within a given organization, they may also vary according to department or according to the level in the hierarchy. Most organizations probably comprise an executive culture with a common perspective and beliefs about strategic direction, a management culture focusing upon managing and resourcing, and a blue collar culture focusing on production or service.

3.2 Ways In Which The Corporate Culture Is Manifested In The Organisation

Culture is reflected in an organization in certain ways. Certain habits and working procedures in an organization indicate the type of culture that exists there. According to Molander [1989], culture is also a unifying factor. However, these manifestations include symbols, rituals, ideologies, language, tales, assumptions, relationships and humour. These are noted as follows:

3.2.1 Symbols

The symbols of organizational culture include the following:

- the architecture of the buildings;
- the arrangement of offices;
- the name of the organization as well as use of departmental titles; and
- the way outsiders are dealt with.

According to Daft [1986,489] “they symbolize deeper values of the organisation”. The value of physical symbols is that they communicate important cultural values. If the physical symbols are consistent with the ceremonies, stories, values and slogans, they are a powerful facilitator of culture.

3.2.2 Rituals, Ceremonies and Rites

Rituals refer to practices and reactions that occur repeatedly and have a certain significance within the organization. These rituals set certain boundaries and relationships among employees, managers, customers, unions, and so forth. Such rituals could include farewell parties. In short, they are indicative of values, views, norms and beliefs that are upheld in an organization [Smit and Cronje]. Managers hold “ceremonies and rites in order to provide dramatic examples of what the company values” [Daft, 1986, 488].

3.2.3 Ideologies

The beliefs, moral principles and values underlying decision making within an enterprise can both be explicit and set the pace, or be barely visible in the enterprise. It has been found that many of the most successful organizations make clear and strong expressions of corporate values. Ironically, these strong guidelines and ideologies that foster motivation and commitment are often not even put down in writing. The most significant values and beliefs

within an organization are those of top management. These values filter through in memos, guidelines, personal attitudes and other behaviour. Values within an organization are supported and reinforced by various rules and procedures in respect of recognition, remuneration, punitive measures and socialization, as well as tales and hero figures in the organization. Sometimes the value systems of various managers in an organization differ radically and are vastly conflicting.

3.2.4 Language

Language and language usage are important manifestations of culture. One of the components here is that certain language groups have certain values and customs. Thus one might find in a predominantly English organization that there are different value systems compared to, say, a predominantly Afrikaans organization. According to Daft [1986,490], “many companies use a specific saying, slogan, metaphor or other form of language to convey special meaning to employees”.

3.2.5 Tales

Certain stories often circulate in an organization that depict certain unique qualities and characteristics of the organization. Tales about the organization can be subdivided into three general themes:

- **Equality:** The basic value of equality among members of an organization is demonstrated in these stories. Thus stories may be told about a certain superior/manager who is inhuman. Other stories may revolve around the characteristics and action necessary to achieve success in the organization.
- **Security:** These stories revolve around the action of an organization when, for example, an employee makes a mistake.
- **Control:** This theme concerns the way in which certain people deal with particular internal and external problems. This demonstrates the sources and degree of control applied.

The importance of stories is that they provide a medium through which basic values and images can be communicated among employees [Daft, 1986,489].

3.2.6 Assumptions

Different groups in an organization may disagree about basic assumptions on how certain tasks should be performed in the organization. These differences may result in

misunderstandings and conflict. Some enterprises may even have the experience that people with different professional training belong to different groups with divergent assumptions. Employees who belong to different unions can manifest different assumptions and often have disagreements. It is vital that an organization recognises the various groups.

3.2.7 Relationships

This refers to relationships that can arise as manifestations of a particular corporate culture.

The reference here is to specific types of relationships:

- Relationships between managers and subordinates;
- Relationships among managers;
- Relationships among different departments;
- Relationships among people in the same department;
- Relationships between employees of the organization and outsiders.

Communication among various groups in the organization in which different relationships prevail is vital. What follows in part two of this chapter is a section on communication. I have looked at communication from the oral-literate interface point of view and then moved on to communication in general where I have covered issues such as the communication process, communication networks, obstacles to communication, etc.

PART TWO

COMMUNICATION: THE ORAL –LITERATE INTERFACE

1. INTRODUCTION

Even though this dissertation is of an interdisciplinary nature, it focuses to a certain extent on issues that pertain to orality where power relations are at play in industry. Modern industrialised societies use literacy to the distinct advantage of a few but orality, oral cultures and oral societies have survived into the next millennium. It is imperative to discuss some oral issues. There are many issues relating to orality that could be discussed in this section. I shall begin with a section which I have titled ‘oral testimony’ for practical reasons. In a study where communication is the focal point, especially where reading and writing are not the crucial issues of that particular community’s existence, then what is important should be highlighted. In the case of Canestone, the oral culture and oral communication is important. What needs to be fathomed is whether the company has deliberately manipulated the sensitive issue of the oral/literate interface in dealing with its workforce. Has change since the democracy taken place been genuine, knowing that most of the people caught up in the company town set up do not read and write or generally communicate in English?. Has the company been genuine in its attempts to solve the multi-faceted problems of communication against the backdrop of orality and oral culture?

2. ORAL TESTIMONY

In precolonial times, the legends, tales, proverbs, epics, songs, and lineages - in short, the rich lore, customs, and traditions of particular societies were handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth.

2.1. Word of mouth

Since the birth of modern oral history in the late 1940’s, collectors and users of oral evidence have regarded that “as a method of investigation the process of interviewing is a particular form of psycho-analysis. From within the consciousness or subconsciousness of another mind, the practitioner has to ferret out memories of past experiences – orders of thought corresponding with orders of things” [Webb,1981]. With this in mind, a researcher involved in oral history projects has to ensure that s/he does nothing to inhibit free communication or stop the promotion to awareness of important and substantial facts, by stirring up doubt or

suspicion. My difficulty as an outsider while researching the Canestone community diminished as I established credibility as a sympathetic, understanding observer.

2.2. Conversation

In the broadest sense, oral history is another term for conversation, the universal purpose of which is to make known by word of mouth. It can include everything from value, views, and customs of a particular period to an interview, which focuses on psychoanalysis, and is wide enough to include a great-grandparent talking about the 1949 riots.

2.3. Definition

Oral history may be defined as the process or method whereby a researcher pursues the creation of social and historical evidence through dialogue and discourses with an individual whose life experience is viewed as noteworthy and unforgettable. The process includes the understanding; appreciation and interpreting of a foregone experience in such a way as to ground its significance at a given point in time. Oral history is a conversation which is best described or defined by its purpose or function; its main aim is the recording of oral data to augment the researcher's more customary work with written sources.

2.4. Purpose

The purpose of these interviews or conversations is to strengthen, to legitimate, and to attenuate the lines of conventional or traditional investigation. Further oral history should not be rationalized as merely another structure of chronicled inquiry, demanding conventional processes for evaluating information. The most evident distinction is that the information emanates in an act of oral communication, not in writing. It is the thought of coming to the aid of understanding through verbal utterances and counter verbal utterances that gives oral history its particular properties. Unlike written information, the historical evidence derived through discussion and dialogue is a jointly stimulated intellectual end result.

2.5. The Researcher

The researcher as interviewer becomes an operative representative in the generation of an historical document. It is the communication or interaction of interviewer and interviewee; accompanied by their own conflicting perspectives that gives the interview its aesthetic possibility. That their viewpoints fundamentally clash or conflict is an acceptable fact since most individuals being interviewed work within the setting of a lore [suppositions, often not articulated, that rule actions]. It sometimes follows, then, that the researcher's personal

experience could induce conflict through the act of asking questions. Under these circumstances, it becomes the obligation of the researcher to express this discord in such a way as to allow the interviewee to speak his mind in the dialectic with which he is most comfortable. This is achieved when the researcher accomplishes in making problematic the 'taken-for-granted' views of those being interviewed without letting his own biases get in the way or intrude.

2.6. Inferences

One of the inferences that I reached is that an oral history project of the magnitude that was undertaken requires an enthusiastic abundance of endurance, patience and perseverance by the researcher if any amount of success is to be achieved, as in many instances the respondents had their own tales to tell and sometimes my questions were frankly meddlesome intrusions. Thus, a changing, flexible style of conversing was necessary. My final challenge in reconstructing the history of the Canestone community was to discover, or produce, a framework which would allow my informants to express their adventures, experiences and views, but which would permit me to connect it all to broader patterns of the South African society and history.

3. LITERACY

For the more radical theorists the acquiring of education or literacy is the most complex or profound of all revolutions in technology. It represents a 'great divide' in human history, and the reorganization and reconstruction it brings are qualitative, placing oral societies on the one side and literate societies on the other. The ability to reconstruct the sounds of communication into continuous spatial marks as writing also changes human or social existence.

3.1. Recall

Communication and memory are "no longer necessarily dependent upon speech. Communication between human beings, no longer necessarily immediate and face to face, breaks its bonds and reaches out into time and space. Memory no longer has to be borne by language and within the structure of speech" [Guy, 1990,396]. The position of those accountable for social recall is reduced or diminished, together with the forms of social memory with which they are associated.

3.2. Conclusion

The “acquisition of literacy in an oral society changes not only the structures of social life but the structures of language and the forms in which it is expressed, and also the very structures of thought” [ibid]. Against this backdrop the predominantly oral society of Canestone has experienced another creation – that of the non-literate. The literate world is the world of power, ability, advantage and privilege. It is defined in terms of those excluded from it – the non-literates. In the previously South African racist system both literate [educated Blacks] and non-literate were excluded from power.

4. THE ORALITY-LITERACY INTERFACE

4.1. Oral and Written Texts

There is no great difficulty in “assigning poetry to cultures with or without writing, although there is obviously a question of the extent of literate influence on the form itself. The problem of assigning a work to an oral or literate tradition is that we are not dealing with a clear-cut division” [Goody, 1987,80]. The example here is of the praise songs, chants, slogans and performance modes that the striking workers of Canestone used in their protest actions over the years. In the first place there is the “important distinction between composition and performance and transmission” [Goody, 1987,80]. Secondly, there is a “meaningful sense in which all ‘literate’ forms are composed orally, if we conclude the use of the silent voice, the inner ear ” [Ibid]. This explains the time zone differences that the young black Canestone leaders of protest action experienced. They grew up listening to praise poetry, political slogans, march songs and defiance speeches. Furthermore they witnessed toyi-toying, dance rituals and drumming which gave impetus to the movement. Now that they have become literate and they themselves compose orally, [probably on the spur of the moment, especially when having to answer awkward questions] it becomes difficult to be specific about their status regarding the use of orality as opposed to literacy. There is also a meaningful sense in which earlier oral works are known only because they have been written down, usually by a literate member of that very society, possibly by the poet himself, an action that in itself may transform that composition to a greater or lesser extent. In oral societies there were also, those who were involved in story telling and in this way the history and traditions of that particular society were retained and passed down from one generation to the next.

4.2 The Storyteller

Farb [1985,33] is of the opinion that contrary to what most people learned in school, oral literature is not something simply “passed on from generation to generation”. What is passed on is only a “tattered message that has been ripped out of its communicative context. Never to be retrieved is the entire aura of the speech event, the unique behaviour of interacting human beings” [ibid]. Those fortunate enough to have heard storytelling or praise poetry or emotional deliverances at its finest - that is, by a “primitive in his own community and with his familiars around him - can never again look down on unlettered man” [Farb, 1985,34].

Speech, according to Farb “cannot emerge as an utterance until it has first passed through the filter of a speech situation - and also through the filter of the personality of the speaker, who is himself a composite of beliefs, attitudes, and misconceptions that can distort a message and increase the unpredictability of the language game” [1985,58]. We all unconsciously assume that the speaker believes what he is saying and that he bothers to speak because he feels he has something worth communicating.

4.3 Oral Tradition

J Vansina writing in: *Oral Tradition as History in The Interpretation of Experience* about memory states that “Reminiscences are perhaps the most typical product of human memory. Prodded by questions or not, they primarily are the recollections of the past events or situations given by participants long after the events.”[1958,8]. Reminiscences, which everyone holds, are bits of life history. They are fundamental to a notion of personality and identity. They are the image of oneself one cares to transmit to others. Reminiscences are then not made up by random collections of memories, but are part of an organized whole of memories that tends to “project a consistent image of the narrator and, in many cases, a justification of his or her life” [1958,8]. Circumstances and situations are overlooked when they are not pertinent or are inconvenient. Others are retained and recorded, reshaped or correctly remembered according to the part they play in the creation of the mental self-portrait. Others are private but, depending on mood, can be told to the very near and dear. Others are for public consumption. These often deal with a public career.

People in many cultures tend to create two portraits of themselves. One is a mask or a public image built up in terms of roles and status, values and principles - the noble mask of oneself. The other portrait reveals traces of doubt and fear as quite contradictory experiences are remembered. The distinction between the mask and the face varies from culture to culture

according to “current notions of individuality” [Ibid, 8]. Praise poets from oral societies play an important part in keeping alive the traditions of that culture. They are referred to as izibongo.

4.4. The Izibongo

The emergence of worker poetry in Durban had met with a wide range of different responses. Some were even critical, brief but polemical. Some of the debates even appeared in the *Weekly Mail*. These debates have been important in acknowledging the emerging form. They also highlighted and analysed some of the more important features. Most of these critics have, however, not paid sufficient attention to the factors, which assisted the rise and recognition of poetry written by workers. In worker poetry, the audience has played a central role.

The emergence of worker poetry was encouraged because of the nature of the community in which it was performed. It can be stated that possibly the audience’s preference of certain poetry has also influenced the composition of the poetry itself. Even though individual poets certainly played a critical role in the introduction and composition of the poetry, it is also, to a significant extent, a product of the audience’s reception of the poetry.

5. COMMUNICATION IN GENERAL

There are many ways of continuing this discussion on communication, but obviously no best way. However, it may be said that communication underlies all social activity and this universality makes it at the same time very familiar and yet difficult to encompass by any definition which is not so general as to be virtually empty of meaning or inadequate to represent the great diversity of communication [McQuail, 1968]. A simple way of regarding human communication is to consider it as the sending from one person to another of meaningful messages. See diagram below. Interaction between living organisms is a complex and variable process of collaboration and communication.

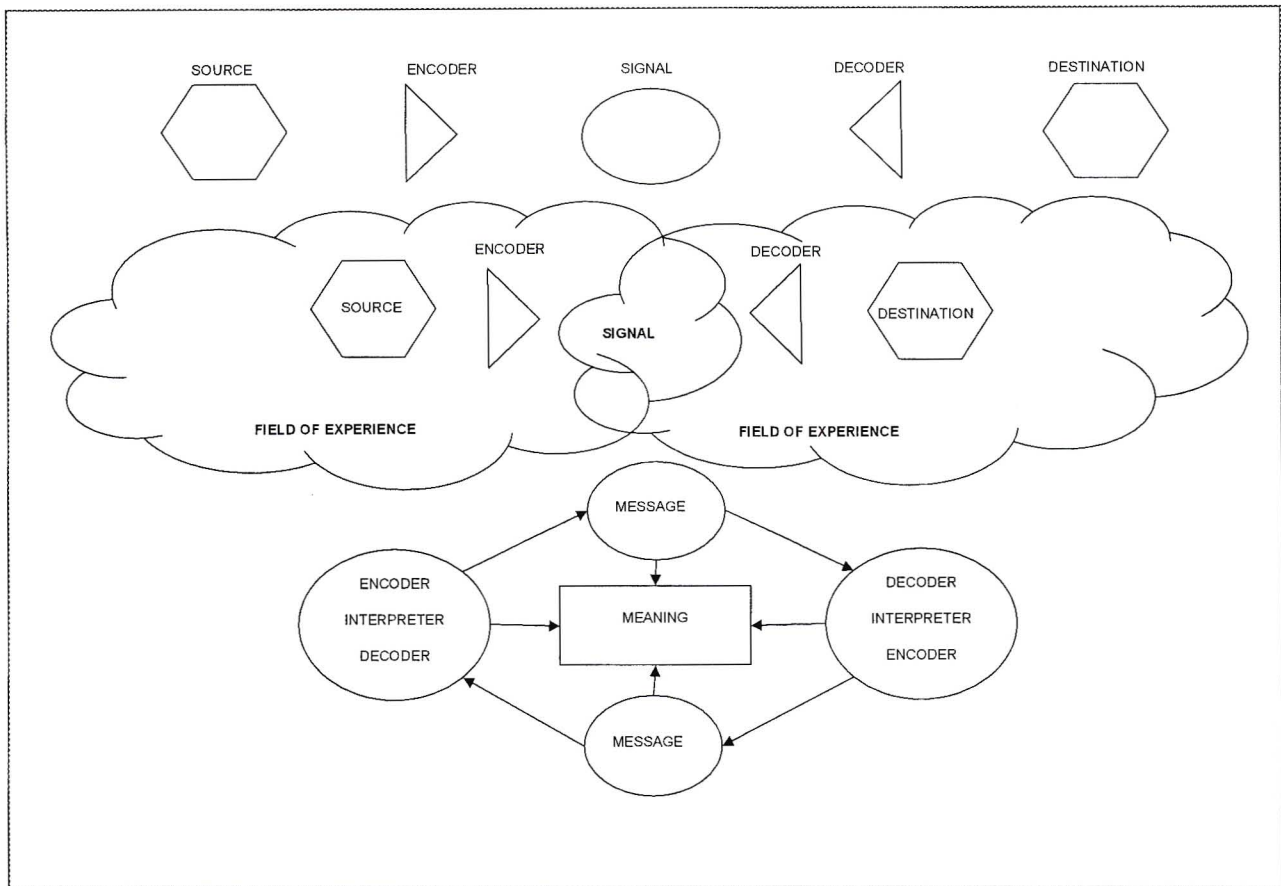


Figure 3 – Meaning and Message

5.1. Introduction

In this section of the chapter, I shall attempt to give a background to the discussion of communication as this conceptualises the framework of this thesis. I shall begin with the communication process as according to Adair “communication matters for a plethora of reasons”[1988,20]. For example:

- Communication failures are costly; [ibid]
- during times of change, face-to-face communication is most beneficial; [ibid]
- adequate communication results in greater productivity; [ibid]
- people with potential leave because they are unaware of their prospects; [1988, 20-21]
- people will give their best to their work only if they fully understand the decisions that affect them and the reasons behind those decisions. [1988, 21]

For the discussion on the various issues concerning communication I have consulted the following authors, amongst others Williams, and Hartley, [1990]; Windahl and Signitzer, [1992]; Sackmann, [1997]; Nwosu, Onwumehili, and Bayo, [1995]; Flichy, [1995]; Samorar, and Porter, [1994]; Allen, [1958]. The following diagram shows simple interpersonal communication.

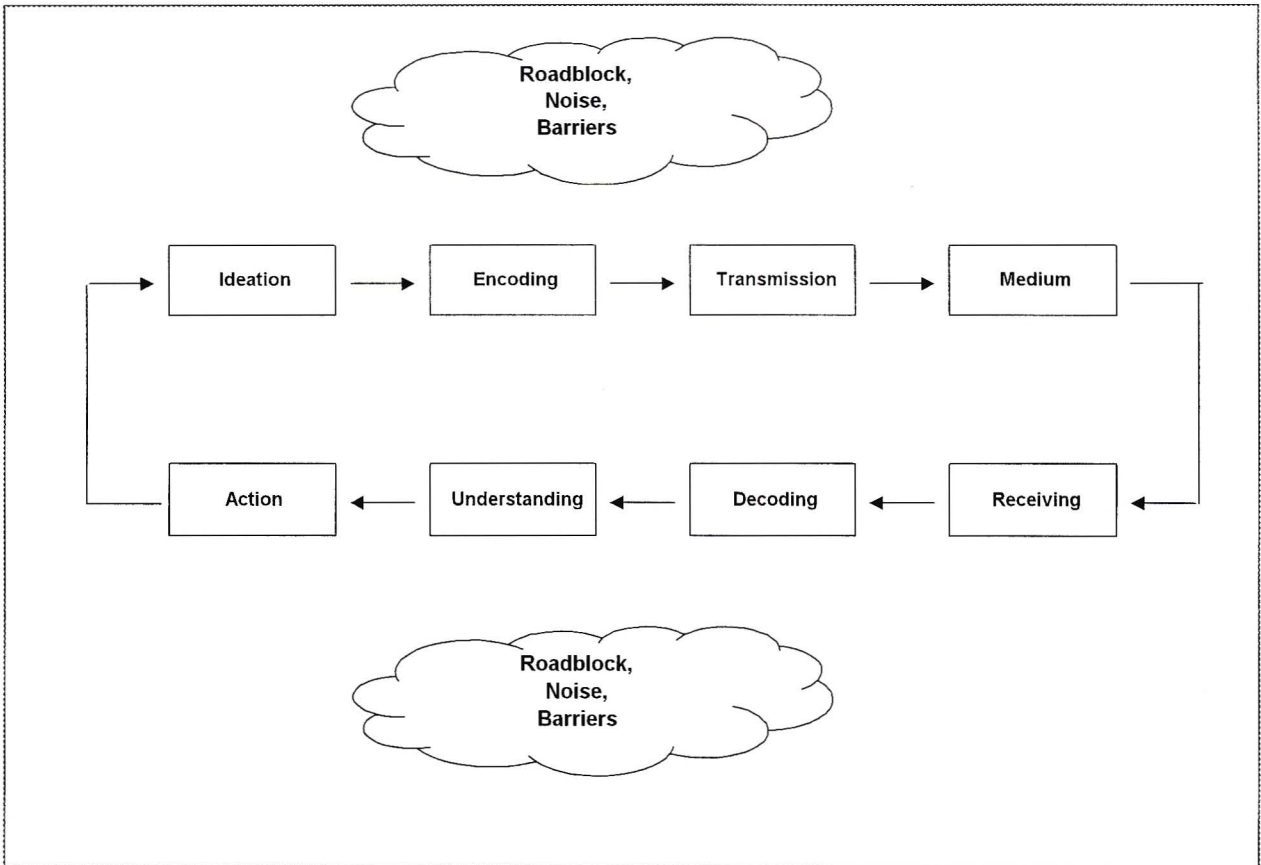


Figure 4 [DuBrin, 1984, 283]- The Process Model of Interpersonal Communication

Before communication can take place, a purpose expressed as a message to be conveyed, is needed. It passes between a source [the sender] and a receiver. The message is encoded [converted to a symbolic form] and passed by way of some medium [channel] to the receiver, who retranslates [decodes] the message initiated by the sender. The result is transference of meaning from one person to another [Robbins, 1994]. Robbins' model of the communication process is made up of seven parts:

- the communication source,
- encoding,
- the message,
- the channel,
- decoding,
- the receiver, and
- feedback.

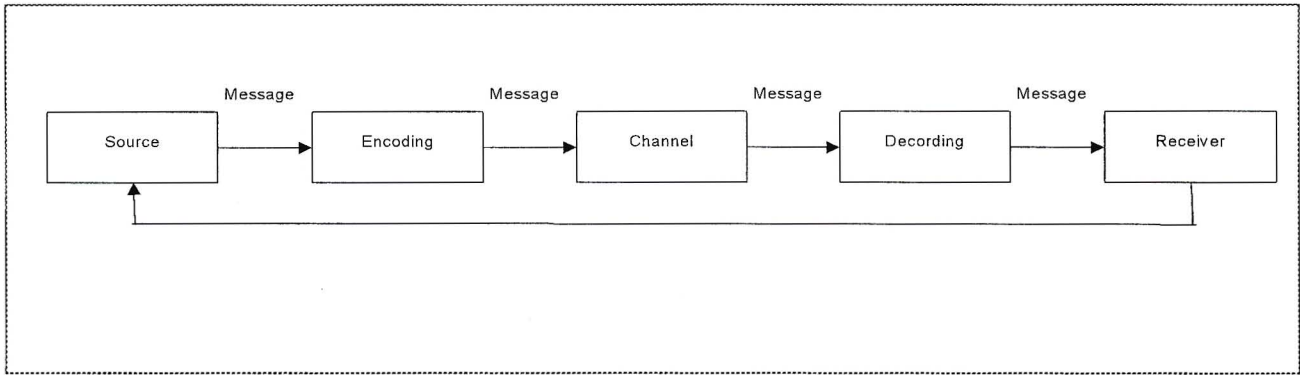
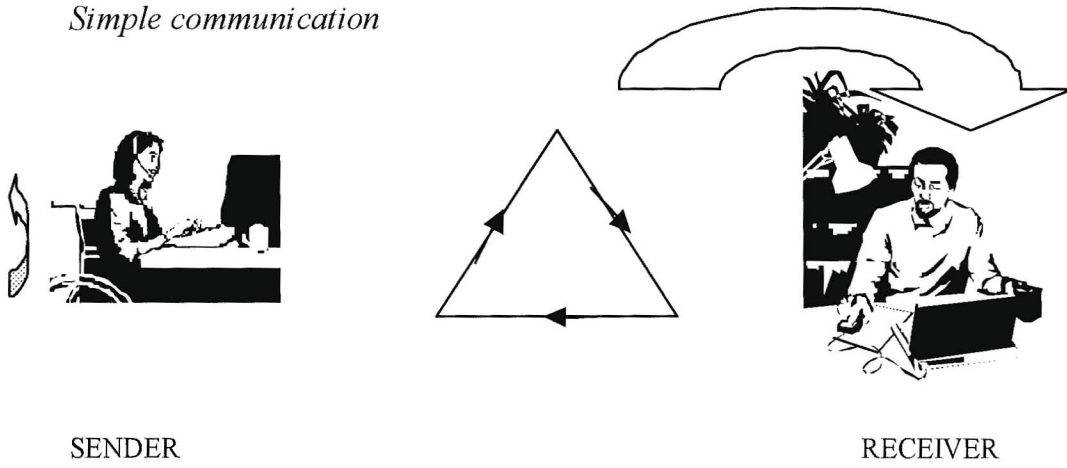


Figure 5 [Robbins, 1994, 115] – The Communication Process

The source initiates a message by encoding a thought. The message is the actual physical product from the source encoding. When we speak, the speech is the message. When we write, the writing is the message. When we gesture, the movements of our arms and the expressions on our faces are the message. The channel is the medium through which the message travels. It is selected by the source, which must determine whether to use a formal or informal channel. Formal channels are laid down by the organization. They transmit messages that relate to the professional activities of members. They traditionally follow the authority chain within the organization. Other forms of messages, such as personal or social, follow the informal channels in the organization [Hersey and Blanchard, 1982; Robbins, 1994]. The receiver is the object to whom the message is directed. Nevertheless, before the message can be received, the symbols in it must be translated into a form that can be understood by the receiver. This is the decoding of the message. The final link in the communication process is a feedback loop. Feedback is the check on how successful we have been in transferring our messages as originally intended. It determines whether understanding has been achieved [Robbins, 1994; DuBrin, 1984 and Adler, 1986]. The following diagram shows some of the other issues involved in communication.

Simple communication



Complex communication

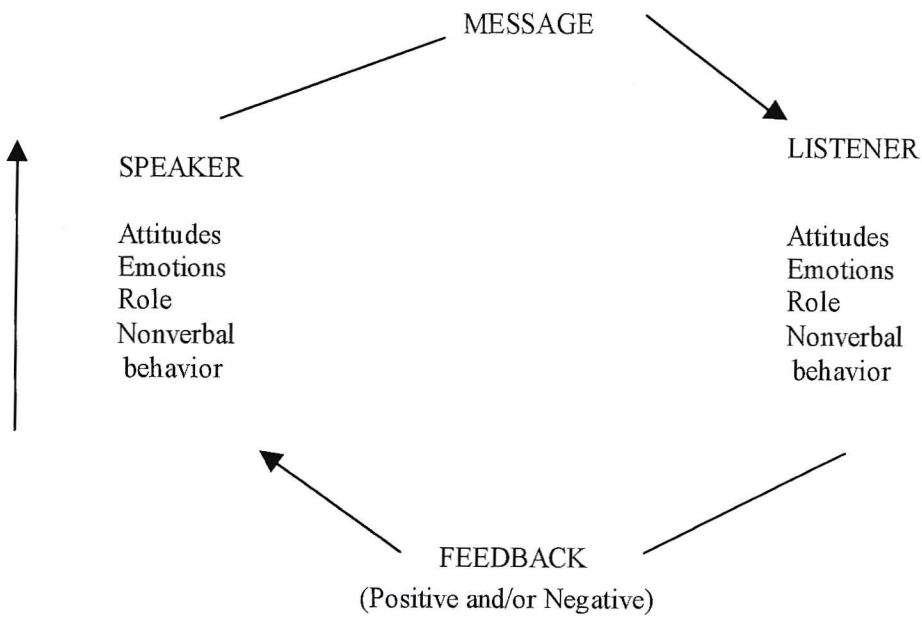


Figure 6[Halloran, 1983, 33] – Simple and Complex Communication

5.2. Communication Networks

The channels by which information flows are critical once we move beyond groups of two or three individuals. The way a group structures itself will determine the ease and availability with which members can transmit information.

5.2.1 Formal Small-group Networks

The general view among many writers is that most studies of, on or about communication networks have taken place in-groups created in a laboratory setting. Consequently, the research conclusions tend to be constrained by the artificial setting and limited to small groups. Three common small-group networks are shown in the following diagram. These are the chain, wheel, and all-channel networks.

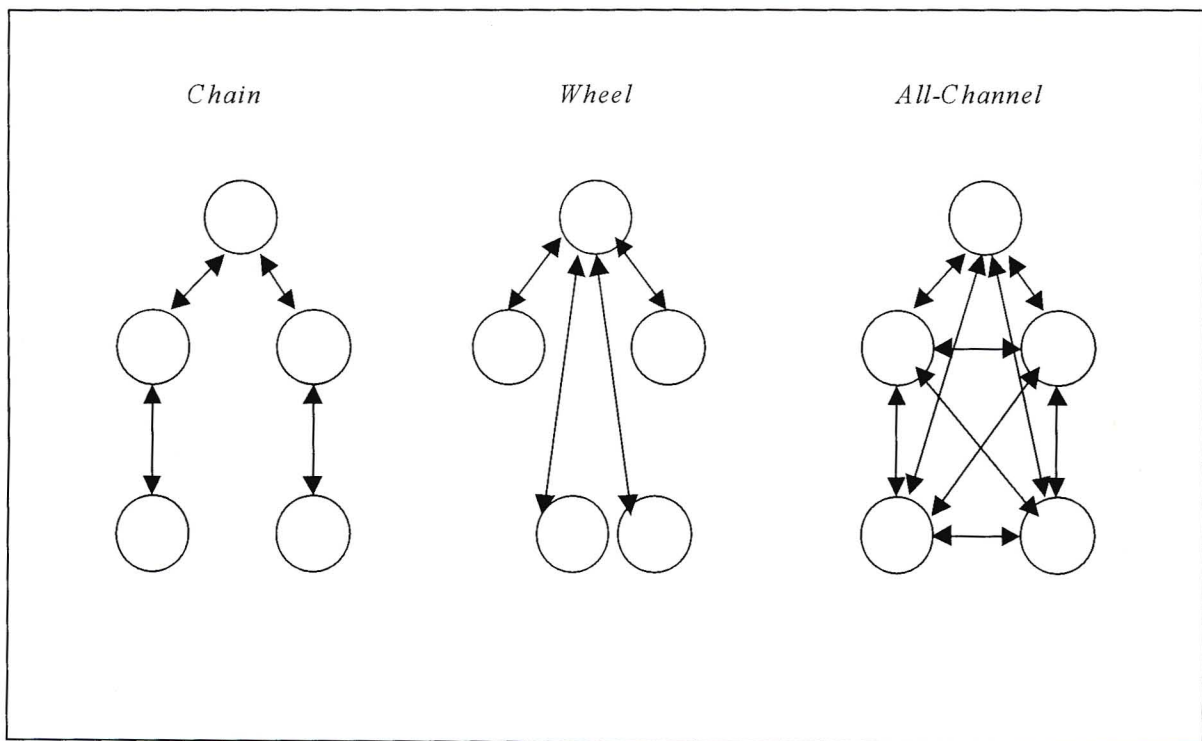


Figure 7 [Robbins, 1994, 119] – Three Common Small-Group Networks

The chain rigidly follows the formal chain of command. The wheel relies on the leader to act as the central conduit for all the group's communication. The all-channel permits all group members to actively communicate with each other. The all-channel network is most often characterized in practice by the problem-solving task force, where all group members are free to contribute [Robbins, 1994; DuBrin, 1984; Baron, 1983]. The effectiveness of each network depends on the goals of the group. For instance, if speed is important, the wheel and all-channel networks are most effective. For accuracy, the chain or wheel is chosen. The wheel is best for allowing leaders to emerge. Moreover, if member satisfaction is important, the all-

channel network is best and the wheel worst. The point is that no single network will be best for all occasions [Robbins, 1994; DuBrin, 1984].

5.2.2 The Informal Group Communication Network

The previous discussion of networks emphasised formal communication patterns, but the formal system is not the only communication system in a group or organisation. In the informal system-where information flows along the well-known grapevine, rumours can flourish. It is frequently assumed that rumours start because they make titillating gossip. This is rarely the case. Rumours emerge as a response to situations that are important to us, where there is ambiguity, and other conditions, that arouse anxiety. Work situations frequently contain these three elements, which explains why rumours flourish in organisations. The secrecy and competition that typically prevail in large organisations, is around such issues as:

- the appointment of new bosses,
- salary increases
- the relocation of offices, and
- motor vehicle schemes
- the realignment of work assignments creates conditions that encourage and sustain rumours on the grapevine.
- management perks

A rumour will persist either until the wants and expectations creating the uncertainty underlying the rumour are fulfilled, or until the anxiety is reduced [Robbins, 1994; DuBrin, 1984; Baron, 1983]. The grapevine is an important part of any group or organisation's communication network and is well worth understanding. It identifies for managers those confusing issues that employees consider important and that create anxiety. It acts, therefore, as both a filter and a feedback mechanism, picking up the issues that employees consider relevant. For employees, the grapevine is particularly valuable for translating formal communications into their group's own jargon. Perhaps more important, from a managerial perspective, it seems possible to analyse grapevine information and to predict its flow, given that only a small set of individuals (around 10%) actively pass on information to more than one other person [Robbins,1994; DuBrin, 1984 ; Ray and Eison,1984: Hersey and Blanchard, 1982; Arnold and Feldman,1986].

5.3. Obstacles To Competent Communication

A number of obstacles or barriers can retard or distort effective communication. In this section, five of the barriers mentioned by Robbins (1994) will be highlighted.

5.3.1 Filtering

Filtering refers to a sender's purposely manipulating information so the receiver will see it more favourably. For example, when a manager tells his boss what he feels his boss wants to hear, he is filtering information. The major determinant of filtering is the number of levels in an organisation's structure. The more the vertical levels in the organisation's hierarchy, the more opportunities there are for filtering. [Robbins, 1994; Sartain and Baker, 1978; Baron, 1983; Arnold and Feldman, 1986]

5.3.2 Selective Perception

The receiver, in the communication process, sees and hears things in a selective way, based on his needs, motivations, experience, background, and other personal characteristics. The receiver also projects his interests and expectations into communications as he decodes them. The employment interviewer who expects a female job candidate to put family before career is likely to see that in female candidates, regardless of whether the candidates feel that way or not [Robbins, 1994].

5.3.3 Gender Styles

Men and women use oral communication for different reasons. In so doing, gender becomes a barrier to effective communication between the sexes. Research evidence indicates that men use talk to emphasise status, while women use it to create connection. That is, women speak and hear a language of connection and intimacy; men speak and hear a language of status and independence. For men, conversations are primarily a means to preserve independence and maintain status in a hierarchical social order. For many women, conversations are negotiations for closeness in which they try to seek and give confirmation and support. For example, men frequently complain that women talk increasingly about their problems. Women criticise men for not listening. What is happening is that when men hear a problem, they want to assert their desire for independence and control by providing solutions. Women, on the other hand, view relating a problem as a way to promote closeness. The women present the problem to gain support and connection, not to get the male's advice [Robbins, 1994].

5.3.4 Emotions

How the receiver feels at the time of receipt of a communication message, will influence how he or she interprets it. The same message received when you are angry or distraught is often interpreted differently from when you are happy. Extreme emotions such as jubilation or depression are most likely to hinder effective communication. In such instances, we are most prone to disregard our rational and objective thinking processes, and substitute emotional judgements [Robbins,1994].

5.3.5 Language

Words mean different things to different people. Age, education, and cultural background are three of the more obvious variables that influence the language a person uses and the definitions he gives to words. In an organisation, employees usually come from diverse backgrounds. Moreover, the grouping of employees into departments creates specialists who use their own technical language. In large organisations, members are also frequently widely dispersed geographically – even operating in different countries – and individuals in each locale will use terms and phrases that are unique to their area. The existence of vertical levels can also cause language problems. For instance, differences in meaning about words such as incentives and quotas have been found at different levels in management. Top managers often speak about the need for incentives and quotas, yet these terms imply manipulation and create resentment among many lower managers [Robbins, 1994]. Words should not be the sole basis for how people represent and interpret reality [Hersey and Blanchard, 1982]. People may speak a common language – English – but the usage of that language is far from uniform. DuBrin [1984] lists the following barriers to interpersonal communication:–

- preconceived ideas;
- denial of contrary information;
- semantics;
- motivation and interest;
- credibility of the source;
- poor communication skills;
- organisational climate;
- complexity of channels, and
- information overload.

5.4. Non-Verbal Cues

Non-verbal communication is an important way in which people convey messages to others. However, non-verbal communication is usually accompanied by oral communication. As long as the two are in agreement, they act to reinforce each other. A manager's words tell his staff he is angry, his tone and body movement indicates anger, so they can conclude, probably correctly, that he is angry. When non-verbal cues are inconsistent with the oral message, however, the receiver becomes confused and the clarity of the message suffers [Robbins, 1994; Arnold, 1986]. According to DuBrin [1984, 299-302], the following are different modes of nonverbal communication, which play a significant role in meetings, conversations and conferences:

- head, face and eye behaviour ;
- gestures, posture, tone of voice, interpersonal distance;
- clothing, dress and appearance;
- environmental cues, and
- use of time.

According to Hersey and Blanchard [1982] non-verbal is anything that can be 'seen' by the other person such as: gestures; facial expressions; eye contact; body language; and positioning. The manner in which non-verbal communication affects relationships and productivity is discussed in correlation with oral styles and general practices of orality in the relevant sections. The following table illustrates the behaviours involved in communication.

Voice	1. Quivering or tense voice 2. Too fast 3. Nervous 4. Too slow 5. Monotonous: lack of emphasis 6. Shrill
Verbal Fluency	7. Nonfluencies: stammering; halting speech 8. Vocalized pauses 9. Hunts for words: speech blocks 10. Stutters
Mouth and Throat	11. Swallows 12. Clears throat 13. Breathes heavily 14. Dry throat 15. Grits teeth
Facial Expression	16. Lack of eye contact; extraneous eye movements 17. Tense face muscles: grimaces: twitches 18. Deadpan facial expression 19. Staring 20. Looks down
Arms and Hands	21. Rigid or tense 22. Fidgeting; extraneous movement 23. Motionless; lack of appropriate gestures 24. Limp
Gross Bodily Movement	25. Sways; paces; shuffles feet 26. Shifts

5.5. Cross-Cultural Communication

Effective communication is difficult under the best of conditions. Cross-cultural factors clearly create the potential for increased communication problems. The encoding and decoding of messages into symbols is based on an individual's cultural background and, as a result, is not the same for each person. The greater the differences in backgrounds between sender and receiver, the greater the differences in meanings attached to particular words or behaviours. People from different cultures see, interpret, and evaluate things differently, and consequently act on them differently [Robbins,1994; Griggs and Louw, 1995]. According to Robbins [1994] when communicating with people from a different culture, the following four rules can be helpful in reducing misperceptions, misinterpretations, and misevaluation:

- Presume differences until similarity is proven.

Most of us assume that others are more similar to us than they actually are. Therefore, you are far less likely to err if you assume others are different from you rather than assuming similarity until difference is proven.[Robbins, 1994]

- Emphasise description rather than interpretation or evaluation.

Interpreting or evaluating what someone has said or done, in contrast to description, is based more on the observer's culture and background than of the observed situation. Therefore, judgement should be delayed until you have had sufficient time to observe and interpret the situation from the perspectives of all cultures involved.[Robbins,1994]

- Practice empathy.

Before sending a message, put yourself in the receiver's shoes. His or her values, experiences, and frames of reference should be considered. Knowledge about his or her education, upbringing, and background can give added insight. The other person should be seen as he or she really is. [Robbins,1994]

- Interpretations should be treated as a working hypothesis.

Carefully assess the feedback provided by receivers to see if it confirms your hypothesis. For important decisions, one can also check with other colleagues to make sure the interpretations are on target.[Robbins,1994]

Therefore, what can be said in conclusion is that problems of communication actually are problems of understanding between people [Blake and Mouton,1975]. Thus the real problem to be solved is to eliminate the causes of poor communication [Blake and Mouton,1975].

5.6.Orality, Tradition And Literacy

From the 1940's, the academic world has awakened to the oral character of language. There has also been interest shown to some of the deeper implications of the contrasts between orality and writing. Boyer [1990, inside front cover] insists that there should be a theory of tradition, its constitution and transmission. He treats tradition as a type of interaction which results in the repetition of certain communicative events and therefore as a form of social action. At the same time education may or can be viewed as the most important or significant distinguishing fact or feature of a civilized man and a civilized society. This is indeed a loaded statement and will be discussed at relevant sections in the dissertation.

5.6.1. Introduction

In *The Oral Style* [1990, xiv], the author M Jousse is quoted as saying: “ It caused a real scandal when, in 1925, I had the audacity to show that human expression was gestural expression, that man did not first express himself with his mouth, but with his entire body, and with his hands”. Indeed, until Jousse, gesture was studied only as part of aesthetics, being concerned with graceful movement, or gymnastics, or else with emotional gesture: laughing, crying, expressions of anger, joy, fear, etc. As far as meaning was concerned, primacy was given to oral language alone, speech being thought of as the achievement peculiar to man. Then Jousse [ibid] proclaimed “*Man is gesture; gesture is man*” thus putting the whole body at the disposal of thought. This is the premise upon which the dissertation argues that modern industrial society, especially particular communities that have a majority illiterate workforce manipulate the usage of oral styles [the transformation of gestures into laryngo-buccal roots that eventually become a means of communication] even though writing is used. The psycho-physiological structure of man will be discussed as this is the crucial element upon which people who are illiterate are able to give vent to their feelings and express their innermost emotions amid the alacrity of those who are literate.

In considering the psycho-physiological structure of man the following are expounded:

- the anthropological foundations of oral style
- the oral style.

5.6.1.1 The Anthropological Foundations Of Oral Style

Most of this section will be based on information that I have summarised or paraphrased from Jousse [1990] as his authoritative work has led to much discussion and discourse. Psychology which is a science cannot limit itself to the “consideration of psychic phenomena alone, in them selves; it has a duty to research the physical alteration of the nervous system that accompany the various oscillations of energy, as well as the importance of energy” [Jousse, 1990, 7] in living organisms. Further, Jousse goes on to comment that one of the finest accomplishments of modern physiology is without a doubt to have “demonstrated that living organisms are transformers of energy. The tissue stores energy in a potential state in the form of chemical compounds; it transforms it into actual energy of various forms depending on the tissue’s functional specialisation. Thus, in the muscles, chemical energy transforms itself into mechanical energy, heat, electricity, muscular murmur; in the nervous system into nervous energy, electricity, heat, etc.” [ibid] To think that our “affective or representative states are in themselves inert and that it is necessary to add something to set them in motion” [ibid] would be a mistake. It could be said that “there are not in consciousness states that are in themselves statements of fact; states that are statements are accompanied by movements [by gestures], and then by tendencies; there is no need for us to add anything to a state of consciousness for it to be active [gestural]” [ibid]; on the other hand, “when movement does not immediately accompany an affective state or representation” [ibid] it is possible to say that that is so because we prevent or stop the movement from happening or taking place. In other words, we restrain, forbid or inhibit it.

5.6.1.2. The Psycho-physiology of gesture

It is inevitable, necessary or even possibly essential to approach psychology in a particular way in other words to allow it to be construed as a “sort of Psychology of Gesture” [ibid, 9]. According to Jousse [1990, 9-10] this science must become more objective and must in the same way as the other science, consider facts under their visual and auditory aspect. Its object then is the study of the conduct [of the gesticulation] of men, the study of partial [gestural] movements, of general attitudes, and of the whole range of ways in which the individual reacts to the action upon him of the various objects surrounding him. Psychology must describe these reactions, [the gesticulations,] classify them and discover the law underlying them. Using a diversity of names such as reflexes, psychic reflexes, tendencies, automatism, instincts, habits, psychological systems, complexus, Jousse says that many writers have brought to the fore or implied that in the “living and thinking individual the existence of dispositions to react always in the same manner to certain modifications

produced on the surface of the body. We will use the term “reception” for that particular modification of the body which serves as the starting point and “[gestural] action”, [gesticulation] for the whole ensemble of reactional movements.” [1990, 1]. It will be possible to “characterise a [gestural] tendency” [ibid], if one is able to outline, describe or inform with precision the “characteristics of reception, its nature, intensity, complexity, the part of the body in which it must occur, etc., and all the simple and complex movements that constitute the action, [the gesticulation,]” [ibid] selecting of course instances or cases where the action is principally and especially clear and above all achieved, concluded or complete.

5.6.1.3 Rhythm, explosion of energy

Physiological gestures may be described as having a rhythmic character. According to Jousse [1990,13], one has to speak, and ‘rhythm’, like ‘value’ or ‘volume’, immediately gives a certain air of competence to speech. In fact it is possible to question whether “activity cannot but be rhythmical” as ‘continuous movement is impossible’. In fact, observing the respondents it is possible to say that “the living being is a machine...a machine that stores up and expends energy” [ibid, 14].

5.6.1.4. The foundations of oral style

Even though Jousse [1990] has discussed, explained and hypothesised about many more issues that are at play where man is concerned I shall briefly list some of them that have a bearing on the human behaviour. These will be discussed where necessary as was displayed by the respondents during interviews.

- Rhythmic “dance” of the organism
- Dynamogenic rhythm
- Reflex gesticulation and the mimicry of reception
- Spontaneous revivification of past gestures
- The voluntary semiological revivification of mimic gestures
- Laryngo-buccal semiological gesticulation
- The instinctively concrete character of semiological gesticulation
- The propositional gesture
- Ethnic mental dispositions and propositional gestures: the psychology of translation

5.6.1.5. The Oral Style

Jousse [1990,95] states that any examination of the psychology of language ... must begin with a thorough examination of the living proposition, of the propositional gesture. In communities using the oral style, that is, where all ethnic groups have no knowledge of writing or that do not use it in composition, it could be found that an analysis of the propositions recorded would reveal “a striking, strongly-marked parallelism” [Ibid]. Further, he goes on to say that there is in us “no knowledge that is not linked to [fused with] some [underlying gestures], inborn or learned, whose energy the knowledge brings into play. All ideas are energy-ideas” [ibid, 96]. In the same way that we are conscious of “emotion and action only through their results; we know our ideas, judgements and reasonings only to the extent that they are formulated [that they come into play in one form or another], that is to say once they have been defined.”[ibid].

5.6.2 The Cultural Tradition in Non-literate Societies

When a particular generation hands on its social and cultural heritage to the next generation the following are some of the attributes that are involved. The society passes on its natural resources and material plant. The natural resources that were passed on at Canestone were the natural greenery that distinguished this area from other areas. This flourishing flora and fauna came to be one of the natural resources that have stood the test of time in its success concerning growth and development. Further, accepted standardised or regulated ways of acting and behaving are transmitted. Next, of significance, in this process is the fact that the most important elements of any social culture are without a doubt intensified and channeled through words. This resides in a particular range of feelings, meanings and attitudes which individuals of any social group affix to their speech or verbal signs. These elements include not only what we habitually think of as customary behaviour but also such items as ideas of space and time, generalized goals and aspirations, ie. the ‘Weltanschauung’ of every social group.

5.6.3. Primary Oral Culture

In a primary oral culture, thinking is done in mnemonic patterns. It is so to solve the problem of retaining and retrieving carefully articulated thought. Thought comes into being in rhythmic, balanced patterns. These are done through repetitions or antitheses, in alterations and assurances. Further, it takes place through formulating expressions in standard thematic settings. Proverbs, which are constantly heard by everyone also, come to mind readily and themselves are patterned for attention and ready recall. Other mnemonic forms also come into

play. Even in their jobs, the same physical process takes place, thus the way in which work in Canestone is classified and the workers' experiences help them to cope although many do not have literacy skills.

5.6.4. Spoken Utterance

The interpretation of a spoken utterance is primarily the interpretation of the speaker's intended meaning. Once words are "engraved on stones or clay tablets, inscribed on parchment or paper, and thus given a stable physical presence, the focal question about their interpretation becomes 'what do the words mean'. The meaning no longer resides in the speaker but in the text" [Coulmas, 1989,12]. Writers in the field have sometimes overdrawn this point. Written words "possess meaning by virtue of the conventional relationship between linguistic forms and meanings"[ibid]. This is also true of spoken words. However, their interpretation depends largely on both the context of the situation and the assumed intentions of the speaker. When one speaks, "speech is bound to the 'here', 'now' and 'I'"[ibid]. The written word, on the other hand, is consequently "detached from the 'here', 'now' and I"[ibid]. In order for the written word to be fully interpretable, it must be clear and self-sufficient. When one speaks, "language is in flux"[ibid]; while when one writes, "it is stable"[ibid]. To study language without analysing it is quite impossible. Writing provides the means of investigating language because it turns language into something that can be objectified.

5.6.5. Literacy

Literacy is the ability to read and write. Broadly defined, literacy can be construed as the mastery of specific mental skills that are cultivated in response to the specific demands of coded messages. Illiteracy, on the other hand, can be seen as the inability to read and write within a culture which is literate. The following discussion expounds the various aspects of literacy and its role in society.

5.6.6. Literacy: a Symbolic System

Literacy is based upon a set of symbols, which is used for communication. It exists in relation to other systems of information exchange. It can be construed as a way of representing the world to others and is important in representing the world to us. It is part of our thinking, it is part of the technology of thought. Literacy and language are used to define reality, not only to others, but also to us. Because literacy is a symbolic system, it has both a cognitive and a cultural basis. As well as having external aspects, it contributes to the mind and thinking; It

enables people to do things which otherwise would not be possible. It is possible through literacy to link the psychological and the social spheres of our existence. Writing, which is a symbolic system, can mediate between individual thought and social phenomena. Any piece of writing can be an external representation or outcome of internal thought processes. At the same time, writing exists with other social artifacts of culture and forms part of a broader social context.

5.6.7. Language: a Symbolic System

Language is a symbolic system linking what goes on inside our heads with what goes on outside. It is a form of representation, a way of representing the world to us and to others. Language is a remarkable communication system enabling us to think and talk about the world around us. More than any other communication system, it enables us to talk about things, which are not present, and about things, which are non-existent. We are also able to reflect upon issues, think abstract thoughts and generalize our experience. We are even able to reflect upon our internal states and upon language. In other words, we can talk about talk.

5.6.8. Writing and Control

Language and behaviour is a part of social conduct. A standard language has important ramifications for society. The part that writing plays in any society is intricate and diverse.

5.6.9. Functions of Writing

One function of writing is its interactional nature. By freeing linguistic communication from the confinements of speech, writing makes possible new kinds of co-ordinated action. Letters, wills, faxes, etc, are addressed to particular individuals whose behaviour is influenced by the message they convey. Similarly, instruction manuals, recipes, public notices etc, that are directed at an unspecific readership also serve to regulate behaviour. Considering the aesthetic function of writing one may be inclined to share the opinion of Ong that the very word literature is “self-explanatory in that it refers to the medium of verbal art” [Coulmas, 1989,14]. There is “oral poetry, and recently much attention has been paid to its peculiarities and distinctions as compared with literature proper” [Coulmas, *ibid*]. The question of the orality of Homer is hotly debated, and there can be no doubt that the aesthetic function of language is realised in oral as well as literate cultures. Yet, some genres, such as novel and drama, and certain kinds of poetry, too, are quite unthinkable without writing. More could be said about the aesthetic function of writing. This sketchy overview is, however, enough for present purposes to put writing into perspective and to illustrate that it is one of the major

signs of civilizations. [ibid] Another function of language is not just to communicate knowledge. Language partly creates the knowledge. Language is an environment we create and control, it is an environment we are situated in and are shaped by. This is also true of the idea of language as a medium. Values are also clearly expressed in the relative importance attached to literacy. Sometimes reading and writing are contrasted with work, at other times they are compared with leisure. Some people feel that it is better to be reading than to be doing nothing, others feel it is better to be doing some 'real' work rather than reading. There are examples of this in the studies of people talking about literacy at the turn of the century. Reading and writing are not cognitive activities, feelings run through them. Awareness is seen as a foundation stone of human intelligence, the ability to reflect on our activities as a crucial part of the human activity.

5.7. Civilisation And Technology

Civilisation may be construed as the advanced state of social development in an oral culture or a literate culture where the norms, values, traditions etc, are standardised according to that particular community's needs for an established and settled existence. Some theorists propose that communities that are untouched by lettered man are 'barbaric civilisations' and these sentiments have been attacked by proponents of the sentinels of oral society theory for a number of reasons. However, as civilisations moved from orality to literacy this changing scenario was accompanied by the introduction of ever-modifying technologies. Writing, during Plato's times was considered an alien technology. According to Ong [1982] writing is in a way the most drastic of the three technologies. It initiated what print and computers only continue, the reduction of dynamic sound to quiescent space, the separation of the word from the living present, where spoken words can exist alone. Further Ong [1982] states that technologies are not mere exterior aids but also interior transformations of consciousness, and never more than when they affect the word. Such transformations can be uplifting. Writing heightens consciousness. As far as human existence and civilisations are concerned Ong [1982] feels the use of a technology can enrich the human psyche, enlarge the human spirit, and intensify its interior life.

History for the unlettered artist is both what has actually happened and what is fabled to have happened. For him myth has considerable historical value; because it has been told all too often, it bears the stamp of truth. Such claims to truth are frequently employed by the bard as a way of asking approbation for his craft. He makes every effort to convince us that what he says is generally accepted or true and should therefore be taken seriously.

[Okpewho, 1979. 66]

CHAPTER 3

PART ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

1.1. Introduction

For the purposes of this dissertation, I had to embark on a journey that saw me interviewing, moreover, interacting with distinct, different groups of people. First, my primary grouping was the set of retired Black, Indian and White workers who have served the company for over 25 years. They belonged to the 'older' class and they comprised mainly of workers, with a handful of them in higher positions.

The group that I targeted next was the present lot of workers who have worked for 25 years or more. This current group consisted of mainly Indian and Black workers who are predominantly in Grades A and B. The next group that I interviewed were those in management positions e.g. the human resources assistant manageress. A structured interview schedule had been prepared in both isiZulu and English. My interpreter and I tried to stick to the questions on this schedule. However, this was only possible at certain times.

As we interviewed the current lot of workers as well as the management team, it was possible to follow the structured interview. We only deviated from this structured schedule when circumstances were beyond our control. In one instance, there was an interruption of electricity, thus making it impossible to tape record. In another instance, we arrived late due to problems on the road and this resulted in time being lost, which we were never granted again. On another occasion the interviewees arrived late and this prevented us from complying with the structured interview. As we interviewed the lot of retired respondents, it became increasingly difficult to stick to our structured interview schedule. While we interviewed those who served the company for over 25 years, it was more easily possible to follow our structured interview. As a result of some of these interviews taking place in the homes of the respondents, other family members, friends and neighbours found it difficult to contain their curiosity, since we were dealing with something that they themselves had experienced: being connected to the Canestone Sugar Mill. During this round of interviews, I had to use a more open-ended, semi-structured questionnaire to elicit information. As we were interviewing, other individuals who had experiences with the company shared their information with us. They told their stories, shared their views and provided

recommendations for change. It was not entirely possible to curtail them as they felt that they were entitled to share this information with us, since we were writing about the company, a company that they were attached to. Even though we made arrangements to speak to certain individuals, (those individuals who served the company), because these interviews were conducted either in their living rooms, lounges or gardens, these were witnessed by many and there was participation by more than we expected.

1.2. Communication In The Oral History Interview

For the purposes of this dissertation, oral history is viewed as a communicative process. Through this interaction, the interviewer must seek to move the interviewee to a re-creation of historical events. In some instances, it was not possible to use the structured interview schedule for this purpose. I spoke to the two Indian ladies who could not converse in English. I was thus forced to abandon the prepared schedule and listen as they spoke. In a way, they led the discussion because I questioned them on the responses that they gave to me in previous answers. The communicative process is not a simple and straightforward process. Another difficult situation I found myself faced with was with the Black men who could not speak English and I tried to speak in Fanakalo to them. Here again I had to improvise and try to glean as much as possible from them. Since the one gentleman asked the other the questions, I was dependent on his integrity as he directed that interview. Similarly, when I was late for one set of interviews and knew I would not be granted that time again, I had to shorten the interviews and thus it was not possible to ask all the questions on the interview schedule. The following table illustrates the different aspects involved in communication and moreover shows the different issues that come to the fore in an oral history interview.

S SOURCE	M MESSAGE	C CHANNEL	R RECEIVER
COMMUNICATION SKILLS	ELEMENTS STRUCTURE	SEEING	COMMUNICATION SKILLS
ATTITUDE	TREATMENT	HEARING	ATTITUDES
KNOWLEDGE		TOUCHING	KNOWLEDGE
SOCIAL SYSTEM	C O N T E N T	SMELLING	SOCIAL SYSTEM
CULTURE		TASTING	CULTURE

1.3. Approach To The Problem

The aim and character of the oral history interview demands a comprehension of what occurs when interviewer and interviewee pursue the re-creation of an event. This understanding must be grounded in research in converging on those communication variables inducing the interviewer and the interviewee as they collectively move toward the event. The interview must be seen or viewed as a double-edged communicative process in which the creation of meaning emanates or develops through the interaction of interviewee and interviewer. The creation and structure of meaning will be a by-product of the comprehension and interpretation of both interviewer and interviewee as they speak. The meanings thus constructed and its relationship to future understanding will depend on how communication between interviewer and interviewee has taken place.

1.4. The Philosophical - Theoretical Base

The interviewer must realize that the interpretation of any historical phenomenon is always performed within the universe of linguistic possibilities, and that these possibilities as performed mark out the historicity of human experience [Clark et al,1981]. Further the interpretation of a dated feature is guided by the biases that an interpreter has at a given moment in time. Interpretations must always be seen not with an interviewee's intended meaning, but with what the intended meaning is about. Communicative interaction thus refers to the different forms that communicative performances can assume. In the oral history interview, the communicative performance is that of a face-to-face interaction.

1.5. Observing And Describing The Interpretative Process

According to Clark et al [1981], the oral history interview, by definition, is a form of communicative interaction which presupposes strategic management of topics, manifested in the activities of requesting and providing information. In order for both parties to engage meaningfully in those activities, there must be special procedures for signaling the validity of specific requests for information regarding features of a topic.

1.6. Method Of Investigation

1.6.1 Interdisciplinarity

Changes in behaviour and thought, co-operative study, team teaching, contrasting studies, borrowing from disciplines, and a variety of associated attitudes have brought into existence tension and pressure upon the conventional distribution of information. There has been and still is dialogue of an increasing nature on the boundaries of disciplines and education. Klein

[1990,11] quoted Clifford Geertz, when she stated there is indeed something happening “to the way we think about the way we think.” These tensions have many sources and contribute to numerous intentions. However, they “share one important commonality. At one time or another, they have all been labelled ‘interdisciplinary’.”[Klein,1990,11] This dissertation has come to fruition because of its interdisciplinary nature. Researchers, according to Klein [1990,11] have turned to interdisciplinary work in order to accomplish the following range of objectives:

- to answer complex questions;
- to address broad issues;
- to explore disciplinary and professional relations;
- to solve problems that are beyond the scope of any one discipline;
- to achieve unity of knowledge, whether on a limited or grand scale.

Because this thesis has as its focal point the orality – literacy interface, it merges with industrial and labour studies, human resource management, a study of local history, sociological and psychological theories, language and linguistics etc, to become an independent entity within the parameters of interdisciplinary research.

1.6.2. Definition

Interdisciplinarity has been defined in many different ways, but Klein’s [1990] authoritative study defines it most aptly as “a methodology, a concept, a process, a way of thinking, a philosophy, and a reflexive ideology.” Any interdisciplinary activity embodies a complex network of oral, “historical, social, psychological, political, economic, philosophical, and intellectual factors” [Klein, 1990].

1.6.3. Function

Interdisciplinary has been linked with “attempts to expose the dangers of fragmentation, to re-establish old connections, to explore emerging relations, and to create new subjects adequate to handle our practical and conceptual needs. Cutting across all these theories is one recurring idea” [Klein, 1990] and it is a “means of solving problems and answering questions that cannot be satisfactorily addressed using single methods or approaches. Whether the context is a short-range instrumentality or a long-range reconceptualization of epistemology, the concept represents an important attempt to define and establish common ground.” [ibid]

1.6.4. Fieldwork

Fieldwork of an interdisciplinary nature poses a unique set of problems. Some of the questions that need to be answered are:

- Which discipline leads?
- To what degree is that discipline independent?
- To what extent does that discipline lead?
- Will that discipline be equally juxtaposed against another discipline?

In this dissertation, I will attempt to answer these questions. In an orality – literacy study the integrative yet autonomous issues of orality, oral society, oral cultures, oral history, literacy, illiteracy and culture lead the discussion.

Since the inhabitants of the community that is dealt with in the fieldwork of this dissertation are the individuals that have survived in a company town set-up, the discussion focuses on the industrial, agrarian and labour issues covering the concepts of communication, power, civilization, technology etc.

1.6.5. Success in interviewing

According to Paul Thompson [1988], to interview successfully requires skill. However there are many different styles of interviewing, ranging from the friendly, informal, conversational approval to the more formal, controlled style of questioning, and good interviewers eventually develop a variation of the method, which, for them, brings the best results, and suits their personality.

1.6.6. Paul Thompson's view on interviewing

Thompson [1988] lists the following essential qualities which a successful interviewer must possess: an interest and respect for people as individuals and flexibility in response to them; an ability to show understanding and sympathy for their point of view; and above all, a willingness to sit quietly and listen. I used the friendly, conversational approach and changed to the more formal, controlled style of questions.

2. RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The following procedures were undertaken to get this study off the ground and to ensure that it came to fruition:

2.1. Review of relevant literature

A review of the relevant literature that pertained to the topic with a view to building upon the work already done by other researchers was undertaken. This will be discussed in Chapter Four in greater detail.

2.2. Survey

In order to get sufficient information on orality, literacy, management, power, communication, culture and change about this company town set-up where industrial relations are strained because of the tensions that exist in a country so laden with economic and social problems, it was necessary to use a large sample. Survey research was adopted and the following method was used: A structured interview schedule [included in the appendix], which was developed by me, was used. This instrument had both questions and statements. A fair amount of questions was close-ended. Most of the respondents were asked a question and were then provided with a choice of responses from which to choose one that best suited their situation or were asked for their own response. The conceptual framework regarding power, communication, culture, management and life in a company town set-up guided the operationalisation of the questions. Essentially, the following issues were covered: early childhood; schooling; infrastructure; family life; entry into the company; management; the overseers; communication and orality. These questions were asked in either English or isiZulu to the respondents. They were not asked to write down answers, as the majority was illiterate. The intention was to tape record all the interviews but that was impossible.

As a result of this work being done through an interdisciplinary manner, I found myself using a number of approaches to achieve my goals. It was necessary to use these approaches to achieve the desired goals or, alternatively, a true end-result. Even though the dissertation was researched in a post-apartheid South Africa, the effects of the apartheid era were still prevalent and it was this presence of the past that justified my use of a multifaceted approach to reaching the necessary findings. Black respondents in particular could not read, understand or communicate in English. Basically, English is the medium of communication in the company, yet the majority workforce cannot communicate in this language. Thus, the need

for a Zulu-speaking interpreter. Also, older Indian women could not speak English, they could only speak in their mother tongue. Here again, the unconventional took place where I tried to speak their language and failed. Other factors which made it difficult for me to follow a consistent pattern with interviewing was my experience with those in charge. When I was late, there was no compensation and that time was just lost. When there was an electricity interruption, there was no compensation for loss of time. When the managers themselves were late there was no compensation for loss of time. Thus, all factors considered, it became necessary to use these different methods to get to the relevant information.

2.3. The Respondent Sample

In view of the nature of change, it was decided to restrict the investigation to individuals who were in the company's employ for 25 years or more. However, because of the nature of the research undertaken and the methodology used, it was not absolutely possible to adhere to this restriction. Three distinct categories of respondents were then, included in the study:

- employees with 25 years of service still in the company's employ;
- retired employees with 25 years' service;
- family members of employees who have served the company for 25 years or more.

Since this research endeavours to investigate the orality – literacy interface in a company town set-up, there was a dire need to use a more empathetic, flexible method of gathering information to be able to produce significant and meaningful answers to questions which would justify the findings. The research was conducted at various levels because of the nature of the research, namely a study encompassing local history, ascertaining the use of orality and the manipulations of oral styles, the effects of literacy, writing and language on a group of illiterate people, etc.

From the payroll, which was given to me by the Human Resources Manageress, I selected my sample. It was not possible to adhere to the initial list. Interviews were conducted in the following levels:

The pilot interview was completed in a face-to-face encounter where the interview was recorded at the respondent's house. The pilot interview was with a Black gentleman who retired in 1994. He had served the company for 27 years and was quite well known by the management as well as the general workforce. He now lives in a large home in the Canestone village. A white family previously owned his house. This gentleman had been part of the

Liaison and Works Committee, and had been a trade union leader. He was faced with the challenge of getting the union's acceptance by the majority illiterate workforce. This interview was unique in that the informant said to me "OK, let me tell you my story" This was when I realized that my interest and respect for him as an individual was what made him comfortable and I had to be flexible in responding to him because he was genuinely interested in telling me his tales. As I had been six months pregnant at the time, I tried to show a willingness to sit quietly and listen but I did shift around occasionally. I did not interrupt him unnecessarily, except when I wanted clarity or helped him with a word or two that he could not remember to describe what he was trying to say. This being my pilot interview, I had to prepare and what I read was a copy of the 1975 *Converser* Magazine, which was posted to me by the secretary of the Archives Department of the Company. The general gathering interview with this Black gentleman was useful as he was better informed than I. Even though I read the *Converser*, as my informant conversed I realized that my own unacquaintedness or unawareness could be turned into good use.

The significant majority of interviews conducted by me were in English as all of the Indian interviewees and a significantly smaller percentage of Black workers were able to speak English. All Indian males were interviewed in English by me. I interviewed only twelve Black males in English. I interviewed a group of 15 retired Indian gentlemen individually. I interviewed White men in English.

- Two Indian ladies [over 70 years of age] could not speak English so I used a mixture of Fanakalo and Tamil. After trying in Tamil to question them, I failed miserably so I switched to Fanakalo where they replied in Tamil.
- I enlisted the services of a young Black man, Michael Mgenge, to interview Black workers in Zulu since the Human Resources Department advised me that I would not succeed without the assistance of an interpreter. When Michael was not available, Kingwell Kandinda, his friend, who was also able to speak Xhosa, assisted me.
- About twenty unlisted respondents [mothers, wives, daughters and other family members] who did not work in the mill or estates added to discussions while I interviewed workers. I could not stop these people from providing inputs as they felt comfortable talking to me in their own homes because they had first hand information about the feelings, aspirations and difficulties that the workers [who were close to them] had experienced. These people did not work for the company but they knew

quite a bit about the company and had certain preconceived notions and perceptions of the company, which they had developed over time.

- People who worked on the estates were interviewed in groups and also individually. Mill workers were also interviewed predominantly in groups, but also individually. People who lived on the estates but worked on either the estate or the mill were also interviewed. Supervisors, managers, indunas and administrative workers were interviewed. I also spoke to staff members [permanent workers who cannot belong to a union] and labourers [there were discrepancies as to their status, and who did or did not belong to the unions]. I spoke to a few middle management members. All, except one Indian man, were White estate managers and all except two Indian men were White assistant estate managers. A White male engineer who eventually became a manager and retired in 1983 after 30 years of service was also interviewed.

2.4. The Organisational Sample: Canestone : The Company Town Set-up

This study was limited to a sugar manufacturing enterprise in a company town set-up on the North coast of Kwa-Zulu Natal. For practical reasons the study was conducted in the sugar mill, the company's estates and the company town. There are many reasons why a company town set-up was chosen. For the purposes of this discussion, only the most relevant and significant reasons will be discussed. I have never lived in a company town set-up and researching life in this type of a community was the challenge because I had to find out whether this community shared an intensely lived collective experience peculiar to a particular type of community. As an undergraduate student in 1988 in the Department of Geography at the University of Durban–Westville I was involved in fieldwork that researched socio-economic issues of another type of community, namely the Phoenix area, a low cost [historically Indian] residential region on the outskirts of Durban. One of the findings of that investigation was that people of the area shared and lived a collective experience because of their personal socio-economic history, i.e. their entry into this area.

Whether the inhabitants of the Canestone area shared a profound collective experience could be examined, thus I undertook this research. The concept of a company town set-up is one of the vestiges of the colonialist era and the extent to which it exists did prove interesting to find out. Since the principle of colonialism is now defunct in the sense that colonization does not occur, the results of it in a post-apartheid society could be investigated. Canestone, itself, is a company town set-up on the north coast of Kwa-Zulu Natal, one of the nine provinces in South Africa.

2.5. The Company

The social relationship selected for this discussion was that between employee and employer in a sugar-manufacturing firm in an industrial environment. My point of departure is the company itself which I have called the Canestone Sugar Company or Group depending on the context. The group owns 16 mills. These mills are situated in Zululand, North Coast, Midlands, South Coast and the area known as Northern Irrigated. The exact amount of sugar crushed by these mills from 1992 to 1997 is detailed in the appendices. The Canestone mill crushed 2,030,600 tons of sugar during the 1996 to 1997 period and is the third largest mill. The Canestone group owns many estates. Each mill is fed with sugar cane from its estates. The exact number of estates has changed over the period under review from 1960 to 1998 due to the company's privatisation schemes. Sugar is grown on these estates. Workers are housed in company-built homes on these estates. The group behaviour model shows the different variables at play in any company set-up. The issues of concern here will be discussed.

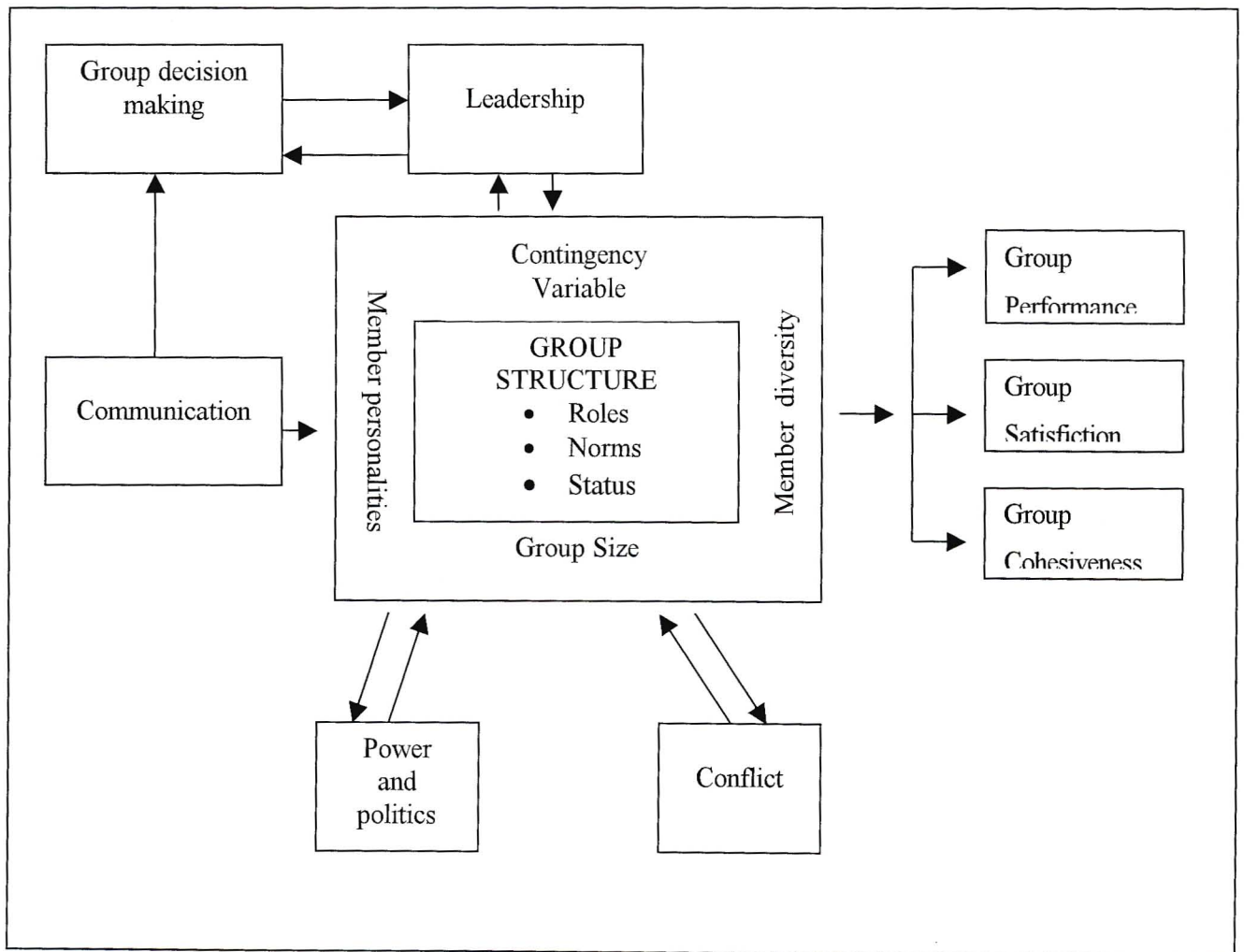


Figure 10 [Robbins, 1994, 108] – Group Behaviour Model

2.6. Relationships

The various relationships between the following groups of people were investigated:

- mill management and administrative staff
- mill management and industrial workers
- mill management and supervisors
- mill management and estate workers
- mill management and estate management
- industrial and agricultural workers
- estate management and industrial workers

3. THE INTERVIEWS

As I started out on the interviews I realised that I had to make the interviews as pleasing and as comfortable as possible for the persons I was interviewing.

3.1. The interview as social intercourse

I had decided that the interviewing process should be viewed as “an agreeable form of social intercourse” [Webb, 1981]. I tried to create an atmosphere of relaxation so as to be able to get at those “intimate details of daily experience which are the most valuable data” [ibid] to a researcher in oral studies. Armed with a spirit of adventure, I took a “delight in watching human beings as human beings quite apart from what you can get out of their minds, an enjoyment of the play of your own personality with that of another”[ibid].

3.2. Place of interviews

With the above in mind this study was concluded in Canestone, the Canestone sugar mill site and the Canestone sugar estates. At the Canestone Sugar Company’s mill, the Human Resources training room was used. I arranged with the assistant Human Resources Manageress, a young White lady, to interview the candidates here. Initially I spoke to retired Indian people at their homes. Thereafter, I conducted interviews at the mill-training centre. Here, Michael Mgenge and I questioned three people at a time. I also conducted interviews at the different estates, during the school holidays and after three-o clock in the afternoons. I drove to the various estates where the interviewees were usually waiting for me. On one particular day I was held up at one estate and was late to arrive at the next. When I telephoned to inform the clerk that I would be a few minutes late, he suggested I ‘interview the White man first because they are fussy’. So upon arriving I interviewed him and then proceeded with the rest. Even though the company owned other estates, I was only granted access to

where the respondents either lived or worked, namely the following: Bewe; Hencarrow, Dinyaniga, Longaat, Grosterly, T irrigation Services; Ritehead. For these estates, I was accompanied by Kingwell Kandina as Michael was not available. Prior to these estate visits I also interviewed a group of retired Indian mill workers who lived in the following areas: Potgieter's Hill, Chetty's Hill, Gandhi's Hill, and Hillview. Most of the employees worked in one particular department for a long period of time [e.g. 10 years] and under one manager or supervisor [e.g. 15 years]. The estate workers lived on the estate property and many did not have the opportunity to purchase their own homes and problems relating to this will be discussed later in this dissertation.

4. ORAL LANGUAGES

During the course of this research, I came into contact with people from different language and cultural groups. As I am multilingual to a certain extent, I experimented with language and it proved helpful, yet time-consuming. It was helpful in the sense that when I tried to speak in another language besides English, I was tolerated to a greater extent. It showed my weaker side, which then allowed me to be perceived as 'one of us' by the respondents, and I was immediately 'allowed in' more easily. It was time-consuming because I was not completely in control of the other language that I tried to speak. I did not know enough and thus there were shortcomings in the usage. During the course of the research, I spoke predominantly in English. Although I am able to speak Afrikaans [a language which originated in South Africa], the need to use it did not arise. I spoke or attempted to speak in Tamil. However, I failed and then tried to speak 'kitchen Tamil' – language that does not follow the rules of the grammar. Tamil is a language that is spoken by people of South Indian origin. The reason I attempted to speak in Tamil is that two Tamil-speaking old ladies who could not converse in English confronted me. Quite a few of the respondents were of Hindi speaking backgrounds. However, all of them could speak in English. Hindi is a North Indian language. I am not able to speak Hindi even though my husband's family is Hindi speaking. IsiZulu is another official language of South Africa and is spoken by millions of mainly Black people. As I am unable to speak isiZulu, my interpreters spoke isiZulu to the respondents who could not speak English. Fanakalo, which is frowned upon by Zulu-speaking people, saved the day for me in some of my interactions. It is colloquial Zulu spoken around the house. I used it when my interpreters were not available and when I had to converse with the two Tamil speaking old ladies.

5. ORAL SOCIETY : AN AUDIO – VISUAL EXISTENCE

According to Guy, to “acquire literacy is to acquire a social skill which has never been accessible to all. In South Africa it has been granted to some, denied to others, distributed, withdrawn, appropriated and seized as part of the struggle for power and profit, and its availability will remain part of that struggle” [Sienaert, 1990, 395]. Fifty percent of my informants in Canestone belonged to this category, and their illiteracy is a persisting theme in their affirmation.

This is one of the means by which they are conquered, subjugated; the “literacy of others is an obstacle which has to be overcome, because the creation of the illiterate also creates a vulnerable social group and the opportunity for further discrimination and exploitation. And this in turn makes it necessary for the illiterate to devise methods of struggle using resources which are independent of literacy” [ibid, 394 -395]. Here, what comes to mind is the fact that some respondents said that they were forced to tell ‘white lies’ when the need arose to hide their illiteracy. In the event of them not knowing the price of some product, they would tell a fellow shopper that they left their glasses at home and therefore could not read the price. Also, if they heard on the radio or television that something particular was on sale, for example a pair of gold earrings for R300-00, they would enquire from the assistant if they could see the earrings which were advertised on the radio, and in this way they were able to hide their illiteracy.

Hearing, thus, plays an important role in oral societies and even literate societies where people cannot read and write. By listening to others speak they learn new words and their meanings. They use them and once they have gotten silent approval after the first usage, they are confident thereafter in the usage of such vocabulary even though they cannot read or spell.

By listening, they are kept informed about the current news and other happenings. Their listening skills are clearly of great significance to them and at times may be construed as a survival kit. By listening to perhaps the radio or people in general they would hear things about illnesses, safety measures, recipes, etc, which people in general should know [which they normally read about].

Thus, it is quite clear that listening and sound is of importance to a person who cannot read and write. Also by watching and seeing what is happening around people who cannot read and write gather new information and enjoy different experiences.

One of the respondents said that his wife learnt to cook breyanis, curries, savouries, chutneys etc, all by just 'seeing it one time' being done. Baking, cooking, knitting, sewing, and all other household and garden related activities was and still is learnt by watching. These people cannot read recipe books or books on rearing children or even books on pruning, but these and all other activities take place and if contests were held in these activities these contestants would win places of pride and even do better than those who have followed some manual.

6. LIMITATIONS AND PROBLEMS OF THE RESEARCH

I experienced a few limitations during the period of my research.

- The Human Resources Manageress became a bit difficult to work with. She was supposed to set up a meeting for me with the engineer to take me around the mill but, unfortunately, this never materialized.
- Furthermore, although the workers were given time off to speak to me, they were in a hurry to get back to their jobs.
- The language barrier was a serious limitation.
- It was very difficult to elicit information from some of the ardent supporters of the company and certain management members.

On Sunday, 26/6/98 at 11h00, I was supposed to have met Elijah Khuzwayo, an ex-pupil of mine, now an employee of the company. It was around 11h40 when I heard that he went off to Transkei the previous night at 19h00. This lack of commitment hindered the progress of the research. His father and friends, who I was supposed to interview, were not around. His sister was at home. She could not speak English very well. I asked her where her younger sister was, as I had taught the younger sister two years ago. She happened to be taking a bath at another sister's home. Surprisingly, she just came across to me with a towel wrapped around her. It was a whole different cultural experience to me seeing this girl run across the estate with just a towel around her.

In any event, as I walked around the estate, I was almost shunned by some people who had seen me before. I got the feeling that they felt that if I got their attention and they are 'caught' by me, they are not sure what I am going to say to them or what I am going to ask them. I felt as if one of the ladies, to whom I spoke at length the previous day, did not want to even look up in case I asked questions about her husband. Upon my bravely asking, she said, 'he is

eating and is on stand-by duty, so he is very busy.’ Therefore, I just left. I got the feeling that I was not wanted. In fact, I felt as if I was an alien. There was a sense of mistrust by some individuals and eliciting information was difficult. One Black gentleman asked me what I was going to give them as they had given me their time and their information. This perplexed me and I had to explain that this research is to put together experiences and information that people had because it would hopefully make a contribution to future generations. What I did do was offer him some more Coke and apologised that I could not give him anything more.

The recounting of past exploits creates a feeling of solidarity and maintains the cohesion and strength of the group....A group is never cut off in time, neither from the past nor from the future; its members must account for their actions before the bygone generations and before those to come.... A knowledge of the past is essential to help modern African countries define themselves.

[Wynchank, 1988. 101]

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER FOUR

PART ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

Oral communication, industrial and labour relations, human resource management, technology, civilisation and exploitation, which are the basis of this study, have been given much consideration by numerous researchers in the respective fields. Culture and power are only effective depending on how they are conveyed. In light of this, the following relevant information was reviewed in order to ascertain how the sugar industry monopolised their workforce into 'accepting beings' by creating an environment of compliance. The discussion includes a brief historiography of the Sugar trade and follows with a literature survey in themes. Further, the following aspects, as they influence or affect the South African scenario will be given some consideration in this chapter as well:

The history of 'ownership' as far as the sugar manufacturing industry was concerned.

The creation of certain kinds of labour conditions.

The history of relationships between management and labour.

The 'experience' of labour.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

The history and success of the sugar trade and the advent of the indentured labourer go hand in hand and developed alongside each other. As British colonialism developed so too did the production of sugar. Initially slavery accompanied the spread and growth of sugar and the sugar plantations. Millions of people journeyed to sugar colonies and became involved in the agronomy and milling of sugar cane. What has become apparent is that these groups of slaves, and later the indentured groups of people, became a part of the sugar mill and its surroundings: an exceptional or distinctive social entity or world centred on and around the plantation and its owner. This has been referred to as the 'bagaceira', a word that denotes a storage place for bagasse, the residue sugarcane fibre expelled from the sugarmill. It also came to mean the general or common life and atmosphere of the sugarcane plantation in Brazil. However, to me, it seems not only in Brazil, but also in all the countries or colonies

where sugar plantations took root, did this 'bagaceira' ideology did exist, and the sugar plantation stood out as the most pervasive economic activity. I shall paraphrase the Cuban and Trinidadian experiences before I continue with the historical development of sugar in Natal with specific reference to the Canestone Mill.

2.1 The Cuban Experience

Over 100 mills existed in Havana; Cuba in 1792 and they belonged to Cuba's small but aggressive oligarchy. Hardly any machinery existed in the mills except the grinding apparatus, which was worked by animal power. In fact, labour shortage was the more serious problem. The number of slaves decided the volume that was to be produced. The ability to employ labour on a large scale determined the growth and success of sugar manufacturing, thus "sugar development depended on the slave trade" [Lincoln, 1986,16]. From 1760 [the first year with solid data] until 1792 this island was transformed into the top world producer and their sugarmen extended production and invaded the world market, where capitalism reigned, causing a commercial expansion. Sugar was essentially important in the development of capital. Growth was on the basis of more cane fields, more workers, more woodcutting, more moulds, more kettles, more horses, more carts, more estates, more oxen: but all this without changing earlier living and working patterns apart from submitting the workers to an evermore bestial way of life, there by reducing their useful years.

Thus, it can be said that even though the Negroes in Cuba were seen as experiencing a 'bestial way of life', the blacks in South Africa had just as bad a time. The slaves lived apart from the salaried world. The overseers became the most typical, powerful figures in the colony. His very name endowed him with an aura of power and decision making responsibilities. The overseers were given or assumed power. Thus, only two of the many similarities or shared experiences which the Negroes in Cuba had in common with the Blacks in South Africa that I shall give attention to is this 'bestial way of life' and the 'power and authority of the overseer'.

The dissertation is limited in that I cannot give a complete comparison between these two groups of dark-skinned people of African origin. I shall now consider the case of Trinidad as their indentured labourers had the same place of origin as the Indian indentured labourers in South Africa. They shared similar experiences but were treated differently in their new places of abode.

2.2 The Case of Trinidad

The Indian community of Trinidad descended from immigrants imported from India as indentured labourers who came to work on the island's sugar plantations because the planters were faced with a serious labour situation. They could either "rationalise the industry by technological improvements, especially labour saving devices: or find an external source of cheap and reliable labour" [La Guerre, 1974, 25]. The immigration of a cheap and easily managed labour force was, to cane planters, the only solution. They tried many places. India proved satisfactory. Once the indenture had expired, however, they became free, and if they remained in Trinidad, their legal status was not different from the rest of the population.

2.3 Natal: The South African Scenario

The 19th century saw the greatest demand for unskilled migrant labour in tropical and subtropical colonial regions engaged in sugar plantations. The demand was met significantly in the form of indentured labour drawn from South Asia, the Far East and part of the South Pacific. The scheme of indentured labour was adopted by the British Parliament after the abolition of slavery in 1833. As a result of this "legal framework, subsequent arrangements regarding the contract between labour and the colony had universal application. It was a 'triple entente' between the British government, the Indian Government and the individual colony concerned" [Kirk, 1980, 5]. I shall refer specifically to indentured Indians in Natal, of whom there were 152 184 between 1860 and 1911. The indentured labour system did not originate in Natal but in Mauritius and the West Indies. This system was very much akin to slavery.

The Indian labourers were recruited and bound themselves to go to a distant land. There is a similarity between the conditions of employment of the indentured labourers, irrespective of the colonial area to which they were sent. In that land they were not permitted to choose their employer or employment, they were merely assigned. Once the workers were on their employer's land they were obliged to accept their situation and we see a sort of history of 'ownership' occurring. The sugar employers felt empowered to see themselves as 'owners' of these workers as there were no rigid, strict laws or regulations in place that favoured workers. Once the labourer was assigned, no freedom of movement between employer and employment was permitted; special passes had to be obtained. The employer was legally obliged to provide the following:

- Wages, at a level fixed by the government ,
- Free housing ,
- Medical attendance ,
- Sufficient food and water for his labourers and,
- Moreover, not to work his labourers overtime.

Whether the employer did this or not was not suitably established, as the necessary procedures were not in place. Thus, this elevated status of believing and acting as though ownership of workers was acceptable, was practised and entrenched. When the history of ownership is considered, what comes to mind is the power that the 'owners' enjoy over their 'subjects'.

According to Witz [1980, 35], "the haziness of the indentured workers contract provided the employer with many loopholes. Thus, the contract, instead of giving the indentured labourer more rights actually limited his rights". As employees and employers came together, certain types of labour conditions were put into place and became the order of the day. These labour conditions were instrumental in ensuring that the ideology of 'ownership' flourished and kept the worker in his place. Apart from such limitations to the theoretical right of the labourer to redress, the system tried to prevent concerted action by the labourers, confining them to the estates and the places of work, thus prevented contact with the outside world and with other groups of workers.

Individuals who were identified as elements that might provide leadership were weeded out and were prevented from indenturing in India. Furthermore, little or no education was provided on the estates. [This aspect will be dealt with in greater detail later in the dissertation.] Using Blacks as policemen to enforce regulations and to mete out punishment such as floggings created division. Finally, the mere action of complaining as a group, unless it was with the employer's permission, was made punishable by a sentence of up to two months imprisonment with hard labour. For a fixed determined period, the labourer had to work for whom he was assigned. The only way of escaping was deserting or committing suicide. The wage for this determined period was fixed. Only after this period of indenture was over could they:

- become free agents,
- either re-indenture,
- seek other forms of employment,
- become self employed, or
- return to India.

This was the basic structure of the indentured labour system, which Natal grafted itself into in the 1860's. The main features of the indenture system in Natal were the same as those in Mauritius and the West Indies. At the end of their term of indenture, the Indians were at liberty to settle in Natal and have full ownership rights of land. This was introduced to induce more labourers from India. Many Indians joined the economic sector and started contributing to the socio-economic development of the area:

- They entered trade,
- They purchased land for building,

Many raised themselves from the status of labourers to that of owners of land and houses. However, not all Indians in the future generations were able to do that. Some continued to lived on the estates of the sugar owners, some of them moved out but those who did not have the means to buy or rent continued to live in company owned homes. I interviewed many people who knew no other home. These are some of the people whose parents and grandparents were or became part of a grand scheme to keep people in bondage long after slavery and the enlightened form of slavery, indenture, were abolished, but now became part of the experiment that involved different race groups living side by side and next to each other but, to a certain extent, in distrust and dislike for each other. Apartheid, a new term coined in 1948 by the nationalist government, was practised long before in Canestone. This is where as I have already mentioned, I shall focus my attention. The Canestone mill and its surrounding estates, as well as its monopoly of the roads, the river, the rail and the general natural and man-made infrastructure, will be described in detail as it came to envelope the lives of many families and at least five generations of Indian South Africans in the Longaat area. Many authors such as Brookes et al [1987], Calpin [1949], Brain [1983], and Meer [1980] have written about the indentured Indians in South Africa, and Natal, more especially, but none have looked in detail at the 'company town' set-up especially for the Indentured Indians, migrant Blacks, and the colonial Whites who lived together but separately where almost total power and control was vested in the architects of this company town.

The Canestone Company town set-up as described by Watson [1960] and Van den Berghe [1964] will be discussed in the next part of this chapter but now I shall present an account of the power that developed in industry.

3. POWER IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SUGAR INDUSTRY

With time, the Canestone sugar company's power base expanded and strengthened as the government of the day allowed the bigger corporate companies like Canestone certain privileges and benefits. During the apartheid era, only a certain kind of relationship was allowed between management and labourers in any industrial concern. If this relationship is considered, then the capitalist attitudes of 'owners' of companies as well as the paternalistic view of the general entrepreneur ensured that workers remained subjects. As long as the management of companies like Canestone kept the labour force at bay and were able to control them, by using whatever powerful resources they possessed, the government favoured them. These companies, in turn for the favours received, did not antagonise the government with the manner in which they ran their businesses.

In other words, if the experience of labour is considered, it is possible to state that the management did not allow people of colour to aspire to higher positions, they practised job reservation, and they maintained and upheld the country's law on racial discrimination. However, the company did allow the voteless Black majority to be part of works committees but by their own admission they restricted the role that these representatives had.

In the 1975 issue of *The Converser*, Part 2 [a magazine published by the Canestone Sugar Company]; the Canestone Group Limited published its proposals for the improvement of its Black workforce. Recommendations were submitted for the modification of a number of aspects of the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act, which was in place. Prior to the 1990s, this Act controlled the lives of the Black man in South Africa. It was the basis upon which the White apartheid regime maintained control and leadership over a majority non-White population. Suggestions for the modifications of this Act were based on extensive and, the company believed, successful experience in the application of the provisions of the Act in 1975 in a broad range of commercial undertakings in various parts of the country. Because of the special circumstances surrounding the Black labour relationship, the Central Bantu Labour Board was retained in the system. However, its functions and powers were modified. The function was to enable the revised system to operate effectively.

The underlying intention of the proposals was to set up the machinery for regulating the Black industrial relationship. However, this was to be in compliance with the company and government needs, not the Black workforce. The new system, which was proposed, had a number of parallels with the then existing industrial councils of the day. It also retained those special features, such as Liaison / Work committees and the Central Bantu Labour Board. These were intended to cater for the unique aspects of the Black labour relationships, again to suit the White man's aspirations.

A period of education was necessary, according to the company, when employees could experiment with collective bargaining within the framework of wide cultural differences. However, these cultural differences were the issues that were exploited by the company to suit their own needs. In addition, it was necessary to accommodate the conservative element of the Trade Union Movement, which was understandably suspicious of any moves to upgrade the role of the Black worker in the machinery for regulating industrial relations. In fact, to date, many are still suspicious of the trade union movement because they feel they have been let down while others have seen the merit. With the introduction of the works committees and the trade unions, the workforce felt that they had some kind of power and this feeling led them to believe in protest. However, the company possessed ultimate power which the individual employee or even groups of employees would not be able to achieve.

3.1. The Company's View

The company viewed mankind's sole ultimate capital asset as being human ability in the form of physical, intellectual and spiritual attributes. This was seen as the power behind the vast non-human natural forces that mankind has now gained control over or harnessed. Nevertheless, human ability remains merely human potential unless and until it is given the means of exerting or exercising itself. Whenever a proportion of the population consists of less fortunate, illiterate, untrained industrial or agricultural workers, the same ratio of that particular society's potential stock of the prime economic force remains untapped. Economic productivity and human progression ultimately have to go hand in hand. Experience shows that social advancement cannot make progress without the accompanying growth in industrial productivity. What is not so evident is that economic productivity cannot make much progress without an accompanying increase in social advancement. The objective of the company was to drive both movements forward. They wanted to do this side by side. Bearing

this in mind and looking not only to the country's agricultural and rural developments, they devoted much attention to industrial labour relations. However, the quality and transparency of this attention remains to be questioned. As large employers of especially Black and Indian labour, the company fervently believed that they had a duty to improve and develop the framework of the South African society. In the industrial sphere, working relationships between management and workers was of vital consequence, and it was in this context that the Canestone Group, in conjunction with another large employer, South African Breweries, had made certain proposals to bring into being an opportunity to improve the situation that existed between management and labour. The proposals did not pretend to be the ultimate way to harmonious labour relations.

These proposals could easily be questioned if readers concentrated on exclusions, for they had deliberately avoided the whole issue of political rights, and certainly made no comment on black trade unions. The company was also of the opinion that it was easy to fan the flames of men and to set one group against the other, but it was much more difficult to tread the tight rope between two cultures and engender leadership accompanied by mutual trust. Meaningful contact with black workers was a vital and essential exercise. Experience has shown that these contacts were not easy to achieve or to sustain. They required much effort and determination and therefore it could not be assumed that management / labour problems were solved merely by economic progress alone.

The important task was to set the delicate course of seeking a common ground on which all responsible elements could meet and agree. The balance between economic growth and human upliftment was present for both parties. In particular, the employers needed fundamental reassurances and tangible commitments from their employees. They had gone past the stage where they merely granted wage increases and improved benefits without relating all this to productivity; competition and the economic constrain of business and commerce.

It was the intention of the Canestone Group to foster management / labour relations and to chart a course for the future. They saw the mission as being one of reason, judgement and compassion, and it was with this belief that they had put together a new framework within the industrial compass and legal laws of South Africa which they hoped would act as a solid structure for dealing with management / labour relationships in the years ahead.

However, the company was of the opinion that human conflicts and personality problems will be with 'us' as long as man remains on earth, but whilst there remains a spirit of goodwill and a genuine desire to recognize a man's worth and assist him towards the attainment of his full potential, whether he be an agricultural or an industrial worker, there can be little doubt that solutions can be formed to many of the problems which beset our modern world.

As far as solutions were concerned, it had to be remembered that the Canestone community originated as an oral society and as such, they were enmeshed in their own particular forms of oral traditions and oral cultures. These traditions and value systems differed from literate societies; when looking to find solutions, the elders of such communities looked to their orality to find answers. During times of crises migrant and indentured peoples in this area used communicative genres peculiar to oral societies such as recitation, performances, gesturing, etc.

4. COMMUNICATIVE ACTION

Communication is part of the very nature of language itself. The Canestone Company has used communication and language in such a way that it benefited them. There was no proper channel of communication until the 1970s where complaints and grievances could be sorted out. Thus, the communicative action did possess a stronger control over other forms of action in the company.

5. HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

It is common knowledge that South Africa is undergoing rapid cultural, political, social and economic changes. It is therefore necessary for the human resources function in any company to redefine its role in the light of these changing circumstances. Some writers are of the opinion that it may not be truly effective to transplant the western management concept and systems to the South African situation. This cannot be done without real adaptation.

In Southern Africa, it is essential to adapt western management concepts to address the daunting management challenges that we face. Mbigi [People Dynamics, Feb 1992] has developed an effective South African Human Resources model to fit the South African realities. However, I shall list only the basis of his work, as this dissertation does not allow a further comprehensive discussion:

- administration model
- reactive model
- business model
- welfare model
- developmental model
- the principle of morality
- the principle of interdependence
- the principle of the spirit of man
- the principle of totality

Since the country is undergoing change with power shifts providing challenges, human resources need to be addressed. Mbigi and Maree [October 1994, Vol12 No.1, 21-22] list the challenges as follows:

- There is an uncompromising demand for inclusion and participative control by black workers, which is a 'knee-jerk' reaction to the exclusive nature of apartheid.
- There is an uncompromising suspicion of business and institutions by black workers, which generates the need to establish legitimacy of management and institutions. The effective response to these two challenges is social and political repositioning by establishing inclusive structure and practices.
- There is an uncompromising demand for quality by all essential stakeholders. The only reason blacks rejected Bantu Education was because of its poor quality.
- The appropriate strategic response is to move away from professional and managerial prerogative to participative performance and decision-making.
- There are uncompromisingly high worker expectations for quality of working life and unless these expectations are managed by the leadership of institutions, they will create a major social crisis for South Africa.
- There are uncompromisingly high negative expectations of the resource-rich minority (privileged groups). The management of white fears is going to be critically important if South African institutions are to have delivery capacity. If whites become cynical spectators of the new South Africa, they will be sabotaging its birth and will become marginalised victims in the long run.

- The last, but not least, challenge is that there is competition for dominance and control in the South African marketplace. Unless organisations become world-class, they will not be able to meet strategic challenges.

6. BLACK BUSINESS

In *PORTFOLIO OF BLACK BUSINESS* in South Africa, Khoza states “Corporate South Africa has to change” [Ramashoba,1993, 35]. The big question facing business today is not whether it should adapt to meet the challenges of a changing socio-economic and political environment, but how it should do so. Until 1990, business did quite well in this regard, thanks to certain international pressures. However, as a result of this tension, petty discriminatory practices in commerce and industry were gradually phased out in South Africa. To a certain extent, this happened at Canestone - petty discriminatory practices being phased out included the use of the toilets in certain areas, which could previously only be used by certain groups of people. Today there are no restrictions. Other examples are the appointments of Blacks in certain administrative posts such as the Human Resources Department, and all workers in that department, White, Indian and Black, using the same tea set. What has remained unchanged, however, is the corporate power structure.

In the Canestone mill and its estates, there are only 6 Black managers and only 6 Indian managers, whereas there are 27 White managers. Therefore, there are a greater percentage of managers of English origin. It becomes quite clear that the root of this colonialist type behaviour is still in existence, even though the management and directors of today are different, have a different management style and a different outlook of society and its stratification. “Owners and management, and with them the allocation of jobs and investment capital, still remain in white hands” [Ibid]. This is still the status quo with regard to the agricultural and industrial sectors of the Canestone Mill and its estates. Changing this will be the next major challenge facing the management and its directorship. It will not only require a reapportionment of equity ownership, but control of the means of production, and of jobs on company boards and management teams. “Deep changes will also have to be made in the culture and values of corporations and how they respond to the rights and wishes of stakeholders” [Ibid]. At Canestone, the major shareholders have decided to privatise as much of the company’s asset as possible, resulting in many people losing their jobs with no guarantee that the new ownership will consider them for the jobs that will become available. In short, “business will have to match, even surpass, the depth of change initiated by

President De Klerk in politics on February 2, 1990 and the present democracy that we are experiencing. There is no escaping that challenge, for De Klerk's reform have produced unyielding demands for democracy to be introduced in the corporate arena, too" [Ibid]. I shall be considering the extent to which change as taken place in Canestone.

7. RESISTANCE AND CHANGE

Everyday forms of resistance and confrontations that are more public are intended to deny claims made by superordinate classes. Such claims in most instances have to do with the material issues of class struggle - the appropriation of land, labour, taxes, rent, and so forth. Where everyday resistance departs from other forms of resistance is in its virtual abandonment of communal and representative goals. Where institutionalized politics is overt, formal, "concerned with systematic, de jure change, everyday resistance is informal, often covert, and concerned largely with immediate, de facto gains." [Scott, 1985, 33] It is reasonably clear that "the success of de facto resistance is often directly proportional to the symbolic conformity with which it is masked.

Open insubordination in almost any context will provoke a more rapid and ferocious response than an insubordination that may be as pervasive but never ventures to contest the formal definitions of hierarchy and power. For most subordinate classes, which as a matter of sheer history, have had little prospect of improving their status, this form of resistance has been the only option " [Ibid]. As a matter of fact, even though the estate management have been extremely vigilant, they have not been able to stop the labourers starting fires as a means of showing their agitation, which cost the company millions of rands in damage.

PART TWO

1. INTRODUCTION.

This company operated and continues to operate as a capitalist concern to the distinct advantage of a small White minority. This dissertation will show how the Black and Indian masses were and still are exploited to such an extent that they literally feel bereft of their human identity. Watson and Van den Berghe have chronicled the history of Canestone in the form of an historical story and a sociological research document. Their inputs up to 1960 have presented the vaulting table, which has jumpstarted this work. I shall begin this chapter by answering the question: 'What is Canestone?' This, I shall do by looking at Watson's work initially and then focussing on Van den Berghe's work.

2. WATSON'S PERSPECTIVE: THE WORLD OF CANESTONE IN THE SIXTIES

In 1960, *LONGAAT AN AFRICAN EXPERIMENT* was published and in the forward [1960, 11], Douglas Saunders said that this was the story of an experiment in living. Around the nucleus of a sugar estate founded in the early days of Natal, which is now known as KwaZulu Natal, a province in the Republic of South Africa, there has grown up a multi-racial community – European, [now referred to as Whites], African [now referred to as Blacks] and Indian – existing in harmony and mutual trust. The development of this community has been a major aim in the life of the author of that book - formerly General Manager of the Canestone Sugar Company - for more than thirty years, and he has been chairman of the Canestone Town Board since its inception in 1930. It was Watson's greatest wish and Douglas Saunders' as well, that the story of Canestone may be of use in promoting similar co-operation between the races, not only in Africa but throughout the world.

Canestone as it developed in the 1960s can only be described as a "bold experience". No where else in the world had such a situation existed and the fact that it was allowed to exist for as long as it did indicates the strength and power that those responsible for Canestone possessed. Thus, the power and status systems as they existed in Canestone will also be discussed. In looking at what Canestone is, I shall be referring to some salient issues that were discussed in the previous chapter such as the history of ownership; creation of certain kinds of

labour conditions; history of relationship between management and labour; historical experience of labour.

In Canestone there developed an oasis in which the dominant word was not 'segregation' but 'aggregation'. Segregation can never be dissociated from degradation, humiliation and injustice. But aggregation – the association of individuals in groups bonded by similarities in race, religion, traditions, interest, custom, trade and occupation, carried “no stigma and was repugnant to none” [Watson, 1960, inside front cover]. Watson believed the association was voluntary and that people of the area wanted to be aggregated. By believing this and being of that opinion, Watson encouraged 'ownership' and thus people living on the sugar estates and in separate demarcated areas, knew no freedom. They were owned by the landowners, as they had to follow rules and regulations, eat what they were fed, etc.

Watson, Saunders and Labuschagne devoted a lifetime to the development of Canestone as an ideal multi-racial community. According to Watson [1960, inside front cover], standards of human relationships were naturally better in a small population group such as Longaat than in great, inhuman population centres, and it was possible to aim at perfection by a repeated and consistent raising of standards. Therefore, by the gradual and slowly spreading permeation of such an idea, such a community, believed the architects of Canestone, could, in time, influence the larger cities and eventually the central government of South Africa itself.

A multi-cultural community was the aim of the Canestone experiment, and Watson told the story of its development from its beginning to the 1960s when - to quote Douglas Saunders – “What we believe in, and what we actually have here in Canestone, is government by discussion. We welcome any race, or class, but on grounds of excellence alone.” [Watson, 1960, inside back cover] South Africa had in the 1960s presented to the world one of its most serious problems in race relations. Had an answer, both just and practicable, to race problems everywhere been found? According to the architects of the Canestone Experiment: Those who live in Canestone - Black, Indian and White – “have no doubt that this was so, and each community was happy in the contribution it made to a prosperous, united, multi-racial society.” [Watso , 1960, inside back cover] By possessing this opinion, the philosophy of ownership in its different forms was permeated and perpetuated. This ideology now led to the creation of certain kinds of labour conditions.

Watson told the story of an experiment in living. Almost four decades later I am still trying to work out this 'ownership' ideology as well as investigate the kinds of labour conditions that existed. I am, further, trying to fathom whether this human experiment that interfaces with politics, social systems, economics, cultural and ritualistic behaviours, religion, racial tensions and the very essence of "being", of "existence", really succeeded and is still a true reflection of the area. In addition, if it does, in whose opinion? I spoke to some 100 people in trying to work out what, how, why and who really manipulated and magnetised, controlled and abused 'free', 'thinking', 'feeling' and 'sensing' human beings to allow themselves to go through, albeit so smoothly, so comfortably, so 'glove-like' this process of acceptance, appreciation and anticipation. Despite the method and manner of maintaining power and authority these racial groups existed in "mutual harmony and trust" [Watson, 1960, inside front cover]. The question is: How did he and his counterparts who shared his 'ideology' manage to succeed in maintaining this until the period 1960?

3. CANESTONE

This dissertation will investigate whether the situation as described by Watson actually did remain as the status quo from the 1960s to 1998, and if it did, how it maintained itself, long after the founders of this human experiment were not able to control it anymore, and if it did not, why it did not succeed.

What made the Canestone experiment so bold was that the Canestone community was 'segregated' even though the architects were of the belief it was aggregated. Segregation was according to racial lines, according to permanent and casual workers, between seasonal and shift workers, and between mill and estate workers. Segregation was further entrenched by the living arrangements of the management and sugar barons. They lived apart in the best of homes with all the luxuries that were available at the time.

At Canestone, we see not only the creation of certain kinds of labour conditions but also living conditions. This existence also sees a certain kind of relationship developing between the management and labour, the relationship of master and slave, master and slave whose life revolved around the mill and estate. Thus, the mill was the hub of the whole district - Canestone. It was the centre on which all things turn. The wining and dining, more like slaving, of everyone - shopkeeper, greengrocer, planter, trader, merchant, mechanic, nurse, and teacher - depended on its continued activity. Its furthest acres were touched by its

railroads. Nearer to its core was the township with its villages, its temples and churches, its ethnic community groups, its household trade and commerce, its service and amenities for recreation.

Canestone reacted to the “post-war consciousness of human rights by resolving to build a perfect sugar undertaking in an ideal multi racial community. This was before 1948, during a period when South African societies had considerably more freedom in their design for living than they enjoyed under the present government. Canestone’s concept of the ideal multi-racial community was primarily a bricks-and-mortar one” [Watson, 1960, 227].

In looking at Canestone, it is possible to state that the ideology of ‘ownership’ was exercised by the management and accepted by the workers. Furthermore, the living and working environment led to the creation of certain kinds of labour conditions, which affected the relationship between management and labour. If the history or experience of labour is considered, we see a number of issues arising, which show the imbalance in that relationship. In light of what I have just mentioned, it is possible to state the following. Members of the community, irrespective of race, were supposed to have:

- freedom from fear which was primarily security of shelter and employment;
- family life, which was undisturbed enjoyment of satisfactory homes;
- legitimate pleasure, with facilities for recreation;
- beauty of surroundings; and
- hope for the future, which was economic opportunity.

However, the reality of the situation portrays another picture because of the ‘ownership’ ideology, the creation of labour conditions and the relationship paradigms that were present. At Canestone, it was stated that it was implicit that everyone, irrespective of race, should have:

- the right to improve the skill and value of his labour;
- earn as much as his labour was worth; and
- buy for his comfort in accordance with his means.

However, the experience of labour shows that because of the low wages, long working hours, deductions from their paltry wages etc, it was not possible to achieve the above. The “extent to which these standards were to be achieved depended on the community’s race relations,

established or planned” [ibid, 227-228]. One has to remember first that Canestone was “constituted as one community, a unity of people, and an holistic synthesis of vastly varying human beings” [ibid, 228]. The objective was to maintain that unity; “to clothe it eventually - all of it, each component of it - with the garment of perfection” [ibid]. That was what Canestone had declared to be its objectives according to Watson [1960, 228]:

- a perfect sugar undertaking in an ideal multi-racial community;
- not a sugar enterprise associated with a group of separate communities.

This was the unity of Canestone and it was not just a settlement of 450 Whites with 7, 000 others somewhere in the shadows. It was equally no three separate communities - White, Indian, and Black - under common government [that form of Apartheid that purports to solve the question of multi-racial societies by abolishing them]. It was a “tricotyledonous unity of 7,450 souls” [ibid] (or thereabouts, Van den Berghe [1964] estimated the area to have 10 000), the majority of whom are taking part in “the evolvement of a prototype for community life” [ibid]. Each group was to have developed its own social pattern and life within the domain of its own social activities, mutual interest, goodwill and confidence. It was envisaged that racial prejudices would be surmounted.

3. CONCLUSION

Segregation implies “breaking down, severing, or isolating parts from a whole; it is amputation.” [ibid] . Apartheid, thus, when it means segregation, can never be disassociated from degradation, humiliation, and injustice. It is inevitably painful, weakening, destructive, and regressive, “a completely repugnant concept” [Watson,1960, 229]. The preceding paragraphs reflect a brief summary of Watson’s view of Canestone. This, was basically a historical synopsis. I shall now present a synopsis of Van den Berghe’s [1964] views of Canestone as he completes the picture until 1960. This may be categorised as a sociological survey. Van den Berghe’s study among other claims, emphasises the power and status systems as these were the overbearing features of that time and place.

PART THREE

POWER IN MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITIES - CANEVILLE AND CANESTONE : A COMPARISON OF CHANGES AND SIMILARITIES FROM THE 1950'S TO 1998.

Canestone, the book by Van den Berghe [1964], had been written, admittedly, by the author with a class bias in the selection of his informants who were mostly businessmen, officials, teachers, and clerks rather than manual workers. I, on the other hand, have chosen 90% of workers from the agricultural and industrial sectors with only a handful from the administrative sector. In the following paragraphs, I shall briefly compare the period 1950's through to 1998 with the Canestone community in mind. I shall briefly look at what has changed over that period of time.

1. INTRODUCTION

Canestone was, in the 1950's and is in the 1990's a reflection of the larger society around it. Driving through the town one is inclined to say that compared to the 1950's not much has changed, as the main road is still the main road with little compound-like settlements built on either side. Canestone is still a one-main road town where, during the harvest period, you are bound to be caught up in traffic behind one of those 180 metre long horse-and-trailers carrying sugar cane to the mill. During the 1950s, Canestone shared with the rest of South Africa the basic elements of the country's political and social structure.

2. POLITICAL STRUCTURE

A racist White dominated society with a cruel legal system and colour bar act was in place and the order of the day. However, by 1994, a democracy had been established and in principle, every person is now a recognised citizen of this country. However, in reality, by admission of Blacks, Indians and Whites that live and work in Canestone, it will take a long time before the residual racism that exists in the Canestone area is completely eradicated from our system. Thus, it may be the law, but in reality, racism is still practised.

3. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Canestone during the period under review was typical of Natal in the cultural, religious and racial composition of its population. At present, even though one has freedom of movement and speech, the area has basically maintained its status quo about aspects relating to culture and cultural beliefs, about religion and religious beliefs and, to a very great extent, racial composition. Canestone, the area, was and still is, in my opinion:

- Unique in its elaboration of the basic South African pattern of social life;
- A relatively small, self-contained, industrialised, heterogeneous and stratified society;
- An area where race pervades every aspect of the place;
- A perfect example of the Company town with an almost complete overlap of power regarding the economic and political aspects;
- An area where the issue of an industrialised economy is directly linked to a paternalist policy and an inflexible structure of authority is in place.

4. SUGAR

Canestone's *raison d'être* for the outside world at least, was sugar. In the 1960's by South African standards, the Natal sugar industry was of considerable importance. It produced over one million tons of sugar a year from some 10 million tons of sugar cane. One fourth to one fifth of the production was exported mainly to the United Kingdom and the then Rhodesia. The South African sugar output only accounted for some 2% of the world production. Up to 1960 the area under cane in Natal and Zululand amounted to about 600, 000 acres of which some 40% to 45% was harvested.

5. CULTURE

In considering the Cultural System, this town "needs no publicity for its cultural heterogeneity is obvious even to the most casual visitors. The elegant beauty of its neo-18th century architecture with its whitewashed buildings and green roofs and sides blends in with the natural surrounding" [Van den Berghe, 1964, 31]. However, the basic ethnic culture of the Whites, Indians and Blacks has remained. Although these three groups have worked side by side and with each other for over 40 years, they have not succeeded in achieving a multiculturalism where all of the inhabitants feel comfortable. During the 1950s, the company ensured that it kept its young black male labourers occupied all the time either in long hours of work or in recreational facilities that it provided. In fact, if any of the labourers did not

arrive for the weekly soccer matches arranged for them on Sundays, they were punished for it and the very idea of sporting activities was made so attractive that the workers felt obliged and compelled to attend. Furthermore, the black labourers were expected to indulge in the regular Ngoma dance festivals arranged for their benefit.

6. POWER

Writing about the power system is always, according to Van Den Berghe [1964], a difficult task and I agree. In Canestone, the text, he follows “Weber’s notion of power as the ability to enforce one’s will despite resistance” [1964, 65]. Van den Berghe [1964] isolated the political component of social life from the economic and the status components. As a company town, Canestone exemplified, in miniature, Marx’s capitalist society. In South Africa, as a whole, in the fifties, capital was held largely by the English. Political power was in the hands of the Afrikaners. However, power and wealth just happened to coincide in Canestone. The Canestone political system, in the fifties, is best “described as paternalistic, or in the words of the town’s “Leader of the Opposition”, a benevolent dictatorship” [ibid,66]. Herrwood, the “ruling monarch” [ibid] described himself as a “Fascist, paternalist or whatever you want to call me.” [Van den Berghe,1964,66].

During the fifties, the exercise of power in Canestone followed a deliberate plan, referred to as THE CANESTONE EXPERIMENT. As already explained, it was based on a definite theory of politics and human behaviour, which was thought of and perfected by Watson and company. Astonishingly enough, if the company were allowed to, it would still maintain the status quo that existed in the fifties. During this period, the laws of South Africa restricted the freedom of its citizens. The same rules, laws and regulations applied to the citizens of Canestone. This, as I have explained before may be viewed as theoretically an ‘ownership’ ideology. The sugar barons and management of Canestone, the mill and living area, believed that they owned those that slogged for them. As with the rest of the country they placed restrictions on the workers of Canestone. These citizens were not allowed to :

- live where they pleased;
- move about;
- marry; or
- have sexual relations with whom they chose.

Furthermore, to own property, to vote, to compete in the labour market, to go on strike, to express opposition to the government, to drink certain beverages, to enter certain public amenities, etc, was not entertained. However, this has now changed. All people are now free. The central government regimented almost every aspect of the lives of the voteless majority of its Black subjects because of the Apartheid policy. The powers of the National Provincial Administration were limited.

The architects of Canestone used the broader system of apartheid to justify their own actions. In ensuring that they maintained total control and possessed absolute power, they introduced and maintained ways of keeping that power. As far as the legal powers are concerned, the main legal powers of the local town council were to levy rates on real estate [which in this case belonged mainly to the Canestone group, thereby allowing them the power to decide how much levy was to be collected], to grant trading licenses, to suspend the town's revenues, to control sanitation, to impose certain standards on the erection of buildings, and to zone certain areas for specified purposes. In addition, the town council operated the municipal beer hall for Blacks, supervised street construction and maintenance, water supply, drainage and hygiene inspections, carried out raids against illicit brewing among Blacks, allocated housing in the Black location, and ran a municipal housing scheme for the Indians. The town council also constituted itself as a judicial body. By practising the above, the management ensured that the workforce understood that they were in charge of their lives on and off the canefields, as well as during and after working hours.

The management ensured that it maintained the kind of relationship that it wanted between themselves and the labour force. The management and owners did not stop here as far as informing their subjects about the power relations. They carried this out into the local power system. The sphere of local autonomy was "clearly limited by the powers of the central and the provincial governments, mostly by the former" [ibid, 68]. The local power system was clearly autocratic and racialistic and the local authorities used certain harsh methods to maintain their monopoly of power. Unlike in democratic systems where public opinion organized itself into groups competing for power, in the autocratic system of Canestone the alignment took the forms of the authorities against the people. However, Herrwood was an influential person in politics and his ties / links were so strong with the provincial administration that they went as far as to amend the local government ordinance to meet what Herrwood considered the requirements of Canestone. This situation would not be allowed

today because the local, provincial and central governments have special functions and duties to perform and their actions are regulated by law. The ties in the sixties between the local and central governments were tense. However, this was not because of a colour policy.

7. APARTHEID

Indeed, the Canestone Experiment presented the Nationalists with a blueprint of apartheid several years before they came into office and before the very word, apartheid was coined. The “foreign policy of the company and of the town council as formulated by the Herrwoods and implemented by Hancock and Whitehead ... [was] ... to minimize outside interference and blundering” [Van den Berghe, 1964,69] in the Canestone Experiment and to safeguard the interests of the company. A policy of cautious containment was followed to avoid disruption and cost to the company. However, this situation has changed with a new democracy in place. The present president of the Canestone Sugar Company cannot influence politics in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The constitution of the country does not allow any one individual to dominate over another. All language groups are equal and condemnation of one over the other is not allowed. In the 1960's, jobs were reserved for Whites.

The executives and directors of the Canestone Company were of English heritage. Although the executives and directors are still predominantly White, there are some Blacks (as at 1998) in these positions. In the 1960's, the Blacks were like children under a trusted father in Canestone. This situation is not entirely different in the 1990's as the company still dictates what should be allowed and what should be discouraged as far as those individuals who live on the company estates are concerned. In the “autocratic political structure of Canestone there is a clear divorce between leadership and power. [Ibid, 118] The Canestone power system is one of autocratic paternalism. According to Van den Berghe, the basic ingredients of the Canestone Experience are ‘father knows best, they are not yet ready for it, look at what we have done for them, it is bread they want, not votes, they have no idea of democracy, look how happy they are, not a worry in the world, honestly, they are like children’. These sentiments were the basis upon which paternalism was allowed to dictate the lives of people. A three-way segregation and discrimination on the grounds of colour further complicated ‘autocratic paternalism’. This three-way segregation is no longer the law but people still live mainly within their own racial groupings. Social interaction does take place locally because different races do live next to each other.

8. THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The economic system in Canestone is closely related to power and the discussion of the political system has already emphasised how closely the exercise of power in Canestone is tied to the economic structure. Indeed Canestone was a type-case of “the company town with its unitary and centralized control” [Van den Berghe,1964,123]. When the factory was not crushing cane the White man’s wages remained largely unaffected. Nevertheless, the non-Whites had greatly reduced earnings during the same period. This situation has now changed with the Labour Relations Act in place. The Sugar Company largely dominated the economic life of the town. Since Canestone was an economy based on monoculture, it was very sensitive to economic fluctuations. In the 1960’s, the Canestone Sugar Company was not only a large concern but was the only concern of any size in and around Canestone. However, the company’s policy is now changing. It is now following a ‘practice of privatization’ much to the annoyance and dislike of the majority work force. By following this procedure, it leaves the labour force unsure of their futures and this move by the company has brought about much mistrust and unease.

The Canestone Sugar Company in the 1960’s sought to “maintain its economic paramountcy as jealously as it maintains its political monopoly as the two go together” [Van den Berghe, 1964,126]. Through the municipality, the company could exercise various means of pressure on others [for example the Indian merchants] that in some way or the other were detrimental to the company. Presently, that type of a situation does not exist. Indians were economically better off than the Blacks. Now, at face value in the Canestone set-up, it still appears that way because the racial divide over the years has managed to maintain the status quo considering the discrepancy of wages. At the bottom of the economic hierarchy of the Canestone Sugar Company was the mass of Black cane-cutters who constitute two-thirds of the total labour force. Black and Indian factory workers were somewhat better off than the field workers were.

9. DISCRIMINATION

The discrimination between Indians and Blacks was overshadowed by the blatant White / Non-White discrimination. The White was always ‘baas’ in the work situation. No White wanted to do what was called ‘kaffir’ work. Conversely, no non-White, no matter how qualified, was given a ‘White’ job. However, now, in the 1990’s with a new democracy in

place, job reservation is unacceptable and because of the policy of affirmative action, Black people now stand the best chance of getting a job as the imbalances of the past are addressed, especially in the Canestone area.

10. THE STATUS SYSTEM

The status system of Canestone over the years has changed. However, it still has a heterogeneous population. The social stratification of Canestone was highly complex in the 1960's but the Blacks and Indians were becoming westernized. The South African society was integrated economically by common participation in a White-dominated economy and was held together politically by repressive forces. In the Canestone Estate and the other company owned estates, e.g. Branbrook, Lompensation, Bewe and Naweni, Black and Indian people do live next to each other and thus far no instances of violence and mistrust on the estates themselves have been reported. In fact, during the Hindu festival of Diwali, where fireworks are lit, there is such a tolerance for it that nobody complained to the management.

Initially in Canestone, the caste and class systems were in place when dealing with people. Amongst the Indians, caste played a major role in denigrating one group of people from another. Even though presently, one does openly talk about caste and its inferences, subtle, even tacit references are made by the older folk especially in issues of marriage. Class mainly referred to whites and blacks. White artisans hold a highly privileged position. However, in civil society they are not as highly classed as the entrepreneurs or financiers. Even amongst blacks, the black labourers are not as highly placed socially as perhaps the church leaders.

11. CONCLUSIONS

The major conclusions that emerged from Van den Berghe's [1964] study were that racialism (in the sense of a belief in innate physical superiority) was predominantly a creation of the dominant White group, and was largely rejected by the Blacks and Indians. Unavoidably, such a system made for a great deal of friction and antagonism in day-to-day relations. Anti-White feelings were strong among Blacks. However, there are indications of some tolerance nowadays. Indians served as a scapegoat for both Blacks and Whites. There was an almost complete rupture of communication between Whites and Blacks, because the former insisted on maintaining the traditional master-servant relationship. Even though Indians and Whites will not admit it, there is a perception among them that the Black person is best viewed as a servant and many do not accept them as being equal. Although there is communication

between Blacks and the other racial groups now, an element of mistrust still exists. Conclusions from Van den Berghe's work show that there was a power struggle in existence as the Canestone Sugar Company manipulated not only the inhabitants of Canestone, but also interfered in the politics of the day. The company had the greatest amount of power in the sugar industry and the entire area that it reached. Thus it is possible to state that the following changes took place over time and these changes have affected the lives of those involved in Caneville:

1. Trade unions made their appearances in the earlier decades and have made important strides in improving the lives of workers and affecting working relationships even though it has not completely eradicated the imbalances which still exist in management-labour workforce relationships.
2. Urban management has seen changes taking place with the initial white council being replaced with Indian councillors and presently, democratically elected people in position.
3. Changes in the labour force have developed. Conditions have been bargained for and changes have resulted.
4. Labour legislation is now in place, which oversees working conditions.
5. Democratic elections have taken place and individuals now have voting rights where freedom is enjoyed by all.

However, in as much as the above may have taken place, what follows in the rest of the argument in this dissertation is to what extent and how people's lives may or may not have changed since the birth of democracy in Canestone, South Africa.

Oral tradition encapsulates the history, culture and social development of a people. It is often shrouded in mystery and an aura of heroism, wisdom, art, instruction, mystique, allegory or some aetiological explanation of the world. “Winged words” originate in this atmosphere, and tend to be obscured by time, language and a people’s self-perception. Consequently, a good knowledge of the language, history, culture and beliefs of a people is indispensable in the study of their oral tradition.

[Nkabinde, 1988. 269]

SECTION THREE

CHAPTER FIVE

PART ONE

1. INTRODUCTION - THE SYNTHESIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

At Canestone certain harsh methods were used by the Canestone Sugar Company to maintain a monopoly of power. In some cases, their use is deliberate, in others unconscious. The methods employed are often considered to be a “normal and legitimate means of ameliorating the physical lot” [Van den Berghe, 1964,87] of those referred to as the “inferior and the incompetent” [ibid]. Van den Berghe [ibid] has labelled these mechanisms of political power thus:

1. the bread and circuses device
2. the family affair device
3. the co-optation device
4. the control of potential opposition device.

The bread and circuses device underlies the whole philosophy of paternalism or benevolent despotism wherever it is found. Certain phrases like “our workers are happy here”, “we must keep our workers happy”, “you have never seen a happier bunch of natives”, “the Pondos are a contented lot” are used quite often by white employees. Non-white employees never use these phrases. The aim to keep the workers happy in Caneville is pursued mainly in four different ways. Medical care and food rations were provided. Family housing was provided. Black participation in soccer matches and ngoma dancing feasts was encouraged. The family affair argument runs roughly as follows: “we are all one big happy family.” If workers have any grievances, they are totally welcome to speak to Ritehead or Herrwood. These gentlemen let the workers believe that they have their interests at heart. They encouraged workers not to get together to ferment opposition. They did not want to be challenged by collective protest action as it defeats the aim of any autocratic government.

Through the family affair technique, the company attempts to isolate the company from outside influences and to prevent the organization of collective opposition by dealing with single individuals. Paternalism makes, in fact, perpetual wards of citizens. Co-optation is another stand-by of autocracy. It consists of taking the opposition or potential opposition in on one's side, either by giving it some special rewards or by giving it the appearance of a share in power. The control of potential opposition is the mainstay of all autocratic regimes. Co-optation is one of the more subtle means of controlling opposition.

The company allowed non-white workers to organize, but denied the right of effective collective bargaining. The white artisans were allowed to organize and strike. Racial segregation in the labour unions, job reservation along racial lines, legislative restrictions on non-white workers, and the privileged position of the White elite proletariat have emasculated the South African labour movement, and protected the employers to a degree unmatched in any other advanced industrial country. From the above it is possible to agree with Van den Berghe [1964, 100] that Canestone is not only segmented. It is also politically atomized. Racial segregation and vastly inferior treatment of non-whites are taken for granted. The dual standard is deeply internalised. It is this way of life, this segregated community of whites and non-whites which was nurtured and given life that allowed paternalism to prosper and further keep the Africans and Indians apart and under control.

Canestone further perpetuated other social evils. The non-whites were further divided into two distinct groups of Africans and Indians who were also treated very differently with the Indians being favoured, being treated with slightly softer boxing gloves. As this paternalistic way of life became entrenched as policy, rule, law and regulation, two further distinct characteristic ways of living emerged and flourished. What resulted may be termed as the 'settlement' feature as opposed to the 'migrancy' way of life.

Canestone, to the Black and Indian, happened at the same time and place. Canestone was one area subdivided into little different ways of living life. Both Blacks and Indians experienced the same common harsh, exploitative working and living conditions. But this harshness, this experience, this episode of the same time and place was lived through differently by people bound by the one thick, rusty, heavy chain of a common time, common place, common working conditions, but not common living conditions. What this paternalism allowed to

develop was a settlement structure as opposed to a migrancy way of life. What follows in this chapter are examples of a family as well as of individuals who experienced either settlement life or a migratory life. Before these particular individuals are mentioned, it is imperative, that I give an account of the living area where respondents resided.

As I have already mentioned, I conducted interviews at the different estates. However, the estate nearest the central business district, which houses the personnel and other departments, was most accessible to me and it was at this estate that I spent most of my time. I shall now give an impression of the Longaat Estate.

2. THE LONGAAT ESTATE

From the main road turn-off we travel approximately 1km on a gravel road before any buildings are in sight. The question remains: Why is the road still untarred? Some of the reasons I have received are as follows the road is the Company's private property; the Company's vehicles especially use the road; the Company has a restricted budget; and the Company cannot afford to tar the road.

Along the gravel road are palm trees that are over one hundred years old and on either side of the palm trees are luscious cane fields that warmly greet you. On your left is a neatly kept sportsfield with a stadium. It was built up before 1960 and has been kept in very good condition. This sportsfield is used very rarely for the most important functions that take place in the area. There is another sportsground provided in the area for soccer practice and training for the employees. Some of the most important activities that take place here are:

- Ndlama Dance - the traditional Zulu dance which takes place annually, where all the Estates participate and the winners are awarded a trophy, a sheep and some prize money;
- A relay - any person who works for the Canestone Sugar Company can take part in this event. The event is started and ended at the grounds, the winners receive medals and all present are thereafter invited to a braai.

As you pass the ground on the right, you pass the Longaat Estate offices and the Longaat Estate workshop. The Longaat Estate offices have maintained its 'sixty-ish' appearance. There are two offices, the Estate Manager and the supervisors use one, and the clerks and also

the employees who work in the tuck shop use the other. The workshop houses the tractors and all the vehicle parts that are necessary for the employees to use. Behind the offices is a dispensary, which has been closed for a few years. The dispensary was used to treat any minor cuts, bruises or headaches, which the labourers might have had. Next to the dispensary is the Estate tuckshop, which is open for a few hours, morning and evening. Also in the same area is the office of the Agronomy Department. This department houses the abattoir. In this department, rations are made out for the meals for all the labourers in all the Estates.

There is also a kitchen in the same area where all the meals are prepared for the field labourers. The dining hall is attached to the kitchen; this is where the field labourers have their meals. The labourers have a choice of samp [a variety of dried beans boiled until edible] or phutu [mealie meal cooked in water]. The samp or phutu is accompanied by either two boiled eggs on Mondays; 450g of steak on Tuesdays; chicken on Wednesdays; fish on Thursdays; 450g of steak on Fridays and Saturdays and sourmilk on Sunday. Phutu is a traditional staple diet of the traditional Black man. Every day they are served a stew that is made up of potatoes, cabbage and onions with their meals. Every morning they are given one nutrient biscuit and a piece of bread, as well as a five-litre container of sour porridge to take to the fields. Each labourer's meals cost about R42 a week. The Directors and the Unions have decided upon the meals for the labourers.

The field labourers live in the compounds, four labourers to one room. Inside the room, there are two bunk beds, and the labourers' personal belongings are kept on the windowsill. A single television set is provided for all the labourers and is housed in their dining hall. There are two toilets and a bath room with about ten showers next to the compounds. There are two washing stones for the labourers to wash their clothes. No lines are provided to dry the clothes and they have to dry them on the grass. In the middle of the compound area is a large shed. Inside the shed there are numerous cut out tree trunks, where the labourers sit when they play cards, play their drums and sing. As far as the houses are concerned:

- There are seventy-two houses in the Longaat Estate;
- There are one, two and three bedroomed houses, throughout
- The permanent workers live in the two-bedroom and one-bedroom houses, which are allocated according to their grades.
- The staff live in the three-bedroom houses.

- The house allocation system has not changed since the establishment of the Estate.
- The exterior of the houses is painted green and white, the company colours, which has been maintained over the many years.
- The interior of the house also used to be green and white but now the residents are allowed to choose the colour that they want for the interior.
- There are no strict boundaries around the house but each resident knows his/her yard.
- Residents are allowed to have pets, but these must be kept in the occupant's yard and the owner must provide a shelter for them.
- The residents are allowed to build a garage on the Company property but they must get permission from the Estate manager.
- All costs for the garage have to be borne by the resident and when they move out of the house, no compensation will be granted for the garage.
- Permission from management is also required if a resident wants to fence her/his yard.
- Most residents are provided with a garden, about 600 metres away from the living area, if they want one. Here they can plant vegetation for their own use.

There are two more departments on the Estate. They are the Personnel Department and the Engineering Services Department. The Personnel Department is concerned with:

- employment;
- transfers;
- dismissals;
- disciplinary issues;
- retirement funds; and
- welfare.

The Engineering Services Department is concerned with:

- the hiring of machinery for field layout;
- the repairing of these machinery;
- road maintenance.

In order to establish the extent to which the sugar cane worker owned the land or the extent to which he owed his life to the land, I shall present a family history of one particular family as

it is now in its fifth generation of cane field workers with this company. This is a story of one family that lived in the settlement provided by the company. It is a story of an Indian family. These families were encouraged to stay on these estates and expected to let one generation after another continue working here, thus ensuring that the chain was not broken.

The settlement lifestyle was favoured because it ensured safety and security for the employers as they had total control over the Indian workforce. This control gave them power, which they used to manipulate those who went out of control. Besides, compared to Blacks who had their homelands and reserves and farms to go to, Indians had no-where else to go to. The company favoured a migrant way of life for the Black worker. Every year in December, the Black man was allowed to go back to his home in Transkei or where ever he came from, and return to work in January. The company provided transport for these labourers and thus, it ensured that the workers returned to work. By providing transport to these faraway places, it ensured firstly, that workers reached home safely; secondly, money was saved, money was not spent on transport; thirdly, money was not spent on alcohol, prostitution, gambling; and fourthly, workers were advised to sort out their children's school fees and other basic household necessities. Thus, we see that paternalism reared its ugly head in almost every sphere of life of the Canestone workers.

What follows now is an example of an Indian family, the Mandaram / Raidoo, family as well as an Indian respondent, Mr Naicker, telling their stories. One of the main themes that surfaced throughout these interviews is that of conflict. The longstanding workers always seemed to be at loggerheads with those in control. The conflict was never really resolved and the conflicting issues were always passed from one figure of authority to another. The following diagram, which highlights the conflict process, illustrates the various issues at play when individuals are placed in a conflicting situation.

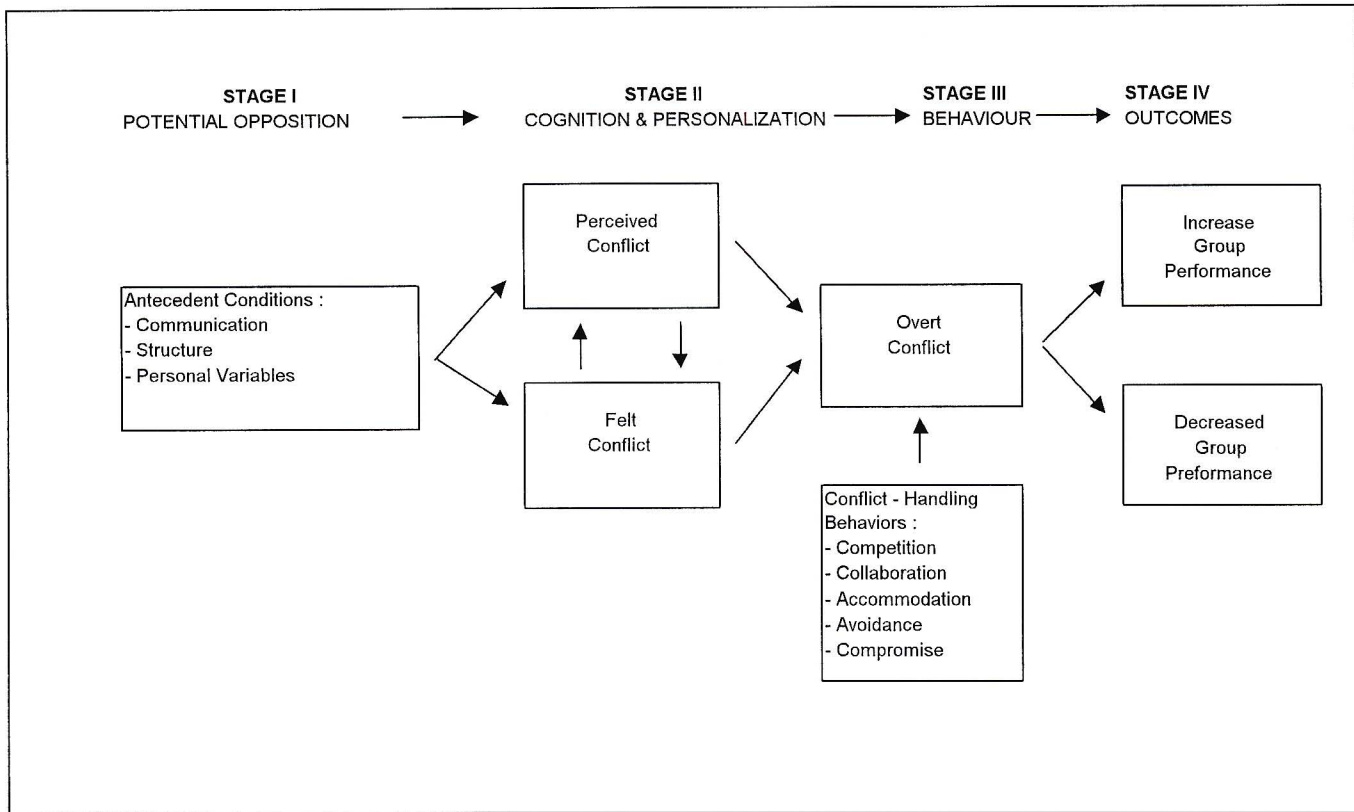


FIGURE 11 [Robbins, 1994, 171]- Conflict Process

PART TWO

THE INTERVIEWS : ‘ LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK ’

1. INTRODUCTION

The Mandaram / Raidoo family were able to provide an account of five generations of canefield workers. The earliest stories that the present generations [5th, 4th and 3rd] had committed to memory were of the great grandparents of the fourth generation. There were no written records to verify what was said, except that different family members recalled and repeated the same details of the story. What comes to mind here is what Jousse [1990,XXVII] says about not writing things down. “ I never write anything down. I have no notes...but I remember things with my whole body... I carry it all inside me.” Even though Jousse was literate, but as a result of the experiences he had as a child growing up with his illiterate mother and grandmother and all the other influences of orality and oral cultures, he was able to nurture a style of remembering which allowed him a great memory and retrieval system. It seems that in this company town set-up where a greater percentage of workers were illiterate, they also developed this way of consolidating information by remembering ‘things with their whole body’. When the following narrations are considered, it must be remembered that only the 4th and 5th generations were literate, but they were able to recount details that were not written down. This fact further emphasizes that oral traditions are still an integral part of modern societies’ existence. An account of the Mandaran / Raidoo families will be given because this family’s core existence is owed to and owned by the canefield. One observation that I made was that every member of the family worked either at home, in the garden or on the fields. They did not have much choice in the jobs that they did either. They just had to work to survive.

1. THE MANDARAM / RAIDOO FAMILY

2.1 Neerama Raidoo

I shall narrate the story of Neerama Raidoo first as she was the protagonist in this family’s story. She was a second-generation labourer and, as she is now deceased, her family members have given me this information about her. Both her parents worked for the Canestone Sugar Company, her mother having come from India and worked as a field labourer in Canestone. Her father worked as an Induna² or Sirdar³.

As I was able to gain information about her from her grandson and great granddaughter, it was quite clear that this family is now in its fifth generation of Canestone employees. Neerama started as a field labourer in the early 1930s. She was involved in cleaning, weeding, planting and cutting of cane. She was then promoted to the position of Sirdar (overseer). She worked for the company for over forty years. Her job included the supervision of African labourers in the field and it is believed that she did not experience any problems with the workers under her care. I was informed that her bosses did not 'trouble' her as long as jobs assigned to her were done properly and on time. While she was still working for the company, her eldest grandson joined in 1971. Neerama's wage was a paltry sum and she could not survive on her salary alone. In order to earn extra money, she had to plant vegetables in the gardens at home. Rations were only given to her when she became a permanent worker. A Company house was granted to her by her bosses, which she considered free of charge. However, when she retired from the company in 1976 she moved into an old wood and iron house where she remained until her death a few years later.

I shall narrate the stories of her husband, her daughter, son-in-law, her grandson, his wife and her great granddaughter. Through the generations, they have settled in Canestone and the surviving generation is still not in a position to purchase their own home. The great granddaughter of one of the first Indian female sirdars from the 1940s still feels she needs to work for the company to be able to qualify for a company house as her father may soon retire. He has been unable to make provision for accommodation after his Canestone days (his entire life, including almost 25 working years). He most probably will have to move out.

2.2 Ramsamy Raidoo

He was married to Neerama Raidoo. He started as a Tramline Sirdar and was then promoted to work in the Pump house by his bosses. This was a very 'dangerous job', according to my informants. They could not give any reasons as to why he was given such a dangerous task. He received a very low salary, which included rations. He helped his parents send their other children to school and make ends meet. He also planted vegetables in the garden to earn extra money. He did not experience any problems with his bosses or other workers. He became ill at the age of about fifty and was taken to the Stanger hospital, which is now called Kwa Dukuza. The company paid all his medical expenses. When he passed away, his money from the Provident Fund was given to the family. Fortunately, his wife was still working for the

Company so the family did not have to move out. Not much else is known about him or his parents who arrived from India.

2.3 Marianama Raidoo / Mandaram

Being Employed

She was the daughter of Neerama and Ramsamy Raidoo. She married Gadivella Mandaram. She started her employment in the company in 1962 and always worked on a casual basis, never as a permanent employee. Her duties included issuing rations and cleaning up the offices. Her wage was R1,50 per week in 1962 and R8,20 per week in 1977 when she retired. Although she was a casual worker, she received a ration. This was a privilege that she enjoyed. Her explanation was that because her husband 'worked well', after his death his boss took on the responsibility of ensuring that she had food and shelter for her children. However, this was against the Company rule concerning rations and accommodation. She felt that the bosses treated her well. Her only complaint was the 'low salary as the job was so hard and they earned so little'. Although the Whites 'had pushed the Blacks around, the company was good to her'.

Her entire family, including two brothers and two sisters worked for the Company. Brother 1 - worked casually as a truck driver for a few years. He was unhappy with the salary and left the Company. Brother 2 - worked as a supervisor. He was caught under the influence of alcohol while on stand by duty and was summarily dismissed. This was unusual as the Company usually gave its employees many chances. Sister 1 - worked as a field labourer. She worked for a few years and was content with her job. Sister 2 - worked as a domestic worker for about twelve years and she did not experience any problems with her job according to her sister.

2.4 Gadivella Mandaram

He was married to Marainama. His father worked for the Company as a field labourer and he started as a field labourer and then became a clerk in Maweni. His last place of employment was in the Branbrook estate. Maweni and Branbrook belonged to the Canestone Sugar Company. According to his family, 'he never complained about the bosses. Although the salary he received was very low, the rations he collected compensated towards decreasing their expenditure'.

He had seven brothers and five sisters. Four brothers and two sisters worked for the Company. Brother 1 - worked as a field labourer. Brother 2 - worked as a sirdar. Brother 3 - worked as a tractor driver. Brother 4 - worked as a weigh bridge clerk. Sisters 1 and 2 - worked as canefield labourers. His sisters had worked very hard. They used to clothe themselves with sacks and were paid very little. He passed away at the age of 38, and his wife thereafter started work in the Company to support the family. 'The bosses had allowed the family to stay in the house but the policy was that they would have had to move out.'

2.5 Rama Gadivella

When he was thirteen his father, Gadivella, passed away. He came from a very big family and the welfare grants provided were not sufficient. Therefore, he was forced to leave school at the age of sixteen. He started work at Avid Riteheads, a sister company. While working at Avid Riteheads, he was approached by the Branbrook Estate boss who wanted him to start work in the Canestone Sugar Company. If he did not agree to this, the family would no longer be able to live in the Company house. He accepted the job and began working in 1971 as a relief clerk. His mother and grandmother still worked for the company. Since it was common practice at the time for whole families to work for the company, the youngsters who joined did not feel awkward or embarrassed to work with mothers, aunts or grandparents. The accepted view was that the company ensured a plate of food, shelter and money for other necessities. Besides, mothers, siblings or uncles could also be used to bring you back in line, should you overstep the mark. The common ideology of the older people concerning the younger generation was that 'if we did it and nothing has happened to us, why can't you do the same'. This philosophy was used to the distinct advantage of the Company as it ensured a relatively low employee turnover.

Rama started at a salary of R30 a month. This was justified because the Company provided food and shelter. There were no transport problems as he lived on the estate. Rama received a ration. In 1979, the rations were curtailed and it was replaced by a very paltry sum, insufficient to cover the ration cost. The family lived in poor conditions in a Company house. There was no electricity and they had to purchase gas. Ablution facilities consisted of the 'outside bucket system' and water from one outside tank and taps. In 1982, he wanted to apply for a promotion that existed in Bewe Estates but the 'Branbrook Estate boss did not want to let him leave because of his potential'. However, he took the position in Bewe Estates as an office clerk. He experienced no problems with 'his bosses at the Bewe Estates since he

experienced very good working conditions'. In 1985, he applied for a promotion at Longaat Estates. Rama's perception was that the manager of Longaat Estates did not want him for the job. The manager of Bewe estate approached the Longaats' estate manager to ask why Rama could not be promoted, given his qualifications and his work ethic. After this intervention, Rama was granted the promotion and thereafter had 'no problem with his new boss'. However, he did experience some difficulty concerning working conditions. He had to train clerks at this Estate but he was not remunerated for this. When he requested for an extra amount of money, the company added R80 to his salary. The clerks that he had trained over the years began work in the different Estates. While he worked here many of the employees were upgraded to B3, but he was still on the B2 grade. When he questioned this, the company said it was because he had a trainee clerk with him and who was a helping hand to him. He disagreed with this. The trainee clerk was removed. Rama was upgraded to B3. The Company then hired another person to train clerks, who was above his grade. In 1997, he was promoted to a record supervisor. He was then promoted to a B4 grade 'staff member' which meant he could not belong to a workers' union. He did not receive overtime pay, and there where no proper channels in place to allow staff members to air their grievances (across to the managers). He could not join the Company's other labour unions because the non-Whites felt intimidated and threatened by the Whites. The Whites, they felt, would begin to make their working environment unpleasant. They had to accept any salary increase given to them. The salary paid to members are 'too little but we cannot complain.' Rama was offered a watch or R1 400 for his 25 years service. He chose the money. He felt that this was hardly enough to compensate for the hard labour and dedication that he had put into the Company.

2.6 Kalyani Gadivella

She married Rama, her cousin, in 1975, and lived with the extended family in the Company house. She did not work for the company but worked at her parents' home and later remained a housewife, as taking care of her six children occupied her completely. The house was too small and had only two bedrooms, so Rama and Kalyani had to move out. Her brother-in-law, Rama's brother was in the Company's employ, so he had to apply for the same company house. Rama and Kalyani moved into another Company house and here they experienced many difficulties and hardships. During the marriage, Rama and Kalyani experienced many problems. They lived in underprivileged, almost destitute conditions, without electricity, sharing public toilets, and struggling to survive on Rama's meagre wage. The rations provided did not constitute part of their normal diet. Initially, Kalyani could not go to work

because the area was too far away from the town and industrial areas, no transport was provided and public transport was unreliable. Now that her children are older, Kalyani runs a tuck shop at home to improve the standard of living.

Rama and Kalyani had six children but lost one. Their children range in age from 23 to 10. The eldest child, a daughter, is working in a cash-and-carry wholesale warehouse in Longaat and earns less than R1 000 a month. Although she works from 07.30 – 17.30, Monday to Saturday, she cannot complain because there are no other job vacancies in the area right now. She plans to marry soon and is thus saving her money. Her second sister, Vinaiyagi, was helpful and enthusiastic in my research and helped to set up interviews. The other children attend the local high and primary schools in the area. At the time of the interview, the 15-year-old son was in grade nine; the 13-year-old daughter in grade seven, and the youngest son of 10 was in grade four. They were pleasant children and were a god-fearing family who tried to attend religious services and prayer meetings on Monday afternoons and at other times. Sometimes, it was not possible to attend these functions, as they did not have a car.

2.7 Vinaiyagi Gadivella

Vinaiyagi is the second daughter of Rama and Kalyani. She was born in 1978 and lived in the Branbrook Estates for about 3 years. She lived in Bewe Estates with her parents until she was 8 years old. She completed her grade 1 and 2 at Bairbreeze Primary School. Her family moved to Longaat Estates in August 1985. Since it was the middle of the school year and they did not want to transfer her immediately, her father requested for transport from the company bosses. He was refused. She then had to live with her grandmother in Lompensation, another Canestone Sugar Company-owned estate. She travelled to school by hiking. The following year she transferred to Longaat Primary School, then to Victoria Primary, and completed matric in Longaat Secondary.

Requests for the transportation of school-children were made on numerous occasions, but the Company refused to transport any of the children in the area. Parents felt it was a reasonable request as the company had a number of vans as well as a bus, which could have been used. Almost all of the employees had no private transport. Parents had to organize their own transport. This they did by sharing costs with friends who had vehicles. When there was no available transport from the estates, the children had to take the bus at 15:30 even though they finished school at 14:15. Sometimes they walked home, a distance of about 5km

away. Vinaiyagi completed matric in 1995 and applied to the Company for a bursary. This was refused on the grounds that only children with A aggregates qualified for a bursary. Another reason provided was that most of the bursaries were being given to Black children. She then found a part-time job at a wholesaler. While she was there, she applied to the Company for a job. She applied on two occasions for the Trainee and Relief Clerk position and once for an Estate Clerk position. She was called for all three interviews but was unsuccessful in her application. The reasons given were; she was too young, they did not want to employ females in those positions; she wouldn't be able to cope with the Black labourers. Vinaiyagi responded to this by saying that throughout her life she had been in contact with Black labourers and they had posed no threat to her. She felt comfortable with them and is despondent that even though her grandparents and family members gave their lives to the company, she was being victimised in this manner. The company has promised her a job but nothing has come of it as yet. Ideally, she would rather work elsewhere but is aiming for a job in the company to get a Company house because her father earns too little to be able to buy one. She also feels she is quite capable of doing the jobs she applied for because her family has been involved in the same work for generations. Her father has held these jobs and he knows she has the potential to do them.

3. MR. NAICKER

3.1. Family History

He was born on 9th March 1942, and turned 57 in March 1999. He had four brothers but lost two. One passed away while he was working at the club (I did not get much information about the club as Mr Naicker seemed very nervous and unhappy about giving more information than he considered to be important). He also had two sisters. His father worked in the Melville Sugar Mill but he was born in the Longaat area. His mother was not employed. He had no problems with his father and he said 'My father worked in the Sugar Mill and he earned 5 pounds which is 9 rands, it was small money but big money for us ...those days better could buy many things with money...nowadays if you take R100 you can't get anything'. Naicker did not have any problems with his mother and she died about 10 years ago. When asked about his parent's education he said that 'I can't remember if my parents were educated'.

3.2. Blockbarracks: nervous explosion

We discussed the issue of his life at Blockbarracks which he now calls the 'Bantu's thing'. When he said this, I got the impression that he was prejudiced in some way or another. However, I chose not to ask him about his personal feelings of other races lest I irritate him any more. The reason he referred to it as such is that Blacks now inhabit the area. He said 'Blockbarracks got its name because the houses were built with blocks...The young children growing up in it named it Blockbarracks...There was no electricity, water, telephone, no tarred roads only gravel roads...At the back we had a railway line coming to the factory. Mill railway now abolished... No children ran across the railway line...we never had any injuries. It was safe'. Observing Naicker's recitation of his past I am reminded of Jousse's [1990] saying about man that the living being is a machine, [but a living machine,] a machine that stores up and expends energy... these periods of nervous explosion followed by rest can succeed each other at very short intervals...or at very long intervals...in accordance with the scale of our microscopic or macroscopic gesture. As corporeal movements, [as gestures], must be counted not just those of our arms and legs; for example, our physiognomy, our facial expression, [is] governed by a much more subtle rhythm. Thus as he spoke and while he recalled intimate details from more than forty years ago, his facial expressions, as well as the rate and pace at which he spoke, reflected a 'rhythm' that underlined all transactions whether spoken or enacted. According to Naicker 'Transport, those days, was buses but you could own a car if you could afford it... we lived in Blockbarracks for about 55 years'.

3.3. The Early Years: being compliant

He mentioned that they lived in a 'one bedroom house, but what can we do?...We had to share that bedroom...Later we had one separate small room...My father retired so I had to come and live in Blockbarracks' This state of living was apparently the general way of life for that period of time. It was accepted and people complied and allowed change to occur at its own pace. Nobody rushed the process or even initiated change. As the Company dictated, the employees and their families followed, once again reiterating that power relations were strained, strongly in favour of the Company.

3.4. Childhood : selective memory

All his schoolteachers are now deceased and he had no problems with them. He enjoyed school. When asked about his schooling life he said he was 'not punished at school, no problems at school'. This view was uncommon among the respondents. He narrated the

following when asked about who had power in the community: ‘Father had power at home,...I have forgotten who was in charge of the community at that time.... that was quite a long time ago...No problems...Parents didn’t punish me, family very calm - no fighting...we grew up in a good manner, and was taught not to fight.’ At times, I felt Mr. Naicker wanted to rush the interview and chose to tell me that he had forgotten certain things, could not remember details or just did not know. However, I felt that he knew more than he was willing to say but chose to have a selective memory when he wanted one.

When I questioned him about his parents’ marriage, he said, ‘Mother and father used to get on very well...if you got children you know how to control your children’, explains this as “every time that we try to conceive something intellectually, we spontaneously dispose ourselves [we re-live past gesticulations either as wholes or in combinations] in such a way as somehow to perceive the object through an example or symbol. For the same reason, we habitually use examples and comparisons when we want to make someone else understand something. Just as we can discover a moral principle in any human action which is brought to our attention, so our intelligence discovers, under the veil of the phenomena perceived by our senses [mimed by our muscles], the essence of things, and this essence is the law that governs all entities belonging to the same species”. Jousse [1990, 44]

3.5. This Company

About his career history, he had the following to say: ‘ I first started working at Spar (shop attached to the company). Mr. Lee gave me the job... my first job was in 1956 ... not far from the house...we used the Spar van to get to work...those days I had to work because I had nobody who was going to support me. After working in the shop I became a petrol attendant – serving petrol.

3.6. Family

Mr. Naicker’s family worked for the Company as well ‘...my brother worked here but is late now. He worked for a couple of years...my father also worked here but is now retired’. Mr. Naicker married when he was 22 years old.

3.7. The job

Naicker's job entailed 'taking samples from here [the mill] to the laboratory... Once the samples go through i.e. after pressing the button on the machine we then take the juice to the laboratory. I was given a promotion [2nd job] to the Longaat Mill to work in the pumps...No problem in the early years of my job...Language used by Indunas was English - Some Bantu's can speak English'. Mr. Naicker was quite adamant that he knew his job well and he has 'nobody to tell me what to do besides my foreman, if I have a problem I tell my foreman...'

3.8. Own house

He proudly mentioned that 'I'm staying in my own house now, before I got my house we used to stay in the Company house - The Company gave us free housing, water and electricity...I don't know why the Company gave us free housing...'

3.9. Working conditions

He stated that they were 'given Company transport...My father used to get food rations like oil, mealie rice, sugar, mielie meal...Not given food coupons...I worked shift work but now I am working day shift...Shift work didn't affect my family life - I worked shift work for about 12-13 years. Shift work hours are 2-10, 10-6, 4-12...I had no problem with shift work, I had company transport to pick me up'.

3.10. At Home

When asked about his home language he said 'At home we used to speak Tamil, now we speak English, but when we are visited by old people we sometimes speak Tamil. I cannot tell you when it started to change. People think English is better, but one day you will meet your granny who can't speak English then what will you do?...we must know something about Tamil.'

3.11. Unions

Mr. Naicker gave me the following story about unions and strikes. He remembered that the 'the first union was NICO' but he could not remember what NICO stands for. He also could not 'remember who were the union leaders. FAWU was the next union that came here but I wouldn't know when it came here...We had to join the strike because we had no choice...We were frightened by the striking people, we had to follow them. Everybody had to get out...'

Naicker further stated 'I had no problems with the management when we came back from the strike...I had no injuries...'

3.12. Employment conditions

Upon being questioned about present employment conditions he said 'I'm in Grade A3, still in Grade A3 and happy about it...A3 Grade get R2500 a month...' It seems as if Mr. Naicker, like many others, has unquestioningly accepted whatever the Company has given him. After three decades with the Company, he has settled for the wage given to him. He has not challenged the situation. The unions have also not done anything to improve matters. Thus, the company has managed to keep an astonishingly low turnover while paying a paltry sum to its loyal workers who would not even admit that they could earn a better salary at this Company or elsewhere.

3.13. His family

He has 2 children; a son aged 22, and a daughter, aged 20. However, neither is working. Despite the fact that he has to maintain them, he would not opt to ask for a better salary or even ask that the company employ one or both of his children. He feels that the Company will not employ them as it is mainly employing Blacks.

3.14. Affirmative action

Mr. Naicker has accepted that the Company will now predominantly employ Blacks, and there is nothing that can be done about the situation. This apathetic attitude is indeed thought provoking, as many respondents are almost stubborn in their loyalty to the Company mainly because in the sixties and seventies it provided them with free housing, rations and company transport to work. However, this died a silent death long ago because the employees now have to purchase houses if they want them, they no longer get rations and transport is a distant memory.

3.15. The Work Scenario

In 1980, he withdrew his money from the provident fund. He said he was forced to take it. When asked about his 25-year service award he mentioned that he got a watch, a Seiko. The Company 'gave us food during lunch - mutton curry, drinks, sev and nuts, etc,... More than a hundred were present when we got our awards...I was happy about receiving the award'. When asked about problems with the Company, he said, 'I have no problem with the

managers, I'm talking about myself, I don't know about the next person.' Regarding Company benefits he was of the opinion that 'Small family get small house - big family get big house (provided temporarily by the Company). As far as Naicker was concerned the 'Sirdar / Induna did not have permission to hire and fire people. He was very kind, not cheeky'.

3.16. Absolute Loyalty

Even though many were of the opinion that the Company could have done more for them, Naicker thought 'it is nonsense that the Company drank our blood and left us with bones. I don't know who told you that ...I never came across anything like that, I can't tell you the wrong thing.' When questioned about transport for the late shift he said, 'Ja but I (referring to the Company) can't come right to your house and pick you up...the big truck can't go house to house...Everybody is feeling cold. If you don't want to come to work, stay at home and sleep, nobody is gonna bother you...If you can't afford transport who are you blaming?' When I enquired about the distance that he had to travel to get Company transport, he said that he had to walk 'just one kilometre from home to get to the work transport... Transport pick me up by Gandhi's and then I am at work'. By this time he was visibly irritated with me and added that he had 'nothing else to say.' When I mentioned that some people were afraid of dogs in the area because of the lack of fences, he said, 'Dog is for each man's house...If man is afraid of dogs, and thinks about death then he too will sit at home and sleep.'

4. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions were drawn after my very interesting discussions and candid conversations with the different members of the Mandaram / Raidoo families as well as Mr Naicker.

4.1. The Canefields

Pondering on this family's history it becomes clear why their core existence is 'owed to and owned by the land'. This situation is not just peculiar to them, but hundreds of other families in this geographical area. The first generation worked on the canefields and was able to survive because of their allegiance to the canefield and its owners. They forced their sons and daughters to take over when they could no longer manage after having spent 50 or more years on the canefields. Their children were caught up in a web of on-going semi-slave working

conditions from which there seemed no escape. The promise of a free house, shelter, rations, company transport, etc, provided by the Company if they stayed on, kept them here. However, this only applied if the next generation became workers for the Company as well, with the result that up to four or five successive generations from one family have worked the soil, watered the seeds and cut the cane. The land, possibly even the Company has certainly owned them while they owe their existence to the land, even the Company, or so it seems.

4.2. Oral Cultures

In recording this particular family's history there were certain elements that characterise oral societies or oral cultures that became evident as these interviews progressed. Thus it is possible to agree with Henderson writing in Sienaert et al (1990) that oral cultures are inherently more conservative, more traditional. In such an oral culture, memory plays a crucial role. What is clearly visible is that these members were conservative and traditional in all their outlooks. They were passive, accepting beings who did not question issues. Living within this culture their memory of family history is excellent and they were able to recall many details.

4.3. Orality

Watching the members of this family recall their family history brought home to me how alive oral culture is, surrounded by literate societies. I learned that:

- different generations of the same family recalled the same information;
- different family members recalled the same details;
- family members added to the story with integrity;
- there was no animosity when additions were made;
- stock phrases were shared and were used across generations and literacy boundaries;
- there was general agreement on statements, which were acknowledged by gestures.

4.4. Gestures

In addition to the usual gestures one would expect to accompany storytelling such as nodding or shaking of the head, use of hands, smiling or frowning, etc, the following unusual gestures were also noted: fingers to reiterate or reinforce their points of view as well as raising their eyebrows, widening their eyes, sighing, pushing their hair backwards onto their heads, rubbing their heads, breaking their knuckles, twisting their fingers and hands, resting their hands on their stomachs, keeping their hands in their pockets, rubbing one finger against

another, clicking their fingers [when a thought came to mind], biting their lips, sticking their tongues out, and scratching their faces etc.

4.5. Oral Societies

Even though these gestures were used as an aide to explain, reiterate, objectify, substantiate and express views, they also aided memory. Henderson quotes Ong (Sienaert et al, 1990) when he states that oral societies must invest great energy in saying over and over what has been learned. In Canestone, there was no mass media to influence and change traditions and customs overnight because of:

- the lack of and low literacy levels,
- the stringent controls that management imposed on its workforce,
- the inability to purchase newspapers, radios, televisions, etc.

This has resulted in traditions, which have remained or appear to have remained fairly consistent over a long period of time.

4.6. Stock Phrases

Stock phrases, or particular sets of words were used continually, in a repetitive manner, and these have become embedded in the memories of these people. They all referred to 'the bosses', 'low wage', 'less money', 'rations', 'free houses', 'company transport', etc, across a span of different generations. Even the youngest member of the family has internalised it, even though she is literate and realises that the person to whom they are referring is the manager. She also refers to him as 'the boss'. Thus, it is possible to agree with Henderson when he states the vitality and influence of the tradition in an oral culture must not be underestimated. It is far stronger than we who are accustomed to a system of written records may expect. (Sienaert et al, 1990)

5. THE SPOKEN/ VOICED/ UNWRITTEN/ MOUTHED/ UTTERED STYLE /
EXISTENCE: A MIGRANT WAY OF LIFE

Canestone, as a way of life treated blacks, whites and Indians differently. This was a given. It was widely accepted by whites. It was realised by Indians and it was tacitly accepted and realised by blacks. Indians and blacks knew that there were two groups of people. The white and non-white groups. However, the non-white group was further divided into different ways of living and experiencing life. One of the ways that this difference is encountered is by the company encouraging Indian families like the Mandaram/ Raidoo families to settle down on the estates. They were encouraged to request that their sons and daughters continue working on the lands so that the company experienced a low turnover, which meant higher profits, which generally suited the company as it was advantageous to have long serving workers. At the same time as encouraging the Indian workers to live on the estates and company owned property, it did not do much to encourage black families to have the same lifestyle. It suited the management to have a majority black male worker population who was without their wives and children.

Upon speaking to many of the older black workers, it was found that their wives were in the reserves or homelands looking after older folk and children. In some cases, wives only lived with their husbands in Canestone, especially if the children were older or if they were second or third 'wives'. They were called wives although they were not legally married. However, even though they lived with these men for many years I did not come across any cases where both husbands and wives worked for the company. Even though it may be possible that there are a number of cases where fathers and then sons worked in this company, I must confess that in the sample chosen, non of this particular type of father-son worker combination came up. Possibly, this was a reason why it was not possible to do a comparative study of a family history such as the Mandaram/ Raidoo family. It may be said then that black men were possibly encouraged to keep their families away and that blacks were encouraged to keep to a migrant way of life and that this contact with their roots on a yearly basis was encouraged. A life where oral life styles and the oral way of life was perpetuated and is still alive today, where so many blacks still cannot read and write, and where illiteracy is still a way of life is still encouraged. Using Jousse's work as a basic, yet meticulously complete text in its handling of issues on this aspect of orality, oral culture and the oral way of life for illiterate people, interactions and dialogue with a chosen group of black respondents will be analysed.

The interviews I have chosen to discuss are specific in that I feel the respondents:

- are individuals with long years of service,
- are not totally literate in English.

5.1. Gestures [Oral Style]

Farb [1974] writing in 'Word Play' mentions visual resources, speech, poetry, the poet, animal sounds, and drums. According to him, the storyteller "commands visual resources that enhance the impact of this story".

5.1.1. Performance

Facial expression, gestures, eye movements, body movements, appearance and even the dress and ornamentation which a teller wears accentuate aspects of the story that cannot appear on the printed page. Industrial strike leaders portrayed and still portray them in this precise way. Not all of them at Canestone might wear the same garb as described by Farb [1974], but the gestures, eye movements and facial expressions are the same. The performance that I witnessed during the strike period when matters had calmed down included the participation of the audience [the listening workers]. This participation was essential. The orator constantly observed the audience who are expected to contribute to the message / performance by chanting and also by emitting spontaneous exclamations, repeating the orator's words, and asking questions. I was informed that the theme at this particular gathering was about the company always robbing the Black man of his dignity, refusing to negotiate with transparency and why black people as a group must stand together. The singing of choruses by both speaker and audience at significant places in the narration took up more time than the actual message. If the same speech/address were given again by the same orator, even to the same audience, it would possibly represent a completely different performance.

5.1.2. Motivation

The speaker's motivation for giving his message, his exact visual and verbal techniques, the composition of the audience and its moods are important things which could change in another setting. Obviously, the reciting of praise poetry or protest messages goes far beyond the mere grammar of the sentences used. It is the focal point for the total sociology and

psychology of a people in a certain time and place, their accumulated beliefs, assumptions, and customs.

5.1.3. Discord at Canestone

At Canestone over the years, the labourers were not able to speak their minds on the different issues that affected them. Therefore, they have not been able to achieve certain goals that they set out for themselves. Some of these goals were to purchase their own homes, be promoted within the Company, educate their children and save their money. Even now, the administrative staff members do not belong to a union and their grouses go unheeded. In order to address this issue a liaison committee was set up to address these issues that are of concern. Some members of this committee do not want to let the management down. They pose an obstacle to progress that the committee could otherwise make.

5.1.4. During Apartheid

In South Africa during the harsh days of apartheid, when you could not voice your opinion and where you were shut down if you did, many rebels, especially in a factory situation like Canestone, engaged in poetry writing and recitals. Since some of the older men were illiterate, their experience of praise poetry, aided by the fact they had memorised songs, poems, stories, etc, benefited them and they were able to lead the singing and chanting.

5.1.5. Poetry

People generally felt that the written poetry of literate societies and the oral poetry of nonliterate ones differ considerably from the everyday language spoken in the community. Listeners not only permit or tolerate the extraordinary rearrangement of word order, compression of thought, rhythm, assonance, rhyme, alliteration, and so on - they actually expect to find these things in poetry and they are discontented when poetry does not sound poetic. However, those who regard poetry as a miscellaneous or different classification of communication or language are “deaf to the true achievements of the poet” [Farb,1974]. Rather, the poet skillfully manipulates the same raw materials of his language as are used in everyday speech. His art is to find new possibilities in the resources already in the language. In much the same way “that people living at the seashore become so accustomed to the sound of waves that they no longer can hear it, most of us have become deaf to the flood tide of words, millions of them everyday, that besiege our eardrums” [Farb,1974]. One function of poetry is to portray or represent the world with a novel or fresh perception - to make it

different or strange - so that we will listen to language once again. However, the successful poet never “departs so far into the strange world of language that none of his listeners can follow him” [ibid]. The poet plays or experiments with his language and manipulates or changes it in much the same way that “children manipulate nonsense verses. But as a self-conscious craftsmen the poet possesses an intuitive knowledge of the abstract patterns of his language and a feeling for the extent to which he can use them creatively” [ibid]. Whether he is discovering modernistic and expressive uses of sound, reviving an old word, borrowing words from other languages, or forcing old words into new or interesting grammatical structures, he is continually exploiting the available resources in his spoken language. The pace, pitch, speed, pronunciation and tone are essential to speech. Tone is important in many languages of Africa.

5.1.6. Drums

Numerous tribes around the world were able to make drums serve as surrogates for the human voice. On this issue of drums, I had an experience that reiterates the significance that drums have. One Sunday morning as I drove up to Canestone to interview some employees I heard the sound of a beating drum. I followed the sound and it led me to a young Black girl beating the drum outside the church. I then realised that this particular function of the drum was to inform people that the church service was about to begin and they needed to congregate. A single drum message travels no more than 6 to 7 miles and usually much less than that. Thus, in Canestone, we can see the elements of orality still alive in an area where literacy dominates. In a literate society, church bells have exactly the same function as do drums in an oral society. Therefore, it can be said that symbols are used to great advantage in both literate and oral cultures.

This analysis commences with the story of Mr. Mtshali, a grey-haired Black gentleman.

6. MR. MTSHALI

6.1 Living Organisms As Transformers Of Energy: Family History Expressed Through Gestures

Mtshali is one of the many gentlemen I spoke to. His father was from Malawi. He has one brother while two are deceased. He is the 5th born and came from Maphumulo. His father was a contractor engaged in the building of houses and had to work in the quarry. While working here he sustained an injury and lost one eye. Thereafter, his father earned 'less money' and 'got pension' as a result of his injuries. While listening to Mtshali speak about these and other issues relating to his early childhood what comes to my mind is Jousse [1990] when he says that an individual is nothing but an ensemble of movements [of gestures] combined in different ways. As Mtshali recalled personal details he moved his hands, pointed his fingers, swung his legs, shifted uncomfortably, turned his head, frowned, etc, to give expression to what he was saying. He spoke with his whole body. In this way, he further emphasised what Jousse [1990,xiv] has said about " that man did not first express himself with his mouth, but with his entire body, and with his hands". His words came alive with expressive movements he engaged in throughout the course of the interview. As he continued with his story he stressed or repeated certain words or phrases. His story proceeds as follows. His brother started work after his father's injury. His mother 'worked at home'. His 'father took alcohol and got drunk but did not fight'. His mother was 'involved in gardening' and she 'planted madumbees' to sell. Since she was 'not educated', she could not work elsewhere except in farming. As Mtshali spoke about his past, he continued to express himself through gestures. Thereafter Mtshali's family moved to Frasers. He described the move to Frasers, mentally visualising a map and physically pointing (on the table) to where they had lived, where they moved to, and where the Company was. When describing the new house, with 2 bedrooms, a dining room, and kitchen, he drew this on the table with his finger showing the block-like building they lived in, pointing to the room his mother and father shared. He explained that the children slept on the floors of the other rooms.

6.2. The Early Years : Mnemotechnical devices; Schooling and mnemotechnics

According to Jousse [1990, 183] man is, indeed, by nature mnemotechnical, because he is intelligent. He creates stable, manageable frameworks whereby to preserve, in living form, and to transmit to his descendants, his past experiences. Mtshali went to Ambanati School where he completed standard 6. He remembered that he liked school. He believed that

because of his education he 'got a better job'. He remembered all his teachers, especially a Mr. Khumalo, who stood out in his memory. Mtshali also recalled that teachers were abusive and the students were afraid of the authorities in school. Here he gestured with his hands – showing a pointed index finger – as a teacher does when she or he is in full cry at students. This point is clearly illustrated by Jousse [1990, 183] where he states that “surrounded by a world in which innumerable actions trigger other actions, man has very quickly developed the mimic gestures which he is compelled to sketch – in his entire acting, sentient, knowing being, above all with his hands – when confronted by any object that interests him or by any action of that object on another object, which is in turn mimed as an action.” As already mentioned, this respondent, made a number of gestures thereby emphasising that man thus has “at his disposal, built into his organism, indeterminate number of ...propositional gestures.” [Jousse, 1990, 183]

6.3. The Infrastructure : an ethnic milieu

The language used by Mtshali throughout the interview was indicative of a limited number of verbal utterances. He used a limited choice of words to express as many thoughts, ideas or concepts as possible. Further, he chose not to elaborate on issues but rather lets me ponder on them, possibly because he is not completely versatile in English. According to Mtshali, they 'had roads, no transport , no lights, night time'. His repetition of 'no' and the short phrases used also reflect what Jousse [1990] says about alliteration as a mnemotechnical device, where there is, as we know, an inherent tendency in our organism to repeat automatically and rhythmically.

6.4. His Father: The Power Figure

His father had power at home and frequently 'hit me till I slept'. Like in many other families at the time, Mtshali's situation was no different as most fathers were abusive, strong, demanding, ruthless and physically punished their children.

6.5. Getting Started : Being Black

His first job was in the building section in the Irrigation Department in the Canestone group. Mtshali remembered how difficult it was for a Black man to get employment in the Canestone Sugar Company, and said 'very hard to get job in this group if you got nobody working-no contact'. He further compared the plight of the Black man with the Indian when he stated 'like he's (referring to fellow worker who is Indian) saying his father was working

here - that gave your child work here for a month - each group must work here. After working in irrigation his next job in 1963 was in a pool gang of cane cutters. He remembered that there were 'too much problems' and 'people died'. At times when the labourers 'went inside the carrier, it killed them'. There was an 'Indian controller' in charge. The Indian controllers or sirdars were according to Mtshali, 'some good, some bad.' His supervisor was 'good, others bad'. Some 'were cheeky - pushing sugar'. He stated that they could not 'go toilet when on the job'. These methods of control and the action of exacting as much as possible out of the workers illustrates the power the company had over its workforce. These workers were helpless and were at the mercy of the Company. Listening to this respondent brings to mind Jousse's opinion that "the automatic procedure of parallelism is so powerful a psycho-physiological mechanism - we would even venture to say, so violent a mechanism - that is has everywhere brought into being, in all oral style milieux..., spontaneous binary or ternary types of rhythmic schemas....there is as we know, an inherent tendency in our organism to repeat automatically and rhythmically the gestures it has just performed - and this the more intensely the more forcibly these gestures have been tensed and then released, with a correspondingly more violent effect on the muscles of the body as a whole." [1990,187]

6.6. The Company : A dilemma

Mtshali believed that even though the Company stated that it was providing its employees with 'free housing', it was 'not free' and 'in the group people now can't get good houses, firewood, lights'. Until the 1990s, the Company used to provide its workers with wood but have now changed this policy. Mtshali went on to say that they received 'free transport to where you work'. They also received 'rations in some departments'. When questioned about shift work, all he said was, 'I like it'. During the conversation Mtshali changed his mind about the Company by first saying they provided things which helped them as workers, then changed his mind by saying that Blacks were not favoured. He then stated he liked shift work and found nothing wrong with it. It seemed as if he was in a dilemma about his opinion of the company, yet again, demonstrating the paternalistic attitude of the Company's reducing its adults to child-like behaviour where they were unsure of themselves.

6.7. The Unions : Played games with us

The next issue we discussed was the Unions and he brought in the issue of 'liaisons committees'. Mtshali said 'we selected Kistasamy, Nxumalo, Selby Msibande... and the

company forced us to join'. Mtshali stated that "I'm grinding 17 machines alone - before 45 people were working, now automatic machines are working, I tried with unions to improve my grade, Unions can't do anything here, they have failed, they never pass what they got, nothing' [referring to increases as the Company profits.]...Instead of October gave in December [referring to when increases were given]. Unions played games with us – if we walk around the mill now, there are less than 200 people, before 850 people were there.' Mtshali is clearly disappointed with the unions and the role they have played in the Company. His view is representative of many older workers as their positions have not changed despite their loyalty to the Company. Many of the older workers seem to have lost faith in the unions as they believed the unions did not work in their favour.

6.8. Sick Leave : Another Headache

While discussing the issue of injury and sick leave, Mtshali narrated his story as follows: 'I had a fracture. The Company never give me nothing for this - they gave me a letter from Jo'burg ... letter says Company can't give me nothing about this. However, if I want to take it further - I must take the letter to Greenwood' [who was a manager at the time]. 'I went to him. He asked me if I spoke about this - I said no - he said I must come and do light jobs. I said I can't manage. They said that they paid me sick leave - I had a fight – and went to the controller.' Eventually Mtshali received some remuneration but continued to work for the company. Mtshali and others were disgruntled about sick leave conditions, compensation and the general manner in which they were treated when they were not well.

6.9. His Family

He is married and has four children and when I enquired about their ages, he said '30 something, 30 something, 20 something, 20 something'. Time did not permit to gather more information about his children but he did say his wife was a housewife.

6.10. The Provident Fund : a sad loss

On the issue of the Provident Fund , he said, 'we took money out'. Some of the workers 'got a hiding' while some 'got killed'. Those who withdraw their money from the Provident Fund were questioned about it. He was clearly upset that he took out his money as he was nearing retirement and now will not receive as much as he would have.

6.11. The Service Award : nice function

When I enquired about the twenty-five-year service award, he remembered he got his award in 1981 and said it was a 'long time' since he 'received a watch that was a Citizen make'. He also received a cheque. He was quite happy about the presentation and stated 'we were the first or second group to get a watch and cheque at a party'. Concerning the procedure for the day of presentation, all the recipients had to be present at 9:00. They had to 'go dress up and go there - speech then starts giving out watches - nice function - food was good. Each year coming better- they ask you if you want watch or money - breyani - everything - management - Bruce More was the manager'. His face creased into a smile as he remembered the function.

6.12. Conclusion

At the conclusion of the interview Mtshali stated 'Company was looking for us - free housing (referring to the company housing). When the manager, Greenfield [no longer in the Company's employ], went to Durban there were 'less workers, more production, pushing sugar out.' Thus Mtshali, who has worked for the Company for a lengthy period, feels a sense of obligation and loyalty, but also a sense of betrayal and negativity because of his personal lack of progression in the company. My next interviewee was Mr. Naicker.

Thereafter, my next interviewee was Mr. Shandu.

7. MR. SHANDU

7.1. Family History

Mr. Shandu was born in 1924 and had 3 brothers and 4 sisters. His elder siblings are all deceased; only he and one sister are surviving. He narrated the following story about his parents: 'Father worked here [referring to the company] cooking food for the people in the compound...I can never know how my father felt about the Company because I was still young...Mother was unemployed, she used to sell food to the people who were building houses [in the Longaat area]...Father was a cheeky person, when you did not do what he asked you to do, you were punished...Mother was also cheeky. She was educated but I don't know up to what standard. She could write a letter...Father was uneducated...I grew up with my parents'. Shandu's speech was reflective of the cross-cultural usage of certain words. He used the word 'cheeky', which actually means saucy or impertinent, to mean aggressive or abusive.

7.2. The Early Years

Upon my further enquiry he said ‘There was no politics then, it only came now.’ He said, ‘We lived here on the location and moved to the compound.’ As far as his schooling was concerned, he narrated the following story : ‘I started first year at Longaat Primary and moved to Kwazulu where I completed standard.5...The teachers were punishing us because they wanted us to be open in our minds (*BaBefuna uvuleke ingqondo yakho*)...I can recall only one lady teacher who treated us badly...I liked schooling...Teachers gave us rules, told us what to do and what not to do.’ Even though Shandu had the opportunity of completing the equivalent of grade 7, there were no opportunities for Blacks to further themselves career-wise.

7.3. Power

On being asked about who had power in the community, he said, ‘There were chiefs in the place where I lived. We used to respect the chief. I used to bow down to the chief as a sign of respect’. His father had power at home. His father and mother shared a good relationship and always respected each other. No one at his home consumed alcohol. His father punished him when he was at fault. His father always warned him twice and for the third time, he was punished by receiving a hiding. He appreciates the fact that his parents sent him to school, and he said ‘My parents did a great job by sending me to school because I can read and write.’ However, unfortunately that did not help him in terms of his career as he is still an ordinary factory worker.

7.4. Employment History

When asked about his employment history he said ‘I started working in the Canestone Company in 1964...I don’t even have a 25 year service award and I have not received a watch’. Apparently, he has a broken service record. For a short period, he tried to work elsewhere. Only his father worked here in this Company and then himself. He started working in the boiler (*obhayela*) and continued there for 7 years. Then he moved to brick building at the Millstone. Thereafter, he worked as a canecarrier and ‘feeder’. This process involved ‘simply filling in pots’ and this is where he ‘worked for a long time up to now.’

7.5. Problems in the Company

He had the following to say when I asked him about any problems at the Company: ‘The only problem I had was when the whites lied to us, saying that they were increasing our wages. They just increased our wages by 5 cents (*uzuka*). I scrutinised that to such an extent, that a case was laid against me...The Induna was a very good man and he was a very understanding person ...we communicated in isZulu with the Induna. He was an open man.’

7.6. Shift Allowance

On the issue of shift work, which he was doing, he stated ‘Shift work is better because you earn a lot of money. Shift allowance is 10%’. He worked shifts for a long time. He said, ‘We cannot concentrate too much on shift work and the impact it has on family life because we should work hard to earn a living.’ Here again it is apparent that even if the respondents try to be assertive in their thinking, they are not completely successful because the power the Company has over them does not allow them to be free, thinking, critical beings. They are led to believe that they are getting the best and no where else will they be in a position to get what they were getting at the Canestone Sugar Company.

7.7. At Work

He said that in December (every year), he deposited money in the bank so that by the time schools re-opened, his children had money to go to school. He had some problems with a person he worked with but that gentleman is now deceased. Shandu used to walk to work and the language he used at work was iSifanakalo.

7.8. Strikes and Unions

According to him, the first strikes were in 1972. A fellow worker named Selby was the leader. The opinion of the workers at the time was that ‘He could represent our aspirations very well. He negotiated for a 16% wage increase and succeeded... We were not told that we are entitled to sick leave, but Selby revealed all that was hidden.’ They felt that the Company was not transparent and therefore many people joined the union when it was introduced. However, ‘things changed and got worse when the union (not led by Selby) was introduced.... People ended up not knowing which union to join. They registered and de-registered with different unions’. It is as if ‘Sidlala umacasshelana i.e. Playing doctors/ hide and seek’. Shandu was of the opinion that ‘Selby was a very reliable/ powerful man who can represent workers’ grievances and make sure that he succeeds. Even Company owners call

him when there is a deadlock. He reports back to the workers and charts the way forward... For instance there was once an incident where Selby had to be called to settle the dispute between management and workers on the issue of backpay. He resolved the issue and the workers got their backpay...’

7.9. Injuries

Shandu ‘was never injured. However, many were injured...There is a tendency of people claiming/arguing that you were injured because you were drunk. Just like myself, I also argued that the person who died (fell from top of the boiler to bottom) was drunk, even though I was not sure if that was the case.’

7.10. Working Conditions

When asked about the present working conditions at the Longaat Group he said, ‘I am A3 grade and the money that I am earning is too little... The Company once retrenched people who were working in the pots department and we had to do a double job. We didn’t like what the Company did...took Provident Fund. We were told that we cannot get our money because it is in Pretoria but Selby sorted the matter and we got our money...The Company is not at all transparent. In this Company they are playing dirty/monkey tricks, in some machines the kind of job I am doing is not A3 but B1. In the payment envelope you find that it is written OPERATOR , operator is B1 but we are called A3 when we can do the job done by B1. No logic... you cannot decide how much you want to earn. If you transferred from one job to another you have to wait for a period of three months to earn the amount allocated for that particular job...’

7.11. Service award

He did not receive a service award as he had a broken service record. However, he mentioned that other recipients ‘were not told to come with our families during presentation...’

7.12. People’s needs : this company

He told me that this ‘Company doesn’t take people’s needs to heart, it only cares what’s coming in (production) hence it sucks your blood and leaves you with bones... *Imbungulu*, *Imbungulu* [bedbug]...for instance, one worker from Mozambique (working for Longaat Mullet) got jailed (prison) for many years. This person had a lot of money [*Itshshe lemali*]. But this Company didn’t give that person’s money to his family...This Company is very

dirty, if I knew I wouldn't have come to work for this filthy Company... You'll find a person with standard10 certificate is working in the place that doesn't fit him... This Company is very exploitative, I don't wish my child to come and work here. There is a lot of racism and apartheid going on here. This Company doesn't put our brothers in top positions. The people in the top positions are the ones who are not of our colour and they abuse us. As a Zulu man I don't talk much ... only tell you that *Ngizokushaya* [I will hit you] I don't talk much.' Shandu was clearly enraged by the way, in which the Company treated him. What I found apparent in his speech is that he tended to repeat some words. This repetition of phrases and certain words could be described as a formulaic way of expression that he used which reiterated the feeling behind the words. In this context, he was certainly negative in his feelings and thinking.

7.13. Conclusion

In conclusion he said, 'My last words, especially to those who are still at school, they must think deeply before they decide to come and work for this Company. Some guys left this Company just yesterday, saying that [*bofowethu salani nale Nkampani yenu engcolile*] 'We waving goodbye to this filthy Company of yours, but I will never open your [referring to me] eyes because they will see it's me who opened your eyes so that you can realise the filthiness of this Company... The money we are earning is illegal. The African/Black person is oppressed....'

I next interviewed Mr. Vundla.

8. MR. VUNDLA

8.1. His Position in the Company

Vundla described his position and what it entailed at the Company. He is in charge of distributing work to all the workers. He has to ensure that the machines are working properly, his responsibilities include packing sugar, and making sure the sugar is not leaking out of the bags as well as checking that the weight is correct. He is also responsible for 'checking sugar is coming from the factory to the parking station / department. He is also require to take decisions on workers who come to work, having consumed alcohol or being under the influence of alcohol, he may ask them to go back home because it is dangerous to work under such circumstances and the workers can be injured'.

8.2. The Company : Blatant Lies

Of the Company, he said : ‘since I came to Canestone, I was never given free housing. We are renting the houses we are living in...The Company bosses tell us blatant lies saying that we getting free electricity. They didn’t want to be transparent. They didn’t explain to us how money is distributed, like so much go to renting the house, electricity, water, etc,...There is nothing we got for free...Transport was nothing for free for instance when working a 4:00 to 12:00 shift and if my colleague doesn’t come to relieve me I have to call a person who came in at 8:00am to work at 16:00. I then have to fill and sign an authorisation form to Transportation Department so that they can pay that particular person for coming to work. For normal hours like 04.00 -12.00, they fail to account for these hours because it is round circle...That’s when we realised we were paying for transport...But on the outline it appears that so much was deducted for transport...For 5 years we received food from the company in Mt Edgecombe but later it was discarded...We were given food like samp, phutu,. curry, fried fishes, chicken pieces...We were not using coupons, you were just given food by recognition that you are a worker at Canestone.’

8.3. Shift Work

Vundla had the following to say about shift work, ‘I do not like shift work because working shift does not give you enough time to be with your family. Most of the time the family is not together, children are at school, wives are at work. By the time you come back from work everybody is asleep, you don’t even know who is sick, e.g. has the flu, because you are not with the family most of the time...We are working shift because there is nothing we can do, we need money. Shift work is not good.’ Mr. Vundla was one of the respondents who was able to speak his mind and was clearly critical of the company. This could be attributed to the fact that he was a first generation worker.

8.4. The Unions

Vundla narrated the following story about unions and strikes: ‘As I’m working here, it is compulsory to join a union...When I started working, the union was already there...The major strike which combined all the Canestone group companies took place last year...The leader from outside the Company was Nsibande...Nsibande is very good in conflict resolution, he could argue his case clearly. For instance, the strike we had last year [1997], he was able to reach a consensus with the management...We worked jointly in the strike we had last year such that even Indians were part of the strike. We visited places like Cato refinery,

Beacon Sweets in unity...It was difficult, the managers were not happy seeing us out of the company gates but there was nothing we could do, we had to strike.'

8.5. Present Conditions

Upon being asked about his present working conditions, he said. 'While working in another estate I was in grade A2, a very inferior grade, checking sugar's overweight and underweight. Counting sacks...I was then transferred to assistant fitter working under the same grade then to A3 which is better than A2 then got a job as independent feeder then became B1 to B3. I am now B4.'

8.6. The Home

He said that his home language and work language is isiZulu. He had the following to say about children : 'I have 2 kids, a boy and a girl... I don't want to have many children. Nowadays it is very difficult to support many children... Each and everyone has their own choice. In the older days people had livestock and didn't depend on shops, i.e. buying food, got something from the ground unlike today...Africans looked at the background were they came from...According to me having four children is not a good idea because the salary I am earning cannot sustain / support them. It is very hard...I didn't have a good education so I will try my best to give my children a good education.'

8.7. The Family

When asked about his family, he said: 'my family never visited me here. They are in Swaziland for good. When I got married, I then applied for a house and the Company gave me one. But I'm renting the house.'

8.8. The Provident Fund

Upon being asked about the Provident Fund he said, 'I took Provident Fund in 1980, but it was not called the Provident Fund in those days, instead it was called a Pension Fund... We were fooled by other people saying that the Whites are going to rob us of our money if we don't take it. But those who were clever enough took the money during the strike period and deposited it in the bank after the strike...Then later a scheme called the Provident Fund was introduced, it was only then that we reapplied and deposited our money back into the scheme...They could kill you if they (the workers) realised that you didn't withdraw the money. You were called by names such as spy or sell-out for the Whites.'

8.9. The Service Award

When asked about the service award, Vundla replied with the following statements, 'Yes, I received a 25 years' service award. Normally the Company gave you a watch but I chose to take the money, amounting to R1800. ... If given a choice between a house and a watch I would opt for a house because a house would represent history, which will never end. Even the generation to come would point out something tangible...A watch can get lost anytime, can be stolen, just like the R1 800 I received, it is now finished... Canestone has never given us a chance of inviting our family to presentations. We were only 9 who received presents...yes, its true, I share the same sentiments with the statement that the Company sucks our blood and leaves us with bones because of the job we are doing, we are being exploited. We are not satisfied with the money we are earning.'

8.10. Being Paid Less

In addition, he said: 'we are being paid less for the job we are doing. The job I'm doing was previously done by Whites and they were paid a living wage. No Black people were in supervision positions, I am one of the Black people who are doing the job of supervising. I make decisions. Since there has been a change, a few Blacks are now doing the job that was previously done by Whites. The problem is that we are not paid the right amount as Whites and such positions have been given a lower grade whilst the job description is the same.' Vundla, I noticed was inconsistent when he referred to the Blacks and Whites. Sometimes he used Blacks and at other times, he used African, as well as using Whites and Europeans.

8.11. The Company

He had the following to say when asked about how the Company treated them, 'Yes, they used to treat us bad, pulling the woman this way and pushing them that way and used force on workers...The Company didn't care about our safety even if it is raining, thundering, you have to stand there, something the White man cannot stand / do...It would have been better if the Company made a shelter for us where we could hide ourselves when it was raining... The Indian people were treated the same as us. A little better but not that much. Most of them suffered just like us. They had an area called barracks. Each one of (Indians) had their own house but we (Blacks) lived in a hostel called compound. Only men lived in the compound. In some of the estates, we never had women working.'

8.12. Conclusion

He narrated the following story: ‘my last words would be that Longaat Mulett should compare the lives of an African and a Whiteman/European and see if they are different. We are all people except for the fact that we differ in colour. If people are given a job to do, colour should not be the deciding factor in terms of remuneration. Black/White should be paid equally for the same job they are doing. For example, if you go to the shop to buy bread, you are not charged a different amount because you are Black/ White, so the same should happen when it comes to wages. We also want to live and be treated like Whites...the Company should look at this matter seriously, as we are also involved in production. Sure the Company exploits us...Even now I won't say it is much better. The White people are still sitting on our shoulders. For an example, the job I am doing now used to be a white person's job. The earning was good. I'm now doing the same job but the earning is less which means they are sucking our blood and leaving us with bones.’ Further, he had the following to say, ‘Names used by the Whites were, “come here, boy.” They used to use it and it was compulsory. But about few years back this was discarded. They now use the person's name... Not to call you boy / kaffir...You are something when you are busy doing that job, otherwise you are nothing. We were undermined by the Whites, “Yes, you still a boy when you doing that job”...If you have a case with a White man, they will chase you (Black), you'll end up with no job...No unions in the Company during my father's time...The Whites used to treat us like children and we used to feel bad. We could not do anything, we had nowhere to run...they hired all muscular White men and you could see that there is nothing you could do. If I take a chance he is going to hit me “Hey, I have no choice” ... “Those days they used to kick and swear at people but not now. Much better now. The Company sucked our blood. We worked hard but when it comes to payment, very bad...I think I mentioned everything.”

9. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have indicated how the owners of Canestone used paternalistic managerialism to control their workers. These methods were mainly harsh. Men and their families were exploited. They were treated like children, fed specific rations, given a particular home and told what tasks to perform. I have used a select group of workers to show the different ways in which Indian and Black workers and families were treated. I have looked at the settlement way of life as opposed to the migratory way of life. I have also

shown how orality impacts on individuals caught up in this now modernized town. The next chapter looks at respondents' views to various issues including family life, working life, opinions, and feelings at the end of their days at Canestone.

Leadership has become an oral culture for me. The songs became more production oriented, the grass-roots mobilisers became more articulate, the slogans became more captivating and the thundering of African drums became louder. So the strategic vision became more dynamic and clear.

[Mbigi, 1993. 82]

CHAPTER SIX

PART ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I shall elaborate upon the present situation while looking at what has changed and what has not changed in Canestone. I shall also consider what was supposed to have changed and in fact did not. Basically, it is about how workers who were interviewed perceive change. At this point in the dissertation, it may be stated that even though change seems to have taken place, in reality it may not be so. In chapter four, a broad overview of Canestone up to the sixties was given. In chapter five, samples of certain respondent's views [who have for 25 years or more, lived, worked or are still working in the company] were provided. Thus, in this chapter I shall be looking at what has changed over the time period under study. Broadly speaking, the following example comes to mind, which indicates how times have changed. There are other examples, which follow through in this chapter.

2. WORKERS PERCEPTIONS

Initially the company did not have a Personnel Department or any other proper administrative policy in place. In 1955, all the employees were invited to the wedding of Mr Saunders, the present Chairman, where he made a speech stating "my doors are open". One of my informants remembered this. As a result of the speech, there was an influx of people into his office with all sorts of problems and complaints. However, this started to become a regular practice and according to my informant, "he could not close the door". There was a throng of people with gripes and dilemmas who went to Mr Saunders, but it was not in his line of duty to deal with their problems. This precipitated a change. In 1975 this practice was stopped. A Personnel department was set up to handle these and other administrative issues because workers at that stage could speak directly to the factory manager. They could speak about their dissatisfaction, complaints or problems. Today they follow set procedure and protocol and have to go through the correct channels of official communication before you can get to the factory manager.

The Whites were always in management position and they did not take instructions from Blacks or Indians. However, the situation is somewhat different now, as people of colour are in management positions. The fact that people of colour are in management positions is

indicative of change. Nevertheless, some employees are critical of these appointments as it questions their merit and validity in terms of favouritism, nepotism and tokenism in return for towing the line and being submissive. Aspects of paternalism thus still lurk in the background.

As a point of departure in this chapter, it is necessary to outline the framework within which I have paraphrased interviewees' responses to issues that were raised. Firstly, I have looked at the home front, secondly the work situation and thirdly a transforming paternalism as far as both home and work are concerned. From the sixties through to the seventies and into the eighties the life of the non-white South African in this country of their birth became increasingly difficult and unbearable. With this wave of oppression, an underground movement, whose aim was to change things in this country grew alongside it.

Finally, in 1994, the first democratic election was held and a black president, Dr Nelson R. Mandela was inaugurated. In Canestone, workers voted. They participated in these elections and like the rest of their counterparts in the clothing, shoe, food manufacturing, car, agricultural and other industries that make up South Africa, they hoped for an improved country with better education, higher wages, housing and health care. From my discussion with respondents, this democracy on our doorsteps did not provide what it was supposed to. They realised soon enough things had not changed as they would have liked it to. Yes, there were changes. Labour rights, low cost housing, water in certain rural areas, outcomes based education. However, change was not quick enough and not big enough for these Canestone people in particular. Their opinion, more their grievance, their unhappiness is the fact that the Canestone keepers still maintain power and the question that needs to be asked is 'has and how did this paternalistic managerialism change?' if it indeed did.

After my interviews with different groups of people working at Canestone or being related in some way or another to the company, I have a general picture in my mind about the different social relationships as that existed and as they exist correctly. For the first part of this chapter, as I have already mentioned I will provide a picture of the family as interviewees described them. The reason I have opted to start with the family is because the family unit was the strongest social institution in Canestone and it was used by the company for its personal benefit. I shall thereafter discuss the work scenario, as this is where the broad areas of change were supposed to have taken place.

2.1. The Family: At Home

Since black workers had their tribal lands to return to at the end of the year, no strong, fierce attempt was made to ensure that all black workers had their spouses and children around them everyday. It was quite convenient to send them off annually to visit. However, since the Indians, had arrived as indentured labour and this country became their home; the company deemed it necessary to have them live as family units. In the discussion that follows I look at family units and how they are still controlled, thus allowing a paternalistic managerialism to still exist in Canestone homes and Canestone lives.

2.1.1. The Family Unit

The reason the employees give for working in this company is that it was necessary for them to get employment in the company and they had no choice in the matter. Once their father or mother reached retirement age or due to unforeseen circumstances, they had to leave work, the eldest son took on the responsibility of getting employment in the Company so that the family would have a Company-built house. In many instances the employees related how they were approached by the company to work for them. All except one interviewee, in the Indian and Black groups, had four or more siblings.

The White interviewees, on the other hand, were one of a maximum of four siblings. The only explanation given by the White employees was that their parents had access to family planning advice and they believed that they should give their children the best that they could. There was no pressure for them to have many children and therefore they chose to have smaller families. The Blacks and Indians did not have access to family planning facilities and it was more the norm than the exception to have larger families. Many of them could clearly remember their parents and siblings.

They joined the Company in no particular 'birth order', although it seemed as if the majority were 1st, 2nd or 3rd born. Some of them were even 5th, 6th or last born. Many expressed the view that their parents were abusive and did not hesitate to physically punish them. One of the Indian men I interviewed said he was the only child born and that as his mother died in childbirth and his father never re-married, he was brought up by his grandparents.

This particular respondent's tale goes as follows His father was a Hindi-speaking man who came from North India and married a South African lady. According to oral traditions, Hindi-speaking people announce and rejoice in the birth of a child by having a celebration on the sixth day after birth, which is called a "Chutti" prayer. However, his father's parents in India did not practice this tradition. When his mother gave birth to her first child, he "Chutti" prayer was done and the child died soon thereafter. The same happened with the second child. Therefore, when he was born, even though his mother died in the process, his father chose not to do the prayer and he miraculously survived. He came to believe as he was growing up that not doing this prayer saved his life, therefore when his children were born he refused to do the prayer. They have all survived. He obviously believes that if he complied he would have lost all his children. Further, he added that this prayer was also not done for his grandchildren.

Most of the interviewees remembered their parents although none of their parents are living. More than 60% of their parents worked for the Company.

The company had employed almost all of the Indian interviewees' parents. Most of the Black parents did not work for the company and none of the White respondent's parents had worked for the company.

Most of the Black respondents' parents physically punished their children by hitting them if they were naughty or if they did not carry out their chores, e.g. gathering firewood, grazing the cattle or fetching water timeously. The White respondents' parents were more reluctant to hit their children except in really 'deserving' instances. Indian parents were generally not as forcible as Black parents but disciplined their children if the need arose. At home the father had more power and took most of the decisions in almost all the households.

All the fathers of those interviewed worked while most of the mothers stayed at home and tendered to the household. Probably the reason for this is that the men worked long hours and because there was no proper legislation in favour of labourers, the company could request longer hours if necessary and this stressful situation demanded that woman be at home to cook and clean and tend to children so that the husband returned to a comfortable home after a hard days' work.

In Canestone, there were and still are oral cultures and these are transmitted by “standardized ways of acting” [Kintgen, et al, 1988]. These customary ways of behaving are only partly communicated by verbal means. Ways of cooking food, growing crops, and handling children were transmitted by direct imitation. The White interviewees remembered their parents quite clearly. Their parents were not abusive, it seems to me that the reason for this was that they did not have the stress and tension that Black and Indian parents were exposed to.

The Whites had lights and water. Most White families had cars and the public transport was excellent. The roads and the general infrastructure were bearable. Most White parents had homes in suburban areas and in these residential areas schools, churches and other amenities were provided. At school, children were not unduly punished and at home and in general, politics and religion were not discussed. Parents in general did not use corporal punishment and allowed their children to occupy themselves with sports and other recreational activities.

In my discussion with the Indian Canefield workers, many of them stated that they started working at an early age, doing chores such as weeding and cleaning. This was done from ages 6 to 10 and then they went to formal school. However, many of them could not stay on at school for many years. The standardized ways of behaving actually helped them learn skills, which they used in their adult working life as they joined the Company after leaving school.

The people of Canestone maintained the standardized ways of conducting themselves. It was not unusual not to wear shoes to school, to work or at home. The phrase “a hard life” was repeatedly used to describe having to go into the gardens to plant vegetables as children. It was a common practice that many families had garden or vegetable patches where the children worked. They were part of a “children’s gang” who used to weed or do ‘light’ work on the fields. These activities were accepted without question and were transmitted by direct imitation. In the Indian part of Canestone, this scenario was common.

Black children, however, frequently participated in the building of thatch-roofed mud houses. These characteristics were passed down unacknowledged. Both Blacks and Indians transmitted their inherited system to their young. Fathers naturally had more power and authority at home and within the extended family structure, but these men learnt by verbal

means that at work their patriarchal attitude and autonomous home behaviour would not be entertained.

Thus, it is quite clear that even though we are in a democratic society, the company is still able to display a paternalistic attitude towards its workers by maintaining control over them in possibly 'subtle' ways. We see this in the policy of parent-to-child-home-provider policy as long as the child continues to work for the company. Thus, a continued family-working tradition mainly among the Blacks and hardly amongst the Indians is still fostered, thus providing young individuals with no choice but to work in the company if they want to provide housing for their parents.

2.1.2. Housing

According to Abraham Maslow within "every human being there exists a hierarchy of five needs"[Robbins, 1994, 42]. Maslow's idea was that "there are many human needs, and motivation comes from an individual's desire to satisfy these needs." [Oldcorn, 1989,161] The first need is Physiological, which includes hunger, thirst, shelter, sex, and other bodily needs.

I shall, however, concentrate on the physiological need as the Company hoped that by providing shelter, one of the major human needs, they could create a 'stable' workforce. The majority of workers lived less than 10 km's away from the Canestone industrial mill and agrarian estates. Living nearby in company built homes -:

- travelling to work and back could not be an issue for the workers, although this was a problem for school-going children as some of the schools were not nearby.
- attendance at work during the day could not be a problem because of the available public transport. Workers on night shift did experience problems.
- the Company built a fly over walking bridge from the company premises to Bambanati where most of the Black workers lived and this reduced problems about getting to work timeously.

The agricultural workers lived in company-built compounds and company-owned homes on the estates as this was the policy. During the period 1920 to 1940, one attempt was made to improve labourers' accommodation. The Company began a building programme because of problems such as:

- grass huts burning down; and
- the unhygienic living conditions.

The employees lived in Company-built houses - free of charge. Lights and water accounts were fully paid by the Company. People believed they would eventually own the houses, but many had to pay in excess of R30 000 after their retrenchment or retirement even though they had lived in these house for 25 to 30 years and the houses themselves were over 35 years old. This was substantiated by legal documents, like bank statements, which some of the informants showed me of their own volition.

The interviewees informed me that they were given three months to move out if they resigned, retired or were fired. However, the estate workers who are forced to live on the estates have difficulty in securing private homes for themselves at the present time because of the cost implications. Both labourers and the estate managers who formed part of the middle management expressed this view. Many employees served the company for a period in excess of 30 years and stayed with the company because of free housing, lights and water. Their wages were low. The workers believed that for whichever company they worked, they would get the same wage. The question burdening them was how they could afford to pay for basic necessities as well as food, shelter and clothing. However, an Indian gentleman I spoke to said that he personally spoke to Mr. Saunders (the chief executive officer) in 1994 about the sale of the houses to the retired employees as they had nowhere to go. Since he had worked for the Company from 1942 until 1986, he had a fairly close relationship with Mr. Saunders. This respondent was his cricket coach and had been his golf caddy during the 1940's when Mr. Saunders was a young boy. This gentleman stated that he had telephoned Mr. Saunders and within a week, Mr. Saunders agreed to the sale of the houses to the retired folk.

However, these negotiations according to some other sources were already in the pipeline.

2.1.3. Company-Built Homes

The majority of the interviewees lived in Company-built homes, estate homes, and town council housing schemes or in the neighbouring location. Those who lived in Company-built homes were only able to purchase their homes after the 1994 general elections. Prior to that

these people lived free of charge, but could only live in these houses if they or an immediate family member (like a father, son or mother) living with them worked for the Company. If the householder no longer worked for the company they were allowed three months' grace and then asked to vacate. I was informed that the other employees who "lived out" had a different, higher salary.

Thus, it would appear that the company was deducting monies for rental on these 'free houses'. This was not recorded in their salary advice slips or 'envelopes', which they received. Some of the Black workers did not get free company housing and had to walk to the company from the compound and back. Housing became an issue between the races because Indians were given homes while the single Black males whose families lived on the farms in the rural areas, had to live alone in the compound. Those Whites who were employed in the agricultural sector were given homes in the estate. Those who worked in the industrial area were given houses in the Westbrooke area.

However, they have also complained, as did the Indians and Blacks, that when they retired they did not automatically own their houses and some of them did not and could not make alternate arrangements to buy a house. The Company was in a position to provide all its employees with accommodation. It managed to do this by building hostels and compounds for single men and migrant workers and one, two and three bedroomed homes on the estates for its family workers. Furthermore, the Company bought or owned large tracts of land along the main road and in nearby areas where it built more one, two and three bedroomed homes for the employees who did not work in the estates, but in the mill and its offices.

The Company ensured that by providing this accommodation, together with paid lights and water facilities, it kept a steady workforce with a low turnover. It was an excellent means to ensure that people stayed with the Company, thus saving thousands of rands in administration and training of new employees. The Company also realized that by providing a house it removed the burden of shelter and insecurity that many families would have faced had they moved away and sought employment elsewhere, where this facility was not provided. All families were initially given a one-bedroomed house. As the employee moved up the grades and his status improved he qualified for a two-bedroomed house, etc.

The main reason given as to why families encouraged their sons to work for the Company was because of the stability they received by having a home provided for them. The White assistant managers and estate managers were provided with magnificent three-bedroomed homes, with a spacious kitchen, lounge, dining room, etc. They were also provided with the services of a gardener, maid and cook. Nowadays, the Indian assistant estate managers and estate managers are accorded these same privileges.

2.1.4. The Estates

All employees who work on the estate are expected to live on the estate irrespective of their job title. The estate manager and the assistant estate manager are expected to be available during public holidays and weekends in the event of a problem arising. They are on 24-hour call and are expected to be punctual at any scene of trouble. They are wholly responsible during the weekend they are on duty. The migrant workers who are involved on the fields live in the Company-owned compounds and thus they have no problems getting to work. Being paternalistic towards its black employees seems to come naturally to those in charge. It is the old ideology of 'don't give them anything to think about and everything will work out fine'. In this instance, black workers need not worry about transport and the company had taken care of that by letting them live on the ground.

2.1.5. Distance From Workplace

The retired Indian gentlemen I interviewed initially [fifteen in all], lived less than 10kms away from the sugar mill. All of them lived in the Company-built homes. Others that were interviewed lived on the company estates or in the local low-economic housing scheme areas. The town council built the flats, in the majority. The majority of them were given to the company employees. Black workers lived in Ambanati, literally a stone's throw from the Company as a flyover bridge from the Company to Ambanati was built.

The Company owned large tracts of land up to +/-20kms away and built homes on these lands. Because the workers lived so near, there was no major transport problem as public transport, which passed the company on its way was regular. For those who worked shift basis, the company provided transport, not directly to their homes, but within walking distance. This in itself constituted problems that will be discussed later. Workers lived nearby; therefore, absenteeism or late arrival could also not be a problem. Here again we see that decisions being taken and choices being made by the employees which eradicate any

possible incident that may affect production and or any time loss spent on solving issues that could have been done by the management.

2.1.6. Rations

Until 1975, workers were given food rations such as rice, sugar, canned fish, beans, mealie meal and oil. Here again, the food provision by the company is in compliance with Maslow's needs and the employees felt obliged to stay on because the company was providing this. If they moved away, they would be losing out on rations. The informants seemed to be grateful that they were given these rations. It helped them to cut down on food costs.

However, after the company discovered that workers were selling their rations, they stopped this practice and during 1976 started giving them R16 instead. At work, the employees were given complete meal coupons. Later, that same year they were given R40 but were not compelled to use the money for food. According to the respondents, the Company did this to ensure that the workers did not go hungry on the fields as this would hamper production and affect profit. Up to the present times the cane labourers are given sour porridge in bottles, prepared by the company, so that they have the energy required for the labour intensive work.

The company expected all workers to eat well in order to keep themselves fit for duty. The White workers did not qualify for rations as they were always on a higher salary scale and higher-grade level than the groups who were receiving the rations. In any event they would not have appreciated the rations as it was mainly Indian and African staple diets. There is an abattoir on one of the estates, which provides the workers, especially those working in the compounds, with meat. Van den Berghe [1964, 88] states: "The aim to 'keep the workers happy' in Caneville is pursued mainly in four different ways. The first two are... and well-balanced, nutritious rations. These measures also pay an immediate dividend in labour productivity.... 'How can you expect a native to do a day's work on an empty stomach?' Thus, to this day, their dietary requirements are taken care of because farm labourers are armed with a bottle of porridge as they set off on their long journey through a hard day's work.

2.1.7. Religion

The Indians whom I interviewed were only from Hindu and Christian backgrounds. The Whites were from Christian denominations, while the Blacks (who were mainly from the Sotho, Zulu and Pondo language groupings) were Christians, followed tribal practices or

followed a combination of both. In most of the company estates there are temples and/or churches provided for the workers' use and these places of worship are run and maintained by the Company. Like a parent would generally encourage a child to behave according to the dictates of religion and customs, e.g. Muslim women wearing scarves that cover their hair and Indian women wearing saris to temples and black women dancing bare breasted at certain religious functions we see Canestone employers not forcing its workforce to change their religious beliefs, customs, rites, views and values. They encourage each to do as they please as prescribed by their own scriptures.

The Temple

There is a temple on the Company property which was established in 1905 by the Indian community, and which is now maintained and run by the Indian community of the estate. All Hindu festivals are observed in the temple, the highlight of the year being the Kavady festival, which is attended by about 1000 people. It is a ten-day festival and prayers are done every night. On the night before the festival, a variety show is held at the temple and on the final day of the festival the devotees walk through the Company grounds to reach the temple. The temple committee has had no problem with the management of the estate when they carry out their festivals and in fact have found management to be very helpful; when the temple was being renovated, the management was always ready to help.

The Church

Black people now attend the church built on the Longaat Estate. The Indian and White people go to church in Central Longaat.

The Vernacular

I investigated the concept of vernacular groupings after I realised that there were no Muslim people whom I could interview. Then, I realised that due to the history of Natal, indentured labourers came from South and North India to work on the sugar fields. The Muslims were mainly merchants. The majority of workers were therefore Tamil and Hindi speaking people. The Gujarati's were mostly the merchants as well, and they refused to work on the sugar fields. Thus all of the Indian informants were either Tamil (to a greater degree, +- 65%), followed by the Hindi speaking (+-25percentage) and Christians (+-10percentage).

Language

All of the people I spoke to at the factory had a very satisfactory command of the English language. They were clear and articulate and most of them spoke English to their colleagues, supervisors and managers. Very rarely, if ever, except in jest, did they speak Tamil at work.

Names

Although more of the Indian workers were Tamil speaking, they had English names such as Reggie, Roy, Daniel, Victor, Babs, Tony, Ronnie and Danny. It seems that these names were used because it was easier for the White men in charge to remember them (and to pronounce them) than the long original names they had, like Govindaswamy, Arumurugan, Poonuswamy, Soobramonium, Deenadayallen, Namasivayen, etc. It seems to me that because almost all their fathers worked at the mill, they borrowed these names from their workforce (cohorts) and used them as calling names for their children, as there were several Roys and Georges. One man was called “Kula” which in the Tamil vernacular is equivalent to “short” in English. This man was less than 1.58m tall.

2.1.8. Schooling

Most of the interviewees, whose parents lived on Company-owned estates and property, belonged a children’s gang and worked in the fields until the age of 8 or 9. Some started class one at the age of ten or eleven. However, some of those born third or later in the families had a chance of starting school sooner and finishing at a higher standard. Almost all first and second-born sons and daughters had to leave school by standard 4, 5 or 6 to supplement the family’s income, working for the Company doing what was termed light jobs. On rare occasions, the first-born had a chance of going further than standard 8. There was no encouragement from any sector, neither the Company, parents nor religious groups, for children to further their education. The reverse seemed more acceptable, leaving school at an earlier age to work at the cane fields.

Parents believed that it was in their interest and their children’s interest to have them leave school and work for the Company as the token of free housing with lights, water and transport to work provided, as well as rations enticed parents to keep their children on the cane fields and not send them out on their own because they felt safe. All they had to provide for was clothing and luxuries. According to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, food and shelter was provided. The wages provided took care of the clothing needs. From the Company’s point, of

view having families working for it, as opposed to single employees, provided it with a sense of security and control. Should any one worker not conform, the Company could threaten other members of the family.

All of the Indian men that I interviewed went to school. However, their level of education differed from each other. It seemed that the Company did not encourage education, as it would not serve its purpose. Almost all of the interviewees belonged to a children's gang. Many of them did not go further than standard 4 and the cut off point seems to be standard 6, with a few exceptions. Only one Indian gentleman completed his matric but he is younger than forty. The majority of Black workers did not go to school and even if they did it was for a few years only and their medium of instruction was not in English. Only three of the total number of black interviewees could speak English.

The White interviewees completed a minimum of standard 8 with most of them getting some kind of certificate dealing with sugar production. Most of those interviewed could remember their teachers and said that, 'They liked school even though they had to buy books'. The level of education of all those interviewed ranged from not having gone to school at all to matric. However, the estate managers and the assistant managers completed matric and had some other qualifications, e.g. a certificate from the Sugar Association of South Africa (SASA), or a certificate from CEDARA. One of the estate managers had a qualification in isiZulu and Sotho proficiency. None of the black workers went further than the equivalent of grade eight with the majority of them going to school for a year or two before them leaving.

2.1.9. Infrastructure

Many of the Black and Indian interviewees had no electricity in the houses they lived in as children. Up to now those same Black areas still don't have electricity. The paraffin lamp was and is still used in those areas. Wood had to be collected. There was no running water and this had to be collected from the watering holes. There were no tarred roads and public transport, which was inadequate from these areas, was used. Gravel pathways were used. There were no telephones. The Indunas or chiefs governed in the farms as councillors do in the residential areas. Today according to some respondents, "the induna had a right to arrest you".

By the 1950's, the infrastructure started to improve slowly. In the schools, the teachers and principals had power and not a single interviewee could remember incidents of pupils disobeying teachers or flaunting the rules of school. In the living areas, the chiefs had power, as one interviewee said: "We used to respect the chief. I used to bow down to the chief as a sign of respect".

For those Indian interviewees who lived in the Canestone Estates, a Sirdar was in charge and he took decisions in the area. He had an administrative role and any complaints or problems were referred to him. He then referred them to management if he could not sort them out. In the White areas, the local town board or borough had political power.

2.1.10. Marital Status

Most of the employees I interviewed were married. All the interviewees were married to people of the same race. The Indian workers who lived on the estates and their families viewed other families as "family." The young men and woman from these one-estate families were not encouraged to marry each other but 'arranged marriages' were organized with families from other estates. The Black male workers mainly married woman from their traditional areas. Some of their wives lived with them in Company-owned homes or in the nearby Black township. Some of their wives remained in their original homes in Malawi, Mozambique, Transkei, etc. Workers who had worked for the Company for over 25 years were glad to go back to their homeland where they possessed tribal lands and had their homes and livestock available for them.

Thus, we see in Canestone predominantly three cultural strains namely the white, the black and the Indian. From the preceding discussions, we see the company has used this difference in cultural background to manifest their aims and objectives thus keeping their paternalistic attitude and ideology in place. Next, I shall consider whether paternalistic managerialism succeeded at the work place.

3. IN THE COMPANY: AT WORK

More so at Canestone, the workplace than at Canestone, the residential home surroundings do we see a clear paternalistic managerialism at play. At work, the predominantly white management team is still in charge.

3.1 The Management

Each of the estates that I visited is managed by an estate manager with the support of (an) assistant estate manager/s and other administrative staff. The management has a White bias with just one Black estate manager, one Indian estate manager and a small proportion of Indian and Black managers in the industrial section. Exact graphical proportions are detailed in this chapter. However, a brief perusal into the management personnel of the group reflects the chairman, managing director, operations director, technical director, financial director, commercial director, company secretary, business development director, consulting technologist, divisional financial manager, general managers [north and south] as White. Only the human resources director is a Black man. As far as the Canestone mill is concerned the general manager, human resources manager, administrative manager, production manager, cane supply and transport manager, agricultural engineer, and general manager – agriculture are White, whereas only the engineering manager is an Indian. Against this background, this dissertation will show the extent to which exploitation of employees took place in the Canestone mill and estates. The line and staff authority differentiation is illustrated in the diagram below.

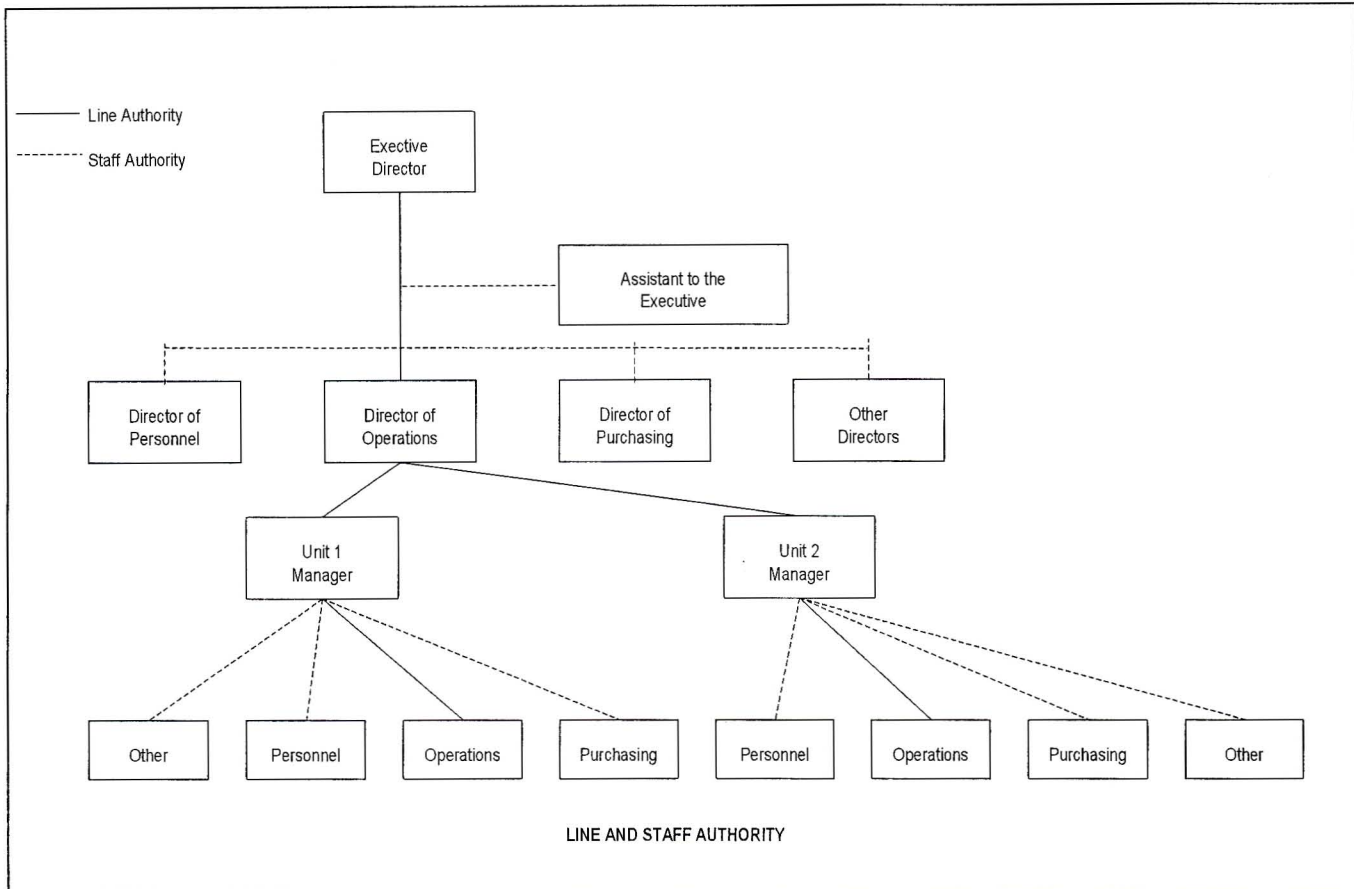


Figure 12 – Line and Staff Authority

3.2. The Environment

The working conditions of the Canestone employees and the struggles of the workers in the mill and on the estate form an integral part of this dissertation. The living conditions as well as the general surroundings of the estates will be described.

3.3. The Workers

Workers in any organisation have their own perceptions and feelings of a particular issue. These differences in opinion as well as the ramifications thereof will be discussed. *This* narrative highlights the complex relationship between the different races, their job specifications, employment grades and working conditions of the estate and mill workers.

The dynamics of the several divisions of labour on the cane field and the mill as well as the ability of the manufacturer to pay women labourers lower wages than men will be considered.

In the sixties and seventies the Canestone worker leaders [unionists] made impassioned pleas to the workforce to join the unions. This would have improved and strengthened their ability to fight cases on behalf of the workers. At the time that the unions were introduced, anti-apartheid sentiments for a free democracy were the catch phrases as the unionists went on sloganeering, trying to attract the attention of the Canestone workforce. I considered the employees' disorganisation and the exploitation thereof by the employers, and the inability of the trade unions to improve the worker's situation.

3.4. The Company in Operation

This dissertation gives the guidelines and principles upon which the company operated and how it maintained its status quo, competitiveness and success. It looks at the colonial policy and attitudes, and inferences are drawn as to the earlier ways of thinking and acting [general behaviour patterns] as opposed to the present times. The key issues as illustrated in the job characteristics model are of importance in the operation of the company.

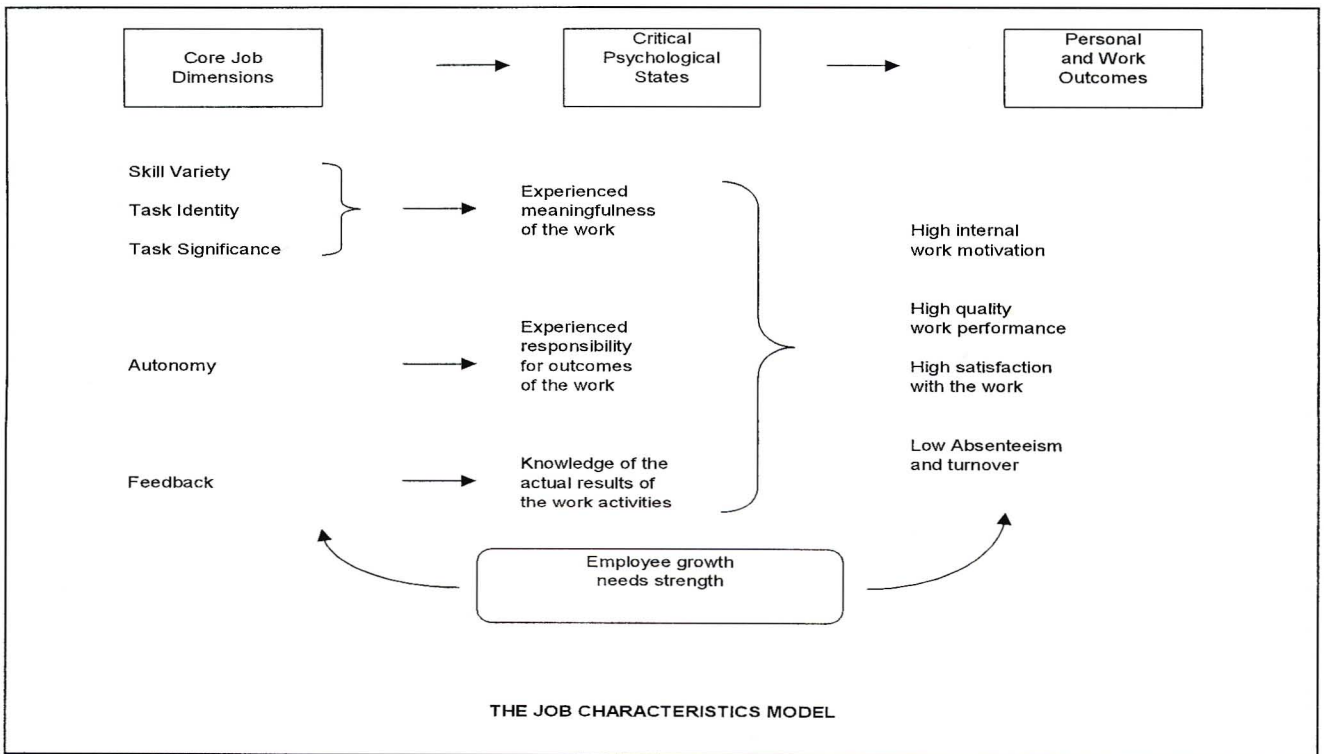


Figure 13[Robbins, 1994, 67] – The Job Characteristics Model

3.5. Methods of Production

The company started out with simple methods of production but is now in possession of up-to-date machinery. Even though this is the situation in the industrial sector, the labourers are still engaged in the age-old back-breaking tradition of cutting cane by hand which they start as early as 2:00 in the morning to be finished before the scorching heat of the South African sun is upon them. The machinery in the mill has replaced hundreds of workers and over time has resulted in mass retrenchments and people being put off work.

We have been in a democracy since 1994, however blacks, Indians, and Coloureds; even women have not yet taken up ranks where they should have by this time. Somehow, the white management of the company has given some 'token' positions, as well as some genuine positions to non-whites, but according to the non-white mass worker population, these are not enough and they are helpless to do anything about this situation. Whenever, issues of contention are brought up, the company has an answer in the form of more retrenchment packages, early retirement, more training, not enough training, more experience necessary, not quite multi-skilled, privatisation, closing down of departments, advertising jobs in newspapers to attract outside people etc. The respondents feel changes have taken place, examples of these have just been mentioned. However, the core of real democratic change that is supposed to have given these workers a better chance in life has not taken place. In the following paragraphs, issues are raised where it is clear to see that changes have taken place, but not to the approval of the workers and not to their total benefit. This, therefore leads one to consider whether any real change has taken place or not

Change is of the essence of communication in that after individuals have communicated things are not the same as they were before for those communicating. At Canestone, there was a line of communication, which existed. The table below drawn with the help of a white manager who retired in the early eighties indicates the position and channel of communication amongst employees.

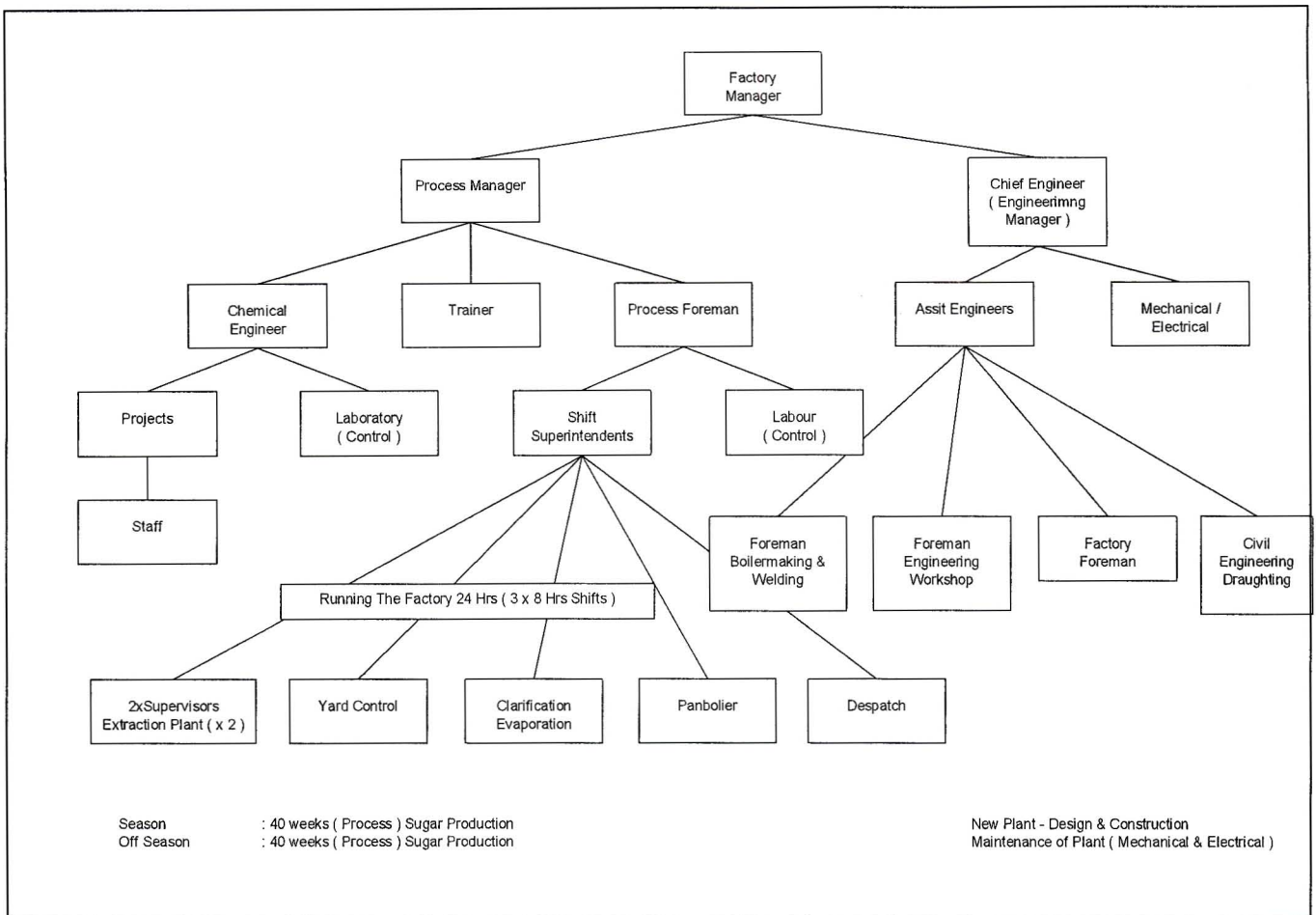


Figure 14 – Communication among employees

4. ENTRY INTO THE COMPANY

The White workers I interviewed were in the 45 – 55 year age range. The Indian male workers were all in the 50 – 69 year age range, except one. The Indian females were from age 23 to 75. The male Black workers that I interviewed were in the age range 45 – 70 years. Only five interviewees were younger than forty years old. Many had grandchildren while others had married sons and daughters who were employed.

Almost all of the Indian gentlemen interviewed had been able to get their jobs because the Company employed their fathers. This policy was followed so that the family could maintain the house and live there “free of charge”. This “free housing” policy was used to encourage at least three generations (in some cases four) of Indian families to work for the Company. It seems the Company preferred to maintain this policy because it provided stability. Most of the Black workers were recruited from the Transkei and were encouraged to come from other countries like Malawi. Contracts were drawn up with those of them that came from the TVBC states. They were given free transport to go back home at the end of every season.

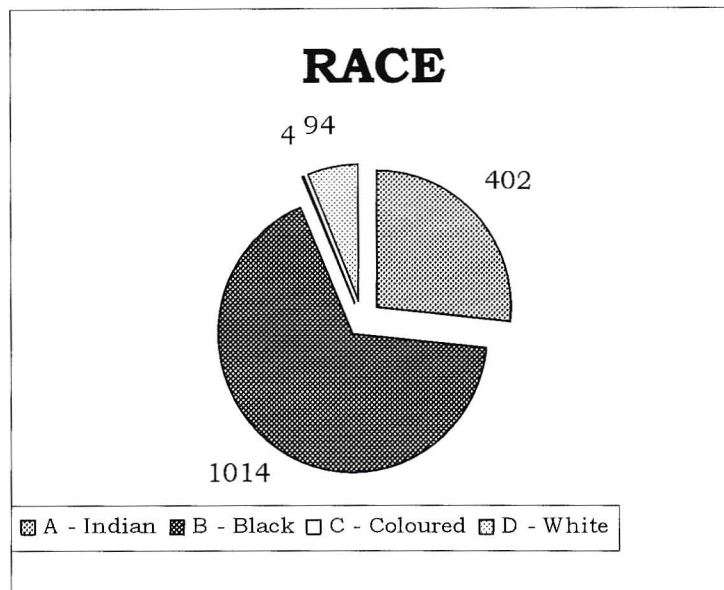
White employees applying for positions were successful immediately in securing jobs for themselves.

5. RACE

Statistics from the Company payroll show that

- 66,4 % are Blacks;
- 6,2 % are Whites;
- 27,1 % are Indians; and
- 0,3 % are coloureds.

The following graph shows the breakdown of the races for the year 1998.



Graph 1: Race

The White workers have never been cane cutters and those who worked on the estates were either estate managers, assistant managers, supervisors, overseers or estate office workers. They were never employed in weeding, ploughing or cutting and stacking cane. From the statistics available, I have drawn the following detailed graphical representation. Each grade is presented in the appendix, which denotes the unequal distribution of labour

GRADE A					
A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	
67	134	136	-	-	
GRADE B					
B	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5
1	431	234	137	62	63
GRADE C					
C	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
5	47	48	42	10	35
GRADE D					
DO	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5
3	7	30	-	-	-

Table 1: Grades

The Indian workers worked on the cane fields and they did a variety of jobs such as -

- caterpillar driver;
- crane driver;
- irrigation controller;
- agronomy inspector;
- irrigation pump attendant;
- siding sections;
- supervisor;
- tractor driver

In the mill itself, the Indians were mainly restricted to the following jobs and jobs of a lower status-:

- boiler attendant;
- maintenance worker;
- cleaner;

- despatch clerk;
- diffuser operator;
- driver;
- estate clerk;
- fitter;
- handyman;
- pan boiler;
- power house attendant;
- section engineer;
- shift supervisor.

In the administrative area the Indians were restricted to the following jobs and jobs of a lower status :

- clerk;
- typist;
- accountant;
- creditors department.

However, positions have opened up slightly and Indians are allowed to work in other departments. The Black workers totalled 1014 in number. They were mainly employed in the following positions:-

- artisan hand;
- bagger;
- bell loader
- driver;
- boiler plant greaser;
- maintenance worker;
- compound cook;
- cook;
- crane driver;
- driver;
- cutting supervisor;
- cutters;

- tractor driver;
- fitters;
- handyman;
- harvesting;
- harvest induna;
- labourer;
- hostel supervisor;
- loader;
- messenger;
- night watchmen;
- patrolman;
- plant operator;
- riggers hand;
- sanitation hand;
- section engineer;
- serviceman;
- sewer workers;
- supervisor;
- cultivator;
- weigher

The Black workers were not allowed to work in the following departments -

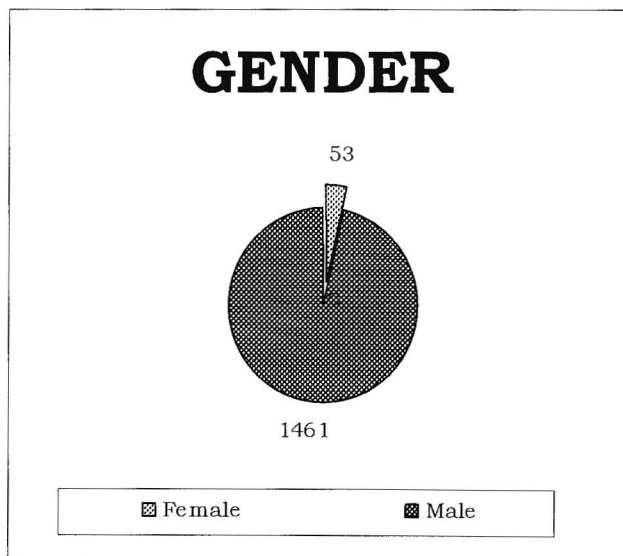
- Accounts
- Estate management;
- Sales management;
- Business management;
- Fitters;
- Turners;
- Distribution

6. GENDER

The Company preferred male workers to female workers. Statistics from the Company payroll indicated that 96.4% of the workers were male and the rest were female. A graphical representation of this follows.

GRADES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% MALE	% FEMALE
A	328	9	337	97.3%	2.7%
B	907	21	928	97.7%	2.3%
C	169	18	187	90.4%	9.6%
D	41	2	43	95.3%	4.7%
TEMP	9		9	100.0%	0.0%
ZZZ	7		7	100.0%	0.0%
N		3	3	0.0%	100.0%
TOTAL	1,461	53	1,514	96.5%	3.5%

Table 2: Grades and Gender



Graph 2: Gender

Further, the payroll indicated that only 3 women have worked for a period of 25 years or more. It became impossible for me to interview any of these women because none were available. The only information I could gather from women was from those who were married to men who had served the Company for 25 years or more. All of these wives had a great insight into the Company and its policies. Some were at ease in sharing with me their many tales of yesteryear. Other women were daughters of workers. Three women were retired workers.

6.1. Females

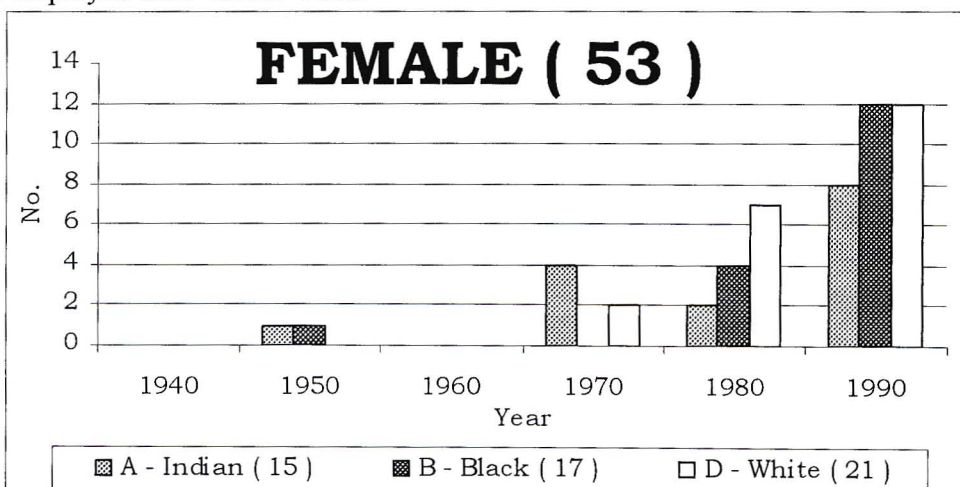
Indian women did work the fields but somehow the Company preferred men because they were better able to do the arduous tasks that were required of canefield workers. The Indian woman who lived on the Estates with their husbands and families spent their time being homemakers and caregivers to the extended families. Some of them had gardens in their yards and tended to these. Until 1990 many woman living on the estates still kept “fowl runs” (domesticated chicken pens). The following reasons have been given for the dispensing of this facility

- Regulations regarding hygienic control became more stringent;
- Neighbours disapproved of families keeping chicken pens; and
- It was old-fashioned to keep chickens around the yard.

Black women, worked mainly during the planting season. I was not able to interview any Black women. However, Black women living with their husbands on the Estates

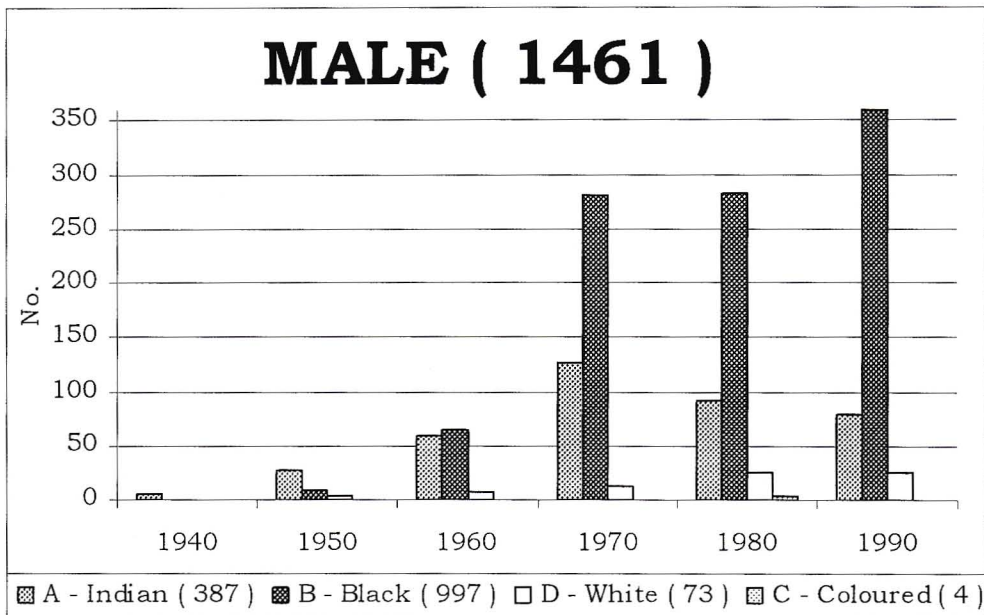
- Still keep chicken pens around the house;
- Engage in the practice of home gardening.

Women generally worked in a “women’s gang” and were given separate tasks from the men and it was seen as “light work.” They were generally given jobs such as weeding and planting. They were not engaged in driving the tractors or trucks as they were not trained for these tasks. The following graphical representation clearly indicates the choice made by the management to employ men rather than women. For each of the decades the graph shows the number of women who gained employment for that particular decade and are still employed at the company. It is possible to say more women were employed over the period 1940 - 1996, however they are not featured because they are no longer with the company. However, from respondents I gathered that women were not on a structured ‘payroll’ as such because they were employed on a ‘casual’ basis.



6.2. Males

Almost all of the Indian male members of families worked for the company. If they had left the company, then in some cases the managers had actually asked them to return. The main reason given for calling the workers back was so that they could “keep the houses.” The company, according to the workers, preferred to keep the same workforce or family members of existing employees. However, the White employees did not follow the same line of thinking. Since a large proportion of the Black workers were from Transkei, Malawi and other areas, it was difficult for them to keep up the practice of father-to-son employment. However, the following graph shows the number of males employed from 1940 and are still in the company.



Graph 4: Males

7. CONTROL

7.1. Messengers of Control

The sirdar was like a ‘headman’ or ‘foreman.’ He took instructions from the managers and passed them on. He was the main link of communication. He could speak Tamil / Hindi / Zulu and English. He was in charge and accountable. Some of the older respondents said that he had the authority to hire and fire workers. Sometimes, he was accused of favouritism therefore workers “tried not to backchat with him” because this would disfavour them. It was possible that he wrongfully accused employees he did not favour, did not recommend them for increases and generally made working conditions difficult for them. However, the role of the sirdars has changed with time and they are no longer referred to as sirdars. The term is now outdated.

7.2. The Induna

The Company employed overseers from different races to manage the different racial groups. The Induna communicated in isiZulu to the Black workers or Fanakalo to the Indian workers. The sirdar in the earlier years communicated in Tamil or Hindi to the Indian workers or Fanakalo to the Black workers. The White overseers spoke English to those that could understand it and Fanakalo to those who did not understand English. The White overseer generally communicated to the general workforce with the help of the Indunas or sirdar who in most cases had a limited knowledge of English. The sirdar, induna or overseer had all or some of the following attributes : generally large, tall men; men with a strong, harsh, or strict personality; those capable of speaking English; of the ability to work hard themselves, and possess general leadership qualities.

There was only one lady sirdar that I managed to identify. The indunas were allowed to wear shoes and they had red collars, which distinguished them from the rest of the workforce.

7.3. Feelings about the indunas and sirdars

The interviewees had mixed feelings about the indunas and sirdars. Some were of the opinion that their Indunas were good and understanding men with open minds. Others felt the induna only bothered about him and did not care about the others. One gentleman described the working conditions as just “Pushing sugar...pushing sugar”, where you were not allowed to even go to the toilet while on the job. The company tried to keep control by the use of overseers. However, the different Indunas and sirdars had their own ways of communicating with the workforce and they were viewed differently by the different workers.

Some of the views expressed by the interviewees were: “ the induna was very good and understanding. We communicated in isiZulu with the induna. He was an open man.” Another said “the induna were treating people kindly. I never had arguments with the induna, always on good terms. I don’t know about other people’s problems. When in conflict, the induna took you to the White man. Election of Indunas depended on Whites, we had no input or any involvement in that. Induna had no power of firing a worker but referred him to the white man. You can never know whether to trust an induna because the induna was very close to the White man, couldn’t tell what they were discussing.”

Another gentleman said “Induna treated us very kindly. I have a duty to respect him as an induna because he is superior to me....Induna’s were respectable and trustworthy. We accepted whatever we were given...didn’t question things. I never had a problem with the Induna or any conflict”. However, some of them felt that “because I was poor, hungry we had to listen to what the induna had to say. We didn’t challenge things and sometimes we were abused”. Many were dismissed when they had a quarrel or misunderstanding with the induna. There were times when the indunas simply didn’t care about the other person’s well being. They were only concerned about their own well being. In Canestone the induna or sirdar, and the overseer, were representative of the power system. It is possible that the goals and aspirations of all young workers were to become an induna or sirdar. He was in charge of the homes and work. If there were any immediate problems with the living area, they (the labourers) would go to see him. He was allowed to wear shoes. When he spoke, people listened. Up to the end of the 1960’s, he could fire you. People generally did not choose to be an enemy to him.

Organisational behaviour does not favour top down autocratic supervisory styles and these are out. An induna or supervisor acting as a team leader or facilitator who has trust among employees and managers is in a better position to handle crises. Unfortunately, this situation does not exist in the Canestone Mill and Estates. Multi-skilled, flexible employees are desired; specialists are not. At the Canestone Estates, because the cane takes a period of 18 months to grow, crop rotation takes place and the cane field workers need to be engaged in different activities. The process of farming starts with underground drainage, field layout, preparation, planting, cultivating, harvesting, infield transport to the sidings and to the mill and the Indunas need to have the cooperation of all the labourers. Since labourers who are put into gangs and controlled by the indunas do all of the above operations, there is a need for better control mechanisms.

7.4. Foreman / Supervisor

Initially the induna helped with and aided the management when the issue of salary increases were discussed, therefore the foreman or supervisor decided on increases, incentives, promotions and the like, inviting favouritism. According to Maslow the lower order needs of human beings are satisfied predominantly externally by such things as wages, union contracts, etc, thus foremen tried to “push sugar”; meaning they wanted as much production

as possible and rewarded only those who worked hard. The foremen themselves, in the years up to the 1970s, were also rewarded if their output was high for the day.

8. UNIONS AND STRIKES

Until the late 1960s there were no strikes and unions. The first unions came to the company in 1971 and the first strike took place in 1972. Up to 1972, the informants could not recall being involved in strike action. There were differing views on subjects. The introduction of the unions caused a rift in the workforce as some people were not sure about the credibility of the union.

Since the main tasks of the unions were to involve themselves in issues of pay and work hours in the collective bargaining chambers, many felt that the unions had let them down. Some of the Indians who mobilized workers were H.A Naidoo, Applesamy and Chinsamy. The Black workers saw Nkumalo and Nsibande as their leaders. There were no White trade union leaders in the company. Some workers were happy with the arrival of the union. The White employees, according to the interviewees, commented that "You're going to get half a loaf bread." However, they thought that the Whites were not telling the truth to them and they were "also happy because they didn't know if we were going to get more bread." In the 1973 strike, many workers lost out on wages. However, workers felt that they lost out because the company closed down certain departments and people were moved around from department to department in the company.

There was a general sense of fear among non-strikers as the strikers threatened them at the gates in the mornings if they arrived for work. Many of respondents claimed that they were forced to strike and if they did not, co-workers, mainly Blacks, attacked them. For those who did strike, the company marked the ringleaders and those who were thought to be responsible were either demoted, pushed around from department to department or were victimized.

The company put pressure on them when they closed certain departments. Another gentleman said "the unions came here after 1970s when Selby Msibande fought for it. We went on strike in the early years but they did not close down the mill". Racial tensions did surface as there were differences of opinion on whether to strike or not. Some Blacks and Indians chose not to strike and were labelled as "those cut throats", "sell-outs", "strike-busters", "two-timing dogs", etc,. Adversarial relations with unions that in the past had led to strikes and

work stoppages needed to be replaced with co-operation, teamwork, and the search for mutuality of interest. This situation had not been possible in Canestone. Although the workers did revert to strikes and work stoppages, as late as 1997, they received no joy from the company regarding their particular requests. Labour relations is a continuous relationship process between a defined group of employees (represented by a union or association) and an employer. The relationship includes:

The initial recognition of the rights and responsibilities of the union and management;

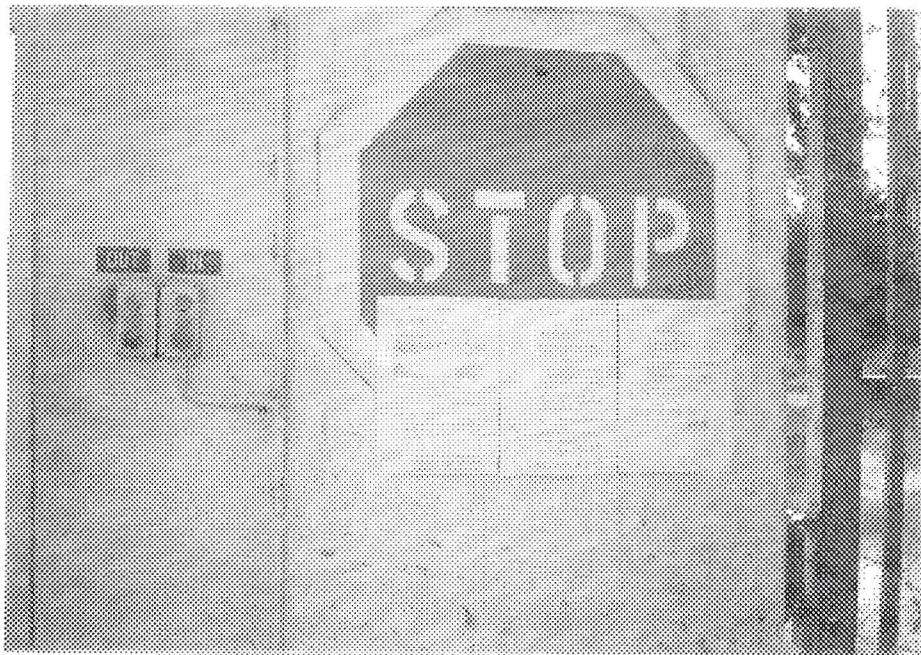
The recognition of written contract concerning wages, hours and other conditions of employment; The interpretation and administration of this contract over its period of tenure.

Unfortunately even with the presence of the union, and the Labour Relations Act in place in the country, the Canestone Group has still managed, in the minds of the people, to exploit them especially when it comes to the number of working hours and the rate of pay. Power is directly related to these matters and dealing with unions is frequently an emotionally charged activity. Few employers or employees get as emotionally involved over recruiting methods or selection techniques, for example, as they do over labour relations. The reason is that labour relations and collective bargaining go to the heart of every employer. It gives them power. Power to hire, to pay, to judge performance, to dismiss. This translates into power to affect significant human needs. In the past, in the initial years prior to the sixties, the induna or sirdar had, the power or authority to hire and fire labourers (according to some respondents) but the situation has now changed. Many employees have turned to unions as a source of strength in numbers. By acting collectively, union members had hoped to gain power to influence the employer's decisions. In organizations, management has:

- flexibility in hiring and promoting people;
- establishing the nature of work and work rules;
- administering pay and work benefits; and
- other personnel matters.

Much of this changes when employees elect to join a union. Then the union and the employer are involved in a negotiated contract, which spells out details of many personnel matters. Unfortunately in Canestone, workers who are in B2 grade and above, and the salaried staff, are not allowed to join the unions. Thus, they are not part of the bargaining process and have no say in their increases and increments. They have to accept whatever is given to them

without debate. However, at the tail end of my discussions with some of the salaried staff, they informed me that they have now formed a liaison committee that is going to look at the grievances of this particular group. They are experiencing problems because employees in the various job positions have different views, e.g. how management should be viewed and the way in which they should approach the issues. The present Labour Relations Act recognises the right to resort to strike action and lockouts. The picture which follows was taken outside the company where the striking workers demonstrated. This strike took place in 1997. The stop sign with the notice warns people not to enter the factory gates because workers are on a strike. The articles that follow are reports by the Daily News and a local community newspaper reporting on the strike.



Photograph 1: The Strike

Tough talks over sugar mills strike

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Daily News Reporter

TOUGH talks between leaders of striking sugar workers and the Tongaat-Hulett and Illovo companies are expected to continue today after a slow start yesterday.

The talks were held at a North Coast hotel.

About 4000 workers in the province's 14 sugar mills and refineries have stopped work, demanding a 20% pay rise. Tongaat-Hulett and Illovo have offered 10.5%.

The companies and the workers are under pressure from cane growers who fear losing their crop, now ready for milling and migrant workers were brought in to cut the cane.

Cane growers are paid between R20 and R120 a ton, which they would raise out on if their crop was ruined.

Migrant workers are paid

between R7 and R10 a ton of cane cut.

Talks between the five unions and the companies date back to May. The unions on June 29 gave notice of their intention to strike on July 1, so management declared a lockout of employees last Wednesday. The mills and refineries are now closed.

Both management and the unions have since said they would ease their positions, making a settlement possible.

Progress at yesterday's meeting was slow. They still have a lot of ground to cover to reconcile their differences.

The meeting ended earlier than expected when delegates were told that busloads of striking workers were heading for the venue and intended storming the meeting.

The strikers were from a second Tongaat-Hulett section on strike, in addition to the sugar workers.

Article 1: The Strike

Sugar employees turn violent as strike enters second week

Coastal Weekly Reporter

Sugar giants, Tongaat Hulett and Illovo Sugar are starting to count their losses as the sugar mill strike drags into its second week with serious incidents of violence being reported at the Maidstone Mill in Tongaat.

Milling and refining employees throughout KwaZulu Natal embarked on strike action after the unions rejected a 10.5% wage increase offer last Tuesday evening. They are demanding a 20% increase.

About 400 workers from Tongaat have joined the strike. Tongaat Police were forced to intervene last Saturday after rowdy workers assaulted two security guards with sticks and fired guns.

The security guards were rushed to hospital where they were treated for their injuries and discharged.

Workers also damaged a police vehicle and attempted to stab a po-

liceman, forcing the police to call in the riot unit to disperse them.

The workers also declared a lock-out preventing employees and trucks from entering or leaving the premises.

According to Captain John Govender the workers were unreasonable and aggressive and were consuming large amounts of alcohol. He said they also taunted the police and threatened to smash vehicles if the police interfered.

Govender said an intruder was arrested in the striking employees preventing them from entering the premises. He said even this did not deter them.

The workers still continued to intimidate the truck drivers.

According to Mr Bheki Sibiyi, chairman of the Sugar Manufacturer's and Refining Employer's Association, the unions declared a strike after the unions representing the sugar bargaining council failed to reach an

agreement.

In an interview with the Coastal Weekly, Bheki Sibiyi said they were going to meet with the unions on Thursday to hold a 'problem solving meeting.'

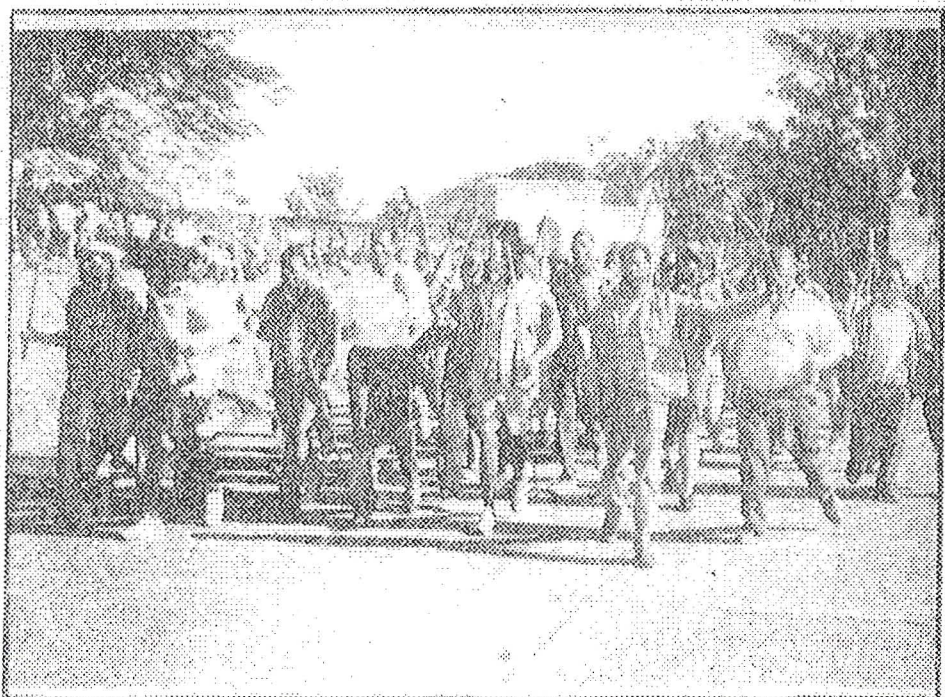
He said they were aware of the incidents of violence at Tongaat and were engaging the services of local people to try and resolve the problem.

He said the violence was also due to non-employees interfering. Sibiyi said a meeting with all those concerned with the incident will be held.

"We are optimistic the strike will not go on for much longer and hope to reach a compromise before the end of the week," said Sibiyi.

He added sugar employees were also looking into ways on how to make up for their losses after the strike was over.

The exact amount of losses incurred is unknown at this stage.



Strikers at the Maidstone Sugar Mill in Tongaat marched outside the mill bringing traffic to a standstill last Friday. They are demanding a 20% wage increase

9. ORGANISATIONAL CONDITIONS

In Canestone, as in any other organization, union suppression, union freedom and co-operation were important issues that plagued the management because they were unsure how the entry of the union would affect production, profit and performance of the workers. Before the 1970's strikes, work stoppage and general apprehension on the part of the workers was never tolerated. Many of the older workers who had been with the company for over 30 years could not remember those thoughts passing in their or their colleagues' minds. They assumed that because they were worked to the bone, they really had no time or energy to expend on such ideas. Some of the interviewees could remember the earlier trade union leaders.

The company, according to them, did not allow the unionists to operate in a free and fair environment. To a certain extent, according to the respondents, the Company would have opted to suppress the union because they would not have chosen the union representatives, but they did not do this. The company had other plans. In the 1970's the company worked with the liaison committee and attempted to give Blacks a chance to voice their opinions. However, these Black representatives did not have freedom of speech.

10. THE PATERSON SYSTEM

The Paterson System was introduced in the 1970s. After 35 years in the company, many workers were still on grade B2 or B3 on the Paterson System. Some of the older labourers are still on the A grade where their salaries have not reached the R1,800 scale even though they have worked for the company for over 30 years. Theoretical information about this system is as follows (but more details are included in the annexure): the basic premise of the method is that all jobs, regardless of level, industry or country, can be compared in terms of the number and weight of decisions that must be made by the job incumbent. From this comparison, a pay structure can be established. In essence, Paterson maintains that an organisation's pay structure should reflect the organisation and responsibility levels within the organisation, and that responsibility should be measured and compared in terms of a single factor common to all jobs, namely, decision making. Workers comprehension of the Paterson system was limited and many were angered by its implementation. Although labourers or farm hands have given many years' of service to the company, this was not taken into account.

11. CONCLUSION

Thus far, I have given an account of the respondents perceptions as far as family life, home life and work life and general issues pertaining to daily living are concerned. From these discussions it is quite obvious that even though changes have taken place as far as working and living conditions are concerned, the company still succeeds in monopolizing workers. It is able to maintain power and control through the democracy we are living in. By tacit or other means, its aim and objectives are achieved. By allowing its employees certain choices, the impression is created that they are meeting workers halfway and that the desired transparency that workers hope for is indeed there. This coming to the negotiating table with no hidden agenda attitude has not managed to fool workers into believing management, but rather opens the way for workers to determine whether or not they want to continue being 'treated like children under a caring father'. This leads me to my discussion on what may be termed as 'a transforming paternalism'. The company needs to change. The company has to change. But the burning questions are: "Has the company changed?", "Will the company change?" and "Does the company have the power to stop being paternalistic towards its workers?"

PART TWO

1. A TRANSFORMING PATERNALISM : TO CHANGE OR NOT TO CHANGE?

Apart from the conscientious or moral worth or demerits of the reasoned doctrine or philosophy of paternalism, this approach, policy or administration contains the seeds of its own possible destruction. The reason is quite uncomplicated, even simple. According to Van den Berghe [1964, 249] “Paternalism is a political fossil which can only survive in a relatively static agricultural society where the labour is furnished by a hereditary servile or quasi-servile class”. However, it seems that Canestone thus far, is as it is, because change has not jolted its workers into real action to achieve what it is that they want. Thus, I may tend to agree with Van den Berghe because the Canestone workers have not escaped the shackles that bonds them to servility. Maybe, they believe they are free, but are they really?. In examining a transforming paternalism, I have to further consider the following views of Van den Berghe [1969,249]. He states that a stable paternalistic master-servant relationship requires a number of conditions. There must be an intimate, face- to-face, affective bond between master and servant. Such a bond implies a small-sized organisation incompatible with large, impersonal, industrial concerns.

Furthermore, the development of paternalistic bonds requires a long-standing relationship that cannot normally be established in a highly mobile industrial context, all the less so in one that perpetuates a migratory labour system.

Paternalism also requires that the servant or slave internalise the feeling of his inferiority. In other words, he must believe that he is inferior, and be happy with his humble lot, for otherwise he inevitably challenges his subservient status.

From my interviews, it became clear that some respondents feel the way in which Van den Berghe has described workers to be if paternalism is to succeed. They have internalised these feelings and what has helped this process along is the fact that these workers have worked the soil for many decades. However, with the new democracy in place these workers, are now experiencing having a slightly elevated sense of self-worth and self-esteem and somehow want to fight this system of being under a paternalistic rule. So the question to be asked then is: How has the democratic, political, social, economic and general everyday changes that have taken place since the sixties and especially since 1994 in the country and Canestone in

particular allowed for a transforming paternalism?' The most appropriate way to answer this question would be to say that there are many ways of defining "a transforming paternalism".

For the purposes of this study, the following issues are at play in looking at a transforming paternalism in Canestone.

- Firstly, does the company still want to maintain control over its workers in their personal lives e.g., does the company decide which doctor a worker should consult?
- Secondly, does the company still want to maintain total control over its workers whilst at work eg. use punitive measures to discipline workers.
- Thirdly, does the company, from a holistic point of view, encompassing the entire living existence of its workers, still want to treat them like 'children' who need to be told what to do, how to do it, when to do it and where to do it?
- Finally, does the company still want to maintain a 'master-servant' relationship?

In trying to answer these questions, the following issues came up in the discussion.

2. THE COMPANY DOCTOR

The company tried to portray itself as an institution that cared – almost as if it was an institution caring for the social needs of its people. It made certain provisions for its workers but these were shunned by them as being something done only for the company's benefit. It provided medical treatment but it seems there was a hidden agenda for this. Many claim that they were unhappy with the services provided by the company doctor, who appeared to keep control over the workers. Respondents recalled that at times when they were really ill, the doctor dispensed them with painkillers, and insisted they are fit for duty the next day. Some respondents still seemed angry at what transpired many years, if not decades, ago. If they visited another doctor and were given a sick certificate, it was rejected or deemed unacceptable. Workers were even victimized for doing this.

Most of those I interviewed had injuries of some sort or the other. Many had lost their fingers, which were chopped off, or had their fingernails stapled into their fingers. Upon inquiry, it seemed that because of the speed of work and because of 'automation', they had to move faster. If they were not able to keep pace with the machinery, the stapling machine or conveyer belt, which moves with a programmed speed, they sustained injuries.

The company provided medical help, by taking the injured workers to McCords or King George VIII Hospital, and then transferred them to the company hospital under the care of the company doctor. One man hurt ('bust') his kneecap and had to be in a plaster cast for six months. Many claim they got R75.00 as compensation for injury on duty. Some recalled gruesome stories of men being crushed to death because of negligence on the part of the company for not providing proper instructions and safety measures. Although they were given workman's compensation, many were dissatisfied with it.

According to Maslow's needs theory, the Safety needs include security and protection from physical and emotional harm. The company responded to injuries by having a company doctor and hospital in place. The workers described the doctor as "terrible." In the 1980's the company introduced more security measures for the employees' protection, for example gumboots and helmets.

3. SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS

3.1. The Black Workers

This summary is a reflection of my conversations with a group of about 20 men, all of whom have worked for the Canestone mill and its estates for a period of 18 years or more. The longest serving employee was a gentleman who had worked for the company since 1952. All of the men except 2 were over 50 years of age, and many of them were grandparents. Almost 80% of them had family members who lived away in their tribal homelands. Many of these respondents will move to their tribal lands when they retire. They feel there is no place for them in the urban areas. They do not have access to retirement homes or places of care. Their children, as well, are not financially stable to provide them with things they need.

Some of these respondents still lived in the compounds, on the Company estates, which were more than 40 years old. Others lived in Company-owned homes, some in their private homes in Bambanati. These houses are very small and there is nothing they can do to improve the size or quality of the homes. They are unhappy about this. During the summer months, the heat is unbearable inside as well as outdoors. During the rainy period there is no escape as they are caught indoors, all cramped up. At other times, when visitors arrive, they have to entertain them outside as there is not enough space inside.

I was told about the older women who made the home-brewed beer called “umqomboti”. This task was a ‘specialized’ activity, and was the domain of the old lady. However, all Black people, young and old knew that this African beer was used at social gatherings to greet people. The ideology of home-brewed beer is interesting because most people from rural areas drink it, but young urbanized Blacks see it as degrading, as culturally backward.

Home brewing succeeded for a number of reasons. In the rural farms, where people know no other life, they engage themselves in the preparation of this, which takes three days. They also consume it for pleasure. Many cannot afford alcohol thus they resort to consuming this homemade beer. Many people also mentioned that it was ‘made for the ancestors’. It is believed that ‘the dead people would come and drink it’. It is made especially for weddings, funerals, the Christmas period, the Easter period and other rituals where it is offered to the ancestors. During the initial harsh apartheid years Blacks were not allowed to drink alcohol – they had no license to buy it. Thus, it was made at home.

Black boys were herd boys from the age of six or seven and they grazed and dipped the domestic animals before going to school. All aspects of herding were learnt by direct imitation. Every Black boy growing up on a farm knew how to herd cattle and was versatile in farming and farm.

Many Black people from the neighbouring countries and the other provinces left their original homes and places of work and were drawn to the Canestone sugar mill. Since it was not very easy in the 40’s, 50’s and 60’s to get cheap local labour, the Company had recruiters who used to bring back busloads of people from as far away as the Transkei. Sometimes those in search of jobs would wait in lines outside the Company gates hoping to be employed. Sometimes, at work, these Black workers took to drinking alcohol but they were warned that their “children would go hungry if they carry on doing this”. The main language used by others to communicate with Blacks was Fanakalo. Although they did not like this, they acknowledged to me that there was nothing that they could do about the situation.

3.2. The Indian Workers

This summary is a reflection of my conversations with a group of about fifteen men. Upon being introduced to the informants, I immediately assured them of their anonymity and emphasised that whatever they said would be held in confidence. Under no circumstance

would their identity be divulged. I emphasised this in the hope that they would speak more openly to me and withhold nothing of importance. Many of them told me their names but I addressed all of them as 'Uncle' and nobody objected, perhaps because I am an Indian female, and still studying. Somehow they did not see me as a mother and wife who has been a teacher for over ten years, possibly because they would not have expected a mother to want to write a book about the Company they worked for. Their opening comments were always of the nature '...I don't think I can tell you much....' (despite having worked for thirty years and only having recently retired.) They told me '...the company was a good company to work for...' and as we continued, they recounted horrific details of their injuries and conditions of work, and the lack of proper communication methods. After they relaxed and decided to trust me, possibly because I spoke to them with the utmost respect, they opened up and told me things that they probably would not otherwise have shared.

All of these men have worked for the company for a period of eighteen years or more. The longest serving gentleman has worked for the Company, for a period of almost forty-five years, from 1942 to 1986. My discussions with him were most enlightening as he had vivid recollections of everything that transpired in the company. He experienced 'a sugarcane life' as his entire existence was enmeshed with the sugar cane fields.

All of the men were over fifty-five years of age, many of them being grandparents. Almost 80% of them had family members, sons and daughters and their spouses and children, living with them. Their homes were either face brick or green and white Dutch style homes that averaged between fifty and seventy-five years old. All the houses had the same style. A Dutch style either two or three bedrooms with a toilet and bathroom just outside the house. Many had been renovated however and the bathroom was now part of the main house.

Many of these houses have steep steps that only recently have been paved. Some of the houses have neat little gardens and fences around them. Many houses, especially those off the national road, have little or no land for development in the front of the house. There is little that can be done for those people who wish to extend their homes. All of these people have lived in these homes for most of their lives but they could only purchase them after the 1994 general election.

3.3. The Whites

The White men I interviewed had no problem getting employment with the Canestone mill and some of them had served the company for nearly 40 years. Promotion was not a problem for them and many of them became assistant managers and managers within a short space of time. If they needed training, it was provided. Whites in the company always earned a higher salary than the other racial groups.

3.4. General: Vinayagi : the Fifth Generation

Vinaiyagi was an Indian woman whose great great grandparents had worked for the company. Like many other young people at Canestone, she has realized that she cannot stay at home and wait to be married off, as was the situation with the generations before her. She has realized that she needs to seek employment elsewhere. At the conclusion of my interview with her she told me that she was completing an Accounting and Computer Diploma with a Professional Computer Training School. Many other young people of the same social bearing have stated categorically that they would never want to work for the company. Whatever it was that kept the previous generations seeking employment at the company right up to the 1980s have changed and the youth of Canestone have made other choices for themselves. Despite many of them, especially the Indians, consciously choosing to live and work elsewhere, there are some who see no other way out and hope that they can get employment there with the company.

4. SOCIAL INSECURITY

One of the main grouses which the people of the estates have is that in the event of them being fired, retrenched or resigning, they will have no-where else to go. All of the interviewees I spoke to on the estates have not been able to purchase a house elsewhere as their salaries over the years has not made it possible for them to do this. When they spoke to me I could see their anguish, fear, hurt and insecurity; because some of them had been living in the same house for over twenty years. Another issue that was brought up was the idea of change and how they had to adapt to it very quickly. One of the biggest 'hurdles' that the Indians have had to overcome was having Black families moving in next to them when in the late 1980s Black families were allowed to move into these homes.

However, my informants did state that since they have become accustomed to this, there have been no problems concerning racial attitudes. On the Longaat estate there are only 13 Indian families out of 72 homes. However, what I found quite strange was that despite the company still employing White people, not a single White family resided in this area. The estate manager and assistant estate manager are White men who live in company - owned homes, but not in close proximity to the labourers and general workforce.

5. THE COMPANY AS AN INSTITUTION OF POWERFUL CONTROL

This company was definitely seen as a powerful institution by the respondents. The company pandered to the whims of the apartheid government until the birth of a free democracy in 1994. As far as the workforce was concerned, during times of conflict the imbongi was the mediator or the conveyer of messages. He was a political figure who had authority and was able to sway the masses and alter their thought processes. The management used him because they saw merit in paying attention to someone whom the masses trusted. The 'Imbongi', or praise singer also had a certain amount of power or authority. The workers would listen to him. He was like a leader. 'We were to do all that he instructed us to' even though 'other people criticized what we were doing, but we had reasons for it. Management threatened to call police and dogs. We enjoyed what the Imbongi was doing; they shouted about the bad treatment the management was giving us and that made us angrier, and we went mad. We wanted to show management that we were people sweating - the Imbongi controlled the strike. Imbongi was an important person. When he was leading the song it was as if we were possessed by spirits and feared no death - we only wanted to move forward. These were the aspirations and goals of the workers at that time. The manner in which they expressed themselves and the choice of words used may be described as "priceless instruments of thought" [Durkheim, 1915].

5.1. White Man's Paradise

The White population in general had all the privileges that any citizen of any democratic country could have. Here, in South Africa, the White man and his family were brainwashed into believing that the people of colour had to be treated differently; that they were inferior. In Canestone, the situation was no different. None of the white men I spoke to had a problem getting employment there. They were quickly promoted and in their view the more harsh you were, the better you were viewed by your superiors. Because of the apartheid laws, Indians and Blacks were not able to apply for promotion nor were they granted any positions of

authority. When I asked why it took so long for Indians and Blacks to become estate and assistant estate managers, the response was that when these people asked to be considered for promotion they were told that they did not have the correct qualification, etc. One Indian estate manager had to get certificates in isiZulu and Xhosa proficiency, as well as other courses, before he became an estate manager. He also worked in the company for 23 years before he got the position. Yet, White men who started with him became managers much earlier without the same qualifications. One respondent commented that this company was a 'white man's paradise' where he could get anything he wanted.

5.2. Affirmative Action

According to the interviewees, especially those in administrative and managerial posts the company is following a policy of affirmative action. In general the non-Whites are not subjected to a policy of discrimination as they were in the past. At present they are in a position of command or supervision over Whites and have even replaced them. However, because of the past inequalities, the company still has a greater percentage of White managers in positions of control over their Black counterparts. Many of the interviewees were of the opinion that since the affirmative action procedures were controlled by the majority White management and executive teams, the process was seen as a political move rather than genuine concern or interest. On the issue of affirmative action, the Indians felt that they were once again disadvantaged or marginalised as they were now being sidelined in favour of Black employees. The Whites were of the opinion that affirmative action was apartheid in reverse and the situation in this company was hopeless for the younger White employees. In fact somebody even said, "don't worry about the rhino, worry about the white ou." The Blacks were of the opinion that the process of change as far as affirmative action was concerned was going at a much slower rate than expected. However, it was agreed that affirmative action was taking place as there was a general increase in the number of Blacks and the number of women being employed.

5.3. The Provident Fund

Furthermore, the Company could be seen as a political organisation because there was mistrust between the different racial groups. In 1980, employees took their money out of the Provident Funds because they were forced to do so. The Blacks were under the impression that the company 'was robbing them'. For those employees who did not take out their R2,000 or R3,000 in 1980, they have collected more than R200 000 when they left the

company. These were people 'who took the risk of being killed' (by their own admission), by not taking out their money. In 1980, the Provident Fund became a contentious issue. According to one informant: 'We took our Provident Fund money out because we heard that the money was getting lost, and we had less money in the fund - because it wasn't compulsory that we joined the Provident Fund... There were these izinduna who did not clearly explain to us about the purpose of being in the Provident Fund. You could only go to the labour office and join the Provident Fund if you wished to. However, we knew nothing about how the fund works and what were the benefits of joining the Provident Fund'. For another gentleman said 'Those who were in the Provident Fund were once told the fund was to be transferred to another place /town , and that required employees who were in the Provident Fund to claim their money - that's how we came out of the fund.' This action of most of the workers withdrawing their funds can be seen as a comprehensive expression of the social experience of the group.

The issue of the provident fund and the misnomer of the reality of the implication illustrate the power that the literate has over the non-literate or semi-literate. The consequence of this semi-literacy level was that the literate was able to make decisions for the majority. There still seems to be a sense of confusion about the 1980 Provident Fund withdrawals. Different interviewees had different opinions about the withdrawal of the money and some views expressed are as follows. One informant said 'I took Provident Fund in 1980 but it was not called the Provident Fund in those days, instead it was called a Pension Fund. We were fooled by other people saying that the Whites are going to rob us of our money if we do not take it. However, those who were clever enough took the money during the strike period and deposited it in the bank after the strike. Then, later a scheme called Provident Fund was introduced, it was only then that we re-applied and deposited our money back into the scheme'. Another respondent said 'My money is still there.... I have no real answer as to why my money is still there except well ...it was there so I left it there.' This gentleman is one of the few employees who would be getting in excess of R200,000 when he retires. Another said, 'I took Provident Fund. We were told that we could not get our money because it is in Pretoria but Selby sorted the matter and we got our money.' According to other sources, this issue of the withdrawal of money from the Provident Fund was not a Company rumour, it was a national rumour and all non-White workers who belonged to the Provident Fund nationally either withdrew or left their money with the Fund. However, this scenario

illustrates very clearly the power of rumour in an illiterate society. Those who ignored the rumour had funds when they left.

5.4. Political And Economic Power

Questions about literacy cannot be divorced from questions of political and economic power. Ideas about written language have moved on considerably from viewing it as 'speech, which is written down'. In some instances, in Canestone, a handful of Black gentlemen were able to speak English to a certain degree but even though I could understand the essence of their messages, the speech itself, if written down, would be grammatically incorrect and a reader may not understand the message because of its contextualisation. Written language has different functions from spoken language, and any choice between written and spoken usually has other implications beyond a simple choice of medium. Writing enables us to go much further than with spoken language; we are able to fix things in space or time. At Canestone, the majority Black and Indian workforce were not able to achieve their goals and aims as the years progressed into decades; they were simply not able to utilise the art of writing and enjoy the fruits of reading. Industrial and personal progress were hampered by the fact that those in a position to be able to read, write and speak English, tended to give consideration to the Company's views because of a fear of victimization. At the Canestone estates, the labourers could not differentiate between political and economic power because both of these aspects were in the hands of the Company owners who had the monopoly over politics and economics in the area until the 1990's. The Government brought about the change in politics and not because the people of Canestone brought, pressure to bear on the Company. At present the Company's economic policies are changing and they are becoming more privatized.

Owing to the democratisation of South Africa and the introduction of the so-called "Rainbow Nation", they have already, in 1994, began with the process of selling of homes that are not agriculturally based. However, the sale of these Company houses has been embroiled in controversy as many of the inhabitants of those homes were not given a chance to buy them. They were sold off to some Indian and Black people who could afford to buy homes elsewhere in the Canestone area. These were mainly people who worked in the administrative areas of the Company. In rare instances, these houses have already been sold to other Indians and Blacks at a massive profit by these Indians and Blacks who were fortunate enough to acquire them in the first place. The majority of these people had not taken out their money

from the Provident Fund. Although some of these people have not gone further than grade three or four in the 1940's or 1950's, they did not lack business acumen and were shrewd negotiators when it came to the buying and selling prices.

6. THE COMPANY AT THE ORAL – LITERATE INTERFACE

One particular informant remembered that his first job was in 1956 and when his father retired after 50 years of service in 1965 his benefits were 'very bad' as he 'only collected R300 and at retiring age he had to look for rent'. Therefore, he the informant came to work for the company, so that his father would have a house, and for 44 years, he lived in the same house. This same informant's first job was as a 'sample boy'. In the description of his job we see what Ong has been saying in his article on "Some Psychodynamics of Orality" [Kintgen et al, 1988]. This informant repeated 'run' so many times that I could visualize him running while doing his job : 'first job sample boy...not easy to get a job ...need a contact ... spoke to Sirdar... less wages.... bring samples... four or five cans – carry in boxes in both hands, then leave boxes, then run to White man, leave there, wash cans then run, then run... then run...no rest, keep working, 8 hours working...then go home rest'.

Another respondent also fits in with what Havelock states about "bits and pieces of your thought cannot be preserved in jilted notes" and that the way to call events to mind is to think memorable thoughts. This informant stated that 'he could remember his teachers although he only went to Standard1, he liked his schooling'. He also remembered the circumstances under which he had to leave school. He recounted that he had to look after the cattle. Surrounded by a literate culture, there was a traditional culture, which existed, and here the informant remembered that there were chiefs who handled cases if problems were experienced. The labourers went to the Induna and if he could not settle cases, the induna went to the chief. If the chief could not sort out the matter, they had to go to the courts. One respondent repeated the words 'hard life' with reference to himself, his mother and father in the different times. These repetitions are aids to memory recall in primary oral cultures, which appear to be significantly used with reference to people living in literate societies, but who themselves have not been able to acquire literacy.

With regard to the labourers in Canestone, their lack of literacy or lack of formal schooling has put them in a situation where their thought tends to be highly rhythmic, for rhythm aids recall, and is physiological. Jousse (1990) has shown the intimate linkage between rhythmic oral patterns, the breathing process, gesture, and the bilateral symmetry of the human body. Many informants were rhythmic, and it became clear why or how rhythm aids recall, viz. 'Father good man, he says, go sit one place, go gardening, go help mother, ironing, go do ironing'. Here the breathing process and gesture went hand in hand as he continued; 'Father powerful... Mother took decisions' and then he came back to stating 'father shout...hard life'. This informant also at different times in the interview brought in the idea or thoughts of 'walking' and 'no shoes' repeatedly. This was a common thought in his mind about his childhood years. However, as he moved onto his first job, somehow his emphasis changed on the words he was repeating. Here his 'walk'/'walking' changed to 'run'/'running', and 'hard life' changed to 'very bad' in the different associations he was making to work, family life, and life in general.

6.1. Speech

Ong, in his writings is of the view that formulas help implement rhythmic discourse and also act as mnemonic aids in their own right, as set expressions circulate. Here, in Canestone, one such example that I found was: 'The company drank our blood and left us with the bones.' Rhythmic, balanced utterances and patterns of speech such as 'going to check the people doing funny things... drinking... patrolling the whole area... go to the housing area... check to see nothing is going wrong... just walk... all the time...' will not be found in books and indeed these and other examples cannot be "looked up" in books of sayings, but are found in oral cultures. They are not sporadic; they are incessant. They form the substance of thought itself. In the latter example because the gentleman was not an English speaker, his vocabulary was limited and thus the word "going" was used in as many phrases and thoughts as possible. Thought in any extended form is impossible without the use of a set form of terminology, for it consists in them. Here, the informant had an impression of himself as having made progress. He saw himself as having moved ('going') from one job to another, making career moves. He also mentioned that he had his own house (having moved – 'going'- showing an improvement in his social status, owning his own house) and his two children lived with him (once again 'going'-moving from a single person status to a father) although he was not married. His partner, the mother of his children also lived with him. The reason they are not married is that he is not in a position to pay the 'lobola', a dowry. This

includes 11 cows, which would cost about R30 000 as well as other items as requested by the woman's family. He does not have this money. In keeping with his social status and his confident demeanour, he informed me that he did not want to have more children. He mentioned that he moved away from his old home in Ndwedwe where his mother tried to teach him. Thus, this ongoing preoccupation with the idea of "going... going..." reiterates that any extended form of thought is impossible without the use of a set form of ideology. The following example illustrates this. 'Amabhunu' – time of the boers 'Ukubhadala Ukhandu' – pay for your head existence. 'Uyindoda ekwazi ukufela iqiniso' – man who dies for the truth. A retired Indian man, Ganas Moodley, said to me he was "kicked from pillar to post". However, a power existed in Canestone and this involved literacy.

Although the above examples illustrate the manner of speech used, it illustrates how the lack of literacy affects a person's speech and perceptions. A great deal has been written about the effect on the working-classes of the modern mass media of communication. But when I listened to the working-class people from Canestone at work and at home, I was struck, not so much by the evidence of fifty years of popular papers and cinema, as by the slight effect these things have had on common speech, by the degree to which working people still draw, in speech and in assumption to which speech is a guide, oral and local tradition. That tradition is now weakening, there can be no doubt, because their young now have access to education and the benefits of literacy but if we are to understand the present situation of the working-class we must not pronounce oral tradition as being dead when it still has remarkable life. Canestone is one area where elements of an oral culture, non-literate culture, illiterate culture, semi-literate culture and literate culture survive within the broad parameters of a geographical area, multilingual era.

In interviews conducted and general conversations held with retired and present workers, the following phrases were used a considerable number of times: 'this Company treated us badly'... 'it was a White man's paradise'... 'we worked long hours like dogs'... 'they never bothered about us'... 'when we tried to find out about the free housing we were getting, they never gave us information about it and now when we are retiring, we still have to pay lots of money'. Not unexpectedly, in the middle-aged people of Canestone the old forms of speech do persist, not in an animated or predisposed way, but in a formal manner.

6.2. Formulaic Thought

In primary oral cultures all expressions and all thoughts are to a degree formulaic in the sense that every word and every concept conveyed in a word is a kind of formula, a fixed way of processing the data of experience, determining the way experience and reflection are intellectually organized, and acting as a mnemonic device. Putting experience into any word can implement its recall. The formulas characterizing orality are more elaborate, however, than are individual words. I find that in Canestone the people who originally lived there, and those who came to work, and live there shared a common manner of speaking. The speakers express phrases and ideas in the same way. It seems as if their close proximity to each other, living within the parameters of the Canestone area, and their common shared working experience, was the architect of it. An example here is that whether I was interviewing Indian or Black workers, most tended to use phrases such as: 'Mother not educated', 'Father had power', 'Father cheeky', etc. These incomplete, ungrammatical sentences conveyed a message far more complete than these limited words did.

7. The Company At Cultural Crossroads

From the point of view of society, the enormous complexity and variety of the cultural differences obviously creates problems of an unprecedented order of magnitude. Many characteristics of Western literate societies are present here in Canestone. The Black Canefield workers are not able to read and write in English. They have their own Zulu, Pondo, Xhosa, Swazi, Malawian, Mozambique, South African and African ritualistic and cultural norms and values which they have brought into this enclosed particular geographical area. Among the Indian families who live in the Canestone estates and other nearby areas there are also a number of traditional practices that take place which are not quite understood by the literate society. Even the parents themselves have no clear, concise explanations and even if they did, there are a number of differing reasons that are provided. Goats are sacrificed by the Hindi-speaking people and no substantial reasons are given as to why the slaughtering cannot take place while the mother or daughter-in-law of that particular home is pregnant. Furthermore, this slaughtering can only be done after a waiting period of 40 days after a baby is born. Some attempts are made by the younger people to answer these and other questions but in reality nobody would want to go against these views should any thing happen to mother or child.

Similarly, with the Tamil-speaking people there are rituals that are performed where no logic is possible yet generation after generation these practices are followed. An example here is 'the porridge prayer'. This is not even done in India and yet South Africans continue to do it. These and many other daily, weekly and annual rituals are practiced which have been passed down by word of mouth because there are no books or other literary material detailing reasons, procedures and values for the performance of such acts. People are incessantly exposed to a more complex version of the kind of culture conflict that has been held to produce anomaly in oral societies when they are exposed to literate civilization. Another important consequence of alphabetic culture relates to social stratification. The architects of the Canestone experiment were a few literate White colonialists who manipulated and monopolized the majority non-literate migrant and indentured labour work forces.

Having the alphabetic culture allowed them to sustain the system of social stratification as the majority illiterate groups up to 1994 in the Canestone area, and the country as a whole, could not rise above the waves of dogmatic control. Nor, of course, are these variations in the degree of participation in the literate tradition, together with their effects on social structure, the only causes of tensions. For even within a literate culture, the oral tradition – the transmission of values and attitudes in face-to-face contact – nevertheless remains the primary mode of cultural orientation, and, to varying degrees, it is out of step with the various literate traditions.

The literate culture, then, is much more easily avoided than the oral one, even when it is not avoided its real effects may be more basic. In oral societies, like Canestone in the 1960s where the majority Indians and Blacks could not read and write, the cultural tradition was transmitted almost entirely by face-to-face communication, and changes in its content were accompanied by the homeostatic process of forgetting or transforming those parts of the tradition that ceased to be either necessary or relevant.

8. THE COMPANY AT THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PARADIGM

8.1. Coping Mechanisms

In view of the fact that most of my interviewees worked for the company for a period of 25 years or more and many of them still do not possess their own homes, it would seem that they would need some method of coping. The following are some of the ways that the workforce managed to cope.

8.1.1. Alcohol Consumption

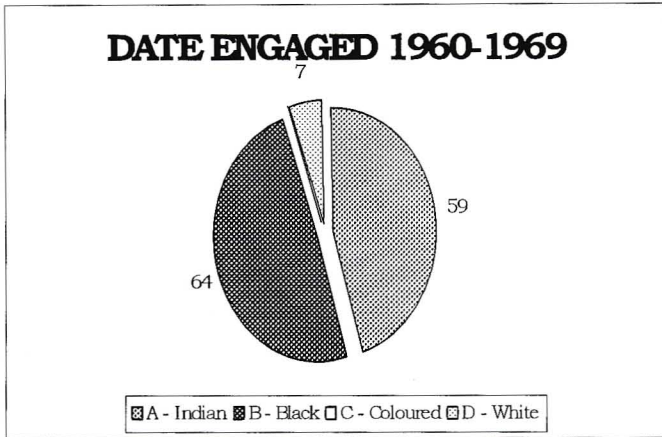
Many employees took to consuming alcohol. However during the period up to the early 1990's, it was overlooked at work, even though workers were occasionally drunk on duty. Sometimes they were given warnings. The reason given to me by the workers for this tolerance was that some of them did extremely skilled work, like 'driving the cranes' or being 'able to fix the boiler machine if it broke down' therefore the company allowed them a chance to go home, sober up, and come back to work the next day. Some consumed 'gaveen'- a home brewed drink. Many workers acknowledged to me that they first consumed alcohol socially, and, soon enough, it became a habit. One Indian informant said: 'On a Monday morning at about 9 o'clock I have to quickly have a nip otherwise I can't cope with the rest of the day'. He further stated that the supervisors overlooked it, if the workers were not too drunk, but they were given verbal warnings. Some of them said they refused shift duty because they liked to have a 'shot' in the afternoon and if they had to be at work, it would have been difficult. It seems as if alcohol was a source of comfort or relief and their method of coping with their problems. Almost all the fathers of those interviewed had consumed alcohol. However, the alcohol consumed by most Blacks was home-brewed beer because during the apartheid era they were not allowed to buy alcohol and because of these restrictions they formed certain drinking potions. The Indians could only purchase their alcohol from a public drinking place, for example a hotel. Only the Whites could enjoy alcohol at home and in public. Probably the reason for placing these restrictions on the employees was to minimize problems that are associated with alcohol abuse. Members from all race groups admitted to consuming alcohol to relieve their tension.

8.1.2. Recreation : Sport

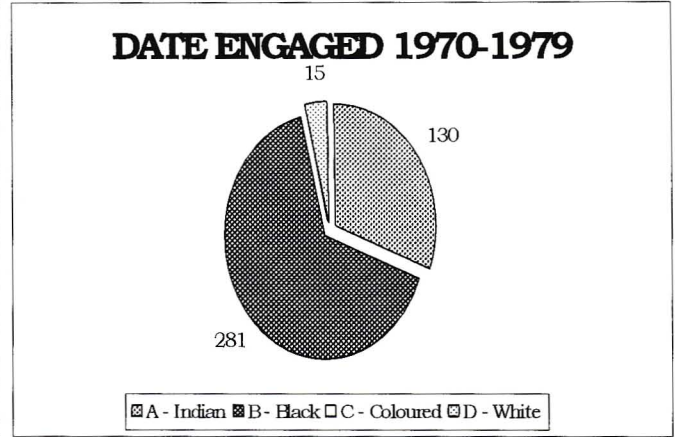
There are grounds on the estates, which are used by the workers to participate in soccer, and an inter-estate soccer match is held at least once in a month. A major soccer competition is held between the different company divisions once a year.

8.2 . Number Of Years' Service

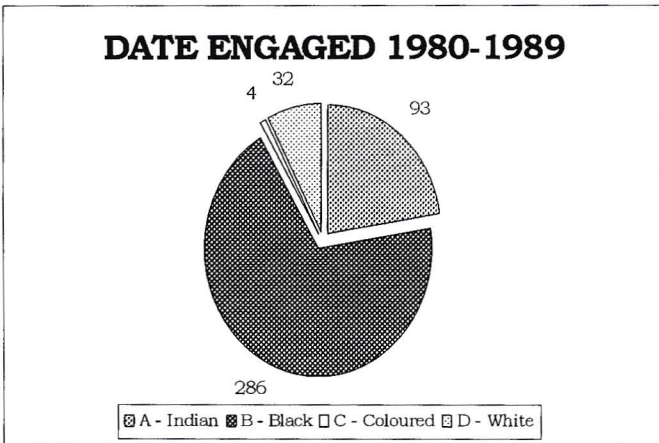
Many of the informants and their colleagues gave the company long years of service. Many worked straight from school (+-15 years) to their retirement (+-60 years) Not only did they give years of service, but in most cases their fathers, uncles, brothers and male cousins also gave in excess of twenty years of service. The loyalty to the company was indeed admirable. The following set of graphs shows the number of people who joined the company from the 1940s to 1997 who are presently in the company. One observation is that even though whites were employed between 1940-1949, more were working in the company at the time of the interview.



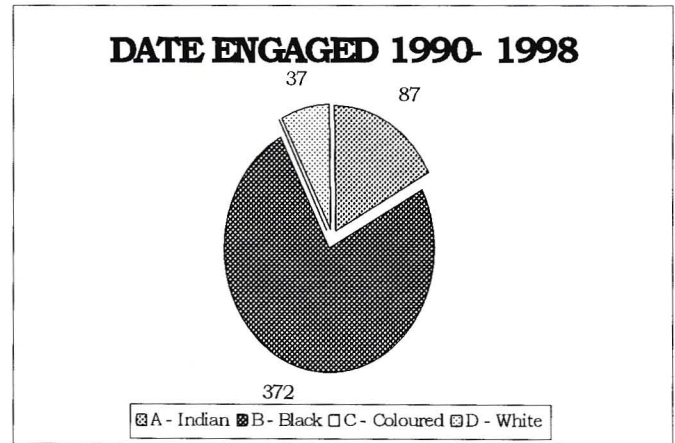
Graph 5: 1960-1969



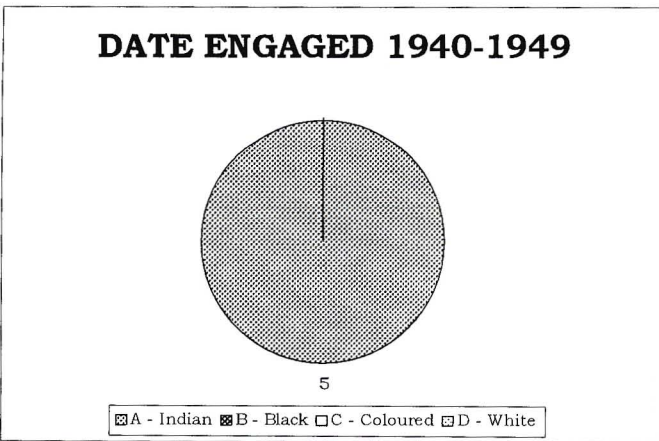
Graph 6: 1970-1979



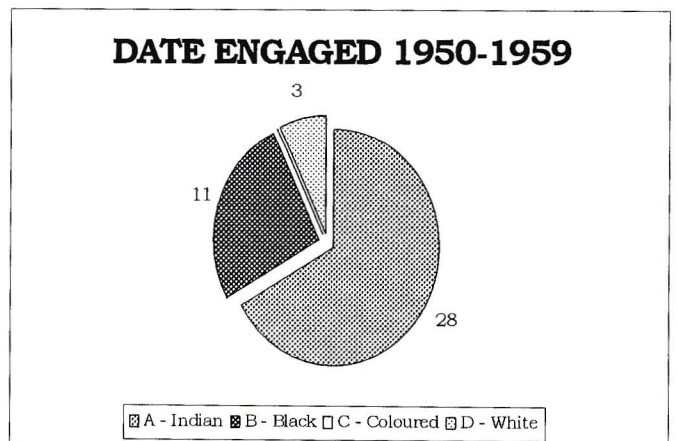
Graph 7: 1980-1989



Graph 8: 1990-1998



Graph 9: 1940-1949



Graph 10: 1950-1959

8.3. Working Conditions

According to Robbins [1994], “Few managers appreciate employees who disparage the organisation. Similarly, professional employees and those in the executive ranks recognize that most employers view with a great deal of disfavour those who actively look for another job. If such people are unhappy, they know to keep their search secret. These examples demonstrate that loyalty norms are widespread in organisations.” This concern for demonstrating loyalty has cleared in my mind why the Canestone employees are prepared to work those long hours and under those conditions. They hope to gain some kind of recognition if promotions and incentives become available.

8.4. Workers Needs

The concept of need is often used in political, social, moral, educational and psychological theories:

1. Needs are objective in the sense that it is a discoverable matter of fact what needs people have and this fact has an intrinsic bearing on what we ought to do. ‘Need’ allows us to pass from an ‘is’ statement to an “ought”.
2. Needs are unimpeachable values. We cannot say truly that people ought to have different needs, and hence needs provide a basis for evaluation.
3. Needs are a matter of priority. What we need is something, which we cannot do without, and hence is an overriding reason.

According to Maslow’s hierarchical structure of needs, human beings have three basic needs. These needs are food, shelter and clothing. The Company in its policies addressed the issue of the need for food by providing its workers with rations. The Company also satisfied the need for shelter by providing free housing for the period of time that the worker was in the Company’s employ. What remained was for the workers to buy their clothing and other necessities. This was acquired through the salaries that they received. The higher order needs, according to Maslow, are to satisfy our social status. The workers accomplished this by gaining recognition for achievements within their work-environment or by the receipt of awards from the Company. One of the awards that were given to employees was the long-service award, at a function in their honour. The most celebrated of these awards is the 25-year service award.

8.5. Emotions And Feeling

One respondent mentioned with much disappointment, hatred and disgust that this company 'drank our blood and left us with the bones'. Many of the other respondents felt the same way when I mentioned this statement. Workers have felt like this because of the sacrifices, their loyalty and willingness to serve the company. As a result of them not having much to show at the end of their years with the company, their feelings of dissatisfaction and unhappiness have come to the fore with statements such as : ' this company is a white man's paradise ' and 'the company drank our blood and left us with the bones'.

The company was on the move. The informal networks became thicker and as important as the formal relationships. The transformation of the company was underway. It could not be ordered by formal edicts. It was a process which relied heavily on powerful emotions, hopes, vision and multiple leadership roles. Indeed, the transformation of a company is driven by a powerful vision.

[Mbigi, 1993.82]

SECTION FOUR

CHAPTER SEVEN

PART ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

In this section I shall discuss the theoretical issues arising out of the literature survey presented, as well as analyse the data presented in earlier chapters. This part of the dissertation also investigates the successful monopoly, bureaucratic power and political authority that a few literate people had over a majority illiterate workforce. I shall also look at the influence that these few people, namely the descendants of the architects of an indentured labour system and the manipulators of a migrant labour system, had over the Indian and Black workers in Canestone. The White capitalists were able to read and write (English) and this allowed them to successfully monopolize the Indian and Black canefield workers who had no bureaucratic power or political authority. During the 1960's only a few of the Indians who lived in Canestone had the ability to read and write Tamil or Hindi [Indian languages] with a handful who could read and write English. The migrant Black labourer could not read or write English (at all) and they came from a primarily oral culture. The White capitalists who were the manipulators of the Canestone experiment had managed to achieve their objectives by putting in service human resources that were available, as well as the succinct, precise usage of literacy resources. Further, through the manipulation of the principles of primary oral cultures the literate group was able to maintain complete domination over the Canestone area.

2. AN ANALYSIS OF THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND FRAMEWORKS

In this section I try to explain how the creators of Canestone believed it was an acceptable behaviouristic pattern to control, manipulate, subserviate and dominate human beings to such an extent that they become devoid of any particular personality but accepted themselves as persona non grata as expected of them by their employers, all in the quest for wealth and power. What, further intrigues me is the distance between worker experience and management and the impact of this paternalism, which existed in Canestone, on the lives of so many individuals. The period under study i.e. 1960 to 1998 is significant for a number of reasons. During the first three decades of this period, the state and industry was able to work hand in hand and totally control the non-white South African as well as discipline White

South Africans who opposed the law. During the 1960s to the early 1990s, the worker of this country was oppressed and generally in industry, a paternalistic attitude succeeded to the distinct advantage of the capitalists. I have already in other chapters explained and described how life was under paternalistic managerialism. What is necessary to state here is that there was a distance between worker experience and management. There was distrust on both sides. Workers believed that the management never came to the bargaining council or negotiation table without hidden agendas. They believed that there was no transparency, basically, no honesty and clean slates. The management as well felt they could not trust the workers and believed that the first opportunity the workers had to be destructive, rebellious or resistant, they were. Thus, with time, the distance between both camps widened and the result is unhappiness. However, after enduring the harshness of an apartheid existence, the early nineties brought with it hope, hope for a better life and most of all change and democracy. In Canestone the workers as well were caught up in the euphoria of a better life, they began to experience a change in life as discussions, and negotiations began and continued for a few years thereafter. Eventually in 1994, the first elections were held and the masses now had a democracy that was a dream for so long. After the excitement and celebrations were over, life had to continue in a new democracy. The question then to be asked is: “A new life in a democracy?” or “A life in a new democracy?” or “A new life in a new democracy?” In trying to answer these questions I shall look at the impact of democracy on the Canestone workers, as well as consider the implications of it given the lack of communication.

Culture, communication, power, orality, literacy and management are the essential theoretical issues that conceptualise this work. People rely essentially on oral, written and non-verbal communication to interact with one another.

3. COMMUNICATION

In industry there are certain channels of communication that are used for purposes of enforcing power relations to the advantage of one group over another as well as to maintain control. Communication is the first issue that is discussed, as it is essential to power relations in industry, especially where change is frowned upon. Given the lack of open and honest communication, I shall focus on the following:

- Reciprocal oral communication
- Cultural diversity and expansion
- Writing

These issues will be dealt with depending on how they affected the life of Canestone workers after a democratic republic was in place.

3.1. Oral Communication

One of the basic problems with oral communication has been the language barrier over time. Initially, at Canestone, the Indians could not speak English as their vernacular was Tamil and Hindi. However, with time and their interaction with the overseers and other Whites they learnt to speak English. All of the Indian male respondents spoke in English, with varying degrees of fluency. Thus one of the changes that is noticed with regard to oral communication is the Indian labourers' ability to converse in English. As far as oral communication and the Black man are concerned, there are still some problems regarding the English language. Only four of the Black men I interviewed were able to speak English. Even so, they did not completely comprehend all issues put to them. Initially when I spoke to the assistant Human Resources Manageress she informed me quite clearly that I needed an interpreter otherwise I would experience difficulties. The problem with oral communication in English was that the majority Black workforce could not speak it; therefore, speed of understanding and responses was difficult and this resulted in a break in communication.

Therefore, even though we are in a new democracy, oral communication in the mother tongue has remained as the main way of communicating. The labourers lack of English comprehension, which I experienced first hand, furthers entrenches him in a system that does not cater for his needs. Not all communicative information that is sent out in English is also sent out in either isiZulu or Sotho. To date, a break in communication does exist. Furthermore, the other problem which also still exists is that most of the foremen or managers are Indian and they do not speak proper isiZulu. They speak Fanakalo. The black workers have accepted this only because it is a means of communication. But, they do not like it and prefer that proper isiZulu be spoken. Since most of the workforce, especially labourers, communicate at some time or other with members of the Human Resources Department, that department now has Black people working there to help with understanding and interpretation. It has to be remembered as well that these people have been employed here not necessarily to help overcome the language barrier but because of the insistence of affirmative action programmes.

Initially, the company did not have a personnel department to deal with the labourers. After an influx of enquiries and other problems, this channel of communication was set up hence the Human Resources Department. However, at present one of the observations I made in passing as I watched employees enter the Human Resources building was that as a result of the Black man's inability to speak in English and some of the Indian men not feeling confident enough, there was a sense of apprehension when they approached. This was further compounded by the fact that the white Assistant Human Resources Manageress at the company did not empathise with these workers. Since the majority Black labourers at Canestone are not able to read, write or speak English, this made it impossible for them to have direct contact or dialogues with non-Zulu speaking people. In fact I thought she was annoying because she was flippant in her relationship with men old enough to be her grandfather. She knew that they could not speak English, but she chose to ignore that factor and would go on just speaking as if they understood. The fact that she behaved in such a way is further indicative of the fact that, she as a child was taught that a black person is a *persona non grata* and in that context her behaviour could be understood. Although we had voted and were now in a democracy we could not change everybody. White people grew up believing that non-white was bad, they were taught that and it stayed with them, the impact of democracy had not hit home in some cases such as the H.R.M. assistant.

3.2. Communicative Issues

The aspect of communicative issues must be considered when discussing change. The following basic questions need to be answered by line managers, supervisors, management teams, trade unionists, shop stewards and different groups of people in the company in order to ascertain whether or not change can or has taken place:

- What does the process of communication involve?
- What is its importance in management?
- What problems in communication regularly occur?
- What are the causes?
- How might they be bettered or remedied ?

At Canestone, managers occupy an essential position in the communication system. They are at the centre of the communication wheel from which messages flow inwards and outwards. Managers in general (including top and middle management) as well as line managers are the only members of work-groups with whom every other member has to communicate regularly.

In addition to the role within a particular work-group, managers are also communicational links with other groups in the organization, with central directing managers, and with external centres and agencies. Communication is of importance to effective management and organizational success. Simultaneously, it is the source of problems and a root cause of many human difficulties. Failure to communicate is the root cause of human relationships of all kinds between nations, between and within political parties, between managers, employees and unions, between relatives, neighbours, etc. In the light of the above, a further question that needs to be addressed is 'What can managers at Canestone do to become effective communicators?'. Based on this knowledge they can begin to develop the interpersonal skills that are needed for effective practice. The words 'management' and 'manager' are not open to many differences of interpretation, but there is a tendency to associate these words with higher levels of industry, and to think of a manager as one who manages a factory, an office, a gold mine or a transport fleet, or who at least is head of a department. However, in Canestone, there is a clear distinction as far as these terms are concerned because the mill [industrial management] and the estate [agrarian management] are different. I have thus far concerned myself with the industrial management however, the agricultural sector has its own set of management teams for each estate. It has a manager, an assistant manager [sometimes two if it is a big estate] and other people in charge of smaller departments e.g. an estate head or agricultural wage clerk, etc, who have some leadership or managerial function. In Canestone, the effectiveness of a manager should be judged almost entirely by the competence of those who carry out his instruction. In relation to his subordinates, he has three main tasks :

- To choose the right people and to get them to work willingly and contentedly;
- To give judgement on their problems, suggestions and grievances; and finally
- To maintain satisfactory co-operation between all those subordinate to him.

3.2.1. The Nature of Communication

Human communication is a two-way activity. There is a sender and a receiver. The message has to be received and understood as intended, otherwise there is no communication.

3.2.2. Traditional Communication

As a result of the traditional views of the managers in an authoritarian role, as in Canestone, they are seen as people who tell others what to do. In fact, in Canestone, the manager's job requires as much receiving as sending. Sound decisions must be based on sound information. To be really effective at Canestone they need to have skills in listening to other people's views, feelings and problems. If these suggestions are followed in Canestone, productivity and the general morale of the workforce will improve greatly. It is possible to describe the authoritarians at Canestone as mainly tellers and the democratic participative managers, of which there are probably one or two, as mainly listeners.

3.2.3. The Communication Process

The communication process is complex and subtle. It may take one of the following forms:

- spoken face-to-face;
- spoken at a distance (telephone);
- written and
- non-verbal.

The individual characteristics and differences influence the messages and the way in which they are interpreted. A fundamental influence in the communication process is that managers and workers are 'not on the same wavelength' or do not speak the same language. This has to change at Canestone if competency is to improve.

3.2.4. Factors Affecting Communication

Communication is affected by factors such as choice of words, which may well not have the same meaning for the sender and receiver, position of words, emphasis, tone of voice, and non-verbal signals [such as nods, winks, smiles, frowns, gestures and posture]. Non-verbal behaviour and body language have received considerable attention in recent times in order to bring about change. No doubt, it is important to be aware that people use methods other than words to convey their meanings. In Canestone where the majority Black labourers do not speak or understand English and where the older Indian workers have no formal high school education, the above mentioned ways of communicating are used and these have to be understood by the managers and line managers to improve proficiency in work. The root cause of communication problems lies in individual differences and their effects on behavior. This is an unchangeable fact. The kinds of problems we all experience at one time or

another are caused by a failure to recognize these individual differences and to make allowances for them in relationships with others. At Canestone, to achieve success, this has to be considered by all. Training in this field should be implemented to improve this particular situation.

3.3. Formal Small-Group Networks

The Chain

As the diagram on page 36 illustrates, the chain rigidly follows the formal chain of command. This applies to Canestone as the top management takes all decisions and these are filtered through to the grassroots with no avenue for discussions on issues, that affects the workforce.

The Wheel

Since the wheel relies on the leader to act as the pivot for all the group's communication, the line managers, supervisors and indunas find themselves in these positions. However, they do not have full control or total authority to make decisions out of their jurisdiction.

The All – Channel

As the all-channel permits all group members to actively communicate with each other, this is not applicable at Canestone because this sort of interaction does not take place there. This relates to the culture of the company. It is part of the psychosocial make-up of the different groups. I have found that whites generally still want to reserve their pride of place, while the Indian still believes that he is better off or more cultured than the blacks but less so than the whites. The blacks on the other hand still possesses his inferiority complex. These feelings are mainly with people over the age of 30 but labourers or lower order respondents on the Paterson System felt that way. Young blacks in administrative and higher level positions are slightly brash and do not appear to be conservative or shy. The younger whites and Indians are more reticent because they are at risk to lose their jobs. Thus, this situation of 'we all work together around the table' does not exist at Canestone.

3.4. Barriers To Communication

The barriers to communication were discussed earlier. However at Canestone, to minimize problems, the following suggestions would make communication more effective

- use feedback;
- simplify language;

- listen actively;
- constrain emotions;
- use the grapevine;
- watch the use of nonverbal cues.

3.5. Communicating Effectively

Effective communication begins with understanding the nature of the process, the effect on individual differences and the problems they cause. At Canestone, the following considerations might help managers to become effective communicators:

- a] trying to anticipate and imagine - however difficult it may be - how others might think and feel;
- b] understanding and using the value of shared experience;
- c] choosing the right form of communication;
- d] choosing the right time;
- e] checking understanding;
- f] reducing links in the chain; and
- g] developing listening skills.

If these are implemented by all then the management team can say that they are righteously honest about change and the company would reap the benefits.

Thus, to conclude this aspect on oral communication, it is possible to state that after looking at communicative issues, formal small-group networks, problems of communication, barriers to communication and communicating effectively that in democratic Canestone change occurred, but the move away from paternalism was not totally achieved. There is an ongoing struggle by workers to break the chains of paternalism and move away from this sort of 'parental control' that the company in a way still views as important to the smooth running of the company. Democracy brought with it changes such as the company selling off previously company owned houses and because workers are now owners, they are faced with a new set of responsibilities such as electricity and water accounts, rates etc. During the apartheid and transition to democracy periods, resistance and change occurred simultaneously.

4. RESISTANCE AND CHANGE

In Power and Disguises, the author writes that certain forms of 'protest' are largely 'coping mechanisms' and express themselves as much through 'quiet alienation and passivity' as confrontation [Gledhill, 1994]. Nevertheless, some of the employees also feel that their objective is to wear down the company's resilience. It is also quite clear that until the 1990s that whatever changes took place, however rapid or slow, it was accompanied by "rigidity in the political sphere." [Van den Berghe, 1964, 242]. He goes on to say that this is historically a "classical setting for a social revolution." [ibid] However, at Canestone the social revolution never really got off the ground, but there was resistance and change took place. However, there was also some resistance to certain change.

The rest of this section looks at certain aspects of resistance and change as the democratic transition took place. Sometimes companies like Canestone cannot really control dissidence; it is too disorganised and sporadic to respond to systematic repression, and cannot be dealt with by paying off leaders, as can more organized factional political conflicts. This situation holds true of the Canestone estate. An Indian assistant estate manager told me that it is difficult to stop the labourers from starting the cane fires if they want to. It is the broader control structures that dissuade the labourers from starting fires; if you are caught, you are immediately dismissed. Thus, even though we are in a democracy, to date, unhappy labourers who resist certain aspects of change that they disagree with, do actually set off cane fires. During protest action, the employees engage in different forms of behaviour. This behaviour includes participation in song and dance, mimicry, recitations of praise poetry, etc. All these performances or actions have a certain meaning for the participants and gives them courage and confidence. However, it is interesting to see how these forms of communication, used during protest action, are carried down from one generation to the next. Even, though we are in a democracy and aspects of literacy have an impact on workers lives, they still, whenever necessary, use from oral cultures, that which they deem to be important, in addressing issues through protest.

Some of the Black strike leaders were able to read, write and speak English to a certain extent. They were mainly the young, rebellious group who wanted change and wanted it immediately. They were the group of people who found themselves in two different chronological worlds at the same time. In Canestone, we agree that changes have taken place. One of the changes that have occurred is the new faces on the block when protest and

strike action is on. Young blood take to the fore and it is amazing how the orality which is so much a part of the lives of the older workers, has been imbibed and learnt by the youth who use what they know to demand change. Basically, young men in particular are vociferous and use their orality to show their anger while the women use their voices to sing and ululate.

In 1997, during the major strikes that the industrial workers engaged in, I witnessed from about 50 metres away toyi-toying, dancing and the singing of freedom songs. As a member of the public, I was not allowed any nearer because of the militancy of the workers and their anger towards the company. The police cordoned off the area and Caspers were in place if the need arose to use them.

Another issue that has brought about resistance is the Company's selling of estates as a democratic move, because the Company felt that they are giving private owners a chance to farm the lands themselves. However, the workers are trying to halt this process as their entire livelihood depends on the existence of the farms. This is one such example where they have tried to resist the actions of the company, but whether they survive or not is another issue.

Over the years, the Canestone labourers had their own style of resistance. This is referred to as 'everyday resistance', as well as the second form known as 'open defiance'. In one aspect, for example, lies the quiet, 'piecemeal' process by which some rebellious labourers have often encroached on plantation and state owned lands, but this has not happened at Canestone as the management has succeeded in being vigilant. The other, which is a more public invasion of land that openly challenges property relations also, has not occurred. In conditions of actual occupation and use, the encroachments or occupation of lands by squatting may accomplish more than an openly defiant land invasion.

The overseers, as well as the estate and assistant estate management teams live on the company property. They are more alert to their surroundings and therefore non-White families living there as well do not take chances to allow others to move in. However, in general, agrarian labourers in other set-ups, do engage in the theft of communal or individual stocks. Strangely enough, however, this situation has not taken place at Canestone. The only reason I can attribute this to, besides the strict control that the management has in this area, was perhaps they actually valued their jobs. One assistant estate manager was visibly upset at his working hours which has resulted because of the Company's harshness. He stated that if

there is a sign of a fire outbreak, they have to be at the scene within minutes. They have been provided with company vans and walkie talkies and are expected to be at home during the weekend that they are on shift and to be vigilant as well. A roster is drawn up well in advance. They are not given public holidays off but arrangements are made for other time periods when they may be allowed time off. The down side to this deal is that the extra working hours is not compensated for. For example if a manager returns from a fire and within minutes is informed of another, he has to be on the move again. Sometimes these managers are up until 3:00 fighting a fire, and then they have to report to work at normal working hours the next day. No compensation is granted for any extra working hours put in by any member of the management team. It is therefore possible to state that change has occurred in Canestone, but at the same time there was and still is resistance to certain aspects of change as well as when change is not taking place as it should.

5. LITERACY AND WRITING

It is quite clear thus far that writing and literacy have played a major role in Canestone. Writing and literacy go hand in hand and they worked to the distinct advantage of the initial white capitalist sugar baron who exploited and established a company town set-up where the workers who were also the residents were manipulated.

5.1. Definition

UNESCO's general definition of literacy is formulated as such: A person is literate when he has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community, and those attainments in reading, writing, and arithmetic make it possible for him to continue to use these skills toward his own and the community's development. Literacy may also be seen as:

- the ability to crack a code: to make sense of marks on paper;
- to derive information from that code;
- to derive personal, social, cognitive meanings from the information received;
- to act on such meanings;
- to make inferential and other cognitive structures from the meanings acquired in order to find new meanings.

Many of the Canestone workers were :

- not able to crack a code,
- not able to derive information from that code,
- not able to derive personal and social meaning from the information received
- not able to act on that meaning, and
- not able to make inferential significance from such meanings.

Thus, they were illiterate. Literacy is for the most part an enabling rather than a causal factor. Questions of literacy cannot be divorced from questions of personal and cultural values. Going from one literacy to another, or from orality to literacy, is a major break in the pattern that connects the items of learning. However, the workers at Canestone who were illiterate could not differentiate between the varying forms of literacy. To them, it was all the same i.e. audio-oral. The transition to secondary orality has helped us to sharpen our minds to the impact of literacy and typographic culture. Unfortunately, the workers who were illiterate did not have access to secondary orality, computers, e-mail, telegraphic mail, nor even in some cases telephonic communication.

5.2. Invention of Writing : Selective Advantage

Microchips are merely a technical improvement over clay tablets. The invention of writing, however, was the invention of an entirely new technology, 'the technology of intellect', as Goody likes to call it. With regard to the Indian indentured labourers and the future generation that lived and worked in Canestone, the levels of lack of literacy placed them in an inferior position. Initially, their bosses paid them their monies in 'cans'. They were not given proper pay packets or slips, which clearly stated how much was deducted, and for what purposes. It was only in the 1970's that they began getting pay slips, but even these did not clearly explain what the deductions were for. Thus the 'literate', the sugar owners, used literacy for their own advantage.

5.3. Our Civilisation

In our civilization, as seen in Canestone, writing is obviously an addition, not an alternative to oral transmission. The continuity of understanding from one generation to another is ensured by language. This is the most direct and comprehensive expression of the social experience of any society. Living in the technologized era that we do it is difficult to imagine life without writing especially since it is closely connected to, or even as some believe, enforces, the

development of, logical reasoning. Goody [1977] does not suggest that writing made all things happen, but rather he notices their concurrence with writing, a fact that needs to be accounted for by any theory of civilization. He goes as far as replacing the traditional distinction between 'primitive' and 'modern' culture with the distinction between 'literate' and 'non-literate'.

5.4. Literacy : Race and Class Conflict

Literacy, Goody [1977] contends, should not be seen in isolation, and it should not be assumed that literacy itself would lead to social improvement, civilization and cultural development. It would be asocial rather than just impulsive to believe that literacy education can conquer the social problems related to race and class conflicts. If the achievement of literacy is seen as a mere technical skill, it cannot be correctly appreciated. Its inherent potential and consequences have to be appraised in the context of other social practices that ascertain how literacy is put to use.

5.5. Writing in Perspective

To put writing into perspective, it will have to suffice in the present context to catalogue the reality that the contraption of writing was a cultural accomplishment of essential significance. Its social ownership can make a big difference for societal establishments, social customs and socialization practices.

5.6. Functions of Writing

Within a society, the use of writing may be restricted to certain functions. In the Canestone society over the years, there have been no literacy programmes in place to promote literacy. Writing, primarily over the years has been used to suppress the masses and there were no attempts to 'educate' people. Olson, Ong, Goody & others have argued that certain modes of thinking could not come into being without the development of writing, print, and print literacy; that such modes – abstract, analytic, etc, cannot be practiced without access to writing or the print: The thinking of literate people tends to be more abstract, discrete, definite, and articulated, consisting of generalizations, deductions and inferences. From my experiences with certain age groups of people at Canestone, I found it difficult to understand these gentlemen's thought processes. They stated that they were prepared to leave a free country like Malawi and come and work in South Africa even under the most undemocratic of conditions because they were in a position to earn some money.

These workers were not able to realize that the capitalists, who at the end of the day were only interested in profits, were manipulating them. Thus, it is possible to state that these illiterate people were not in a position to generalize, draw inferences or conclude deductions. In fact, one of the Black workers chided my interpreter because he thought that we were conducting the study much too late in the day and that we taking up his working time. He really could not conceive of the fact that we were given time to see him and that he was granted time off to speak to us. He had most definitely incorrectly analyzed the situation.

Writing fulfils a number of functions that make a difference for society, culture and also for language. What we have to keep in mind is that writing, by meeting certain functional requirements, may at the same time bring about certain effects which go quite beyond the initial requirements. Another aspect of the “permanence of writing is its potential for regulating social conduct (Levi-Strauss,1955f). This is the social control function. The notions of law and right, of standard and correctness, are closely linked with writing. It is, after all, the letter of the law. By committing laws to writing, they are given depersonalised authority in their own right. Whilst most countries have practiced apartheid in one form or another, South Africa was the only country which actually committed the word to paper. It was this almost more than anything else which led to our international vilification. Thus, in Canestone, as in other parts of the country, since apartheid was the law, the government was able to put to paper all its regulations and thus there was no room for infringement except by protest. Even here, strikes were not allowed, unprotected and most of all illegal. In Canestone, social control is exercised through writing because writing has always been carried by the privileged elites who could refer to written documents as objective standards of human conduct. Even in a fully literate society many more people read than write.

Writing serves as a means of social control in a very concrete and technical sense through registering the members of a community for many purposes. One’s identity is certified in writing. To a large extent, one’s entire social existence depends on written records. Writing results in texts. Because it is often reproducible and open to inspection, written language can be very powerful. Some of the more important functions of writing that can be deduced from the way it is used in modern literate societies are as follows:

- writing is memory supportive (Goody, 1977; Ong,1982). Coulmas calls this function the mnemonic function. Cultural anthropologists always marvel at the memory of

non-literate people of traditional cultures. They are able to recite from memory long genealogies and legends that would fill several volumes. The way in which men and women, especially the older ones have been able to recall their history and youth lends itself to this function. These people have no writing skills, any diaries or notes, and yet their memory recall was outstanding. For the development of writing, its mnemonic function was most important. Lists play a major role as a device extending the human memory, which is vast but also limited. What happens here and now can be remembered for some time, and such memories may even be passed on to the next generation, but that is where legend and memory become indistinguishable. If an event is recorded in writing, however, it can be 'recalled', more or less exactly, forever. Everything that we know about the ancient Indian civilization or Black slavery is through information that they themselves committed to writing. History becomes possible thanks to the mnemonic function of writing, as well as the accumulation of knowledge.

- Another function is that of expanding the communicative range. Communicating in speech requires the presence together of speaker and listener. Writing, by contrast, enables communication over any distance in space or time (Street 1984). This function will therefore be referred to as the distancing function. The written message read by the receiver 10 000 miles away or two millennia later can be the very same document produced by the sender, and it can also be reproduced exactly, word for word, phrase by phrase. The three essential components of linguistic communication - the speaker, the listener and the utterance - can be spatially and temporally separated from each other. The conceiver can thus become the receiver of his or her own message, and the same message can be received by many in different places and at different times.
- Writing is a distancing medium not only with respect to sender and receiver, but also as regards the sender and the message. By distancing the message from the sender and making it available to others or the originator at a later time, the medium of transmission comes to the fore. More than its oral counterpart, which disappears as soon as it materializes, the written message assumes the qualities of an object. This function may be called the reifying function of writing. In writing, on the other hand, words become stable and tangible. As objects in their own right they become, moreover, depersonalised.

Written language has a life of its own. People do things for a reason. People want to know what time the next shift starts or how a new boiler or crane works; they want to make sense of their lives or keep in contact with a friend; they want to make their voice heard. Reading and writing can be part of their social activities.

5.7. Written communication

Written communication is used in everyday life. As in any other company, written communication includes memos, letters, electronic mail, fax transmissions, organisational periodicals, notices placed on bulletin boards, and any other device that is transmitted via written words or symbols. The sender chooses to use written communication because they are tangible and verifiable. Both the sender and receiver have a record of the communication. However, written messages have their drawbacks. They are time-consuming and the major disadvantage is feedback, or the lack of it. The mailing of a memo is no assurance it has been received and, if received, there is no guarantee the recipient will interpret it as the sender intended. [Robbins,1994]. However, at Canestone, the majority Black workforce is not able to read and write and thus, written messages are only used by a certain percentage of the workforce, more especially by the supervisors and management.

5.8. Language and Meaning

It should be clear then that any view of literacy is part of a theory of language. They may be very different, but written and spoken language is not easy to separate. In fact they are entwined, and in daily life people participate in literacy events where reading and writing are mixed in with spoken language and other means of communication. Linguistics has seen language as being primarily for communication, rather than for its creative role in thought: an information processing view of language underlies most positions. As Smith [1985] puts it, language is seen as being for shunting information rather than for creating worlds. In one of his articles, he lists a set of interrelated claims about language and communication, which are contrary to everyday thinking on the subject. He then goes on to support each claim and to demolish beliefs. In brief, his argument is that rather than information processing, much of the function of language is the creation of knowledge. People make sense of literacy as a social phenomenon, and their social construction of literacy lies at the root of their attitudes towards literacy and their actions. Saying that literacy has a social meaning is going further than saying that there are social dimensions to it or that it exists within a social context. Literacy is embedded in institutional contexts, which shape the practices, and social meanings

attached to reading and writing. Within these social contexts, the act of reading or writing becomes symbolic. The very act of reading or writing takes on a social meaning: it can be an act of defiance or an act of solidarity, an act of conforming or a symbol of change.

5.9. Coded Messages

We assert our identity through literacy. Almost all the Black workers I interviewed were unable to extract information from coded messages. Literacy is not merely the capacity to understand the conceptual content of writings and utterances but the ability to participate fully in a set of social and intellectual practices. This is relevant to Canestone. Literacy gives access. It lets us inside, where we have an opportunity to see and appreciate what is possible for us. It lets us reach each other. It makes us the beneficiaries of civilization.

5.10. Literacy Denied

One of the issues that emerged from the interviews is that the management at Canestone did not encourage its employees to become literate. It therefore denied its workers access to spheres that literacy would have allowed them to attain. Literacy gives access to genuine education: the sort that would allow one to recapture one's own civilization. To be unable to read is to be farthest away from this ideal, to be cut off throughout life from a basic understanding of civilization. Only 3 Black workers were able to speak English and almost all of them were not able to write, thus their existence was a narrow one; whatever they experienced was at the mercy of the Company.

5.11. Literacy Skills

In order to survive in a literate society, people need the skills of literacy – skills that allow one to complete a job application, use a telephone book, read newspapers, read road signs, labels on prescription, medicine, directions on food packages and more. At Canestone, initially the workers were given their salary in tin cans. They lived on the estate. They were given food rations. Thus, the workers had no real need for literacy. They were not asked to complete job application forms, nor use the telephone directory. There was no need to even know the road signs. Such skills clearly required an ability to extract information from coded messages. In addition, because the company deemed it unnecessary for its workers to have that type of knowledge, they did not encourage it. However, it should be noted, though, that no matter how illiterate, most people knew how to use a telephone. Literacy is more than a survival skill, as shown quite clearly by the Canestone architects, yet as long as there are millions of

poverty-stricken illiterates in South Africa, it cannot be forgotten that basic literacy is essential to the economic and social well-being of all members of a society.

At the Canestone mill and its estates, the management ensured through its processes of manipulation that the functional illiterates [those who could not read and write in English] on its property remained that way so that their economic and social well-being did not improve. This happened to such a degree that the workers were unable to move away from the situation in which they found themselves. In the 'Future Of Oral Tradition' the author questions whether "the use of writing is now driving out oral literary forms? Is oral literature bound to 'die out' and disappear? This question is often asked, and creates a sense of urgency in many..." [Finnegan, 1988]. In one way, perhaps, the extensive use of writing does mean some decline in the relative position of oral literature for there are other kinds of literature as well as those expressed orally.

5.12. Oral Literature

Oral literature shows no sign of disappearing. In Canestone this holds true as most of the Black people we interviewed were not able to read, write or even speak English despite them having worked for the company for over 30 years, during which time the Company could have made arrangements to have adult literacy classes introduced. In some areas, on Longaat Estate, areas attended mainly by Blacks, (for example, the church) are far from 'driving out' these oral traditions, they have stimulated and fostered them.

5.13. Powerlessness : Social Control

To those who cannot read and write, a book or any other written document manifestly demonstrates their own ignorance and powerlessness, a fact of which the educated few can take advantage. One of the crucial consequences of the invention of writing becomes apparent here. It is a powerful instrument of social control. Writing establishes the great divide between those who have and those who do not have access to knowledge in objectified form. The most obvious function of writing is that it greatly enlarges the range of communication and consequently powers. Writing is a means of social control and it creates social coherence. The communication range of speech is severely limited. As at Canestone the white overseer, Indian sirdar or black induna only had power over the limited number of people who were in their charge. Some of the indunas and sirdars could not read or write English but their limited knowledge of spoken English gave them some of power over the

workforce. If the induna or sirdar were fully literate, they would have had greater power because of their knowledge and access to secondary orality, for example by being able to report to their superiors via typewritten letter. Just as the communicative range of the human voice is limited, so is the size of oral societies. The spoken message depends on the messenger because each messenger has a different disposition and totally different psychological make up, whereas the written message does not depend on the messenger.

5.14. Knowledge

In oral societies, knowledge can be acquired only by experience or direct instruction by another individual. Literate culture on the other hand makes possible the storage and transmission of knowledge independent of the human individual who can verbalize it upon request. The earliest scribes who guarded their privilege jealously recognized this.

5.15. Writing and Power

The skills of reading and writing provide access to knowledge and knowledge is power. In Canestone the divide between the White worker and the Black or Indian worker could be seen in their conditions of work, home environment, socialization and in their attire, attitudes and demeanor or disposition. General literacy, it was believed by the early entrepreneurs, would teach the poor to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employment to which their rank in society had destined them. Therefore, the Canestone architects did not expose, introduce or encourage literacy to the youth.

5.16. Conclusion

Typically, communication in oral societies is face to face, which implies that the difference between oral and literate societies is, among other things, a difference in dimension. One of the elements of Canestone that democracy has not changed was the status of the community as an oral one. Black men and women still cannot speak, read or write English and communicate via their own mother tongue or 'kitchen' language whenever necessary. They still use orality for their survival. In Canestone, the contribution of writing and literacy itself did more harm in some instances because of the rules and regulations, systems and methods used by those in control. An Indian gentleman aged sixty-two had worked for the Company from the age of seventeen and owing to the fact that he was in the agricultural sector, he was obliged to live on the estate. Having reached the age of retirement, he is not able to psychologically or emotionally handle the situation because the money he will receive on

retirement is not enough to purchase a house and sustain himself and his wife for the rest of their lives. Therefore, it is safe to make the assumption that writing is a tool, which, like any other tool, serves as a means of extending the power of some people over their fellow human beings. In Canestone, this has been clearly visible. The availability of this tool does not imply that all its potential is used in every given society.

6. CULTURE

At Canestone, there are many facets of culture, as well as inner subcultures. Many of these cultural patterns merge with others and as a totality they influence behavioural patterns of the Canestone people and all those who come into contact with them. I shall discuss these cultural patterns as I have observed them. Others have been given attention elsewhere in this dissertation because they are part of another concept and are favoured better under those sections. Here are some of the more vivid examples that show specific parts of culture and behaviour as they appeared in Canestone. Dance festivals are still arranged at Canestone but are done on an annual basis. From the interviews conducted, the reasons afforded would indicate that this was an attempt to keep the African culture alive as the company encouraged these festivals. The company always sponsored the meat and other foodstuffs at these festivals. In the sixties the labourers enjoyed these simple gatherings initiated for them and it provided a welcome relief from their working hours. The majority of Black men in those days were without their families and the company provided some kind of activity that would keep them occupied.

One Sunday, while driving around the Longaat estate, I observed a number of activities taking place simultaneously. Whilst soccer matches were taking place, a church service was being held. Others not involved in these activities were either spectators at the match, sitting outside their homes, some were working, others getting ready for work or just lazing around. In years gone by, labourers from a particular estate played soccer against each other or those from a neighbouring estate. However, nowadays, workers from all the different estates converge and these games are very competitive. The soccer league is successfully in operation. A Black man informed me that if you are a black male living in the estate property, you are expected to participate in soccer. In addition, all black male youths belong to the soccer club. What caught my eye on that particular Sunday was the soccer match that was taking place. There were many teams. The excitement was what you would have found in the World Cup in France 1998! Suddenly, I heard drums beating. I wondered what these

[the sound of the drums] were about. Then I noticed a man wearing his church outfit, the white gown with a blue sash. Upon inquiring, he said that there was a church service going on and I was free to attend. Then I observed that a girl was drumming and a lady was leading the congregation. This congregation had only Black followers with a greater percentage being women and children. The hall was relatively full. The company, then and now, wanted to keep the 'black male youth occupied so that they would not be involved in mischief making'. The work relationship is still essentially paternalistic. The Blacks are still governed by the dictates of the Company as far as their spare time is concerned. However, in the sixties, the Indian men were not pressurized into this activity because most of them were family men and had other responsibilities.

Indian families were encouraged to keep the traditional belief systems which they had brought from India and these are still not interfered with today. Temples were built on all the estates where Indians worked and lived, and the Company provided funds for certain auspicious functions like the Kavady Festival. However, the policy of providing funds has now changed somewhat and these days a particular procedure is followed. There is now an association of some 30 temples in the broader Canestone area. From what I could gather from the Indian interviewees, attempts were and are still being made to keep the Indian Culture alive. The different cultures are kept separate. There was no attempt to have a 'gumboot dancing' and 'Bharata Natyam [ancient Indian art and dance form] dancing festival' together to bring about unity through dance or performance. However, church structures were built, but mainly Black members now use them.

Even more enlightening, was what the White respondents had to say regarding culture and how it should be viewed. One gentleman said he believed the cultural differences should remain, as people are different and you cannot change your inheritance. He said that 'for example I would never sleep with a black woman, not because she was dirty or anything, but that was the way he was brought up and that is the way things are.' Another said he 'had to change his local drinking place after 25 years because it is now full of blacks and they just do not know how to behave'. The whites therefore, still want to maintain their exclusivity, not because they want to, but because of the way they were schooled into their jobs and lifestyles while working in the company and living on their property. Thus to this day, from a cultural perspective, attitudes have not changed at a pace that they could have. This situation has resulted because the company had such a 'master minded plan' for every little loophole that

could have existed; for example the young white male estate overseers and assistants were not allowed to have black or Indian women cleaning or cooking for them, in case a relationship developed across the racial barrier, so black men were trained in the field of cooking and cleaning. Respect for the white man at the company is deemed important to this day. Whites still expect to be addressed differently from other groups and it is just an accepted socio-cultural thing. Old black gentlemen would not call a young white female [young enough to be their granddaughter] by her name, rather choose the Zulu word for lady - 'nkosisana' – showing respect. The whites on the other hand, those I have observed, have not attempted to change this form of address by telling these gentlemen to call them by their names as everyone else does. This is an attitude that has been brought in from the older generation and still continues with them only. However, I have noticed young black men that work in administrative posts address whites by their names. The older Indian gentlemen would rather not address the younger White employees by a particular name, but just talk to them. They still feel uncomfortable. The younger Indian employees have little or no problem in this regard. The strategies, structures, procedures and behaviour adopted by the management create the work environment for other members. However, the managers, if they have been members of the organization for some time, are themselves a product of the culture. The strategies, structures, procedures and behaviour they adopt have been conditioned by the culture in which they have been immersed.

As culture is both an input and an output, it is likely to be self-perpetuated and highly resistant to change. People process information at various levels of consciousness, and information processed below the threshold of awareness can influence behaviour. Similarly, our reasoning and problem-solving processes are occasionally unconscious. Thought can be unconscious and consequently so too can common patterns of thought or organizational culture. Culture is historically based. Initially, sugarmen set up sugar estates with some kind of dwelling structure so that the cane-cutters and mill workers could have a fixed abode for the duration of their employment. The sugar owners were dependent on the labourers and the labourers needed housing. Thus, this became a symbiotic relationship. At the Canestone Industrial Human Resources Department, the manager is a White man. His assistant is a young white lady who has a Masters Degree in Human Resources. She has been with the company for less than two years. An Indian man in his fifties, who has been with the company for over 25 years, reports to her. There is a black gentleman and a black lady who also form part of this team. The receptionist/secretary for this department is a black lady. A

white gentleman also leads the Agricultural Human Resources Department. He is in charge of all the minor human resources departments based on each estate. At the Longaat estate Human Resources Department, the manager is white. He has been with the company for over 20 years. His receptionist is a black woman. The rest of his assistants are all either black or Indian men and almost all of them live in company-built and-owned homes on that particular estate. Thus, it becomes possible to observe that the company has not changed its policies greatly concerning white people being in charge. Further, it has still remained gender biased as is the case with the agricultural department. In fact, a young lady did tell me that they refused her a job because she was Indian and female.

Some of the interviews were not recorded because of unforeseen circumstances like electricity not being available, the tape recorder not taping properly and my running short of cassettes because the interviewees had much more to say than I had anticipated. On June 3, 1998, I met two employees who were completely unsure of themselves and Michael and myself. At 3.30pm, we began the interview. Almost immediately, I recalled what Jousse had to say about the energetic explosion and the psycho-physiology of gesture. These men made a lot of hand gestures when they tried to explain something, thus illustrating the energetic nature of gesture demonstrating that living organisms are transformers of energy [Jousse, 1990]. Their heads shook when they were talking about the induna from which I inferred that they were angry at the indunas. This further reiterated that in man all is gesture [Jousse; 1990] where every stimulus [internal or external] results in movement. One of the men was reserved and had to be coerced into talking. But as Jousse [1990] states “ if the mental disposition is a complex, synthetic entity a system of diverse phenomena, phenomena – of a different order, then, regarded objectively, an individual is nothing but an ensemble of movements [of gestures] combined in different ways. In certain cases a person’s moods may be better understood by a sympathetic observer than by the person himself...Movement [gesticulation, thus] remains the essential fact” This was illustrated by one of the more talkative gentlemen who stood up to explain how an Induna was chosen. He showed by gesture how he [the induna] carried two stacks of sugar and that it had to be balanced on each side of his back. When asked about white managers, both men thought about the question before answering, once again giving us the impression that they were unsure of us.

6.1. Oral tradition

This transmission of the primary elements of culture by oral means may be visualized as “a long chain of interlocking conversations between members of the group” [Kintgen et al, 1988]. In any area where there were primary oral cultures (like Canestone), given the close proximity of their homes to their places of work, blacks and Indians were unaware of the manipulation of the employers. They were also not involved in any process regarding capitalistic manoeuvring. However, because of the actions of the ruling group in parliament, certain behavioural patterns emerged within different groups. In addition, with these patterns of behaviour certain phrases were repeated and they were transmitted through this long chain of interlocking conversations between members of the group. The example of the "Amabhunu" will clearly illustrate this. Translated it means “time of the Boers” and this meant you did not do things as you liked, here referring to the blacks who had to ‘pay for his head’, or his existence “ukubhadala ikhanda”. These workers had to pay to be alive, and they started to work to pay monies to the government as their cattle, their symbol of wealth, were taken away.

6.2. The Radio

In the estates, the radio together with gramophones and tape recorders - has had an important part to play in the modern sugar industry. One of my informants, a young woman of about 20 years of age who does read, write and speak English, told me that she does not miss a single broadcast of a talk show called Viewpoint on Lotus FM. This is a phone-in programme and she shared with me the different discussions that she enjoyed, not only because it was entertaining but also informative. Over the radio, truly oral forms of art can come into their own as stories, poems, songs and speeches are broadcast over areas much wider than the ‘traditional’ narrator or minstrel could reach with his individual voice.

6.3. The Television

An interesting observation that I made was that if I went to interview people at around 17:00 to 18:30 I found myself disturbing the ladies of the house as they were busy watching “Days of our Lives” and “The Bold and the Beautiful”, two American soap operas. If the interview went on to the news time, I found myself in the way as the gentlemen wanted to watch this. It is true that some forms of orality are less popular than others are and may be on their way out, and others already may have disappeared, but the television and radio firmly hold their place.

6.4. Paternalistic Culture

On June 10, 1998 the 'Parent Adult Child Theory' came to mind. While the gentlemen were sitting in the waiting room they appeared apprehensive – they were unsure as to why they were being called. Even the manner in which they entered the room, their almost 'child-like' walk made me realise that they did not have the confidence of adults when they are not in their usual surroundings. Once they were seated, the one rubbed his hair backwards even though it was not out of place. An immediate question that came to mind was "How do the white managers communicate with black men who cannot speak English". I wondered about their understanding of isiZulu.

6.5. Subservient Culture

On another occasion I had a chance to chat to Mrs. Gadivella at her son's residence. I realised that old people who have worked for the Company for many years are grateful. This gratitude is part of the inner subculture of the old worker. I found this out with this old Indian 'auntie' in her 70's. This was also true of a man from Malawi. He explained to me the situation in Malawi and it struck me as ironic that he had to leave a free country and come to one so laden with problems for the black people in order to earn a living. As he said 'you had to eat to live, so you had to work where there was work. There was no work ...no money in Malawi.'

6.6. Organisational Culture

Some of the essential characteristics of organizational culture are:

- culture is learnt;
- culture is both input and an output;
- culture is partly unconscious;
- culture is historically based;
- culture is commonly held rather than shared;
- culture is heterogeneous.

Since many of the people have lived and worked in Canestone for more than 25 years they have learnt the culture of the area, whether in work or at home, and thus it has become unconscious. Living in a geographical area of about 30 kms the group developed a heterogeneous history of their own brought about because whites, Indians and blacks lived in

close proximity. Individual beliefs, attitudes and values are gained from the individual's environment. The culture of the organization is gained from the environment common to its members. Both the internal and external environment of the organization influence culture. Culture involves both input and output, as organizational culture is the product of action and a conditioning element of future action. As culture is made up of input and output, it is likely to be self-perpetuating, and highly resistant to change. Firstly, members may unconsciously process information that influences the way they think. Secondly, the conscious beliefs, attitudes and values that underlie behavior may repeatedly lead to success to the extent that they become taken for granted. Organizations are developed from the original assumptions, strategies and structure made by their founders. Once the organization has made a strategic decision - reflecting its environment at that time - the degrees of freedom for succeeding generations are limited.

Clearly, common beliefs drawn from common concerns at work relate to the purpose, tasks, methods, nature of authority and social relations of the organization. Organizational cultures vary according to the nature of belief, attitudes and values that are commonly held. Thus, the management needs to be aware of the function of organizational culture so as to identify what is important in the external environment. Since these are important issues, knowledge is necessary and being in possession of it would benefit the company, especially when changes have to be implemented. Further, I found out that in the 1960's the managerial positions were only for the whites. In the 1970's Indians were assistant managers and supervisors. In the 1980's Blacks were assistant managers and supervisors. In the 1990's affirmative action was introduced using the ratio of (4) Blacks (3) Indians (2) Coloureds (1) White.

At present the Blacks have been mostly put into administrative positions, like receptionists, clerks and secretaries. Another interesting snippet of information I picked up was the process of farming: It starts with underground drainage, followed by field layout, then preparation and planting, followed by cultivation and harvesting, then ends with in-field transport to the siding and to the mill. Labourers who are then put into groups and controlled by indunas do all operations. In the past indunas were mostly Indians and were called sirdars. At present, Indunas are mainly blacks. This company had its own culture which I believe helped it to cut its losses and ensure a low staff turnover. It realised that by keeping family members in its employ, using nepotism, favouritism and economically compliant methodologies, it would ensure success. It had no hesitation in employing mothers, brothers, nieces, etc. It favoured

those who worked well. In the initial years it took care of the economic needs of its workers by providing basic essentials. All these methods worked in the company's favour.

However, when the workers ideology changed, the company changed some of its methods. One informant told me that in 1979 the company stopped the policy of handing out rations and gave people money instead. The workers viewed this as a saving for the company because the monies that they received did not compensate for what they had been getting. Since this study is dealing with a large industrial organisation, it is to be expected that Canestone would possess its own set of cultures and subcultures. Cultures develop with time among a group of people who are in close proximity to each other. In Canestone there are several cultures which are prevalent; the 'obedience' of the workers who do not want to cause any kind of 'dissonance'; the 'compliant' attitude of the older workers and the 'accepting' manner that workers comply with. An example from the Canestone Sugar Company is the culture of the older generation of the field labourers who have worked for 25 years or more. This is an achievement for that particular group of people, whose length of service has been rewarded by an award in the form of a watch. The essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas such as (again for the older generation at Canestone) not to overrule what your superior is saying, and to have respect for anyone in authority. The attached values that are shared by this same group of people are culturally bound. Culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of action. Culture is the commonly held and relatively stable beliefs, attitudes and values that exist within the organization. Some of the cultural attitudes which the Canestone workers have included are lifting their hats when passing anyone in authority and bowing to White women in some position of power.

6.7. Administrative Culture

One gentleman told me that on the morning of 8th May 1990 at 3 o'clock, while working on the machines, the coal started to jam and when he tried to improve the situation, he was injured. Thereafter he had to go to the nearby Victoria Hospital and after two days he was discharged. He went on to tell me his horrific story of how he was thereafter in and out of hospital and was continuously being referred to the group doctor. On December 4, 1995 Mr. Moonsamy told him that 'we will try to board you off.' He was given money from his service provident fund. He was on leave from 14 January 1996 to 14 January 1997. Then on

May 6 of 1997 he had to go for a check up at the hospital. He received a letter in August telling him there was 'nothing wrong with me'.

On November 19, 1997 he went to the company personnel department where he signed some documents and received a cheque from the company. On 21 November 1997 he was admitted to theatre and was released at 12.30 on the following Saturday. He was informed that his 'heart is blocked' and 'they had to blow out my heart'. He underwent a second bypass on Monday, 11 February 1998. After the operation he was discharged on March 5, 1998. April and May passed. On the 7th June 1998 when he contacted the Company, Mr. Moonsamy told him 'your file is mislaid. Nothing was done until 31st June. He then received a letter about the last payment for his house. When he received his provident fund money of R28 000 he spent R16 000 on his house and now has R12 000. On 1st December 1997 he was called for a check up by a specialist cardiologist Mr. Raithalingum at the Umhlanga Rocks Hospital. However, he felt that the doctor did not give a proper account of his condition because he 'did not write I collapsed at Wentworth at 7am' and 'after experiencing a sharp pain for almost 40 seconds and I collapsed'. From December 1997 to February 1998 he did not receive an income from the Company and now does not know what is happening. 'From 1979 (when he first got hurt) to 1996 he was 'kicked from pillar to post when he suddenly fell down'.

According to the respondent the company wants him to take a voluntary retirement where he will receive R38 000-00. He feels that it is 'all very well of Saunders to say something like "his doors are always open", but how can I live on that paltry sum for the rest of my life'. He stated that he received medals for his driving. He was clearly very upset at the way he was being treated as he started working in the Company in 1957 and had given the company more than thirty years of service. The only conclusion that I can draw is that either his information is incorrect, the clerks handling his file are incompetent, or that the company and its administrative people do not care. This culture of not caring, seems to me to be part of the inner psychological make up of the administrative workers. I, personally, had first-hand experience of this.

On a particular afternoon I stood for more than five minutes at the receptionist's desk while I waited for her to end a personal telephone call. Generally, I do not have a problem with administrative workers telephoning family and friends, but this particular lady was aware of the following information, which I shared with her :

- I arrived there at 3:00 clock [implication is I left directly from school]
- I would not have had a chance to freshen up or even have a cup of tea.
- the respondents would have been waiting for me.
- my interpreter would have been waiting for me as well.
- the other set of respondents would be delayed.

As well as a host of other little things. All I wanted was for her to open the door for me to enter the reception area to photocopy a sheet of paper

7. CONCLUSION

At the end of this section of chapter seven it is quite apparent that the following issues are paramount to this study on change and management. Paternalism was the way in which management maintained control over its workers. Initially in the sixties and seventies workers went along with this even though they hated this system. As we moved into the eighties the country went into many emergency state status situations and the workers were further patronised. As the nineties approached, change seemed imminent and then a democracy was established. However, during this period from the sixties through until the nineties there was resistance and growing mass dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction in Canestone in particular was with this system of paternalism. So, even though we were in a democracy, the distance between management and worker experience had not vanished but was still in place because the management wanted to continue with its paternalistic actions. However, the dictates of democracy did not allow for such a firm hold as had been experienced before. With democracy there was a change, a sort of lenient attitude that was displayed. This led to my next point which is the impact that democracy had in Canestone. This, I have discussed under oral communication, resistance and change, writing and literacy and finally culture. At the end of this discussion the following are still the problems experienced by management and workers.

7.1. Workers problems

They do not appreciate the system or ideology of paternalism. The majority black workers do not speak, read or write English. The majority non-white workers do not trust the management. After the recent strike, there is a mistrust of the union movement. Democracy has not given the workers, the life they expected e.g., better housing, free education, improved health services, reduced crime etc.

7.2. Management problems

The workers want too much too soon. They cannot trust the workers because workers indulge in resistance activities. Workers are lazy. Workers demands are too high. Workers are not satisfied with what they are given and show no appreciation. Workers cannot be trusted and are irresponsible.

PART TWO

1. IMPLICATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT: THE WAY FORWARD

1.1. Introduction

In this section, I shall deliberate on the way forward with implication for managers. Thus far, from inferences drawn from interviews, it may be stated that, there has to be a move away from paternalism. This is what the workers want and it is something that the management should seriously consider in order to improve working conditions to achieve a win-win situation. The following should be considered in attempting to iron out the problems that exist. I shall consider the legal, trade union movement and representation issues and thereby show that management has to change.

1.2. Legal Issues

1.2.1. 1973 - The Labour Relations Act

In a 1975 issue of the *Conversor* magazine the Canestone company indicated that in 1973, as a result of the amendments to the Labour Relations Act, there were significant improvements and changes in industrial relations as far as they were concerned. This was the view of the Company's management and was not a reflection of the employees' views. There remained a number of shortcomings, which made the consequent devices for regulating labour relations inadequate in terms of the general circumstances of work and life in general in the seventies.

1.2.2. Liaison And Works Committees

In spite of the government's suggestion to introduce the implementation of registered Liaison and Works Committee in the Canestone company and other companies, it was clear that the majority of Black employees did not have access to proper channels for negotiating conditions of employment with their employers. In the legal aspect, we see that the government had quite an influence in industry. During the apartheid era government regulated all aspects of life and this gave the companies the power that it needed to control its workers. Local councils, trade unions and liaison and works committees were the brainchild of government and they just passed it onto the management of companies to implement and that is the manner in which the law was enforced and people lived according to the dictates of the government. As a result of government giving 'instructions' to companies, which the company complied with, the individual worker had no opportunity to escape this system of

paternalism. So even though some legal methods were introduced where the workers were given an impression that they could now participate in decision making, they rejected the offer because they could see that the system was not in their interest.

1.2.2.1. Apathy

According to the management at Canestone during the early 1970s, the reason for the apathetic state of affairs was that the founding of Liaison and Works Committees was dependent entirely upon the goodwill of the employer because at that time there existed an unsophisticated and unorganized labour force. Because of apathy and resistance to the concept of Liaison and Works Committees from many employers and employees, it was unlikely that this situation was going to change of its own accord as the structure and function of the Liaison Committees worked in favour of the employer. The interviewees expressed this view. The employer had the right to nominate the chairman. Furthermore, concerning conditions of employment, the employer was free to accept or reject it. It is quite clear that the apathy and unhappiness that existed was basically because government wanted the company to implement something which was in the interest and favour of the company. Workers realized this and the result was apathy.

1.2.2.2. Discussions

According to the company's magazine the Conversor [1975] the employers did not even permit discussion on such subjects as wages, hours of work, etc, in the meetings of Liaison Committees and there was no formal provision for the employees to meet on their own for the purpose of discussing their position. Opponents of the concept used these two features as strong arguments. They also cancelled out a quality, which makes the Liaison Committees preferable to the Works Committees, namely, the creation of conditions in which discussion and dialogue could occur between the two parties.

1.2.2.3. Recourse

There was no prerequisite for enforcing agreements, which were concluded voluntarily. Except in cases of dispute, enforcement of an agreement depended upon the goodwill of the employer. The only recourse open to the employees seemed to be to declare a dispute and take the matter to the Regional Committee. This has the effect of further weakening the position of the employees and could not be regarded as beneficial to good relations between the two parties.

1.2.2.4. Victimization

Victimization was a problem. A particularly unfortunate shortcoming in this regard was the failure to pursue allegations by Black workers of victimisation. The fear of victimisation seemed to be a fundamental characteristic of the Black worker and it was important to ensure that the machinery for protecting the workers' position was free of criticism. Instances of failure to pursue and resolve allegations of victimisation were probably done more to destroy confidence and acceptance of the system than any other single consideration.

1.2.2.5. Professional Labour Negotiator

It was difficult to accept that a group of workers could drive a hard bargain with their employers, supervisors, managers etc. at a committee meeting and thereafter be able to assume the normal employee/ supervisor relationship at the workplace. This situation was common in all labour/ management relationships but was considerably eased by the presence of the professional labour negotiator. Obviously, this problem could not be readily corrected but an improvement would have been possible. Since these legal issues were discussed during apartheid, any voice against apartheid was silenced. This brings into question the validity and integrity of the professional labour negotiator. He could not possibly be Indian or black. Since he was white, he was seen as a spokesman for the company or government. Even if he confessed to be independent, he had to be paid by either the company or the state. The union could not possibly pay him. These issues made it impossible for proper consultation and negotiation.

1.2.2.6. The Regional Committees

The Regional Committees were not seen to be fulfilling the role expected of them. Probably their most serious single error was the fact that they were comprised of members nominated by the authorities and not the employers and employees. Whilst these members enjoyed status in the community at large, they were not seen to be representative of industry and therefore hardly qualified to deal with problems related to a specific industry or undertaking. This criticism was levelled particularly strongly against the Black members who attended meetings of Industrial Councils. As already mentioned, the members to these committees were chosen by the authorities. This makes the process suspicious. Other blacks intimidated even blacks that attended meetings because the members were not chosen freely and fairly. The question then is the authenticity and value of the regional committee.

1.2.2.7. Uniformity

In many quarters, amongst both employers and employees, there was a strong feeling that a measure of uniformity was desirable in conditions of employment, particularly within similar industries located in the same geographical region. The co-ordinating function of the Regional Committees was envisaged in the Labour Relations Act and a vigorous liaison programme would have resulted in a fair measure of achievement in this area. Unfortunately, this had not come about, and this shortcoming was being increasingly used, particularly by the established trade union movement, as an argument against the system.

In considering the above, it is clear that the legal channels provided in the years prior to the nineties, proved insufficient and inadequate to deal with the workers' issues. They really received no joy from the legal arena in their quest to move away from this rigid regimental paternalistic managerialism that existed. This now led to the formation of trade unions, which brought with them their own set of problems.

2. TRADE UNIONS

Against this backdrop, during the 1970's, trade unions began to make their entry into the company. However, the trade union leaders were not wholly successful in convincing the employees to join in the struggle against unfair labour practices and the apartheid regime that destroyed the self-esteem of the workers. This new ideology of having a platform to address issues was slightly unnerving to the inexperienced employees, and they never fully trusted the union officials and remained sceptical of their motives. Workers reluctantly joined the call for strike action and were easily intimidated by non-strikers and many of them eventually were the strike busters.

I have in earlier chapter described how respondents felt about the trade unions. There were especially differing views between Indian and Black workers, between older and younger workers and those in and out of the unions. However, the majority initially supported the union movement and this now led to representation, which the masses hoped, would move them away from the paternalism that kept them bound to their work givers.

2.1. Representation

This 'difference of opinion' attitude made the tasks of the trade unionists all the more difficult. However, during the course of the last major strike, held in 1997, where the

employees embarked on a three-week shut-down, many workers were embittered about the loss of wages and the unfair manner in which they were treated.

However, after the strike, as a result of collective bargaining the employees were given an increase in salary; thus, their action was not in vain as the company lost hundreds of man-hours and the mill literally ground to a halt as the company also lost out on profit because of the stoppages in production.

2.2. Conclusion

Thus, in light of this misunderstanding in the perceptions of workers, suitable training and education in this field should be implemented so that the workers are aware of the benefits as well as the sacrifices that have to be made in order to achieve success when working for a large concern like Canestone. In order to limit the extent of insecurity and increase the trust that workers have in the trade unionists, this education and training programme should be implemented as soon as possible as the lack of trust hinders progress in thought and action. The implementation of this programme should be undertaken by trade union shop stewards who have adequate training and knowledge themselves to pass on this knowledge. Knowledge itself will lead to a change in attitude and eventually impact on behaviour.

Given all of the above it is clear that paternalism cannot work. Workers don't want it and the only way forward is for management to change.

3. CHANGING MANAGEMENT

3.1. Management

The trade union movement has a direct impact on the management of a company and Canestone is no different. In light of this it is necessary to define management as it applies to Canestone and what aspects of it need to be modified in order to improve the understanding between employee and employer. It is obvious, after a review of the literature, that there are almost as many definitions of management as there are writers in the field. A prevalent theme that appears in these definitions is the manager's consideration for accomplishing organizational goals or objectives. For the purposes of this dissertation, the definition of management that was applied was working with and through individuals and groups to accomplish organizational goals. In order for the Canestone Sugar Company to be successful in changing the perceptions and attitudes that workers have as the new millennium

approaches, it requires its management personnel to have interpersonal skills. In addition, the achievement of organizational objectives through leadership is sound management. However, from my discussions with the various groups of people who work for Canestone there appears to be a lack of interpersonal skills displayed by the present set of managers. Besides the lack of interpersonal skills which could lead to a win-win situation, what further needs to be established is whether management is in fact a leadership that is productive, people – oriented and pro-active.

3.1.1. The Managerial Grid

The managerial grid illustrated below is an indication of how management in present day society should contemplate handling their workforce.

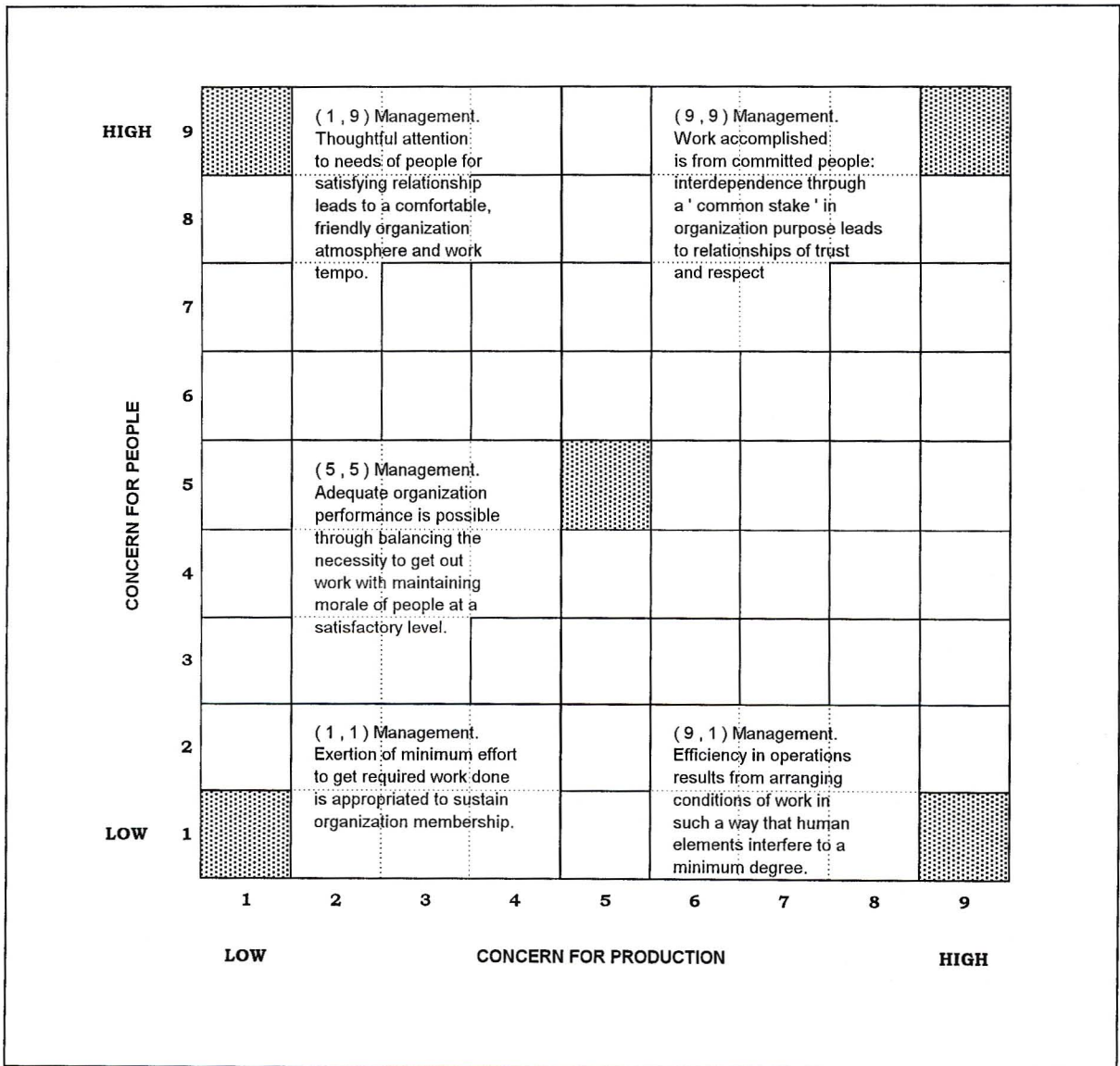


Figure 15 [Robbins,1994,39] – The Managerial Grid

3.2. Management And Leadership

Management and leadership are often thought of as the same thing. In essence, leadership is a broader concept than management. Management is thought of as a special kind of leadership in which the achievement of organizational goals is paramount. The essential difference between the two concepts therefore lies in the word organization. This needs to be understood by the management team and all other line function management members of Canestone as the distinction in meaning is crucial in the actions carried out. The Path-Goal Theory illustration below indicates the behaviour a leader should possess.

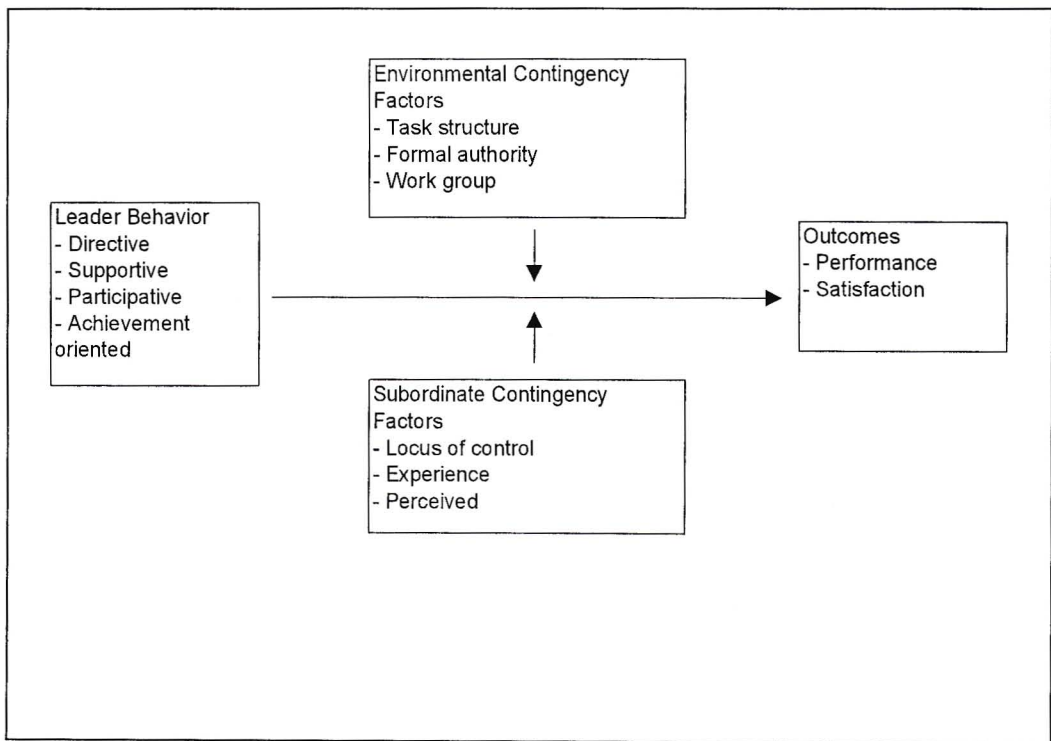


Figure 16 [Robbins, 1994, 45]- The Path Goal Theory

Leadership occurs at any time one attempts to influence the behaviour of an industrial concern or group, regardless of the reason. The Canestone Company did not succeed in influencing the behaviour of the individual workers of the group. A racist attitude amongst the different groups is still the dominant behaviour and the general dislike that the Blacks and Indians in Canestone have for the White workers is clearly noticeable. However, a residual type of racism does exist because Indian workers in the administration department will not treat White workers in the same way that they treat Black workers. The same is true of Black workers who treat a White line function manager differently from a Black line function manager. It is quite clear that the group does not have a suitable number of employees with

leadership qualities; I can only remember two people not complaining about the company, thus inferring that if there were managers and other employees with leadership qualities they would have changed or attempted to change what was deemed to be wrong or causing the uneasiness at work. The rest of my interviewees complained about many issues, like their free housing not really being free, their salary advice slips not explaining what the deductions were for, etc. They assumed that the Company was deducting money but did not acknowledge it. Even the middle management, who are based on the estates, really have limited leadership qualities or powers when it comes to making or taking certain decisions. Here, their long working hours and the restrictions on the use of the Company van come to mind. An assistant estate manager does not have the authority to use his van to go where he wants to. He is only allowed to use it to go to the other estates or not more than 7 kilometers from his estate. Therefore, management should ensure that all its members are aware of the goals of the organization. If this awareness is revived, it will help towards achieving the goals of the Company.

3.3. Management Process

The managerial functions of planning, leading, organizing, maintaining and controlling are considered central to a discussion of management by many authors. These functions are relevant, regardless of the type of organization or level of management with which one is concerned. After the 1970's, the company took greater cognizance of planning, organizing and control. The Canestone management set up certain administrative systems, for example the establishment of a personnel department and later the human resources department. This sort of change helped to maintain control. In the 1990s, recruitment and selection of workers followed a different pattern at Canestone as compared to the past. Different departments have been set up as many people are retiring, resigning or leaving on retrenchment packages. People are being laid off because of illness and injuries. Thus, because of the different nature of workers today, as compared to previous decades, and as a result of changes in laws concerning working conditions, for example the Labour Relations Act, many workers are now aware of their rights and privileges. Management has to consider these factors and be more transparent when dealing with their workforce. As far as the process of management is concerned the following are important and must be considered in the Company's programme for change.

- Planning which involves setting goals and objectives for the organization and developing work maps showing how these goals and objectives are to be

accomplished. Once plans have been made, organizing becomes meaningful. This involves bringing together resources - people, capital and equipment - in the most effective way to accomplish the goals. Organizing therefore involves an integration of resources. Along with planning and organizing, motivation plays a large part in determining the level of performance of employees. This, in turn influences how effectively the organizational goals will be met. This is sometimes included as part of directing along with communicating and leading.

- The potential influence of motivation on performance.
- If motivation is low, employees' performance will suffer as much as if ability was low. For this reason motivating is an extremely important function of management.
- Control as a function of management.

At Canestone, the management should become more involved with the feedback of results and a follow-up programme should be put in place to compare accomplishments with plans and to make appropriate adjustments where outcomes have deviated from expectations. Although the management functions of planning, leading, controlling, maintaining and organizing are stated separately, and as presented, seem to have some kind of specific sequence, they are interrelated. While these functions are interrelated, at any one time, one or more must be of primary importance. The Canestone management team, together with heads of departments, supervisors, foremen, Indunas, Sirdars, charge hands and overseers, must be taught the skills of planning, leading, organizing, controlling and maintaining so that over-all discipline and direction can be sustained. Planning, leading, organizing and controlling aspects are vital for the success of any company and more especially, the Canestone leaders need to implement it because of the lack of motivation, which exists. If this low level of motivation can be improved then the productivity of workers will increase.

3.4. Skills Of A Manager

There are at least three areas of skill necessary for carrying out the process of management: technical, human and conceptual, which the Canestone management should inculcate in all of their line managers, supervisors, foremen, charge hands, Indunas, Sirdars and overseers since they are empowered to a certain extent in terms of their day-to-day responsibilities.

- Technical Skill – This is the ability to use systems, knowledge, techniques, methods, and equipment necessary for the performance of specific tasks from experience,

education and training so that their tasks can be done properly, systematically and efficiently.

- Human Skill – This is the ability and judgement in working with and through people. It includes an understanding of motivation and an application of effective leadership. This particular skill is important because work is done through people and if this skill is lacking, Canestone as a Company will be disadvantaged.
- Conceptual Skill – This is the ability to understand the concept of the overall organization and where one's operation fits into the organization. At Canestone this knowledge will permit one to act according to the objectives of the total organization rather than only on the basis of the goals and needs of one's own immediate group.

The appropriate use of these skills varies as an individual advances in management from supervisory to top management position. For this transition to take place effectively at Canestone, the technical, human and conceptual skills are necessary. At Canestone, fewer technical skills are needed as one advances from lower to higher levels in the organization, but more and more conceptual skill is necessary as most of the labour intensive and technical jobs are done by labourers and artisans who are not in management positions. Once they move up the hierarchical structures, their conceptual skills need to be improved upon, as they are required. Supervisors at lower levels need considerable technical skill because they are often required to train and develop technicians, such as pan boiler operators, and other employees in their section. At the other extreme, executives at Canestone do not need to know how to perform all the specific tasks at the operational level. However, they should be able to understand how all these functions are interrelated in accomplishing the goals of the total organization. While the amount of technical and conceptual skills needed at these different levels of management varies, the common denominator, which appears to be crucial in all levels, is the human skill.

3.5. Organizations As Systems

Organizations, like the Canestone Sugar Company, in which managers operate, are social systems comprised of many interrelated sub-systems, only one of which is a human or social system. The others could include an administrative sub-system, an informational decision-making sub-system and an economy or technological sub-system. The focus of the administrative/structural sub-system is based on authority, structure, and responsibility within the organisation: 'who does what for whom' and 'who tells whom to do what, when and

why.’ The informational decision-making sub-system emphasizes essential decisions and their information needs to keep the system going. These systems are important for the proper administration of the Company. Therefore, in Canestone, the people who are in charge of these particular systems are required to have the necessary expertise and skills for the job so that the company is not disadvantaged in any way.

3.6. Complexity And Competition

The process of change consequently means having to deal with more and increasing complexity. It is possible to say that systems change from simple, machine-like systems to complex living organisms. In the 1990s, modern organizations should be more flexible, open and dynamic. However, Canestone is not such an example. In Michael Porter’s framework of analyzing the structure of an industry, he concentrates on the five competitive forces. Porter argues that five competitive forces operate in an industry, which together determine the average profitability of the industry. The five forces are:

1. Rivalry among existing firms;
2. The threat of new entrants;
3. The bargaining power of buyers;
4. The bargaining power of suppliers; and
5. The threat from substitute products or services.

As mentioned already, this framework does not altogether apply to the Canestone group. If the rivalry among existing competitors is considered then Canestone Sugar Mill, which belongs to a bigger concern, has no rivals. It is such a large concern that no other company in the country poses a competitive problem and thus it is able to treat its workforce the way it does.

There are no threats of new entrants as this company has the greatest monopoly in the country as far as sugar is concerned. Its export ability as well cannot be matched. As far as the bargaining powers of buyers are concerned they do not have much of a choice as this company is so large that it can refuse to do business with difficult buyers, especially the smaller sectors. The bargaining powers of suppliers are also limited; this Company is one that all suppliers would want to have on their books because of the power that it has. If this Company is on suppliers’ lists, they are not going to be difficult because of the financial losses that will be incurred.

The Canestone Sugar Company is under no threat from substitute products or services. The potential threat could be artificial sweeteners but the company produces these as well. Thus, it is clear that because none of the major forces that affect other companies in general affects the Canestone Company, they do not generally consider their human resources as one of their greatest assets. Even so, the company does need to improve the general attitude of the worker for better productivity and needs to reconsider its view of their workforce.

3.7. Change As A Given

There is an ongoing debate about the dynamic and fluid socio-political environment of business in South Africa. One of the dangers inherent in trying to interpret and understand the implications of the environment for business decision-making, is a tendency to assume that macro-developments have the same or enhanced impact on all organizations. Factors affecting ethical or unethical decision-making behaviour, organizational restructuring, astute financial strategies, tight cost-control, collaboration with the state, redeployment and rationalization are important ways in which organizations cope with change. The diagram below focuses on aspects relating to ethical or unethical decision-making behaviour.

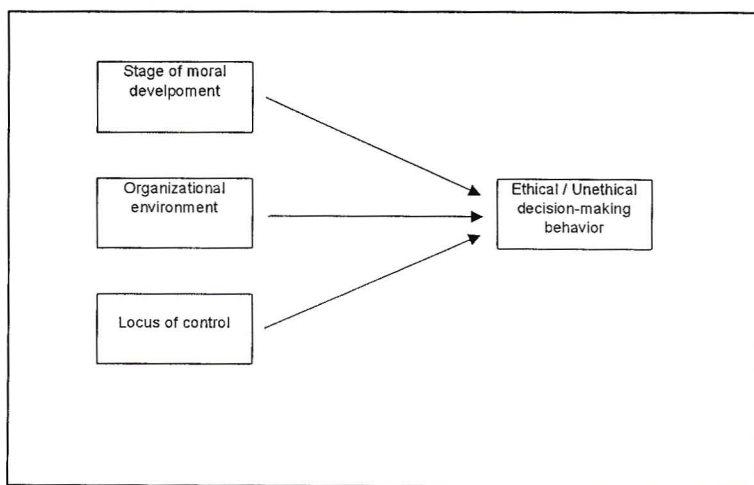


Figure 17 [Robbins, 1994, 85]- Factors Affecting Ethical/ Unethical Decision-Making Behaviour

Changes in knowledge are the easiest to make, followed by changes in attitudes. Attitude structure differs from knowledge structure in that they are emotionally charged in a positive or negative way. Changes in behaviour are significantly more difficult and time-consuming in either of the two previous levels. The implementation of group or organizational performance change is perhaps the most difficult and time-consuming. With the above in mind, I have formulated the following programme of action.

PART THREE

1. INTRODUCTION

Having completed fieldwork in the community of Canestone and being gratefully indebted to so many people I could not complete the study without advancing some proposals to improve the situation to the best of my knowledge.

1.1. A Programme Of Action

Even though I may not be the most qualified to handle this sort of project I base my proposals on the following three suppositions:

- That a commercial company such as the Canestone Sugar Company could not break the laws of the country in years past, unjust though these laws were.
- That the chief executive officer of the Canestone Sugar Company was honest when he stated that he was prepared to accept any person irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex on the grounds of excellence alone.
- That the Canestone Sugar Company was not a benevolent conglomerate, and had to take the accumulation of wealth into account but at the same time had a conscientious obligation towards its employees.

I realise that the first and last suppositions limit the extent of change, but without making them, my proposals, which follow, could be easily dismissed as unrealistic.

2. COMMUNICATION

The very real prospect of increasing pressures and tensions developing in the relationship between the Canestone management and their non-White workers in the new millennium emphasizes the importance of establishing formal channels of communication with a minimum of delay. This should include ensuring that all employees receive the necessary information that they need. Since it is in some cases too late to teach workers English, communication should be in a language that they understand. Trade unions who were the tools of change should be recognized and workers must now believe that the union can be used to disseminate information.

In the absence of the unions having sufficient power for settling conditions of employment it can be expected that these people will resort increasingly to the use of 'wild cat' strikes and longer periods of strike as in 1997, in order to make their plight known. This is undesirable because it places a premium on disputes and strike action in industrial relations. A more disturbing prospect is the fact that by the time a strike occurs under these conditions, emotional tensions have reached the point where the possibility of violence is greatly increased. Thus the company should be more transparent and allow the unions the flexibility it requires in order to benefit all workers. In considering the power of the unions, they should be given authority to decide on the following issues:

- To negotiate the basic conditions of service-wages, annual leave, hours of work, sick leave, and general conditions of service;
- To investigate alleged instances of victimisation of union members by employers;
- Provision of an administrative service; and
- Operation of the machinery.

In order to retain the aspect of dialogue between the employer and his employees, the functions of the unions would be to provide the employees with an officially recognised means for meeting on their own as a 'Caucus Body'. By implementing these recommendations, it is submitted that the following objectives will be reasonably achievable.

- A more whole-hearted acceptance of the system by employees because their elected representatives will have been party to the conclusion of agreements.
- Provision of a more effective negotiating base because the degree of direct confrontation between the employer and his employee will be diminished in the 'group nature' of council proceedings. A more direct remedy against victimisation is provided.
- The demand for uniform basis conditions of service within a single industry can be satisfied.
- More active and effective attention will be given to the position of non-White employees who are not adequately represented in the proceeding of many of the existing Industrial Councils.
- The basic machinery and procedures will be laid down for an orderly assimilation of labour. Organisations amongst workers will assist to facilitate a better working relationship.

Whilst the present rate of inflation persists, it is inevitable that the bulk of the labour force will be hard-pressed to maintain even a bread-line standard of living, thus the need to open dialogue and communicate issues that will lead to an increase of the basic wage.

The company should indulge in communication by using the various culturally diverse groups of people living on its lands and carry out a survey of all people living on the agricultural estates to ascertain what their aspirations are concerning their futures after they leave Canestone. The differences between the agricultural and industrial workers should be reduced so that the discord that presently exists between them is reduced or eradicated. More Indian and Black people be given the chance to become estate and assistant estate managers as they have the ability, many of them having worked in the field for 15 years or more.

The involvement of management in managing transformations must be done in phases. The first phase should deal with the development of a vision for the Canestone estates and mill for which the managers are responsible. The orientation of management in this phase should be transparent and clear. The result should be a management vision or direction that needs follow-up in the entire organization in order to ensure its realization. The managers of Canestone should increasingly be drawn into communicating the emerging vision to their own environment. That is, in fact, the beginning of the second phase, this should be characterized by achieving 'alignment' in the organization. This phase is extremely critical, because it should result in a constructive response by the organization that helps to materialize the vision or direction. The manager now becomes more of a facilitator, as opposed to the developer of a vision. Therefore, somewhere between the first and second phase, management also needs to define ways or strategies that are focused on the stimulation of organizational response.

The managers of Canestone need to have some challenges in order to succeed. This demonstrates the qualities required anywhere in the world. It is the capacity to develop a mind-stretching vision. It is the capability to generate and ensure a constructive and supportive response in their environments. There are three major transformation challenges that managers are confronted with in pursuit of excellence in their environments, i.e.

- How to design an outward-looking and competitive vision that ensures success of the environment concerned;

- How to develop and choose supporting strategies that result in optimal responsiveness of their environment; and
- How to initiate and facilitate the actual process of transformation.

Management at every level in an organization has to cope with the phases of involvement, as well as with the associated challenges. Due to the increasing rate of change in the business world, there is an outspoken awareness that the role of management is becoming increasingly complex. Adapting to change and marrying corporate goals to society as a whole are seen as the major causes for this complexity but this is especially important at Canestone.

Management, in Canestone, in other words, is obliged to speed up the frequency with which it makes new decisions. However, given the changes in the South African society, strategies for realigning organizations need to be adjusted continuously as well. Management has to drive many kinds of transformation at the same time. Since the transformation challenges discussed earlier are more complex and as such more difficult to handle for the 'traditional manager', the managers at Canestone need to pay special attention to them. Diversification, innovation and entrepreneurship are a few components of the new management trend that should be observed in Canestone.

3. CORPORATE CULTURE

Awareness of the corporate culture of Canestone should be a shared understanding of the corporate future, identity and culture by management and other people in the organization. If this is inculcated in the company's people then the attitude of the people will change because awareness will increase:

- job satisfaction [refers to an individual's general attitude toward his job];
- job involvement [the degree to which a person identifies with his or her job and actively participates in it];
- and organizational commitment [an indicator of loyalty to, and identification with, the organization].

Management by objectives, management by motivation and incentives management, should be considered to improve the general attitude and reduce dissonance but performance should not be excluded. In fact, improving and expanding corporate and individual performance is the key to success. The Canestone management can do only one thing to cope effectively with

the challenges of a moving environment and that is to change itself first, rather than trying to change the environment and thus the following need to be remembered.

- Change can only be achieved through people, because they make change happen. Systems don't. New and interesting innovative visions will indeed initiate change. However, the capacity to change within corporations strongly depends on a constructive organizational acceptance and response. Because of this, the management task is increasingly developing into a dual task, i.e. one of designing vision and one of facilitating organizational acceptance and response.
- Most current literature focuses on success strategies. Evolution has only scratched the surface of awareness models that can be used by management to select and implement the most suitable strategy for maximum cultural performance.
- Different environments may not only require different visions, but also different operating cultures. Therefore, vision development will need to be coupled to operating culture adjustments. This relationship needs constant tuning, because there is no single operating culture that guarantees success under all circumstances.
- The key to successful change is people's awareness of the corporate vision concerning the operating culture, specifically relative to the dynamics in the environment. This awareness should be well structured in order to make it effective in the selection of the most suitable change strategies.

Knowledge of motivation tells us that people in organizations do what they do to satisfy needs. Before they do anything, they look for the payoff or reward. Because many of these rewards - salary increases, promotions and preferred job assignments, to name a few - are organizationally controlled, rewards should be considered as an important force influencing the behaviour of employees. The company has started a programme of improving its rewards structure but I am of the opinion that in order to have happy healthy workers at work, especially in this company town set-up where the majority of workers are not able to read and write, then a proper system of reward has to be in place. Robbins [1994,240] has drawn up a comprehensive table outlining the reward system that is most likely to succeed if implemented with integrity.

4. CHANGE

A constructive response to corporate goals and to any other need for change may be obtained through a number of very simple and almost trivial actions. Managers should improve communication with the people in their organizations about organizational challenges, goals and desired attitudes. Managers need to bear in mind that the following process is at work during the change process. Understanding and taking cognizance of this process will help in the communicative process.

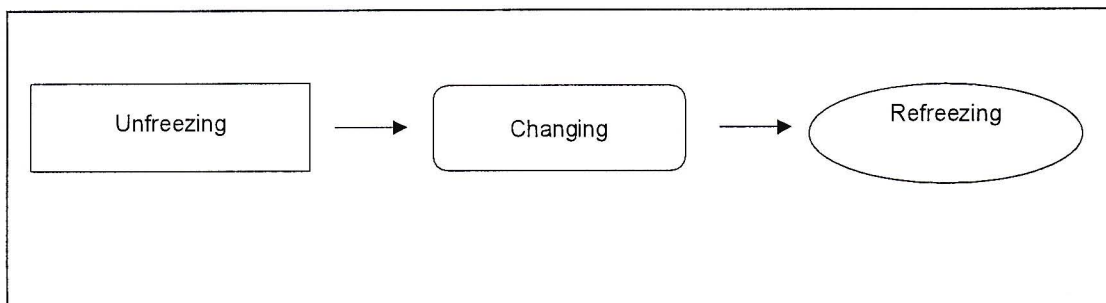


Figure 18 [Robbins, 1994, 267]-Lewin's Description of the Change Process

Communication is a broad concept. It varies from traditional communication, through newsletters, posters, the media, video and cassettes to communication through formal interactive sessions with selected groups of people, and informal talks while walking around and most importantly, by giving the right (and, of course, visible) example. The latter, especially is an extremely strong but under-utilized facility available to managers. Going back into history just a little, an impressive leader such as Gandhi managed to enforce peace amongst three hundred and fifty million Indian people, at that time, simply by force of personal example.

- Internal Communication (of a new kind) needs to be looked as a major management tool for successful change.
- Managers should implement the principles and advantages of change and awareness through workshops with their people. Teams need to be asked to brainstorm and to think with an 'unlimited view' of what could be changed within the Canestone organization to cope effectively with the environment.
- The expectations on the outcome of such workshops should be clearly set, i.e. they should 'look for alternatives' and not for the final solution. The outcome of these sessions is often a surprisingly logical answer that may come very close to a final

solution. If not, the manager knows what needs to be worked on. In any case, the result is that people will get used to the idea and will be prepared for change.

- Planning in companies is normally associated with an abstract chain of objectives, goals and targets, strategies, tactics and programmes and these should be addressed at all levels in teams, not just in the industrial but agricultural sectors as well. In addition, these team-building exercises create a hierarchy in strategy setting and therefore a hierarchy in strategic involvement of the employees. It was too top-heavy in the past and this led to a lack of feedback. Teams at grassroots level must be considered.
- In planning, in order to recapture the innovative momentum in corporations and organization, it is essential to create planning chains that talk about elements such as vision, measurable goals, tasks and feedback. The idea should be to get back to the guts of planning and action, which was dormant in the Canestone management team. These 'guts' can be found by understanding how people operate.
- People think in pictures and are activated by vision. This is particularly so when the vision concerns what they would like to be as a team, as a corporation or as a country. Although planning and vision are matters of the brain, it should be realized that the planning cycle is also a concern of the heart, since emotion and culture are heavily involved. 'Getting at the planning guts of the different teams' can be stimulated by associative interacting. By having managers, heads of departments, indunas, sirdars and overseers of different departments and functions working together on the development of a vision and something that concerns them as a whole, interactive associations or new ideas may be found.
- In essence, different backgrounds and disciplines encourage unconventional subject combinations. The drive to develop a vision of where they would like to be as a team may lead to the selection and development of some unusual concept combinations. Interactive associations can be explained by a new and emerging approach in science called 'ideonomy'. In essence, ideonomy concerns the generation of possible ideas by connecting different subjects and concepts. The connections between these subjects do not always make sense.
- A strategic planning chain should be simple and related to how people intrinsically operate. At the same time, it should enforce the interactive association between the different entities in a team of people. It should allow for an optimal response to the corporate direction. The success of the planning chain, therefore, is related to the

corporate culture, since free interaction is its basic ingredient. The 'status free' planning chain and the related team concept are critical elements in the way the awareness and importance of the change process works.

The following summary is a clear indication of what the company should keep in mind about change and the various variables related to it.

- Increasingly, the basis for effective change and breakthrough in every corporation is in how well the company understands and adapts to the processes in the human mind.
- Awareness is the prime driver of change. It requires the development of an ideal reference picture (a vision) and a process for matching it to the real world.
- Vision, and especially one expressed in a picture, has a strong impact on people's drive to achieve it successfully.
- The innovative and constructive payback of multi-disciplinary teams will be incredible when they have the freedom to interact.
- Breakthrough can be achieved by creating a true sense of urgency, for example, by setting stretch goals or by developing daring visions.
- People resist change. It is important to shed some light on this as the possibility exists that there may be resistance to change at Canestone; those who do resist may do so passively or actively. Passive resistance will include those who will not learn about new ideas or who will do everything to avoid having to be faced with something different. At the extreme end of the spectrum, there are the actively hostile resisters. These individuals will be expressing their resistance in such activities as a 'go-slow', strikes or even acts of deliberate sabotage.
- The range of responses to change that have been described can be called 'behavioural effects' because they are alterations in the way people perform their work. It should also be remembered that there may be psychological effects - where a change is so dramatic that it causes a mental disturbance - and also physiological effects, where the person concerned becomes physically ill.
- From my interviews with the people from Canestone some of them still feel upset at the fact that the company merged in the 1970s without any consultation with them. Thus, it seems in order to reduce the resistance to change there has to be consultation with those concerned.
- Feelings of insecurity are also personality traits, and often result in strong opposition to change, although this may be quite irrational.

- The ordinary worker's relationship with the organization or leader is important. Whereas one individual may have a high regard for the organization in which he is working and especially for his boss, his attitude is going to be different from the person who does not trust his boss or the organization. Such a situation should be corrected to decrease the resistance. The workers consider the pattern of past events as they evaluate changes that affect them by looking for similar occurrences in the past. 'Last time they [referring to the company] did that it was a disaster' is the kind of statement made about a change. The alternative belief from a supporter is 'Last time our people did this it was a great success.' At Canestone I have heard differing views about issues that have involved change. For example, when the workers were able to choose a watch or the cash as a service award, they thought it was an improvement. However, as stated earlier, when the merger took place some where unhappy.
- It has been said that people do not resist change itself. What they are resisting are the implications behind the change (whether real or imagined) that somehow they are going to be harmed. This harm may be one, or a combination, of various factors including:
 - Economic
If a change is perceived as having an effect on the money in the pocket, or in the amount of work required to produce the same money, it is likely to be resisted. One of the problem areas in recent years has been the question of new technology and its impact on individuals. While people may clearly understand how increasing productivity (through more technology) can raise wages, there is still resistance because of the fear of losing jobs. At Canestone, this fear has been because of the privatization process that has started in the company. This selling off of assets is unnerving because people's livelihood has depended on those assets. Even if the company does inform its people about such changes, the fears the workers have is that they have served the company for twenty years or more and finding employment elsewhere at their age and with their qualification (or lack of it) would be difficult.
 - Inconvenience:
Resistance may be greater if it seems as though it is going to make life more difficult. At Canestone, this happened when some of the estates and farms

were sold off and people had to move because the new owners were not able to accommodate to them. It was an inconvenience for them because their routines were affected, like adjusting to new bus routes and new shops in a new area.

- Freedom :

If an individual feels that his freedom is going to be diminished, he will resist the idea. For instance, to try to introduce clocking-in and clocking-out for the management members of Canestone who have never known such things would have very little chance of success. It would be like trying to move from McGregor's Theory Y back to Theory X (see Robbins, 1994,44). Greater control may be desirable in certain circumstances, but that may not be how the individuals who are going to be controlled see it.

- Security :

If a proposed change suggests that there may be a threat to the security of jobs, then it is likely that there will be some resistance to it. Again, it may only be how the people concerned imagine what is going to happen, although the planned change may have no intentions in this respect.

- Conflict of Interest:

Sometimes the trade-union movement is opposed to change and at other times they are in favour of change. However, they are put in the position of having to oppose changes because management has tried to introduce the change without considering the feelings of the individuals concerned. The conflict process can be thought of as progressing through four stages potential opposition, cognition and personalization, behavior, and outcomes.

Either change in an organization is the result of some outside event, imposing its effect on the organization, or it comes from within the organization. Some internal changes cannot be planned (such as the sudden death of an essential manager) although their impact can be lessened by perceptive planning. However, most internal changes are the result of a decision taken by an individual or by a group and it is these that need most attention. Numerous writers in the field of change have pointed out that there is absolutely no point in deciding to change something if the change cannot be made effective. The following should be considered for effective change.

4.1. Keep people informed.

It is easy to inform people of a decision to make a change and it is just as easy to inform them of the reasons for the decision. Keeping people in the dark encourages rumour and speculation.

4.2. Reversible changes.

On occasion, it may be possible to introduce a change on a provisional basis, making it clear to all concerned that the idea is experimental and to run for a limited period of time. There is a lot to be said in favour of pilot schemes, if such schemes will provide answers to questions which are needed for a proper decision. Experimental systems and pilot schemes also enable everyone concerned to get a feel for a new proposal. On the other hand, a pilot scheme can be very expensive and the delay in taking the decision to go the whole way may spoil the chances of ultimate success. All changes are capable of being reversed in the end but the cost of returning to the old position may be very high in terms of both money and personal inconvenience. In making the change, therefore, it is worth spelling out the extent to which the change is reversible.

4.3. Fast or slow change

Slow change is often recommended because it is less disruptive than rapid change. Taking things a step at a time is commendable where a great deal of retraining is needed or where resources cannot match the requirements of a full, comprehensive launch. The cost of training all the sales people at Canestone and providing adequate promotional support is very high and may have to be introduced in slow stages. In addition, slow change is worth considering if it is necessary to get the individuals involved used to the idea, especially where the new idea is not likely to have been experienced before. For instance, someone at Canestone who has always used a paraffin stove needs some time to get familiar with an electric cooker. The disadvantage of slow change is that by moving slowly the opportunity may pass without your being able to take full advantage of it. Nowhere is this problem more acute than in the case of technological change which can take place in the Canestone Company. However, by the time it has replaced all its machinery a new generation of machinery may be on the market. The firm could be using brand-new, obsolete machines. Finally, changing something quickly has the advantage of reducing uncertainty, the state of not knowing what is going to happen is one of the causes of stress.

4.4. How much change

Some organizations exist in relatively stable environments. However, a company like Canestone should always be changing because of the new developments in the industrial and agricultural sectors globally. Changes that it makes should be mainly by way of improvements. However, this company has not made changes at the rate it should have because its competitors are weak. Other organizations exist in turbulent environments, where the future is unpredictable and where the way the firm operates (its system) may need to be changed frequently, such as in computer and communications technologies. Change for the sake of change is not often a good rule. On the other hand failing to change at all is equally dangerous. An inflexible manager, group or organization stands at risk from the changing environment.

In considering the question 'How much change?' the following should be considered

- the speed and size of change in the environment;
- the flexibility and readiness to change of the individuals within the organization - are they ready and able to accept change?

4.5. Change that hurts.

Inevitably there are times when changes have to be made that cause problems for individuals. At worst there is the difficult decision to fire someone because of his unsuitability or because his services are no longer needed. These changes cannot be avoided, but their impact can sometimes be softened by the way in which the decision is communicated. A swift announcement given openly and with appropriate compensation is better than an ill-timed decision communicated by hearsay or signs.

4.6. Managing the transition.

Sometimes a change is so big that it takes a lot of time and effort to implement. In these situations it is useful to have a transition team appointed whose responsibility it is to make sure that the team consists of outsiders (or even a single consultant), but often it is drawn from key personnel within the organization who fall into the category of enthusiastic adapters. The team should consist of individuals representing all the different levels and functions that will be affected by the change, so that no group of individuals is left unrepresented.

4.7. Planned change (as opposed to natural change)

Planning change in an organisation is therefore an important managerial function. All managers must spend some time deliberately thinking about making changes and then actively causing the changes to take place. The essential steps can be summarized as follows:

- Develop a concern. Ask questions such as: Could we do it better? Do we need to change anything? Will we need to change things tomorrow?
- Share the concern. Involve others in answering the questions.
- Define and solve the problems. What should we do that is new?
- Recognize the effects of change on individuals.
- Assess capability. Make sure the organization and the individuals can cope with the changes proposed.
- Train. Individuals may have to learn to cope with an increasing amount of change.
- Implement. Indeed, one of the hidden clues to successful coping may well lie in the individual's sense of the future. The people among us who keep up with change, who manage to adapt well, seem to have a richer, better-developed sense of what lies ahead than those who cope poorly.

However, of interest, is what I gathered by speaking to an employee of the company who has worked there for twenty-five years. Now the procedure is that after ten years' service in the company, the employee is rewarded either by better benefits, e.g. longer periods of leave, or monetary incentives. Thus, it is possible to say that change has occurred but there is a much greater need for change as the people of Canestone approach the new millennium.

5. A REWARD STRUCTURE

The company has started a programme of improving its rewards structure but I am of the opinion that in order to have happy, healthy workers at work, especially in this company town set-up where the majority of workers are not able to read and write, a proper system of reward has to be in place. Robbins [1994,240] has drawn up a comprehensive table outlining the reward system that is most likely to succeed if implemented with integrity.

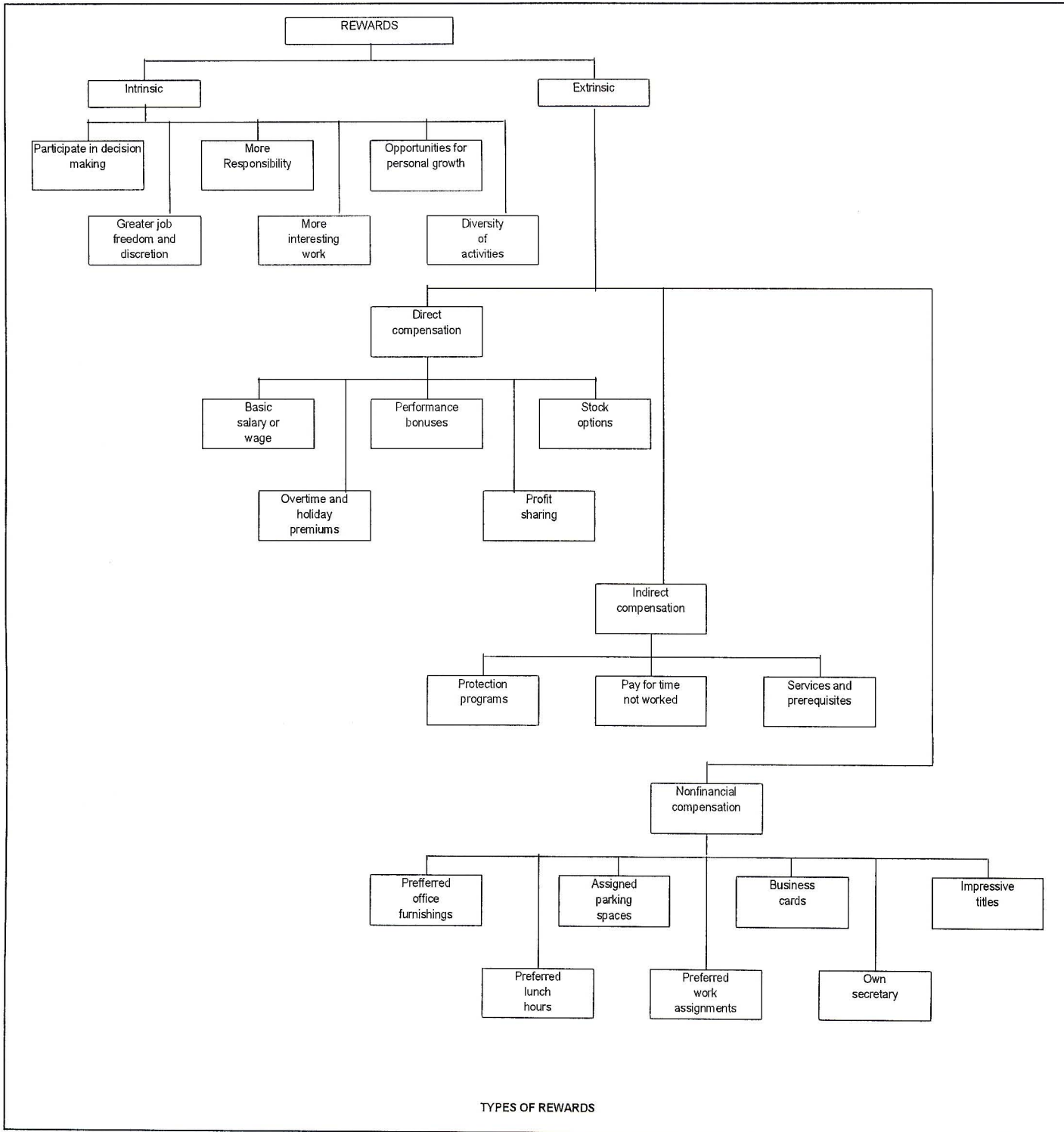


Figure 19 [Robbins,1994,240]-Types of Rewards

6. CONCLUSION

Thus, it is quite clear that the management of Canestone need to follow the guidelines offered to be able to produce a more happy, participative and willing staff in order to maintain profit margins and keep the shareholders happy.

..... a good traditional narrator, a classical storyteller, does not find the repetitions to be excessive and tedious, even if it is repetition of whole passages, whole sequences, or the whole narrative adventure, identical or diverse. For him the repetitions provide an essential thread in his composition techniques as he puts flesh on the skeleton of the tale.

[Makgamatha, 1988. 130]

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. INTRODUCTION

The focal point of this dissertation as discussed in chapter one has been the power relationships at the oral–literate interface in industrial relations in South Africa. As in all ‘oral’ studies, it was of an interdisciplinary nature, drawing on work from history, sociology, industrial and labour studies, human resource management, psychology, language and linguistics. It explored the engaging and fascinating yet complex ‘living – working’ relationship in South African labour and industrial relations. This dissertation has illustrated the issues of a working community where the power struggle is at the core of the South African capitalist paradigm.

2. CHAPTER ONE

It was my intention to demonstrate the abuse of the orality – literacy interface in terms of power perceptions and operations. South Africa’s social, cultural, political and economic problems provides excellent opportunities for socially relevant studies by psychologists, sociologists, historians, and researchers in general. Nevertheless, in a society as complex and seemingly out of step with the external world as is South Africa, it is perhaps advisable to regard this investigation as having taken a set of instant vivid snapshots at specific times in history – as having captured ‘sugar cane’ episodes over the decades. This is not to say, of course, that an illustrative photograph is not of extensive importance in an environment widespread with dilemmas.

The relevance of this investigation was in its potential to highlight the nature and extent of differences in perceptions of power relations and change held by Black and Indian employees as opposed to their White managers. Such discrepancies may, in fact, reflect patterns of interaction and certain behavioural tendencies that typically prevail between White and Black employees at all levels in South African organizations. These discrepancies may have individual, group and organizational repercussions. The research findings could contribute to theory-building in interdisciplinary studies with respect to Black and Indian employees in particular who were predominantly of a minority status in general – for instance, in terms of identifying, understanding and explaining the pervasive problems that these individuals still feel they encounter as out-groups in the business environment. The

inquiry has both applied and theoretical relevance by providing explanatory and descriptive details on the type and nature of power relations experienced by a majority Black and Indian workforce and which arose from, or was related to, their minority group status in White-dominated companies. Given the paucity of general interdisciplinary studies on living and working experience in industry, power relations and communications, this study adds to the literature by documenting the need for understanding the concept of a company town set-up in an oral literate society.

Local history as it is portrayed in this dissertation provides the opportunity to explore the relationships and social responsibilities of the various components of the company and the community and to expose the various needs and shortcomings in the company. Watson [1960] and Van Den Berghe [1959] have given interesting accounts of the Canestone area from 1925 until 1960. However, there is no detailed account of this area that has been categorised as a company town since then. This dissertation has attempted to insert a chapter in the local history of the Canestone area from 1960 to 1998 to enlighten future generations. The contributions of this dissertation may be summarised as follows :

- The issue of culture as it appears in modern day society juxtaposed against the backdrop of a powerful oral culture.
- Oral society as it appears in Canestone being conscious of the astronomical network of powers permanently unavailable without literacy. This cognizance signifies distress for individuals whose roots are embedded in primary orality. But these very people want literacy dearly even though they are aware that moving into the new and creative world of literacy means leaving behind much that is interesting and fondly thought of in the earlier oral world.
- Communication, power, tradition and technology as they are envisioned and affect the workforce of this area are key to this dissertation.
- The changes in social, economic and political status of the inhabitants of this area are also documented.
- The position or status of this company town set-up in a multicultural democratic country.

3. CHAPTER TWO

In chapter two management, power, culture and communication were discussed.

Management has been popularly defined as getting things done through people. It has been viewed as: the process of setting objectives, organising resources to attain these predetermined goals, and then evaluating the results for the purpose of determining future action. Whether or not this took place in Canestone has been analysed in earlier chapters. Since management style affects our productivity, employers, leaders, foes, or the success of any institution, as well as playing a role in moulding society, it was imperative, for a study of this nature, to provide some kind of information on management styles as they are key to success or failure.

In the case under study it was quite apparent from literature available (see Van den Berghe, 1964 and Watson, 1960) that the basic management strategy of the company was to use communication in such a way that a paternalistic relationship was encouraged and most definitely maintained. Furthermore, in an apartheid context “indirect different forms of paternalism” was used as Blacks, Whites and Indians were treated differently with the degree of harshness greatest towards the Blacks. To this end I have given an account of the coercive forms of power and communication via indirect rule, which was used by the company to maintain control. The management style utilised ensured that the communities remained separate. In this way the Indian, Black and White communities maintained their individual cultures. As a result of the entrenched different cultural groupings, the company was able to continue enjoying the powerful status that it possessed. Thus, it is possible to state that the sugar barons possessed power, used indirect communication strategies to maintain power and control and were able to succeed because of the separate cultural grouping that existed. The research process then, has investigated whether the transition to democracy has changed in the perception of employees.

In any organisational concern, such as Canestone, in order to achieve goals and ensure success in all aspects, management deploys power over the work force. Different institutions employ different strategies. In the apartheid era, the Canestone Company maintained control using “paternalism” as a basic form of approaching issues. Van den Berghe, (1964) discuss this in great detail. According To Van den Berghe, a ‘paternalistic model of master-servant relations between Africans and Europeans’ existed in Canestone.

On the White side, the argument runs something as follows: the native is a dull-witted, but good natured, grown-up child and must be treated as such, i.e., kindly but sternly, as a good father would do to his own children. Van den Berghe is of the opinion that the Native as a child requires both guidance and protection. The Native, on the other hand, must show his gratitude for all that is done for him and must respect his Great White Father.

Most people are aware that they will be faced with unfamiliar customs when interacting with people from other cultures [Brislin, 1988]. According to Malinowski [1945], knowledge of the social and economic conditions and of the cultural characteristics of colonial peoples is necessary in the framing of all schemes of development, whether medical or agricultural,- for the planning of the general economic policy of a territory.

Communication underlies all social activity and this universality makes it at the same time very familiar and yet difficult to encompass by any definition which is not so general as to be virtually empty of meaning or inadequate to represent the great diversity of communication [McQuail, 1968]. A simple way of regarding human communication is to consider it as the sending from one person to another of meaningful messages. In considering the psycho-physiological structure of man the following are expounded:

- the anthropological foundations of oral style
- the oral style.

Jousse [1990,95] states that any examination of the psychology of language ... must begin with a thorough examination of the living proposition, of the propositional gesture. In communities using the oral style, that is, where all ethnic groups have no knowledge of writing or that do not use it in composition, it could be found that an analysis of the propositions recorded would reveal “a striking, strongly-marked parallelism” [Ibid].

4. CHAPTER THREE

In chapter three I embarked on a journey that saw me interviewing, moreover, interacting with distinct, different groups of people. First, my primary grouping was the set of retired Black, Indian and White workers who served the company for over 25 years. They belonged to the ‘older’ class and they comprised mainly workers, with a handful of them in higher positions. The group that I targeted next was the present lot of workers who have worked for 25 years or more. This current group consisted of mainly Indian and Black workers who are

predominantly in Grades A and B. The next group that I interviewed were those in management positions eg. the human resources assistant manageress. A structured interview schedule had been prepared in both isiZulu and English. My interpreter and I tried to stick to the questions on this schedule.

However, this was only possible at certain times. As we interviewed the current lot of workers as well as the management team, it was possible to follow the structured interview. The only time we deviated from this structured schedule was when circumstances were beyond our control. In one instance, there was an interruption of electricity, thus making it impossible to tape record. In another instance, we arrived late due to problems on the road and this resulted in time being lost, which we were never granted again. On another occasion the interviewees arrived late and this prevented us from complying with the structured interview. As we interviewed the retired lot of respondents, it became increasingly difficult to stick to our structured interview schedule. While we interviewed those who served the company for over 25 years, it was more easily possible to follow our structured interview.

However, as a result of these interviews taking place in the homes of the respondents, other family members, friends and neighbours found it difficult to contain their curiosity, as we were dealing with something that they themselves had experienced: being connected to the Canestone Sugar Mill. During this round of interviews, I had to use a more open-ended, semi-structured questionnaire to elicit information. As we were interviewing, other individuals who had experiences with the company shared their information with us. They told their stories, shared their views and provided recommendations for change. It was not entirely possible to curtail them as they felt they were entitled to share this information with us, since we were writing about the company, a company that they were attached to. Even though we made arrangements to speak to certain individuals, those individuals who served the company, because these interviews were conducted either in the living rooms, lounges or gardens, it was witnessed by many and there was participation by more than we expected.

5. CHAPTER FOUR

In chapter four relevant literature pertaining to the topic was reviewed with a view to building upon the work already done by other researchers. In order to get sufficient information on orality, literacy, management, power, communication, culture and change about this company town set up where industrial relations are strained because of the tensions that exist in a country so laden with economic and social problems, it was necessary to use a large sample.

Oral communication, industrial and labour relations, human resource management, technology, civilisation and exploitation, which are the basis of this study, have been given much consideration by numerous researchers in the respective fields. Culture and power are only effective depending on how they are conveyed. In light of this, the following relevant information was reviewed in order to ascertain how the sugar industry monopolised their workforce into 'accepting beings' by creating an environment of compliance. The discussion included a brief historiography of the Sugar trade and followed with a literature survey in themes. Further, the following aspects, as they influence or affect the South African scenario where given some consideration:

- The history of 'ownership' as far as the sugar manufacturing industry was concerned.
- The creation of certain kinds of labour conditions.
- The history of relationships between management and labour.
- The 'experience' of labour.

As employees and employers came together, certain types of labour conditions were put into place and became the order of the day. These labour conditions were instrumental in ensuring that the ideology of 'ownership' flourished and kept the worker in his place.

During the apartheid era, only a certain kind of relationship was allowed between management and labourers in any industrial concern. If this relationship is considered, then the capitalist attitudes of 'owners' of companies as well as the paternalistic view of the general entrepreneur ensured that workers remained subjects. As long as the management of companies like Canestone kept the labour force at bay and were able to control them, by using whatever powerful resources they possessed, then the government favoured them. These companies in turn for the favours received, did not antagonise the government with the manner in which they ran their businesses. In other words, if the experience of labour is considered, it is possible to state that the management did not allow people of colour to aspire

to higher positions, they practised job reservation, and they maintained and upheld the country's law on racial discrimination. This company operated and continues to operate as a capitalist concern to the distinct advantage of a small White minority. This dissertation has shown how the Black and Indian masses were and still are exploited to such an extent that they literally feel bereft of their human identity.

Thus it is possible to state that the following changes took place over time and these changes have affected the lives of those involved in Caneville:

- Trade unions made their appearances in the earlier decades and have made important strides in improving the lives of workers and affecting working relationships even though it has not completely eradicated the imbalances which still exist in management-labour workforce relationships.
- Urban management has seen changes taking place with the initial white council being replaced with Indian councillors and presently, democratically elected people in position.
- Changes in the labour force have developed. Conditions have been bargained for and changes have resulted.
- Labour legislation is now in place, which oversees working conditions.
- Democratic elections have taken place and individuals now have voting rights where freedom is enjoyed by all.

However, in as much as the above may have taken place, what was questioned in the rest of the dissertation is to what extent and how people's lives may or may not have changed.

6. CHAPTER FIVE

In chapter five attention was given to the synthesis of the interviews. At Canestone certain, mainly harsh methods were used by the Canestone Sugar Company to maintain a monopoly of power. In some cases, their use is deliberate, in others unconscious. The methods employed are often considered "normal and legitimate means of ameliorating the physical lot" [Van den Berghe, 1964,87] of those referred to as the "inferior and the incompetent" [ibid]. Van den Berghe [ibid] has labelled these mechanisms of political power thus:

1. the bread and circuses device
2. the family affair device
3. the co-optation device
4. the control of potential opposition device.

The bread and circuses device underlies the whole philosophy of paternalism or benevolent despotism wherever it is found. Certain phrases like 'our workers are happy here', 'we must keep our workers happy', 'you have never seen a happier bunch of natives', 'the Pondos are a contented lot' are used quite often by white employees. Non-white employees never use these phrases. The aim to keep the workers happy in Caneville is pursued mainly in four different ways. Medical care and food rations were provided. Family housing was provided. Black participation in soccer matches and ngoma dancing feasts was encouraged. The family affair argument runs roughly as follows: 'we are all one big happy family.' If workers have any grievances, they are totally welcome to speak to Ritehead or Herrwood. These gentlemen let the workers believe that they have their interests at heart. They encouraged workers not to get together to ferment opposition. They did not want to be challenged by collective protest action as it defeats the aim of any autocratic government. Through the family affair technique, the company attempted to isolate the company from outside influences and to prevent the organization of collective opposition by dealing with single individuals.

Paternalism makes, in fact, perpetual wards of citizens. Co-optation is another stand-by of autocracy. It consists of taking the opposition or potential opposition in on one's side, either by giving it some special rewards or by giving it the appearance of a share in power. The control of potential opposition is the mainstay of all autocratic regimes. Co-optation is one of the more subtle means of controlling opposition. The company allowed non-white workers to organize, but denied the right of effective collective bargaining. The white artisans were allowed to organize and strike. Racial segregation in the labour unions, job reservation along racial lines, legislative restrictions on non-white workers, and the privileged position of the White elite proletariat have emasculated the South African labour movement, and protected the employers to a degree unmatched in any other advanced industrial country. From the above it is possible to agree with Van den Berghe [1964, 100] that Canestone is not only segmented, however; it is also politically atomized. Racial segregation and vastly inferior treatment of non-whites are taken for granted. The dual standard is deeply internalised. It is this way of life, this segregated community of whites and non-whites which was nurtured and given life that allowed paternalism to prosper and further kept the Africans and Indians apart and under control. Canestone further perpetuated other social evils. The non-whites were further divided into two distinct groups of Africans and Indians who were also treated very differently with the Indians being favoured, being treated with slightly softer boxing gloves.

As this paternalistic way of life became entrenched as policy, rule, law and regulation, two further distinct characteristic ways of living emerged and flourished. What resulted may be termed as the 'settlement' feature as opposed to the 'migrancy' way of life. Canestone, to the Black and Indian, happened at the same time and place.

Canestone was one area subdivided into little different ways of living life. Both Blacks and Indians experienced the same common harsh, exploitative working and living conditions. But this harshness, this experience, this episode of the same time and place was lived through differently by people bound by the one thick, rusty, heavy chain of a common time, common place, common working conditions, but not common living conditions. What this paternalism allowed to develop was a settlement structure as opposed to a migrancy way of life.

I have, in detail, narrated a story of one family that lived in the settlement provided by the company. It is a story of an Indian family because Indian families were encouraged to stay on these estates and were expected to let one generation after another continue working here, thus ensuring that the chain was not broken. The settlement lifestyle was favoured because it ensured safety and security for the employers as they had total control over the Indian workforce. This control gave them power, which they used to manipulate those who went out of control. Besides, compared to Blacks who had their homelands and reserves and farms to go to, Indians had no where else to go to.

The company favoured a migrant way of life for the Black worker. Every year in December, the Black man was allowed to go back to his home in Transkei or where ever he came from and return to work in January. The company provided transport for these mainly labourers and thus it, in some way ensured that the workers returned to work. By providing transport to these faraway places, it ensured firstly that workers reached home safely, secondly money was saved, money was not spent on transport, thirdly money was not spent on alcohol, prostitution, gambling and fourthly, workers were advised to sort out their children's school fees and other household basic necessities. Thus, we see that paternalism reared its ugly head in almost every sphere of life of the Canestone workers.

Canestone, as a way of life treated blacks, whites and Indians differently. This was a given. It was widely accepted by whites. It was realised by Indians and it was tacitly accepted and realised by blacks. Indians and blacks knew that there were two groups of peoples. The white

and non-white groups. However, the non-white group was further divided into different ways of living and experiencing life. One of the ways that this difference is encountered is by the company encouraging Indian families like the Mandaram/ Raidoo families to settle down on the estates. They were encouraged to request that their sons and daughters continue working on the lands so that the company experienced a low turnover, which meant higher profits, which generally suited the company as it was advantageous to have long serving workers. At the same time as encouraging the Indian workers to live on the estates and company owned property, it did do much to encourage black families to have the same lifestyle. It suited the management fine to have a majority black male worker population who was without their wives and children. Upon speaking to many of the older black workers, it was found that their wives were in the reserves or homelands looking after older folk and children. In some cases, wives only lived with their husbands, especially if the children were older or if they were second or third 'wives'. They were called wives although they were not legally married. However, because they lived with these men for many years. I did not come across any cases where both husbands and wives worked for the company. Even though it may be possible that there are a number of cases where fathers and then sons worked in this company, I must confess that in the sample chosen, none of this particular type of father-son worker came up. Possibly, this was a reason why it was not possible to do a comparative study of a family history such as the Mandaram/ Raidoo family. It may be said then that black men were possibly encouraged to keep their families away. Blacks were encouraged to keep to a migrant way of life.

This contact with their roots on an annual basis was encouraged. This life where oral life styles and the oral way of life was perpetuated is thus still alive today where so many blacks still cannot read and write and where illiteracy is a way of life. Using Jousse's work as a basic, yet meticulously complete text in its handling of issues on this aspect of orality, oral culture and the oral way of life for illiterate people, interactions and dialogue with a chosen group of black respondents were analysed.

I have indicated how the owners of Canestone used paternalistic managerialism to control their workers. However, I have used a select group of workers to show the different ways in which Indian and Black workers and families were treated. I have looked at the settlement way of life as opposed to the migratory way of life. I have also shown how orality impacts on individuals caught up in this now modernized town. Thereafter, I looked at respondent's

views to various issues including family life, working life, opinions, and feelings at the end of their days at Canestone.

7. CHAPTER SIX

In chapter six I examined the workers perceptions and their feelings about being treated in a paternalistic manner. Apart from the conscientious or moral worth or demerits of the reasoned doctrine or philosophy of paternalism, this approach, policy or administration contains the seeds of its own possible destruction. The reason is quite uncomplicated, even simple. According to Van den Berghe [1964, 249] "Paternalism is a political fossil which can only survive in a relatively static agricultural society where the labour is furnished by a hereditary servile or quasi-servile class". However, it seems that Canestone thus far is as it is because change has not jolted its workers into real action to achieve what it is that they want. Thus, I may tend to agree with Van den Berghe because the Canestone workers have not escaped the shackles that bonds them to servility. Maybe they believe they are free, but are they really. In examining a transforming paternalism, I have considered the following views of Van den Berghe [1969,249]. He states that a stable paternalistic master-servant relationship requires a number of conditions. There must be an intimate, face- to-face, affective bond between master and servant. Such a bond implies a small-sized organization incompatible with large, impersonal, industrial concerns. Furthermore, the development of paternalistic bonds requires a long-standing relationship that cannot normally be established in a highly mobile industrial context, all the less so in one that perpetuates a migratory labour system.

Paternalism also requires that the servant or slave internalise the feeling of his inferiority. In other words, he must believe that he is inferior, and be happy with his humble lot, for otherwise he inevitably challenges his subservient status. From my interviews, it became clear that some respondents feel the way in which Van den Berghe has described workers to be if paternalism is to succeed. They have internalised these feelings and what has helped this process along is the fact that these workers have worked the soil for many decades. However, with the new democracy in place and these workers, having a slightly elevated sense of self-worth and self-esteem somehow want to fight this system of being under a paternalistic rule. So the question to be asked then is: 'How has the democratic, political, social, economic and general everyday changes that have taken place since the sixties and especially since 1994 in the country and Canestone in particular allowed for a transforming paternalism? There are many ways of defining "a transforming paternalism".

For the purposes of this study, the following issues were considered in looking at a transforming paternalism in Canestone.

- Firstly, does the company still want to maintain control over its workers in their personal lives e.g., does the company decide which doctor a worker should consult?
- Secondly, does the company still want to maintain total control over its workers whilst at work ? eg. use punitive measures to discipline workers.
- Thirdly, does the company from a holistic point of view, encompassing the entire living existence of its workers still want to treat them like ‘children’ who need to be told what to do, how to do it, when to do it and where to do it?
- Finally, does the company still want to maintain a ‘master-servant’ relationship?

8. CHAPTER SEVEN

In chapter seven an analysis of the theoretical perspectives and frameworks was given. What, has further intrigued me is the distance between worker experience and management and the impact of this paternalism, which existed in Canestone, on the lives of so many individuals. The period under study i.e. 1960 to 1998 was significant for a number of reasons. During the first three decades of this period, the state and industry was able to work hand in hand and totally control the non-white South African as well as discipline White South Africans who opposed the law. During the 1960s to the early 1990s, the worker of this country was oppressed and generally in industry, a paternalistic attitude succeeded to the distinct advantage of the capitalists. I have already in other chapters explained and described how life was under paternalistic managerialism. What is necessary to state here is that there was a distance between worker experience and management. There was distrust on both sides.

Workers believed that the management never really came to the bargaining council or negotiation table without hidden agendas. They believed that there was no transparency, basically, no honesty and clean slates. The management as well felt they could not trust the workers and believed that the first opportunity the workers have to be destructive, rebellious or be resistant then they were. Thus, with time, the distance between both camps widened and the result is unhappiness. However, after enduring the harshness of an apartheid existence, the early nineties brought with it hope for a better life and most of all change and democracy.

In Canestone the workers as well were caught up in the euphoria of a better life, they began to experience a change in life as discussions, and negotiations began and continued for a few years thereafter. Eventually in 1994, the first elections were held and the masses now had a democracy that was a dream for so long. After the excitement and celebrations were over, life had to continue in a new democracy. The issue then that I have debated is: “A new life in a democracy?” or “A life in a new democracy?” or “A new life in a new democracy?” In trying to answer these questions I have looked at the impact of democracy on the Canestone workers, as well as considered the implications of it, given the lack of communication.

Given the lack of open and honest communication, I have focussed on the following:

- Reciprocal oral communication
- Cultural diversity and expansion
- Writing

These issues have been dealt with depending on how they affected the life of Canestone workers after a democratic republic was in place. Therefore, even though we are in a new democracy, oral communication in the mother tongue has remained as the main way of communicating. The labourers lack of English comprehension, which I experienced first hand, further entrenches him in a system that does not cater for his needs. Not all communicative information that is sent out in English is also sent out in either isiZulu or Xhosa. To date, a break in communication does exist. Furthermore, the other problem which also still exists is that most of the foremen or managers are Indian and they do not speak proper isiZulu. They speak Fanakalo. The black workers have accepted this only because it is a means of communication. But they do not like it and prefer that proper isiZulu be spoken.

Thus, to conclude this aspect on oral communication, it is possible to state that after looking at gestures, communicative issues, formal small-group networks, problems of communication, barriers to communication and communicating effectively that in democratic Canestone change occurred, but the move away from paternalism was not totally achieved. There is an ongoing struggle by workers to break the chains of paternalism and move away from this sort of ‘parental control’ that the company, in a way, still views as important to the smooth running of the company. Democracy brought with it changes such as the company’s selling of previously company owned houses and because workers are now owners, they are faced with a new set of responsibilities such as electricity and water

accounts, rates etc. During apartheid and transition to democracy, resistance and change occurred simultaneously.

It is also quite clear that until the 1990's whatever changes took place, however rapid or slow, were accompanied by "rigidity in the political sphere." [Van den Berghe, 1964, 242]. Van den Berghe goes on to say that this is historically a "classical setting for a social revolution." [ibid] However, at Canestone the social revolution never really got off the ground, but there was resistance and change took place. However, there was also some resistance to certain change.

In Canestone, we agree that changes have taken place. One of the changes that have occurred is the new faces on the block when protest and strike action is on. Young blood take to the fore and it is amazing how the orality which is so much a part of the lives of the older workers, has been imbibed and learnt by the youth who use what they know to demand change. Basically, young men in particular are vociferous and use their orality to show their anger while the women use their voices to sing and ululate.

Paternalism was the way in which management maintained control over its workers. Initially in the sixties and seventies workers went along with this even though they hated this system. As we moved into the eighties, the country went in many emergency state status and the workers were further patronised. As the nineties approached, change seemed imminent and then a democracy was established. However, during this period from the sixties through until the nineties there was resistance and growing mass dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction in Canestone in particular was with this system of paternalism. So, even though we were in a democracy, the distance between management and worker experience had not vanished but was still in place because the management wanted to continue with its paternalistic actions. However, the dictates of democracy did not allow for such a firm hold as had been experienced before. With democracy there was a change, a sort of lenient attitude that was displayed. This leads to my next point which is the impact that democracy had in Canestone. This I have discussed under oral communication, resistance and change, writing and literacy and finally culture. At the end of this discussion the following are still the problems experienced by management and workers.

8.1. Workers Problems

They do not appreciate the system or ideology of paternalism. The majority black workers do not speak, read or write English. The majority non-white workers do not trust the management.. After the recent strike, there is a mistrust of the union movement. Democracy has not given the workers, the life they expected e.g., better housing, free education, improved health services, reduced crime etc.

8.2. Management Problems

The workers want too much too soon. They cannot trust the workers because workers indulge in resistance activities. Workers are lazy. Workers' demands are too high. Workers are not satisfied with what they are given and show no appreciation. Finally I deliberated on the way forward with implications for managers. Thus far, from inferences drawn from interviews, it may be stated that, there has to be a move away from paternalism. This is what the workers want and it is something that the management should seriously consider in order to improve working conditions to achieve a win-win situation.

9. CONCLUSION

Given all of the above it is clear that paternalism cannot work. Workers don't want it and the only way forward is for management to change. Thus, it is quite clear that for the management of Canestone to benefit there is a need to give consideration to the guidelines offered to be able to produce a more happy, participative and willing staff in order to maintain profit margins and keep the shareholders happy.

APPENDIX 1

1.1 REFERENCING :-

As there are different methods of referencing used by different writers, it is necessary for me to explain the type of referencing I have used. Where I have quoted directly, I have used the open and closed inverted commas (“ ... ”). In some instances I have summarized or paraphrased an author’s point of view and said : According to XYZ [year, page]. Here I have not used inverted commas. In other instances I have listed the authors who share the same view. Here I have not given particular page reference numbers because particular themes such as communication, culture, literacy are covered through out the book. This would have proved a cumbersome exercise. In other instances I have stated : XY quotes ZA in BC (Year). This was as a result of BC not giving a page reference. In other instances where I have paragraphs concerning one idea which has been paraphrased from a number of pages then I have used: Author [Year]. I have adapted this form of referencing from Magojo [1997] and Watts [1985].

1.2 PLANNING :-

Getting access to the company was difficult. A letter from the university had to be written before I was granted permission to conduct the survey. Once permission was granted by the senior management, the estates human resource manager wrote his own letter for me getting access to other staff members who could help me. These letters are on pages 286 and 287.

Interviews with the Human Resources Manager and then the assistant Human Resources Manageress were conducted to discuss the issues pertaining to the research and a plan of action to be implemented.



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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that Ms K K Archary is a bona fide PhD student in the Centre for Oral Studies. Ms Archary is registered with the University, her student number is 921366832.

Ms Archary's research concerns the Tongaat Sugar Mills and its workers. It would be appreciated if Ms Archary were given access to people, past and present, working at the Mills. This access is purely for research purposes, without any other ulterior purpose. The results of her research will be made available to the Tongaat Sugar Mill for archival purposes. Such results will in no way be a reflection on the Sugar Mill and its Management as they will reflect only upon Ms Archary's research capabilities.

E R Sienaert (Professor)
Director: Centre for Oral Studies
Thesis Supervisor

INTERNAL MEMORANDUM

To: ESTATE/DEPARTMENT MANAGERS Date: 26/03/73

From: HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGER Our Ref: CANESTONE ESTATES

Subject: UNIVERSITY STUDENT'S RESEARCH Your Ref:

The sender of this letter, Mrs Kaye Archery is a University student conducting research into communication in industrial organisations. She needs to conduct interviews with employees with varying lengths of service, and has been given permission to do so by Mr T Campbell.

Mrs Archery has agreed that interviews will be conducted after 3.00pm in order that work is not interrupted with.

Attached is a list of the employees concerned. Please could you assist where possible in arranging for employees to attend these interviews on the understanding that they are voluntary. Mrs Archery is prepared to conduct these interviews at the employees' homes if necessary.

Your help with the above is appreciated.

Thank you.

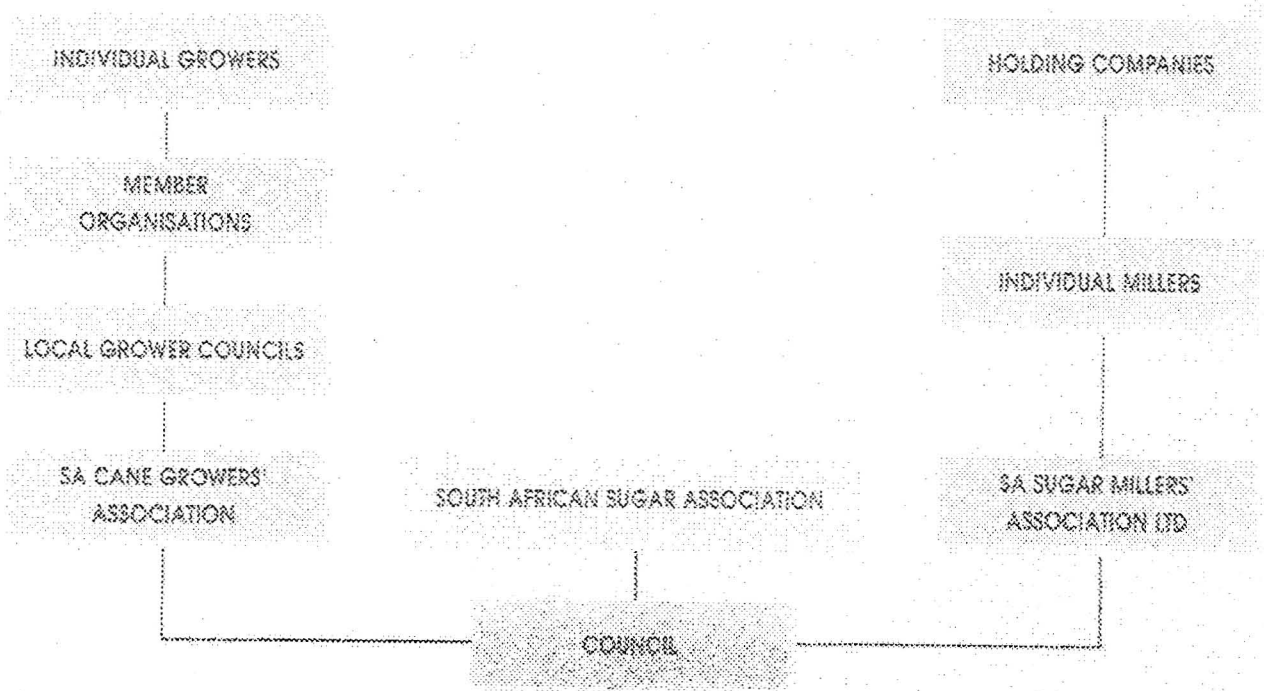
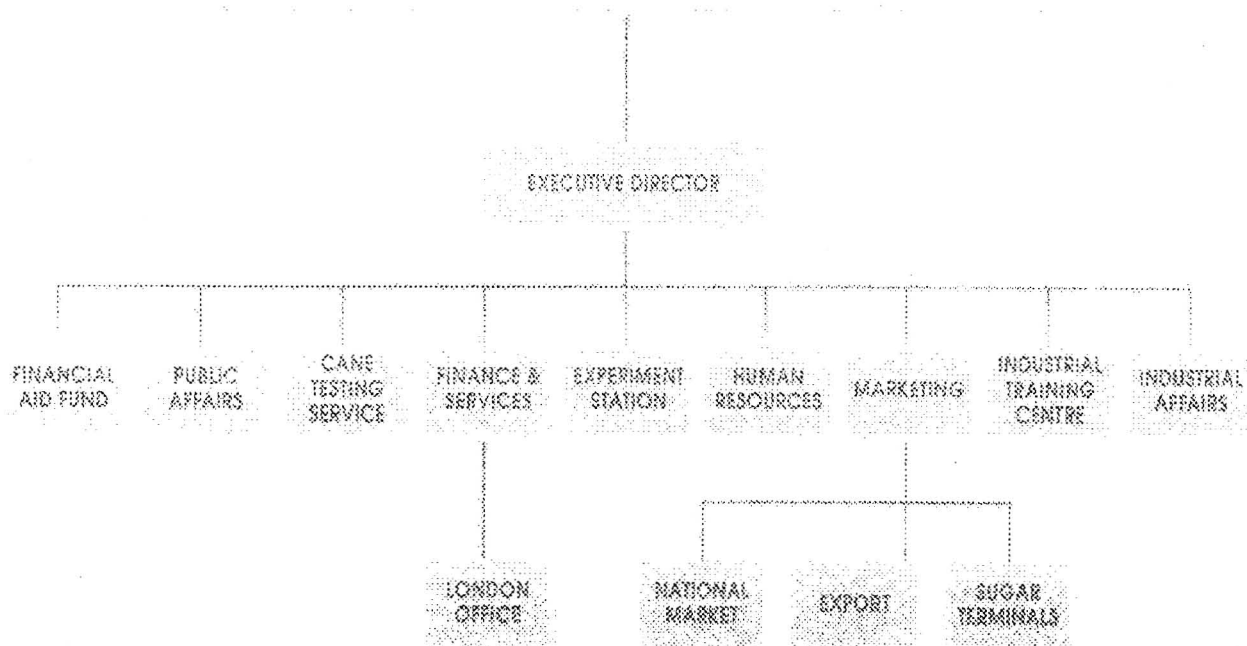

P. CHARLTON

100/11/73

2. THE HIERARCHY STRUCTURE

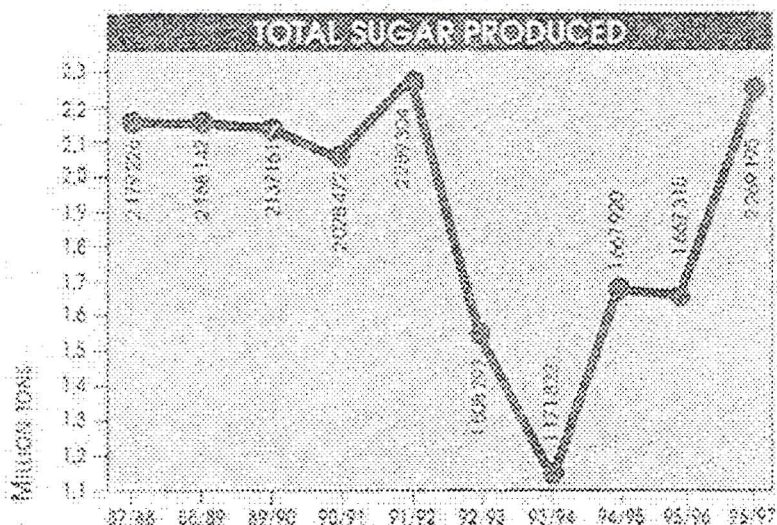
The following hierarchy structure shows the various positions held in the sugar manufacturing organization. The second structure shows the different groupings associated with the South African Sugar Association,

SOUTH AFRICAN SUGAR ASSOCIATION COUNCIL



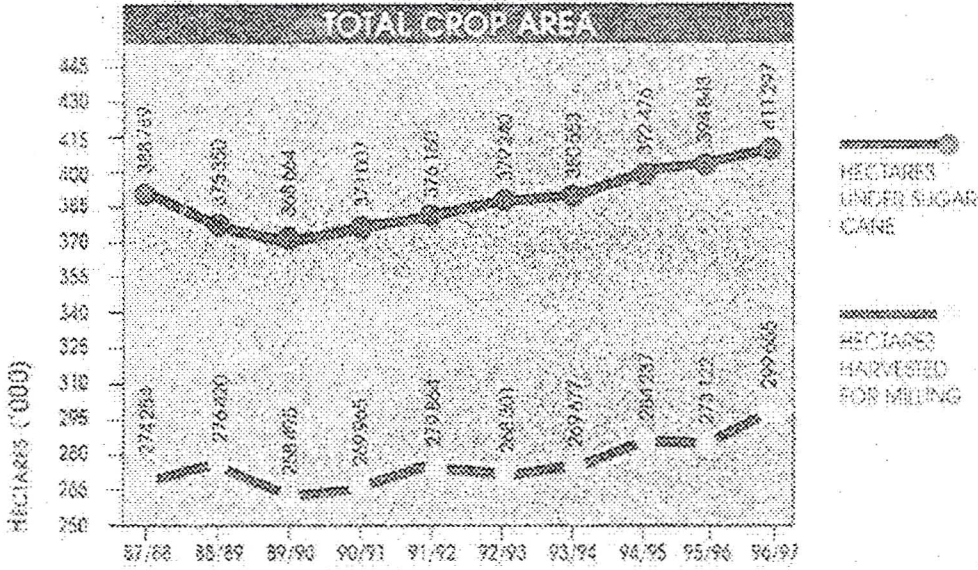
3. CANE PRODUCTION AND CROP DATA

The following graphs and tables give an indication of cane production and crop data from 1987 to 1997. It was not possible to get earlier data.



TOTAL CANE/SUGAR PRODUCTION - 1987/1988 to 1996/1997			
Season	Cane crushed	Sugar produced	
		National Market	International Market
1987/88	21 036 494	1 240 379	935 647
1988/89	19 864 393	1 348 626	819 516
1989/90	18 636 288	1 239 002	698 159
1990/91	18 083 484	1 314 752	713 720
1991/92	20 077 965	1 376 181	913 123
1992/93	12 956 409	1 385 124	123 173
1993/94	11 264 445	1 279 724*	0
1994/95	15 663 277	1 320 413	347 507
1995/96	16 713 649	1 291 662	375 653
1996/97	20 950 894	1 273 565	995 630

* INCLUDES 107 902 TONNE IMPORTED SUGAR



CROP DATA 1987/88 TO 1996/97						
Season	Areas Yields				Yields per hectare of harvested cane	Rainfall June to May (mm)
	Sucrose % Cane	Tons cane to 1 ton sugar	Tons cane crushed	Tons sugar made		
1987/88	12.00	9.67	21,066,494	2,179,226	76.81	1802
1988/89	12.61	9.16	19,864,393	2,168,142	71.86	1020
1989/90	13.17	8.72	18,636,288	2,137,161	72.10	1122
1990/91	12.91	8.91	18,063,484	2,028,472	66.98	1047
1991/92	13.04	8.77	20,077,965	2,289,304	71.74	677
1992/93	13.82	8.59	12,955,409	1,509,297	48.29	594
1993/94	12.53	9.50	11,244,445	1,171,622	41.70	655
1994/95	12.54	9.40	15,683,277	1,667,920	55.18	900
1995/96	11.87	10.02	16,713,649	1,667,316	61.19	1221
1996/97	12.50	9.23	20,950,894	2,269,195	69.92	967

4 CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE · THE SUGAR INDUSTRY FROM 1848-1997

In order to understand and appreciate the information shared with me by the respondents it is necessary to shed some historical facts. Below is a chronological order of events as they occurred in the sugar industry. It is while these events occurred that respondents and their families experienced life as part of the sugar world.

- 1848 Edmund Morewood plants the first sugarcane on the KwaZulu-Natal North Coast
- 1853 First shipment of KwaZulu-Natal sugar to the Cape
- 1865 First black owned steam mill at American Board of Missions station at Amanzimtoti
- 1896 Locusts destroy 40% of sugarcane crop
- 1900 Sugar output reaches 16 000 tons per annum with 30 mills in operation and 2 600 hectares under sugarcane
- 1910 Natal Sugar Association formed
- 1916 Agricultural News and Sugar Planters Gazette launched
- 1920 Natal Sugar Millers' Association founded
- 1925 Experiment Station (SASEX) established
- 1927 South African Cane Growers' Association formed
- 1936 Sugar Act promulgated and first Sugar Industry Agreement published
- 1937 South Africa becomes foundation member of the first International Sugar Agreement with quota of 209 000 tons
- 1939 Annual production reaches 475 000 tons with 23 factories operating and 145 000 hectares under cane
- 1945 NCo310 released by SASEX
- 1949 Sugar Milling Research Institute (SMRI) established
- 1950 First bulk shipment of 6 750 tons of raw sugar
- 1953 South Africa joins post-war International Sugar Agreement (ISA)
- 1954 SASEX Extension service begins
- 1955 NCo376 released by SASEX
- 1961 South Africa leaves British Commonwealth but negotiates new bilateral agreement to supply Britain 150 000 tons annually
- 1962 New markets developed in Canada and Japan
- 1964 Bilateral agreement with Britain terminated and 165 000 tons Commonwealth Preference transferred to Swaziland with agreement on marketing
- 1965 Bulk Sugar Terminal erected with storage capacity of 190 000 tons USA allocates SA quota of 2.3% equating to 43 000 tons
- 1968 First N variety of cane - bred and selected in Natal - released by SASEX
- 1970 Molasses mixing plant installed at Bulk Sugar Terminal
- 1973 SASA launches Small Growers' Financial Aid Fund with grant of R5 million
- 1974 World sugar price peaks at US 65.50 c/lb on 20 November
Industrial Training Centre opened at Mt Edgecombe
- 1975 Domestic consumption reaches one million tons

- 1978 NZ2 released (currently the second most widely grown variety)
- 1981 UK Sugar facility established in Gauteng for domestic market
New markets developed in Korea
- 1983 World Sugar Research Organisation (WSRO) meets in Durban
Severe drought cuts production by 750 000 tons
New contract established with Israel
- 1984 Price Stabilisation Fund borrowings reach R327 million
Cane transport scheme transfers cost responsibility to growers
Quarantine glasshouse moved from Botanic Gardens to SASX
- 1984 Cyclone Demario wreaks havoc killing more than 200 people
- 1985 World price falls to 2.5 US c/tp on 20 June
A and B pool systems introduced
Record sugar production of 2,370 million tons
- 1986 Political sanctions lead to loss of Canadian and USA markets
- 1987 Small-scale grower production exceeds 1.5 million tons (worth R51 m)
- 1988 NZ1 released - first eudane resistant variety
- 1989 R1 m project announced to expand industry production by 300 000 tons
Industry proceeds exceed R2 billion for one season
- 1990 USA quota restored at 2.3% equating to 26 000 tons per annum
- 1992 First year of four-year drought reduces production to 1.5m tons
Small Grower Development Trust launched
Cane Growers recognise representation and empower small-scale growers
- 1993 Drought in 1993/94 season reduces production to 1,171 million tons
100 000 tons of sugar imported
Loans by Financial Aid Fund exceed R100 million
R6.7 million IDI/Industry Work Creation Programme launched
NZ4 released - presently the variety containing the highest sucrose
Transval Sugar Limited's new mill near Komatipoort in the
Mpumalanga Lowveld starts crushing
- 1994 Introduction of phased deregulation programme
- 1995 Drought maintains its stranglehold on the industry, restricting production
to 1.67m tons in 1995/96
First transgenic plant developed at Experiment Station
R12 million Siyoxha programme launched by President Mandela
New markets established in Africa
- 1996 Industry recovers from drought. Production increases to 2.2m tons
Ilvovo Sugar Limited's Eston Mill starts crushing
- 1997 Ilvovo Sugar Ltd consolidates its leading position in southern Africa with
the acquisition of Lonrho's sugar division for R1.62 billion.

ANNEXURE A

COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	231175	S B SAIB	C3	SAL/WAGES CONTROLLE	A	F	19780901	216000	1978
03	300245	O PILLAY	B3	CLERK/TYPIST PLANING	A	F	19790201	211522	1979
03	305100	L PUCKAREE	B5	COMPOSITOR	A	F	19791210	810600	1979
03	120121	S RAMNARAS	B3	SNR.ESTATE CLERK	A	F	19811001	322788	1981
03	231155	A NAIDOO	C1	LAN CONTROLLER	A	F	19810422	216000	1981
03	231803	P GOVENDER	C1	MEDICAL SECRETARY	A	F	19900816	217401	1990
03	302905	S NAIR	B4	RECEPT/TELE	A	F	19920601	869904	1992
03	100355	T MOODLEY	B3	CLERK	A	F	19951016	400600	1995
03	231848	N MAHOMED	B4	CREDITORS RECON CLE	A	F	19950201	811402	1995
03	231816	J GREEN-THOMPS	C3	TECH.INFORM.OFFICER	A	F	19960501	404000	1996
03	2762	J SHAIK	C5	ASST.ACCOUNTANT	A	F	19960301	216000	1996
03	2767	N K IMRITH	C5	ASST.CHEMICAL ENGIN	A	F	19970106	212300	1997
03	231851	T GOVENDER	B4	CREDITORS TRANS.CLERK	A	F	19980201	869904	1998
03	130021	B SINGANO	A1	DOMESTIC SERVANT	B	F	19500201	322288	1950
03	130213	N E MFUNWA	A1	LABOURER	B	F	19830630	322588	1983
03	130197	B N SINGANO	A1	DOMESTIC SERVANT	B	F	19830630	322288	1983
03	307248	Z M MBONAMBE	N3	STAFF NURSE	B	F	19830601	217404	1983
03	241257	A T CELE	B5	TYPIST/RECEPTIONIST	B	F	19870216	217200	1987
03	241813	F C KHUMALO	N5	PROFESSIONAL NURSE	B	F	19900701	217403	1990
03	110084	A M NDLOVU	A1	EXECUTIVE SERVANT	B	F	19920702	216000	1992
03	110687	N M MAQABUKA	A1		B	F	19930401	219270	1993
03	110680	L MPAXA	A2	FIELD CHECKER	B	F	19930401	400203	1993
03	110079	S P RADEBE	B3	REGION CLERK	B	F	19941001	218201	1994
03	241499	M G MAZIBUKO	B4	SECRETARY	B	F	19950320	404100	1995
03	241281	N BANDA	B5	TYPIST/RECEPTIONIST	B	F	19950101	217200	1995
03	2907	F N MKHIZE	D1	ASSIST TECH MNGR	B	F	19950101	869922	1995
03	19034	T M MLABA	A1	GARDENER	B	F	19960401	312088	1996
03	302302	A K MTSHALI	A3	ROUTINR CLERK	B	F	19971013	216000	1997
03	302903	S NAIDOO	B	DISTRIB. CLERK	B	F	19970901	831704	1997
03	241844	N NGUBENI	C3	TRAINEE ACCOUNTANT	B	F	19970915	217306	1997
03	220724	J L THORPE	C	CONFIDENTIAL SEC	D	F	19730701	869910	1973
03	220161	E T GILBERT	C3	SNR A/CS ASSISTANT	D	F	19790925	216000	1979
03	220725	L COOPER	C	OFFICE SERV SUPER	D	F	19800301	869615	1980
03	220153	J C OOSTHUIZEN	B5	WAGES CLERK	D	F	19811112	216000	1981
03	2771	K E HODGON	C4	OCCUP.HEALTH NURSE	D	F	19811201	217400	1981
03	302900	A M RATCLIFF	B4	CONFIDENTIAL SEC	D	F	19850902	855900	1985
03	302906	A M HIGGS	B5	DEPOT SUPER	D	F	19860601	831724	1986
03	220708	L J WHEELER	N6	OCC.HEALTH SISTER	D	F	19861106	404080	1986
03	220726	L T WINTERBOTTOM	C3	CUSTOMER REL OFFICE	D	F	19890201	831704	1989
03	305003	M A STAPELBERG	B4	OFFICE SERVICES SUP.	D	F	19900320	216000	1990
03	305002	I J SCHAFFER	B5	ACCOUNTS CLERK	D	F	19900101	216000	1990
03	302907	G M MINNIE	B4	DEPOT CLERK	D	F	19931001	831724	1993
03	220151	D M JOHNSON	C1	ESTATE SECRETARY	D	F	19940725	400100	1994
03	220711	P BUTLER	C1	EXECUTIVE SECRETARY	D	F	19940301	212200	1994
03	220727	S M BIRNIE	C1	SEC-SALES MARKET	D	F	19950710	869880	1995
03	302902	M G JENKINSON	B3	LIAISON OFFICER	D	F	19960610	831704	1996
03	2606	A M TURNER	D2	ASST HR MANAGER	D	F	19961001	217200	1996
03	302901	A L TOERIEI	B4	RECEPT/TELE	D	F	19971121	869880	1997
03	220729	T HERBST	C3	TRANSPORT CO-ORD	D	F	19970701	831704	1997
03	220723	E M BECKER	C3	CREDIT CONTROL	D	F	19970416	869904	1997
03	220722	C COETZER	C2	H/RADMIN ASSIST.	D	F	19980223	217200	1998
03	120007	V KARIEKOLAN	B2	SENIOR L/SUPERVISOR	A	M	19440201	322288	1944
03	120106	K MOONSAMY	B1	INSP AGRONOMY	A	M	19460201	400500	1946
03	18705	A MAHALAKSHIN	B1	MAINT WKR	A	M	19480601	312088	1948
03	120015	M FRANCIS	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19480201	322288	1948
03	120016	S NAIDOO	B2	HANDYMAN	A	M	19490201	322288	1949
03	120139	K PILLAY	A3	GARDENER	A	M	19500201	322388	1950
03	120014	R MUTHUSAMI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19500201	322288	1950
03	120174	C MOODLEY	B2	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19510201	322388	1951
03	120133	S SOOKOO	B1	INSP AGRONOMY	A	M	19520201	400500	1952
03	120005	M M GOVENDER	B2	MOBILE CRANE DRIVER	A	M	19520201	322288	1952
03	120018	M GOVENDER	B3	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19530201	322288	1953
03	120038	V NAIDOO	B1	GENERAL SUPERVISOR	A	M	19540201	322288	1954
03	100253	G PERUMAL	B3	CLERK SENIOR	A	M	19541126	400602	1954
03	120041	M RAMUDU	A3	IRRIG. PUMP ATTENDT	A	M	19550201	322388	1955
03	231464	M AUTAR	B5	ESTATE SUPERVISOR	A	M	19550301	303450	1955
03	231302	G ARMUGAM	C1	CLERK SKILLED	A	M	19550426	211522	1955
03	231355	M CHINNASAMY	C1	MILL FITTER	A	M	19550424	210322	1955
03	300200	K MOONSAMY	A3	BOILER PLANT GREASER	A	M	19560430	210822	1956
03	300152	N GOVENDER	B4	LAB ANALYST GRADE 11	A	M	19560420	210923	1956
03	100012	M PILLAY	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	A	M	19571203	303188	1957
03	120159	M GOVENDER	B3	ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19570501	322488	1957
03	231220	V RUNGAN	B4	SNR.RECEIV.CLERK	A	M	19570501	214900	1957

ANNEXURE A

COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	18351	S MUNGAROO	C3	ASST ESTATE MNGR	A	M	19570212	312050	1957
03	18203	D RAMHIT	B1	DRIVER G4	A	M	19580302	300688	1958
03	300285	K MOODLEY	B2	PUMP HOUSE OPERATO	A	M	19580818	213322	1958
03	231314	P GOVENDER	B4	TESTER	A	M	19580729	210923	1958
03	231520	G SHOBRAMONEY	B4	MAINTENANCE SUPRVIS	A	M	19580101	310350	1958
03	231451	A GOVENDER	B4	PAYMENTS SUPERVISOR	A	M	19590126	400602	1959
03	231323	N RAGAVAYAH	C1	PROCESS ASSISTANT	A	M	19591109	212323	1959
03	231171	S NAIDOO	C2	SENIOR ACCOUNT ASST.	A	M	19590801	216000	1959
03	231802	G GOVENDER	C2	WORKMENS COMP.CLER	A	M	19590106	217400	1959
03	231432	R VEERAN	C3	ASST.EST. MANAGER	A	M	19590201	322450	1959
03	120019	C C CHETTY	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19600701	322288	1960
03	100239	S PILLAY	B2	SUPERVISOR SENIOR	A	M	19600501	400500	1960
03	231429	S RAJOO	B4	MAINT.SUPERVISOR	A	M	19600201	322350	1960
03	231846	P D NAIDOO	C3	PAYMENT CONTROL	A	M	19600501	811402	1960
03	306172	P CHELLAN	B2	FILTERBED OPERATR	A	M	19610525	217514	1961
03	300057	P NARAYANSAMY	B4	POWER HOUSE ATTEND	A	M	19610522	211022	1961
03	18553	R POONSAMY	B1	DRIVER G4	A	M	19620522	300688	1962
03	100241	D PILLAY	B1	INSP AGRONOMY	A	M	19620502	400500	1962
03	2779	G NAIDOO	C5	PRODUCT FOREMAN	A	M	19621025	831604	1962
03	2765	D RUGBEER	C5	SNR.ASST.EST.MANA	A	M	19620409	310150	1962
03	300120	S NAICKER	A3	GREASER	A	M	19631209	210322	1963
03	100042	M RANCHARAN	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	A	M	19630501	303288	1963
03	302032	C NAIDOO	B3	DRIVER EHD	A	M	19631001	842701	1963
03	302239	R VENKADU	B3	TRANSPORT CLERK	A	M	19630520	842701	1963
03	231334	E SULTAN	B4	DIFFUSER OPERATOR	A	M	19631209	210223	1963
03	18306	C J GOUNDEN	B4	MAINT WKR	A	M	19630902	300588	1963
03	302261	D KUPPEN	B4	DRYER OPERATOR	A	M	19630826	831602	1963
03	300127	V NARAINSAMY	B5	PAN BOILER	A	M	19631209	210523	1963
03	231322	S PILLAY	C1	PROCESS ASSISTANT	A	M	19631209	212323	1963
03	231822	R PILLAY	C1	EXTRACT.SUPERVISOR	A	M	19630521	212323	1963
03	231317	R MOODLEY	C1	PAN FLOOR SUPERVISO	A	M	19630120	210523	1963
03	100209	P PADAYACHEE	B1	FIRETOWER LOOKOUT	A	M	19640903	390788	1964
03	300278	K PILLAY	B2	O/H CRANE OPERATOR GR1	A	M	19640529	210123	1964
03	120021	S MOONSAMY	B2	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19640102	322388	1964
03	231327	P GOVENDER	B3	SALVAGE YARD SUPEVS	A	M	19640525	212252	1964
03	18951	M DHAVER	B3	CLERL G3	A	M	19640302	300688	1964
03	300087	N RAMSAMY	B5	C.M.W.SHIFT FITTER	A	M	19640804	210322	1964
03	300033	V REDDY	B5	PAN BOILER	A	M	19640515	210523	1964
03	300286	D NAICKER	B5	WARRANT OFFICER	A	M	19640101	880400	1964
03	231834	K GENGADU	C1	PROCESS ASSISTANT	A	M	19640623	210523	1964
03	231332	P GOVENDER	C1	EXTRACT.SUPERVISOR	A	M	19640525	212323	1964
03	18756	Y NAICKER	B1	SERVICEMAN G2	A	M	19650601	312188	1965
03	231845	N RUNGAN	B4	ACCOUNTS ASSIST.	A	M	19650719	811401	1965
03	18941	T PANDARAM	C3	ASST EST MNGR	A	M	19650826	300550	1965
03	300252	G GOVENDER	A3	GREASER	A	M	19660523	210322	1966
03	300287	P NAIDOO	B1	SENIOR ARTISANS HAND	A	M	19661115	210622	1966
03	120068	R RAMNATH	B1	GEN. SUPERVISOR	A	M	19660201	322488	1966
03	10078	C MUNSAMY	B1	SUPERVISOR F OPS	A	M	19660103	310488	1966
03	300191	G PILLAY	B2	DESPATCH CLERK	A	M	19660504	810905	1966
03	100017	A GOVENDER	B2	SUPERVISOR SENIOR	A	M	19660401	303488	1966
03	300299	L RAJBALLI	B2	DESPATCH CLERK	A	M	19660201	810902	1966
03	120040	P GOVENDER	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19670201	322288	1967
03	120088	C APPLESAMY	B1	CATAPILLAR DRIVER	A	M	19670201	322288	1967
03	306028	M NAICKER	B2	FILTERBED OPERATR	A	M	19670601	217514	1967
03	231434	D K CHETTY	B4	MNTCE.SUPVISOR	A	M	19670801	322750	1967
03	300097	S MUNSAMI	B4	CLERK GRADE 11	A	M	19670424	213900	1967
03	231485	M S GOUNDEN	B4	MAINTENANCE SUPERVS	A	M	19670110	390750	1967
03	231346	M GOVENDER	B5	CERT/MNTC WORKER	A	M	19671116	211622	1967
03	231488	D PILLAY	B5	AGRONOMY SERVIC SUP	A	M	19671030	300000	1967
03	231492	M MOODLEY	B5	ESTATE SUPERVISOR	A	M	19670315	303350	1967
03	231431	K CHINNAPPA	B5	OPER.SUPERVISOR	A	M	19670201	322350	1967
03	231340	M NAIDOO	C2	FURNANCE B/LAYER	A	M	19671030	210822	1967
03	231301	S VENCATACHELLA	C2	WATERWORKS S/ISR	A	M	19670101	217514	1967
03	2763	Y S SUBBAN	C5	SEN. ASST. EST. MANA	A	M	19670501	303250	1967
03	231361	A PILLAY	B5	C.M.W.SHIFT FITTER	A	M	19680502	210322	1968
03	300169	G PILLAY	B3	EVAPORATOR OPERATO	A	M	19690331	210523	1969
03	300125	C CHETTY	B4	POWER HOUSE ATTEND	A	M	19691124	211022	1969
03	231430	M MOONSAMY	B4	DATA PROCESS.SUPV	A	M	19690117	400600	1969
03	231269	V MOODLEY	B5	ACCOUNTS CLERK	A	M	19691113	219601	1969
03	302153	P SUBBAN	A3	FUMIGATOR	A	M	19700901	869609	1970
03	120127	K GOVENDER	B1	4X4 JOHNDEERE DRIVER	A	M	19701026	322388	1970
03	100169	A MOODLEY	B1	HANDYMAN	A	M	19700501	310388	1970
03	120164	F RAMGAPPAUL	B2	TRAC/MOBIL CR .DR	A	M	19700422	322588	1970
03	300195	M REDDY	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	A	M	19700629	211622	1970
03	120135	R RAMCHUNDAR	A3	IRRIG. PUMP ATTENDT	A	M	19710927	322388	1971

ANNEXURE A

COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	120165	H BAIJNATH	B1	4X4 TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19711101	322588	1971
03	18754	L LALBAHADUR	B1	DRIVER G4	A	M	19710630	312188	1971
03	18551	K JAIKARAN	B1	SUPV G2	A	M	19710622	300688	1971
03	300072	M GOVENDER	B1	ASST DIFFUSER P/OPER	A	M	19710330	210323	1971
03	18302	D GOUNDEN	B3	SNR ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19710701	300588	1971
03	231829	M VADIVELLU	B4	RECORDS SUPERVISOR	A	M	19710705	400600	1971
03	300068	G ISRAEL	B5	PAN BOILER	A	M	19711031	210523	1971
03	231819	S PILLAY	C1	VEHICLE ADMINISTRATO	A	M	19711221	215126	1971
03	231345	M H MOHAMED	C2	M/CONDTIN ANALYST	A	M	19710817	211522	1971
03	231811	V SELAMBARAM	C2	EXTRACT SUPERVISOR	A	M	19710502	212323	1971
03	2769	R PYDIGADU	C5	EST.BLD.CORDINATOR	A	M	19710501	370550	1971
03	120117	M K GOVENDER	B1	LOOKOUT ATTENDANT	A	M	19721220	300000	1972
03	120079	V LUTCHMIAH	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19721212	322288	1972
03	100119	S PUDHAYIE	B1	SUPERVISOR SIDING	A	M	19720815	310188	1972
03	120080	A MOONSAMY	B2	HANDYMAN	A	M	19721208	322388	1972
03	100150	S NAIDOO	B2	HANDYMAN	A	M	19720801	310488	1972
03	120173	K RAMSAMY	B2	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19720216	322388	1972
03	100168	A DHAVER	B3	ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19720501	310388	1972
03	302062	C KASVELL	B4	TECHNICIAN	A	M	19720616	869615	1972
03	302065	S MAHABEER	C1	SNR LAB TECHNICIAN	A	M	19720802	869615	1972
03	231862	M MADURAI	C2	RELIEF SUPER	A	M	19721116	831604	1972
03	231444	M SINGH	C3	ASST.EST MANAGER	A	M	19720105	322550	1972
03	2720	J A SINGH	C5	ENG/SERVS CORDNTR	A	M	19720717	370350	1972
03	100057	M CHETTY	B1	SUPERVISOR F/OPER	A	M	19731201	303288	1973
03	305051	M REDDY	B3	SENIOR S/CLERK	A	M	19731130	214900	1973
03	305049	L PILLAY	B3	CRIDITORS CLERK	A	M	19731114	214900	1973
03	100126	R MOHAN	B3	CLERK ESTATE SNR	A	M	19731101	303488	1973
03	120067	G GOVENDER	B3	ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19730514	322588	1973
03	305001	A PERUMAL	B3	HAMADA STAR OPERATO	A	M	19730509	810600	1973
03	231832	M RAMSAMY	B5	SECURITY OFFICER	A	M	19730607	404103	1973
03	231473	K KANAI	C3	ASST EST MANAGER	A	M	19730310	303150	1973
03	2603	P A GURNEY	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	A	M	19730212	303450	1973
03	302104	S CHETTY	A2	CLEANER	A	M	19740422	869612	1974
03	300009	A PILLAY	A3	LEADING ASST. HAND	A	M	19741104	212252	1974
03	120090	J CHINNAPPA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19741101	322288	1974
03	306001	J NAIDOO	B1	PUMP OPERATOR	A	M	19740801	217513	1974
03	120144	S MOSES	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19740527	322388	1974
03	100170	R RUNGASAMY	B1	SUPERVISOR PLANT	A	M	19740501	310388	1974
03	100131	M MADASEN	B2	DRIVER M/CRANE	A	M	19740704	322388	1974
03	302007	J RAMPERSAD	B3	DRIVER EHD	A	M	19741129	842701	1974
03	231521	P PILLAY	B4	MAINTENANCE SUPVISO	A	M	19740507	310250	1974
03	231312	N MOONSAMY	B5	CERT/MNTCE WORKER	A	M	19740707	211622	1974
03	302909	V REDDY	B5	DESPATCH CONT.	A	M	19740401	831704	1974
03	231859	G KANDAN	C	PRODCT PLAN SUPER	A	M	19740612	869609	1974
03	231820	M VADIVELLU	C1	CANE SUPPLY SUPERVIS	A	M	19741201	212723	1974
03	231184	D SUBBAN	C1	ACCOUNTS ASSISTANT	A	M	19741201	213900	1974
03	231153	L NAIDOO	C1	CREDITORS SUPERVISO	A	M	19740515	214900	1974
03	231863	G LUTHMAN	C2	RAW MAT CONT/BUYER	A	M	19741104	855900	1974
03	18009	G SUPRAMANIEN	C3	ASST ESTATE MNGR	A	M	19740401	300650	1974
03	231503	G NARAINSAMY	C3	ASST EST MANAGER	A	M	19740110	303350	1974
03	302031	K MUNSAMI	A2	DRUM FILLER	A	M	19750224	831604	1975
03	300111	G PILLAY	A3	PAN ATTENDANT	A	M	19750907	210523	1975
03	306016	S MOONSAMY	B2	FILTERBED OPERATOR	A	M	19750709	217514	1975
03	500180	D PILLAY	B2	POOL DRIVER	A	M	19750410	212700	1975
03	302042	C GOVENDER	B3	OPERATOR	A	M	19751217	842601	1975
03	300102	P RAMSAMY	B3	EVAPORATOR OPERATO	A	M	19750720	210523	1975
03	300101	V MOODLEY	B3	RADIOTICANS ASST	A	M	19750715	211822	1975
03	18255	S CHETTY	B4	MAINT WKR	A	M	19751227	312088	1975
03	18206	S MOHANLALL	B4	MAINT. WKR	A	M	19750512	300688	1975
03	231833	V SUBRAMANIEN	C1	PAN FLOOR S/PERVISOR	A	M	19750907	210523	1975
03	231319	M GOVENDER	C1	PAN FLOOR SUPERVISO	A	M	19750205	210523	1975
03	231309	K GOVENDER	C2	LAB ANALYST GR 1	A	M	19751123	210923	1975
03	231234	P SUBROYEN	C2	PRINTING DEPT S/VISR	A	M	19750526	810600	1975
03	2723	A SINGH	C5	ASST EST MANAGER	A	M	19750515	303450	1975
03	2777	D MOODLEY	C5	COST ACCOUNT	A	M	19750201	869908	1975
03	100067	C M GOVENDER	A2	PUMP ATTEND	A	M	19760911	310388	1976
03	300162	C REDDY	B1	ASST DIFFUSER OPERAT	A	M	19760509	210323	1976
03	300132	N B MAHRAJ	B1	O/H CRANE OPERATOR	A	M	19760105	210822	1976
03	120094	B PUCKREE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19760102	322288	1976
03	120096	G PILLAY	B2	BACKHOE DRIVER	A	M	19760709	322388	1976
03	302156	S MOODLEY	B3	OPERATOR	A	M	19760903	842601	1976
03	302050	S FRANCIS	B3	DRIVER EHD	A	M	19760721	831704	1976
03	302150	S DANIEL	B3	AST.SUPERVISOR	A	M	19760601	831704	1976
03	231500	M MOONSAMY	B4	MAINT SUPERVISOR	A	M	19760601	303150	1976
03	231516	A NAICKER	B4	MAINT SUPERVISOR	A	M	19760309	303450	1976

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03	300168	N NAICKER	B5	PAN BOILER	A	M	19760802	210523	1976
03	231507	C CHINNIHAH	B5	BUILDING SUPERVISOR	A	M	19760412	370550	1976
03	231650	M PILLAY	C1	ADMIN.CONTROLLER	A	M	19761025	215126	1976
03	231853	K MOODLEY	C1	SIDING SUPER	A	M	19761007	869609	1976
03	2731	V VEERAJOO	C1	RELIEF SUPERTENDT	A	M	19761003	210866	1976
03	231502	S JAGASAR	C1	CANTEEN CONTROLLER	A	M	19760112	404101	1976
03	231856	M GOVENDER	C2	SHIFT SUPER	A	M	19760928	831604	1976
03	231601	N M NAIDOO	C3	CANE SUPPLY AD OFFICER	A	M	19761221	215126	1976
03	231268	G GOVENDER	C3	SENIOR ACC.ASISTANT	A	M	19760608	219601	1976
03	231509	T REDHI	C3	INFO/SYSTS SUPERVISR	A	M	19760414	400600	1976
03	231343	D PILLAY	C3	MAINTANCE CONTROLLE	A	M	19760401	370450	1976
03	2730	M NARAINSAMY	C4	SENIOR P/SUPERINTEND	A	M	19760613	212300	1976
03	2768	M GOVENDER	C4	PROCESS SUPERINTEND	A	M	19760405	210523	1976
03	307004	V M SOOBARAMONEY	A2	OFFICE MESSENGER	A	M	19771202	219601	1977
03	300004	A PILLAY	A2	SHIFT RELIEF	A	M	19770801	212300	1977
03	100154	R NAIDOO	B1	TRACTOR DR/SUPP	A	M	19770905	310488	1977
03	300213	V J YERIAH	B2	CLERK GR 11I	A	M	19771001	211522	1977
03	305026	A PILLAY	B3	CRIDITORS CLERK	A	M	19771119	214900	1977
03	300214	P REDDY	B3	DIFFUSER OPERATOR	A	M	19771101	210223	1977
03	302185	M A GOVENDER	B3	OPERATOR	A	M	19770803	869616	1977
03	231196	S MARIMUTHU	B4	SW/BOARD SUP/VISOR	A	M	19770207	216000	1977
03	231847	L MUNIAHA	B5	SENIOR CLERK	A	M	19770701	811402	1977
03	2778	S NAIDOO	C	SIDING FOREMAN	A	M	19770701	869609	1977
03	231326	L SUREDIN	C1	BOILER ATTENDANT	A	M	19771001	210822	1977
03	231310	A KHOMARSAMY	C1	BOILER ATTENDANT	A	M	19771001	210822	1977
03	231860	D CHINNASAMY	C2	SHIFT SUPER	A	M	19770301	831604	1977
03	231478	V GOVENDER	C3	CONSTRUCTION SUPERV	A	M	19771201	218005	1977
03	231850	K M PILLAY	C3	ASST.STORES CONTROL	A	M	19770912	811402	1977
03	2908	M C GOVENDER	D2	PRODUCTION MNGR	A	M	19770705	842601	1977
03	18311	M KOOPEN	B1	DRIVER G 4	A	M	19780126	300588	1978
03	500030	S REDDY	B2	DRIVER	A	M	19781127	215126	1978
03	300235	K NAICKER	B3	DIFFUSER OPERATOR	A	M	19781101	210323	1978
03	305031	H SARJU	B3	FINISHER/COLLATOR	A	M	19780418	810600	1978
03	306000	Y GOVENDER	B5	TIMEKEEPER/RECEPTTIO	A	M	19780314	217513	1978
03	231814	D MARIMUTHU	C1	LOSS CONTROL OFFICE	A	M	19781011	880400	1978
03	231151	V GOVENDER	C3	CANEPYMNT S/VISOR	A	M	19780809	213900	1978
03	2780	J DHEOPURSAD	C4	QUALITY CNTRL OFF	A	M	19780130	869615	1978
03	300003	S NAIDOO	A2	SHIFT RELIEF	A	M	19790619	212300	1979
03	302213	R GOVENDER	B3	DRIVER EHD	A	M	19790209	842701	1979
03	231515	D DHANPATH	B4	MAINT. SUPERVISOR	A	M	19790101	303250	1979
03	231308	P NAIDOO	B5	P/LINE MNTC WORKR	A	M	19790701	217510	1979
03	300244	M MOONSAMY	B5	PAN BOILER	A	M	19790122	210523	1979
03	231508	J RAMSAMY	C1	OPERATIONS SUPERVIS	A	M	19790702	310150	1979
03	231824	R SHERIFF	C1	SENIOR S/CLERK	A	M	19790122	214900	1979
03	18313	B GOVENDER	C3	ASST EST MANAGER	A	M	19791217	301950	1979
03	18459	M ASIK	A1	GEN WKR G3	A	M	19800307	265500	1980
03	500348	S PADAYACHEE	B2	W/BRIDGE CLERK	A	M	19801001	212723	1980
03	500366	P MOONSAMY	B2	W/BRIDGE CLERK	A	M	19800512	217723	1980
03	300002	R RAMKISSON	B2	PUMPHOUSE ATTENDT	A	M	19800501	213322	1980
03	100288	S MOODLEY	B2	BRICKLAYER	A	M	19800211	370588	1980
03	302063	P RANGASAMY	B3	DRIVER EHD	A	M	19800825	842701	1980
03	300269	S MUNSAMY	B3	DIFFUSER OPERATOR	A	M	19800501	210323	1980
03	302034	K NAIDOO	B3	DRIVER EHD	A	M	19800303	842701	1980
03	231852	M T GOUNDEN	B4	INFO.SERV.SUPER	A	M	19800409	400500	1980
03	302060	P GOVENDER	B5	SUPERVISOR	A	M	19800616	831604	1980
03	231445	P ARUMUGAM	C1	FIELD ASSTANT	A	M	19800801	322550	1980
03	231305	D A MARAJ	C1	BOILER ATTENDANT	A	M	19800714	210822	1980
03	231385	R GUNGARAJH	C2	ELECTRICIAN	A	M	19800101	211922	1980
03	231858	S GOVENDER	C3	SHIFT SUPER	A	M	19801201	842701	1980
03	2766	L GOVENDER	C5	SNR.IRRIG.CONTROLLER	A	M	19800421	390750	1980
03	100097	M MOODLEY	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19811125	303288	1981
03	120177	S NAICKER	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19810901	322488	1981
03	231524	G BUDHU	B4	MAINTENANCE SUPVISO	A	M	19810126	370350	1981
03	231447	S MUNIEN	B4	MNTCE SUPVISOR	A	M	19810101	322250	1981
03	231864	M MOODLEY	C1	DISTRIB SUPER	A	M	19810103	842701	1981
03	231840	S NAIDOO	C2	FITTER	A	M	19811001	811403	1981
03	231861	T KISTENSAMY	C3	DISTRIB .SUPER	A	M	19810801	831704	1981
03	2775	M CHETTY	C5	FINANCIAL ACCNT	A	M	19810413	869908	1981
03	5206	M KHAN	D2	ACCOUNTANT	A	M	19810416	216000	1981
03	100321	R MOTHILALL	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19820803	303288	1982
03	100312	S PILLAY	B1	HANDYMAN	A	M	19820401	390788	1982
03	100326	M CUNDASAMY	B2	FIRE OFFICER	A	M	19821213	303188	1982
03	100314	NZ NAIDOO	B2	CATERPILLAR DRIVER	A	M	19820501	370388	1982
03	305125	K NAIDOO	B3	RYOBI OPERATOR	A	M	19820614	810600	1982
03	300025	K G PILLAY	B3	MAINT. WORKER	A	M	19820603	210322	1982

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03	302093	S GOVENDER	B4	TECHNICIAN	A	M	19820724	869615	1982
03	231159	N ARUMUGAM	C1	STORES SUPERVISOR	A	M	19820628	216000	1982
03	231818	K NAIDOO	C1	LOSS CONTROL OFFICE	A	M	19820301	217000	1982
03	231311	Y REDDY	C1	BOILER ATTENDANT	A	M	19820222	210822	1982
03	231854	S S GOVENDER	C1	SIDING SUPER	A	M	19820202	869609	1982
03	231839	M R GOVENDER	C2	FITTER	A	M	19820201	811403	1982
03	18954	A MAHOMED	B1	DRIVER G 4	A	M	19831212	300688	1983
03	300092	A REDDY	B1	BOILER F/PUMP ATTEND	A	M	19831003	210822	1983
03	300290	L GOVENDER	B1	PATROLMAN	A	M	19830613	880400	1983
03	300137	G PILLAY	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	A	M	19831003	211822	1983
03	18913	A NAIDOO	B4	MAINT WKR	A	M	19830204	300688	1983
03	18102	S SAVRIMUTHU	C1	OPS SUPV	A	M	19830516	312150	1983
03	231519	S VADIVELLU	C3	IRRIGATION CONTROLLE	A	M	19830301	322350	1983
03	100009	T RAMNARAIN	B3	REGION CLERK	A	M	19840711	218101	1984
03	302904	C DHANAPAL	B5	DESPATCH SUPER	A	M	19840227	831704	1984
03	6002	M REDDY	D2	REGION MNGR	A	M	19840601	219001	1984
03	100035	G P PILLAY	B2	ESTATE HANDYMAN	A	M	19850329	303288	1985
03	231855	S A GOVENDER	C	FITTER	A	M	19850618	869609	1985
03	1630	D RAMRUCH	D1	ACCOUNTANT	A	M	19850401	219601	1985
03	300022	N JOGANNAH	A3	PAN ATTENDANT	A	M	19860506	210523	1986
03	302011	J JOSEPH	A3	BUILDERS ASSISTANT	A	M	19860501	211600	1986
03	302151	G NAICKER	B1	BAGROOM CLERK	A	M	19861101	869609	1986
03	100070	P G GOVENDER	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19860804	303288	1986
03	100060	C REDDY	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19860601	310488	1986
03	302154	S NAICKER	B3	DRIVER EHD	A	M	19861101	842701	1986
03	305005	P A GOVENDER	B4	CASHIER	A	M	19861014	216000	1986
03	305008	P PADAYACHEE	B5	AGRIC.WAGE CLERK	A	M	19861024	216000	1986
03	231270	R MADHOE	C1	ACCOUNTS ASSTANT	A	M	19860101	216000	1986
03	231518	R B NAIDU	C1	EXTENSION OFFICER	A	M	19860101	219001	1986
03	231836	P RAMGULAM	C2	BOILERMAKER	A	M	19860401	211622	1986
03	100089	D RAMPERSADH	B2	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19870901	310488	1987
03	100086	C RAMJASS	B2	CRANE DRIVER	A	M	19870603	218101	1987
03	100084	B TALLOO	B2	HANDYMAN	A	M	19870309	310188	1987
03	300052	C BARNABAS	B4	TESTER	A	M	19870601	210923	1987
03	300053	I MOODLEY	B5	CERTIFIED MAINT.WORK	A	M	19870601	211622	1987
03	231844	M M GOVENDER	B5	COST CLERK	A	M	19870101	811401	1987
03	231550	P S GOVENDER	C1	EXTENSION OFFICER	A	M	19870701	219001	1987
03	231857	M NELLATAMBI	C2	SHIFT SUPER	A	M	19870111	842701	1987
03	2718	V S REDDY	C5	ASST ACCOUNTANT	A	M	19870901	216000	1987
03	100098	K SEWNARIAN	A1	GARDENER	A	M	19880401	217200	1988
03	302009	A PILLAY	A3	ASSISTANT WEIGHER	A	M	19880303	842601	1988
03	300028	M P CHETTY	B3	LAB.ANALYST	A	M	19881001	210923	1988
03	100093	D SINGH	B3	ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19880201	310188	1988
03	300032	M E NAIDOO	B4	POWER HOUSE ATTEND	A	M	19881001	211022	1988
03	231821	S KANDAN	B4	EXT.SERVICES CLERK	A	M	19880901	219001	1988
03	231808	R NAIDOO	B5	ESTATE SUPERVISOR	A	M	19881114	322550	1988
03	231831	L CHETTY	B5	ESTATE SUPERVISOR	A	M	19881109	322288	1988
03	231823	V GOVENDER	B5	ACCOUNTS CLERK	A	M	19881001	219601	1988
03	231528	V K PILLAY	C1	OPERATIONS SUPERVIS	A	M	19880829	310450	1988
03	231551	P S MOODLEY	C1	DEBTORS CLERK	A	M	19880301	216000	1988
03	231313	S K GOVENDER	C2	ELECTRICIAN	A	M	19880901	211922	1988
03	2759	S I BHORAT	C5	INSTRUMENT FOREMAN	A	M	19880901	211822	1988
03	300041	C G NAGAIHAH	B1	LAB ANALYST GRADE V	A	M	19891201	212323	1989
03	300037	N REDDY	B1	CLERK	A	M	19890502	211522	1989
03	300058	E M MOHAMED	B2	LANCE CORPORAL	A	M	19890421	217000	1989
03	306019	D PILLAY	B2	PUMP OPERATOR	A	M	19890417	217514	1989
03	100215	G VADIVELLU	B3	ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19890629	303288	1989
03	300027	V MAISTRY	B3	MAINT. WORKER	A	M	19890205	211322	1989
03	231320	M I ESSACK	C2	FITTER	A	M	19890501	210322	1989
03	231842	J ROOPLALL	C2	FITTER	A	M	19890217	811403	1989
03	231505	M NAYIN	C2	PERSONNEL ASSIST.	A	M	19890213	404100	1989
03	100199	J MOODLEY	B2	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19900402	390788	1990
03	300900	K NAIDOO	B3	CORPORAL	A	M	19900808	217000	1990
03	100007	P MOODLEY	B3	ESTATE HEAD CLERK	A	M	19900723	303188	1990
03	100133	K GOVENDER	B3	ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19900514	322288	1990
03	100344	C K MOODLEY	B3	OFFICE CLERK	A	M	19900219	404101	1990
03	300047	M CHETTY	A3	PAN ATTENDANT	A	M	19911001	212323	1991
03	300043	S MOODLEY	B1	LABORATORY ANALYST	A	M	19911001	212323	1991
03	120190	M PILLAY	B1	HANDYMAN	A	M	19910401	322388	1991
03	100349	P MOONSAMY	B2	TRAINEE CLERK	A	M	19911021	400600	1991
03	300044	V RAMSAMY	B2	ASST. MAINT WORKER	A	M	19911001	211322	1991
03	300019	S GOVINDASAMY	B3	SHIFT MAIN. WORKER	A	M	19911001	810905	1991
03	100066	P GOVENDER	B3	SERVICEMAN SENIOR	A	M	19910624	310388	1991
03	100041	V PILLAY	B3	SERVIC MECHANIC	A	M	19910610	303288	1991
03	120191	A PILLAY	B3	SVR BLDG.	A	M	19910501	322588	1991

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03	231413	K GOVINDASAMY	C2	FITTER	A	M	19910304	210622	1991
03	231412	P MOODLEY	C2	PLATER/WELDER	A	M	19910304	211622	1991
03	300001	M BALAYIAH	A2	MESSENGER	A	M	19920501	212200	1992
03	231830	A REDDY	B4	MAINT.SUPERVISOR	A	M	19920817	310188	1992
03	302001	M GOVENDER	B5	PLANT OPERATOR	A	M	19921019	831603	1992
03	302908	K D GOVENDER	B5	DEPOT STOCK CONT.	A	M	19920601	869904	1992
03	231347	S KANNIAH	C2	BOILERMAKER	A	M	19920301	211622	1992
03	2600	C K NAROTAM	D2	SECTION ENGINEER	A	M	19920101	212200	1992
03	100015	R S GOVENDER	B2	HANDYMAN	A	M	19930601	390788	1993
03	100018	A A SATTAR	B3	REGION CLERK	A	M	19930901	218601	1993
03	300116	L SOORIAH	B3	CORPORAL	A	M	19930701	217000	1993
03	100051	P MUNSAMY		TEMP	A	M	19941101	880600	1994
03	4719	D MOODLEY		TEMP	A	M	19941101	880600	1994
03	100083	R REDDY	B1	CLERK	A	M	19940815	400550	1994
03	100082	V NAIR	B2	HANDYMAN	A	M	19940407	310188	1994
03	100022	S ARUMUGAM	B2	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19940405	303188	1994
03	100063	P GOVENDER	B3	OFFICE CLERK	A	M	19940725	390788	1994
03	100102	R THOOLSI	B3	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19940613	303488	1994
03	100024	R GOVENDER	B3	SEN SERVICEMAN	A	M	19940301	310188	1994
03	500	K REDDY		SUKUMANI TEMP	A	M	19950601	219601	1995
03	300029	L MOODLEY	A3	PAN ATTENDANT	A	M	19951113	212300	1995
03	300023	P B NAIDOO	A3	FILTER ATTENDANT	A	M	19951113	212300	1995
03	300024	L GOVENDER	A3	SAMPLER	A	M	19951113	212300	1995
03	100356	S ANUMUTHOO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	A	M	19951101	303288	1995
03	302092	T CHINSAMY	B1	QLT. INSPECTOR	A	M	19951016	869615	1995
03	100347	P GOVENDER	B1	HANDYMAN	A	M	19950201	390788	1995
03	100346	M ARUMGAM	B1	FIRE TOWER WATCHMAN	A	M	19950201	390788	1995
03	302094	M PILLAY	B1	F/LIFT DR/DES	A	M	19950109	831704	1995
03	100351	K PANDARUM	B2	TRAINEE CLERK	A	M	19950327	370388	1995
03	300007	R GOVENDER	B3	EVAPORATOR OPERATO	A	M	19950515	210500	1995
03	302064	D DHAVAR	B4	TECHNICIAN	A	M	19950130	869615	1995
03	302004	A NAIDOO	B5	PLANT OPERATOR	A	M	19950717	831604	1995
03	231809	V VEERIAH	C2	ELECTRICIAN	A	M	19950814	211922	1995
03	231841	C VENKETSAMY	C2	FITTER	A	M	19950801	811403	1995
03	501	R DHOOPRAJ		TEMP	A	M	19961108	219601	1996
03	302097	S NAIDOO	B1	QLT. INSPECTOR	A	M	19960502	869615	1996
03	100357	L MAISTRY	B1	LOOK-OUT ATTND.	A	M	19960501	300000	1996
03	100362	P S PILLAY	B2	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19961008	322288	1996
03	100360	B NAIDOO	B2	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19960806	303288	1996
03	100358	N SOHAN	B2	PLUMBER	A	M	19960401	370588	1996
03	100361	M APPIGADU	B3	CORPORAL	A	M	19960901	404103	1996
03	18317	S A KHAN	B3	ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19960716	300688	1996
03	100359	M NAICKER	B3	SNR SERVICEMAN	A	M	19960715	303188	1996
03	231826	N GOVENDEN	C2	FITTER	A	M	19960801	210622	1996
03	231825	R MARIMUTHU	C2	ELECTRICIAN	A	M	19960715	211922	1996
03	231817	S NABY	ZZ3	APPRENTICE PLATER/W	A	M	19960401	214800	1996
03	503	D VENKIAH			A	M	19970731	219601	1997
03	100367	G SINGH	B1	TRAINEE SERVICEMAN	A	M	19970501	370388	1997
03	100369	N BHUGWANDASS	B2	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19971001	310188	1997
03	100368	G S PILLAY	B2	SERVICEMAN	A	M	19970811	310388	1997
03	100365	S R REDDY	B2	TRAINEE CLERK	A	M	19970113	400600	1997
03	305363	M NAGIAH	B3	CREDITORS CLERK	A	M	19971103	214900	1997
03	120195	S E SINGH	B3	ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19971001	322388	1997
03	302412	N KHATHI	B3	TRN WHSE DISTR.S/INT	A	M	19971001	831704	1997
03	18008	R KHAN	B3	ESTATE CLERK	A	M	19970821	312088	1997
03	300010	M VENKANNA	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	A	M	19970501	810905	1997
03	300008	K APPALSAMY	B4	SHIFT SUPERVISOR	A	M	19970501	810905	1997
03	300006	M MOODLEY	B4	SHIFT SUPERVISOR	A	M	19970501	810905	1997
03	300005	G MOODLEY	B5	CERT.MAINTENANCE W	A	M	19970501	810905	1997
03	231837	N F WILLIAMSON	C2	TURNER/MACHINIST	A	M	19971001	211322	1997
03	231838	T J GREEN-THOMPS	C3	INSTRUMENT TECHNICIAN	A	M	19971001	211822	1997
03	231835	R S NAIDOO	ZZ1	APPRENTICE MILLWRIGH	A	M	19970602	214800	1997
03	2505	C A KISTASAMY		TEMP	A	M	19980301	869908	1998
03	305004	V S NAIDOO	B3	STORES RECEIVING CLE	A	M	19980301	214900	1998
03	444037	M SUBRAMONEY	C1	TIME/ATTEND.CONTROL	A	M	19980301	869920	1998
03	302551	T M ZUNGU	A2	LOADER	B	M	1.98333E+28	842601	1.98
03	110018	A KHUZWAYO	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	119731005	303188	1197
03	130089	M GAWUSA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19551102	322688	1955
03	300403	W MOKOANA	B2	SUPERVISOR GR 1V	B	M	19550405	210623	1955
03	300349	H N MAVUNDLA	A3	FILTERCAKE PLNT/ATTN	B	M	19570429	210423	1957
03	300525	B NDLOVU	A2	ARTISAN'S HAND	B	M	19580428	211622	1958
03	19201	B J NTULI	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19580901	300588	1958
03	300593	D E TUSI	B1	SENIOR ART HAND	B	M	19580826	210322	1958
03	300803	C B MLANGENI	B1	PATROLMAN	B	M	19591203	880400	1959
03	110197	S MAGUBANE	B1	OPERATOR MEATSAW	B	M	19590903	400550	1959

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	130063	N NGEMA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19590306	322588	1959
03	110081	S MASIMINI	B2	SENIOR SUPERVISOR	B	M	19591102	310188	1959
03	110229	L KANDINDA	B1	HANDYMAN	B	M	19600819	390788	1960
03	120194	S CHETTY	B2	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19600201	322288	1960
03	300342	M E SHANDU	A3	MILL ROLLER ARCER	B	M	19610619	210322	1961
03	500034	S APPIGADU	B2	WEIGHBRIDGE CLERK	B	M	19610605	212723	1961
03	19410	P P NDLELA	B2	DRIVER G3	B	M	19610511	312088	1961
03	300249	S RAMSAMY	B1	LEADING LAB ATTENDNT	B	M	19621102	210923	1962
03	302702	K MATOBELA	B1	DES. F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19620806	831704	1962
03	300448	M MASHIYANE	B2	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19621029	210323	1962
03	241390	B NDLOVU	B5	CERT MAINTENC WORKE	B	M	19621029	210822	1962
03	3027204	B NCUBE	A2	CLEANER	B	M	19631119	217404	1963
03	300529	M MTSHALI	B1	BAGASSE EX/OPERATOR	B	M	19631113	210822	1963
03	300384	N QWABE	B1	COAL CRANE OPERATOR	B	M	19630619	210822	1963
03	300501	B MNGADI	B1	BAG CRANE OPERATOR	B	M	19630617	210822	1963
03	110036	K NXELE	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19630603	303288	1963
03	100043	S RAMCHARAN	B2	SUPERVISOR SENIOR	B	M	19630501	303288	1963
03	300484	P G MTSHALI	B2	SUPERVISOR GR 1V	B	M	19630501	210623	1963
03	100214	S ARJAN	B2	PLUMBER	B	M	19630201	370588	1963
03	241354	E V ZUMA	B5	CERT/MNTCE WORKER	B	M	19630501	211622	1963
03	300402	S NZIMAKWE	A3	LEADING HAND	B	M	19641106	210322	1964
03	300457	S NDLOVU	A3	CENTRIFUGAL OPER.	B	M	19641007	210623	1964
03	300334	T MTHIMKULU	A3	MILL ROLLER ARCER	B	M	19640429	210322	1964
03	13750	MM MHLONGO	A3	FIELD OPERATOR	B	M	19640401	400588	1964
03	110012	D MKUPATHI	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19641110	303188	1964
03	300406	M T MAYISE	B1	O/H CRANE OPER GR 11	B	M	19641026	210822	1964
03	19812	M R XASO	B1	SUPV G2	B	M	19640821	312188	1964
03	19208	M P MBAMBO	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19640617	300588	1964
03	130044	J DLAMINI	A3	IRRIG. PUMP ATTENDT	B	M	19650714	322388	1965
03	130324	W MATSHINI	B2	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19651117	322488	1965
03	110007	M A MSANI	B2	SERV EST WORKSHOP	B	M	19650929	303188	1965
03	300635	M BUTHELEZI	A2	ARTISAN'S HAND	B	M	19660425	212323	1966
03	306304	E RADEBE	A3	ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19661203	217513	1966
03	19160	N JWILISI	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19660818	300688	1966
03	300322	N F MTHEMBU	A2	ARTISAN'S HAND	B	M	19670424	211322	1967
03	300408	S J NTANZI	A3	CENTRIFUGAL OPER.	B	M	19671221	210623	1967
03	300472	M SIBIYA	A3	MILL ROLLER ARCER	B	M	19671026	210322	1967
03	300352	D MTHEMBU	B1	MULTI CARRIER OPER	B	M	19671205	210123	1967
03	110046	M MNUKWA	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19670808	310388	1967
03	19604	M M SIBIYA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19670630	300688	1967
03	19408	M W MTHEMBU	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19670603	312088	1967
03	300431	B NZUZA	B1	MULTI CARRIER OPER	B	M	19670228	210123	1967
03	19411	B R MGWENYA	B2	BELL LDR DRIVER	B	M	19670601	312088	1967
03	241501	E T VUKEKA	B3	HOSTEL SUPERVISOR	B	M	19670403	217525	1967
03	300547	M MAKATINE	A2	CHUTEBIN ATTENDANT	B	M	19680212	210223	1968
03	300494	D J DLADLA	A3	BOILER PLANT GREASER	B	M	19680518	210822	1968
03	300647	M MYENI	A3	MILL ROLLER ARCER	B	M	19680219	210322	1968
03	302820	M QWABE	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19680819	869609	1968
03	130037	S S MTENJWA	B1	GEN. SUPERVISOR	B	M	19680808	322288	1968
03	19361	B L MPANZA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19680630	301988	1968
03	300401	M QWABE	B1	MULTI CARRIER OPER	B	M	19680520	210123	1968
03	19308	S NKOSANA	B1	SUPV G2	B	M	19680105	300588	1968
03	110080	S E CIBI	B2	LORRY 9 T DRIVER	B	M	19680807	310188	1968
03	19257	M SILHOBO	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19680229	300688	1968
03	120078	H BUDHOO	B2	BACKHOE DRIVER	B	M	19680201	322388	1968
03	1613	R M GUMEDE	D2	REGION MNGR	B	M	19681202	218201	1968
03	300544	N R MAJOZINI	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19690827	210223	1969
03	300308	N NTSHANGASE	A2	BOILER SCALE CLEANER	B	M	19690310	212300	1969
03	300303	A D TEMBE	A3	ASST. CENTRI. OPERAT	B	M	19691214	211100	1969
03	302790	S DLUDLA	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19690311	831604	1969
03	19457	M SIGQETSE	B1	SUPV G2	B	M	19690722	312188	1969
03	300439	P SIMELANE	B1	COAL CRANE OPERATOR	B	M	19690609	210822	1969
03	19500	C T ZOTWA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19690606	300688	1969
03	19802	M R LUDAKA	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19690710	312188	1969
03	19263	M MNDANI	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19690501	300688	1969
03	306303	M MASHIYANE	B3	MAINT. WORKER	B	M	19690804	217513	1969
03	302721	S QWABE	A2	RELIEF	B	M	19700817	831605	1970
03	19067	M NDAMASE	A2	GUARD ITI BAY	B	M	19700423	300588	1970
03	110194	M MAKHATHINI	A2	MEAT ISSUER	B	M	19700202	400550	1970
03	302723	D J MTHEMBU	A3	TEAMAKER	B	M	19700629	831704	1970
03	300703	M BIYELA	A3	BLACKSMITH STRIKER	B	M	19700511	210322	1970
03	300689	M GUMBI	A3	GREASER	B	M	19700420	210622	1970
03	302804	C MKHWANAZI	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19700401	842601	1970
03	302748	B P GUMBI	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19701029	842601	1970
03	110035	T SOGONI	B2	BUS DRIVER	B	M	19701204	400202	1970

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	302765	L MATHENJWA	B3	WENGER OPER	B	M	19700629	831605	1970
03	300889	M MBOYISA	A2	BAG WEIGHER	B	M	19710915	810905	1971
03	300806	M MTSHALI	A2	ARTISANS HAND	B	M	19710823	212022	1971
03	300886	K SHANDU	A2	BAG WEIGHER	B	M	19710805	810905	1971
03	300306	A G MABASO	A2	ARTISANS HAND	B	M	19710621	210322	1971
03	300561	M MHLONGO	A3	SPIRAL P/OPER GR V	B	M	19711125	210123	1971
03	300897	M MBATA	A3	PLANT OPERATOR G5	B	M	19710914	810902	1971
03	300887	M KAWULA	A3	MINGLER ATTENDANT	B	M	19710809	810905	1971
03	302665	M NTULI	A3	DRYER ASSIST.	B	M	19710628	831602	1971
03	130005	P NQONDO	B1	GEN. SUPERVISOR	B	M	19711115	322388	1971
03	300899	M QWABE	B1	FORKLIFT DRIVER	B	M	19711006	810905	1971
03	300888	M MAJOLA	B1	FORKLIFT DRIVER	B	M	19710713	810902	1971
03	300409	M SHUSHA	B1	MULTI CARRIER OPER	B	M	19710603	210123	1971
03	302329	F DUZE	B1	DES. F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19710514	831704	1971
03	302663	M QWABE	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19710426	869609	1971
03	110142	J MHLONGO	B2	OPERATOR T/LOADER	B	M	19711125	370388	1971
03	300893	M S KHUMALO	B2	SUPERVISOR GR 1V	B	M	19710916	810905	1971
03	300896	A SHANDU	B2	SUPERVISOR GR 1V	B	M	19710914	810905	1971
03	300577	F R MDINGI	B2	O/H CRANE OPER GR 1	B	M	19710714	210123	1971
03	300519	M MTHEMBU	B2	CLARIFICATION OPER	B	M	19710530	210423	1971
03	300865	H J SITHOLE	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	B	M	19710827	810902	1971
03	305302	J M MSWELI	B3	CREDITORS CLERK	B	M	19710629	214900	1971
03	300441	M M NDEBELE	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	B	M	19710106	211922	1971
03	305361	M BELA	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19721001	214900	1972
03	305362	M HLONGWA	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19721001	214900	1972
03	300825	E CELE	A2	BULK BAG FILLER	B	M	19721206	810905	1972
03	302385	Z MKHIZE	A2	SAMPLE CLEANER	B	M	19720127	869615	1972
03	300634	A N MAJOLA	A3	LEADING HAND	B	M	19721203	210322	1972
03	300855	Z SIBIYA	A3	PLANT OPERATOR G5	B	M	19720626	810902	1972
03	110460	N NOKWE	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19720925	390788	1972
03	110075	D NTOLA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19720919	310188	1972
03	300505	A M GUAMBE	B1	SENIOR BRUSH HAND	B	M	19720618	212300	1972
03	130003	S NYAKENYE	B1	CUTTING SUPERVISOR	B	M	19720607	322388	1972
03	130077	M L MANTSHULANA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19720601	322588	1972
03	130011	D MBEWANA	B1	CUTTING SUPERVISOR	B	M	19720519	322288	1972
03	19156	M MDLETSHE	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19720301	300688	1972
03	130009	P NDOKWANA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19720217	322288	1972
03	300358	S W MNGOMEZULU	B1	SENIOR ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19720123	211622	1972
03	110064	P DUMAKUDE	B2	DRIVER M CRANE	B	M	19720822	310488	1972
03	110049	M NGIDI	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19720606	310388	1972
03	130007	E NGCWANGULE	B2	HOSTEL SUPERVISOR	B	M	19720601	322388	1972
03	130031	B B PEZULU	B2	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19720417	322388	1972
03	300630	S M NXUMALO	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	B	M	19721119	210322	1972
03	130224	J VALELA	B3	COMP.SUPERVISOR	B	M	19720727	322788	1972
03	302785	N NTAKA	B3	AST.SUPERVISOR	B	M	19720301	831704	1972
03	300824	P J VUNDLA	B4	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19721205	810902	1972
03	300618	B B QWABE	B5	CERT MAINTENC WORKE	B	M	19720917	210622	1972
03	300810	M TEMBE	A1	DIFF/SHRED P/CLEANER	B	M	19731010	211622	1973
03	300876	J P ZULU	A2	BULK BAG FILLER	B	M	19730614	810905	1973
03	110328	M DLAMINI	A2	CHEM MIXER AGRONO	B	M	19730501	300100	1973
03	110324	Z MAYIJI	A2	C/MIXER AGRONOMY	B	M	19730201	300100	1973
03	300474	M F MOYA	A3	BOILER PLANT GREASER	B	M	19731105	210822	1973
03	300834	M MSIMANGO	A3	PLANT OPERATOR G5	B	M	19731029	810902	1973
03	300364	S NXUMALO	A3	SPIRAL P/OPER GR V	B	M	19730912	210123	1973
03	300873	P M MLAMBO	A3	P/PACK DRIER ATTEND.	B	M	19730613	810902	1973
03	300866	L NZUZA	A3	WRAPING MACHINE ATTD	B	M	19730226	810902	1973
03	302435	M A GUMEDE	A3	DRYER ASSIST.	B	M	19730205	831602	1973
03	302681	L MKWANAZI	B1	DES. F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19731023	831704	1973
03	110154	J M MOFOKENG	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19730911	310388	1973
03	300438	J V DLAMINI	B1	DOZER DRIVER	B	M	19730902	210123	1973
03	300324	E C DLAMINI	B1	SUPERVISOR GRADE 111	B	M	19730902	210622	1973
03	19366	S KHWAZA	B1	SUPV G1	B	M	19730824	300688	1973
03	110047	M MUYENI	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19730806	310388	1973
03	19503	M SOMTSEWU	B1	SUPV G2	B	M	19730611	300688	1973
03	19250	P B XABA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19730516	300688	1973
03	110053	L MATHEMBA	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19731203	310388	1973
03	110014	Z MILUTSHAWA	B2	SUPERVISOR SENIOR	B	M	19731001	303188	1973
03	300826	E DLAMINI	B2	DESPATCH CLERK	B	M	19730808	810801	1973
03	130033	M J MKHIZE	B2	TRAC/MOBIL.CR.DR	B	M	19730509	322388	1973
03	300483	V N MKHWANAZI	B2	O/H CRANE OPER GR 1	B	M	19730429	210123	1973
03	300867	M SHABALALA	B2	SUPERVISOR GR. 1V	B	M	19730227	810905	1973
03	300313	B P MDLULI	B3	MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19731101	217510	1973
03	130073	R P MAPOZAHA	B3	SEN.HOSTEL SUPVISOR	B	M	19730630	322588	1973
03	300423	P M NGEMA	B5	CERT.MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19730902	210622	1973
03	241838	B F SIBIYA	B5	SECURITY OFFICER	B	M	19730421	404103	1973

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	COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	300846	M	XULU	A2	PALLETIZER	B	M	19741107	810902	1974
03	110230	S B	JULA	A2	CANAL PAT IRRIG	B	M	19741021	390788	1974
03	300840	S S	XULU	A2	BILK BAG FILLER	B	M	19740827	810905	1974
03	300659	A	SHOBEDE	A2	BOILER SCALE CLEANER	B	M	19740401	212323	1974
03	300848	T B	XULU	A3	PACKING MACH. ATTEND	B	M	19741128	810902	1974
03	300845	B	MPONTSHANE	A3	DRIER ATTENDANT	B	M	19741017	810902	1974
03	300764	M	QWABE	A3	PLANT OPERATOR G5	B	M	19740829	810902	1974
03	300842	N E	CELE	A3	MACHINE OPERATOR	B	M	19740826	810902	1974
03	302313	E V	MTHEMBU	A3	BLOCK STACKER	B	M	19740805	831604	1974
03	300305	J	HLABISA	A3	SPIRAL P/OPER GR V	B	M	19740804	210123	1974
03	300820	M	DLAMUKA	A3	MINGLER ATTENDANT	B	M	19740802	810905	1974
03	302362	B	NDLOVU	A3	SEWER	B	M	19740708	842601	1974
03	300837	M M	KHOZA	A3	PACK. MACH ATTENDT	B	M	19740506	810902	1974
03	300399	A B	GUMEDE	A3	RIGGING HAND	B	M	19740212	211622	1974
03	300813	M	GUMEDE	A3	SPIRAL P/OPER GR V	B	M	19740211	210123	1974
03	300503	S	QWABE	A3	LIME PLANT ATTENDANT	B	M	19740210	210223	1974
03	300836	J	ZULU	A3	MACHINE OPERATOR	B	M	19740115	810902	1974
03	300475	N A	MTHEMBU	A3	SPIRAL P/OPER GR V	B	M	19740113	210123	1974
03	110232	B	DUBE	B1	SUPERVISOR IRRIGATIO	B	M	19741021	390788	1974
03	302560	S M	DLUDLA	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19740929	831604	1974
03	302743	M A	KHUZWAYO	B1	MIX/CONT/OPERATOR	B	M	19740809	831605	1974
03	19252	G	GUMBI	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19740705	300588	1974
03	300559	M	CHILI	B1	SENIOR ARTISANS HAND	B	M	19740701	211822	1974
03	110140	E M	MAKATHINI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19740529	310188	1974
03	110048	M	SAPO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19740505	310188	1974
03	302514	A M	MTETWA	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19740322	831605	1974
03	300512	M	MFEKA	B1	MULTICARRIER OPERATOR	B	M	19740210	210123	1974
03	110242	M A	NTULI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19740121	390788	1974
03	302682	A M	NGCOBO	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19740114	831704	1974
03	110298	M P	NCUBE	B2	LORRY DRIVER	B	M	19741205	219310	1974
03	110026	B	BENGU	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19740905	303188	1974
03	110155	A	MDLETSHI	B2	GRAB LOADER DR	B	M	19740517	310388	1974
03	110139	M	ZIKHALI	B2	OPERATOR GRADER	B	M	19740101	370388	1974
03	110109	B	TSHEZI	B3	SEIOR SERVICEMAN	B	M	19740801	370388	1974
03	300542	B J	NJINJI	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	B	M	19740422	211622	1974
03	110314	A Z	ZWANE	B3	SERVICE MECHANIC	B	M	19740401	218201	1974
03	241600	D	MBUBE	C2	PARTS DEPT SUPERVISOR	B	M	19740410	219270	1974
03	300658	F	SIKHAKHANE	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19750518	210323	1975
03	306301	M	SEME	A2	HANDYMAN	B	M	19751103	217513	1975
03	19009	T	MVUNGWANA	A2	ESTATE GUARD	B	M	19751024	300588	1975
03	300861	M	NGEMA	A2	PALLETIZER	B	M	19750901	810305	1975
03	300686	E M	MTHETHEWA	A3	BAGASSE CRANE OPERA	B	M	19751021	210822	1975
03	300863	M O	ZULU	A3	MINGLER ATTENDANT	B	M	19751014	810905	1975
03	302653	M	BUTHELEZI	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19750528	831604	1975
03	302641	M	MZOBE	A3	RELIEF	B	M	19750516	831604	1975
03	300858	M	MDHLOVU	A3	CHECK WEIGHER	B	M	19750127	810902	1975
03	306311	P F	MATIBEKLA	A3	SIEVE CLEANER	B	M	19750113	217514	1975
03	305301	T	MTSHALI	B1	LEAD HAND /ISSUER	B	M	19751218	214900	1975
03	110001	M Z	MHLONGO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19751201	303188	1975
03	19262	R J	MPANZA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19751201	300688	1975
03	130059	T A	GANTSA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19751105	322488	1975
03	19832	E K	MNQAYI	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19751001	312188	1975
03	305313	S J	ZIMBA	B1	MESSENGER/FINISHER	B	M	19750826	810600	1975
03	300673	M	SHANDU	B1	MULTICARRIER OPERATOR	B	M	19750818	210123	1975
03	19261	C	TSHIZA	B1	SUPERVISOR G 2	B	M	19750815	300588	1975
03	110062	K O	BUTELEZI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19750603	310488	1975
03	19956	A B	NTSHANGASE	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19750601	300688	1975
03	19452	B	YALO	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19750519	312188	1975
03	110061	J	SORASAYI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19750516	310488	1975
03	19807	G	KHUMALO	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19750310	312188	1975
03	19302	M G	GCABA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19750124	300588	1975
03	110167	P K	MYEZO	B2	M/HAVESTER DRIVE	B	M	19751210	310388	1975
03	130015	M	CHONCO	B2	GRADER OPERATOR	B	M	19751025	322588	1975
03	130066	B A	NHLUMAYO	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19750627	322588	1975
03	302662	M D	NDULI	B2	PREMIX PREP	B	M	19750617	869616	1975
03	130030	B R	MBONGOZA	B2	DRIVER/OPERATOR	B	M	19750115	322488	1975
03	306302	M R	MBAMBO	B3	PIPE FITTER	B	M	19751201	217513	1975
03	300317	D	GUMBI	B3	MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19750701	217510	1975
03	300663	H B	MTAMBO	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	B	M	19750616	210322	1975
03	302633	T H	MNGOMEZULU	B4	DRYER OPERATOR	B	M	19750501	831602	1975
03	302622	E M	GUMEDE	B4	OPERATOR	B	M	19750414	831602	1975
03	300677	D W	SIMANGO	B5	CERT MAINT WORKER	B	M	19750824	211822	1975
03	241437	B	MGENGE	C2	FITTER	B	M	19750831	210322	1975
03	300723	T	DLAMINI	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19760613	210123	1976
03	302789	M A	MPISANA	A2	STACKER	B	M	19761027	831604	1976

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	300717	Z M MTHETHWA	A2	MAINT. WORKER	B	M	19760613	210622	1976
03	305303	B M MABANGA	A2	GENERAL WORKER GR 1	B	M	19760331	214900	1976
03	302725	M B NGCOBO	A2	RELIEF	B	M	19760309	831605	1976
03	300507	M A KHUZWAYO	A2	ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19760301	211622	1976
03	302783	B B ZONDI	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19761026	831604	1976
03	302780	V R MZOBE	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19761022	831604	1976
03	300708	S NGOMANE	A3	RIGGERS HAND	B	M	19760309	211622	1976
03	302803	D T NGIBA	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19761108	831604	1976
03	110237	M LANGA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19761001	310488	1976
03	300740	S N NGCOBO	B1	S/ARTISAN HAND-RIGGE	B	M	19760919	211622	1976
03	130133	K SITEMELA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19760727	322788	1976
03	19955	B A NTOZAKHE	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19760601	300688	1976
03	19415	M BANDA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19760601	312088	1976
03	19260	S DIYA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19760515	300688	1976
03	300710	P B MTHETHWA	B1	LEADING LAB ATTENDNT	B	M	19760401	210923	1976
03	19835	Z B BUTHELEZI	B1	SUPV G 2	B	M	19760214	312188	1976
03	110138	R R MOKWENA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19760130	310488	1976
03	110163	M MBONAMBI	B2	DIRECT HAULAGE DRIVE	B	M	19761209	303188	1976
03	110151	M S MTEMBU	B2	OPERATOR B/ENDHOE	B	M	19761201	370388	1976
03	19814	B MAKUKULA	B2	DRIVER G3	B	M	19761028	312188	1976
03	110056	M S KHATHI	B2	DRIVER M CRANE	B	M	19761011	310488	1976
03	110105	S P GUMEDE	B2	DRIVER CATERPILLA	B	M	19760802	370388	1976
03	19018	N MADONDO	B2	BELL LDR DRIVER	B	M	19760701	312088	1976
03	110031	M P MTHETHWA	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19760414	303488	1976
03	19399	F J NODONTSELA	B2	SUPERVISOR G1	B	M	19760402	300588	1976
03	110272	M KOLOSI	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19760401	218201	1976
03	19209	F MDALANA	B2	SUPERVISOR G1	B	M	19760326	300588	1976
03	300749	L MTHETHWA	B3	MAINTNCE WORKER	B	M	19761107	211922	1976
03	510010	N S HLONGWE	B3	DRIVER	B	M	19761001	215126	1976
03	302778	B S MATHUNJWA	B5	CERT .M/WORKER	B	M	19761006	211600	1976
03	300311	B D KHUZWAYO	B5	CERT.MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19760701	217510	1976
03	300716	E T MKHIZE	B5	CET.MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19760613	211922	1976
03	302806	F NGCOBO	A1	LOADER	B	M	19770119	831704	1977
03	302807	M R MBUYISA	A1	LOADER	B	M	19770119	831704	1977
03	302879	P B NGCOBO	A2	HOLIDAY/RELIEF	B	M	19771012	831604	1977
03	300763	M ZONDO	A2	ARTISANS HAND	B	M	19771001	211922	1977
03	302731	B R HLONGWANE	A2	CONDUCTOR	B	M	19770523	842701	1977
03	302729	J MSANE	A2	CONDUCTOR	B	M	19770518	869612	1977
03	300363	M R NIKABANE	A2	MESSENGER	B	M	19770408	212200	1977
03	302832	A SHEZI	A2	RELIEFTOR	B	M	19770309	831605	1977
03	300762	T DUBE	A3	FILTER ATTENDANT	B	M	19771001	210423	1977
03	300757	M P DLAMINI	A3	SPIRAL P/OPER GR V	B	M	19771001	210123	1977
03	302863	I M GUMEDE	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19770531	831604	1977
03	302884	N M MDUNGE	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19771207	831704	1977
03	110143	W SABELA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19771201	218201	1977
03	300852	M M KHUMALO	B1	FORKLIFT DRIVER	B	M	19770907	810905	1977
03	130154	T GEGULA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19770826	322788	1977
03	110162	N H NXUMALO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19770728	310388	1977
03	110033	D J NGIDI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19770701	303288	1977
03	130194	Z NDOVELA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19770630	322288	1977
03	19831	F M SOKHULU	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19770531	312188	1977
03	19214	X KWELA	B1	SUPERVISOR G 2	B	M	19770401	300588	1977
03	110201	W N NKOSANA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19770301	310188	1977
03	130201	M MNYIKINA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19770202	322288	1977
03	130067	M W NDUNGE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19770129	322588	1977
03	19256	Z NGEMA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19770104	300688	1977
03	110161	M Z GCABASHE	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19771124	310388	1977
03	110464	V J ZIKHALI	B2	DRIVER	B	M	19771026	303188	1977
03	110101	M A MYEZA	B2	DRIVER M/CRANE	B	M	19770822	218201	1977
03	19359	M SILAYI	B2	CUTTING SUPV	B	M	19770502	301988	1977
03	130024	Z MZIKI	B2	DRIVER /OPERATOR	B	M	19770401	322388	1977
03	110168	M PONO	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19770201	310388	1977
03	300765	B W MTHIYANE	B3	MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19771101	211922	1977
03	130175	T B NKHOESA	B3	ESTATE CLERK	B	M	19770901	322688	1977
03	110273	S M SWENYANA	B3	SILIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19770314	218201	1977
03	302869	B S NGIDI	B5	MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19770609	211600	1977
03	241830	P M MYENI	C3	IRRIGATION CONTROLLE	B	M	19771119	390750	1977
03	300786	H A DUBE	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19781201	210223	1978
03	302308	V E MAKHANYA	A1	LOADER	B	M	19781130	831704	1978
03	302740	S S ZANGWA	A1	LOADER	B	M	19780601	831704	1978
03	300772	M S NTULI	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19780201	210123	1978
03	302732	M J MSOMI	A2	TIPPLER CLEANER	B	M	19780819	842601	1978
03	302735	F B MGWABA	A2	LOADER	B	M	19780428	869609	1978
03	302478	S MAPHUMULO	A3	SEWER	B	M	19780810	831604	1978
03	302597	N MAJOLA	A3	WEIGHER	B	M	19780810	831605	1978

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	302311	M ZIKHALI	B1	DES.F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19781130	831704	1978
03	300883	M J GUMEDE	B1	FORKLIFT DRIVER	B	M	19780929	810905	1978
03	300882	M NDI MANDE	B1	FORKLIFT DRIVER	B	M	19780929	810902	1978
03	302375	A M MNGOMA	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19780816	831604	1978
03	300818	S KHOZA	B1	SENIOR ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19780501	211800	1978
03	19391	E B SISHI	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19780423	300588	1978
03	110357	S N MPUKANI	B1	SUPERVISOR IRRIGATIO	B	M	19780401	390788	1978
03	300788	N M NGCOBO	B2	CENTRIFUGAL OPERATO	B	M	19781204	210600	1978
03	300779	T MDLETSHE	B2	SUPERVISOR GRADE 11	B	M	19781101	211622	1978
03	110361	M MTHIMKHULU	B2	CARPENTER	B	M	19780401	370588	1978
03	300787	S B CHONCO	B3	MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19781201	211922	1978
03	110164	L S MADIKIZELA	B3	SUPERVISOR H SENO	B	M	19781018	310388	1978
03	306305	V C ZONDI	B3	PIPE FITTER	B	M	19780203	217513	1978
03	231209	L DUKHEA	B4	GOODS RECEIVING CLERK	B	M	19780706	214900	1978
03	241537	A M NZAMA	B4	MAINTNCE SUPVISOR	B	M	19780201	310450	1978
03	241701	N A JOJO	B5	SENIOR REC OFFICER	B	M	19780901	400203	1978
03	302420	F G NDI MANDE	B5	CERT.M/WORKER	B	M	19780810	211600	1978
03	241531	N C MTATAMBI	B5	ESTATE SUPERVISOR	B	M	19780401	310350	1978
03	241827	M MASIKO	C2	REGION SUPERVISOR	B	M	19780102	218101	1978
03	1628	Z H JOZELA	D2	REGION MNGR	B	M	19781018	218008	1978
03	302365	M HLELA	A1	LOADER	B	M	19791107	831704	1979
03	300829	M M HADEBE	A2	ARTISANS HAND	B	M	19790910	211622	1979
03	300302	M Z KHUMALO	A2	LABOURER	B	M	19790411	210223	1979
03	302317	F XIMBA	A2	TILTER	B	M	19790406	831605	1979
03	300792	I ZULU	A2	ARTISANS HAND	B	M	19790122	212323	1979
03	300822	B Z SIBIYA	A2	TOOL HAND	B	M	19790122	211622	1979
03	30253	T B HLONGWA	A3	SEWER	B	M	19790526	831604	1979
03	510087	P F MTHEMBU	A3	MESSENGER/CLERK	B	M	19790401	215126	1979
03	302366	M MTHEMBU	A3	SEWER	B	M	19790201	831604	1979
03	19365	A LUNYAWO	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19791209	301988	1979
03	130041	V M MCOBOTH	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19791025	322388	1979
03	19965	E V NGELEKA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19791001	300688	1979
03	302341	M A GUMEDE	B1	LOCO DRIVER	B	M	19790612	869609	1979
03	302327	T MWANDLA	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19790501	831704	1979
03	19405	M J DLOMO	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19790301	300588	1979
03	19961	B W MDATYA	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19791129	300688	1979
03	13781	S M MZOTHTWA	B2	SUPERVISOR G1	B	M	19791004	300588	1979
03	110147	T C ZITUTA	B2	CLERK WELFARE	B	M	19790701	303188	1979
03	19459	S J MASHINYANE	B2	DRIVER	B	M	19790701	312188	1979
03	110258	J M MKHIZE	B2	REGION CLERK	B	M	19790420	218501	1979
03	110260	B L GUMEDE	B2	OFFICE CLERK	B	M	19790401	218201	1979
03	19309	B O DLODLO	B2	BELL LDR DRIVER	B	M	19790321	300588	1979
03	130040	F S XABA	B2	GRABLOAD DRIVER	B	M	19790312	322388	1979
03	300789	I M CHILI	B2	O.C. OPERATOR 1	B	M	19790105	210123	1979
03	300828	S R NGEMA	B3	MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19790823	210322	1979
03	110457	J M NTOMBELA	B3	HOSTEL SUPERVISOR	B	M	19790717	390788	1979
03	130172	M GWIJA	B3	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19790701	322788	1979
03	302677	F T ZONDI	A1	LOADER	B	M	19801110	869609	1980
03	302411	M M KHUZWAYO	A1	LOADER	B	M	19800410	831704	1980
03	307229	S E MHLONGO	A2	MESSENGER	B	M	19800603	216000	1980
03	300359	R ZIULU	A2	BOILER SCALE CLEANER	B	M	19800506	212323	1980
03	302432	N L NDI MANDE	A3	SILO ATTENDANT	B	M	19800626	869609	1980
03	302429	T M THUSI	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19800605	842601	1980
03	302673	N NGEMA	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19800605	831604	1980
03	302424	M S FAKUDE	A3	CLEANER/MESSENGER	B	M	19800526	831604	1980
03	302416	B R NZOBE	A3	RELIEF	B	M	19800428	831604	1980
03	302374	M F MDLALA	A3	WEIGHER	B	M	19800317	831605	1980
03	308670	A V NTAKA	A3	WEIGHER	B	M	19800228	842601	1980
03	302676	M P DUBE	A3	STACKER	B	M	19800107	831604	1980
03	302442	F I MZOBE	A3	SILO/ATTEND	B	M	19800107	869609	1980
03	302678	M A NTSHANGASE	A3	DRYER/ASSIST	B	M	19800919	831602	1980
03	302321	A P MHLONGO	A3	WEIGHER	B	M	1980814	831605	1980
03	302472	D J SIKHAKHANE	B1	DES.F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19801120	831704	1980
03	110371	S P YALO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19801018	303188	1980
03	19454	E MAJOLA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19800922	312088	1980
03	110269	T B MPISI	B1	CLERK WELFARE	B	M	19800701	218003	1980
03	130118	P GOBINDABA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19800526	322688	1980
03	110268	T SHAYAZIMKOTHE	B1	COMPOUND INDUNA	B	M	19800519	218003	1980
03	300350	E V GWALA	B1	ASST DIFFUSER P/OPER	B	M	19800501	210323	1980
03	302372	M W SIYEPHU	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19800317	831704	1980
03	302388	B D MBEDU	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19800205	831704	1980
03	130223	E M SHABALALA	B2	BELL LOADER DRIVER	B	M	19805018	303488	1980
03	130171	M MTHWA	B2		B	M	19801001	322688	1980
03	110214	M P MPHETSHWA	B2	HANDYMAN	B	M	19800801	303488	1980
03	19412	N T JEKEBU	B2	HOSTEL SUPV	B	M	19800418	312088	1980

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03	130091	P MZELEMU	B2	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19800401	322788	1980
03	130047	S S MJAJA	B2	DRIVER/OPERATOR	B	M	19800227	322388	1980
03	19836	M M MDLETSHE	B3	CLERK G3	B	M	19800814	301988	1980
03	300830	A MTHEMBU	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	B	M	19800715	210322	1980
03	110352	B M MPANZA	B3	SENIOR LIAISON OFFIC	B	M	19800501	218501	1980
03	300338	MJ MPANZA	B3	MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19800214	211922	1980
03	302421	P J NGUBANE	B5	CERT.M.WORKER	B	M	19800516	211600	1980
03	302493	H A GABELA	A1	LOADER	B	M	19810611	831704	1981
03	302680	S CHAMANE	A1	LOADER	B	M	19810210	869609	1981
03	110384	G NGCOBO	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19810202	218005	1981
03	110383	M NDLELA	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19810202	218005	1981
03	302314	B E SIBIYA	A2	LOADER	B	M	19810213	869609	1981
03	302474	M J MTHEMBU	A2	CONDUCTOR	B	M	19810114	842701	1981
03	302739	N A GWALA	A3	LOADER	B	M	19810618	831604	1981
03	302386	R B KHUZWAYO	A3	WEIGHER	B	M	19810416	831605	1981
03	302683	M M BUTHELEZI	B1	SILO/ATTEND	B	M	19811214	842601	1981
03	19215	S MAQUBELA	B1	SUPERVISOR G 2	B	M	19811211	300588	1981
03	110205	M CELE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19810921	310188	1981
03	302498	M MAPHUMULO	B1	H/DRIVER	B	M	19810903	831605	1981
03	130121	M NGCOBO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19810707	322788	1981
03	130120	M DAMBUZA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19810526	322688	1981
03	19951	M NTUNYWA	B1	SUPV G 2	B	M	19810501	300688	1981
03	110202	M GALAWINI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19810414	310188	1981
03	130170	G G SITHUPHA	B1	DRIVER SUPERVISOR	B	M	19810401	322688	1981
03	19303	V E MNTUNGWA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19810401	300588	1981
03	110254	Z I NTSHANGASE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19810301	303288	1981
03	110379	D S MAPHUMULO	B1	SERVICEMAN TRAINE	B	M	19810202	219254	1981
03	110474	M NJOMI	B1	SNR TYRESHOP HAND	B	M	19810201	219253	1981
03	110475	M MATOPANA	B1	SERVICEMAN TRAINE	B	M	19810201	219254	1981
03	130096	M MAJOLA	B2	MOBILE CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19811101	322788	1981
03	130046	SA TSHICEKA	B2	DRIVER/OPERATOR	B	M	19811030	322388	1981
03	110400	TM KHUMALO	B2	LORRY DRIVER	B	M	19810801	218501	1981
03	110389	J MFEKA	B3	SENIOR SALESMAN	B	M	19810202	219270	1981
03	130093	K SOYINI	B3	SNR.SUPERVISOR	B	M	19810121	322788	1981
03	241821	S D KHWIYANI	B4	MAINT.SUPERVISOR	B	M	19811001	322688	1981
03	302508	M SIKHAKHANE	A1	LOADER	B	M	19820218	831704	1982
03	302691	M M NXUMALO	A2	LOADER	B	M	19821201	869609	1982
03	302530	C N NGOBESE	A2	TIPPER/CLEANER	B	M	19821118	842601	1982
03	300453	W ZIKHAI	A2	BOILER SCALE CLEANER	B	M	19820901	212323	1982
03	300355	M MAPHUMULO	A2	SANITATION HAND	B	M	19820701	211100	1982
03	305349	Z NGCOBO	A2	SANITATION ATTENDANT	B	M	19820601	217525	1982
03	302688	I W THUSI	A3	SHUNTER	B	M	19821115	869609	1982
03	302505	M NKWANYANA	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19820128	831604	1982
03	130099	Z BOKOTO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19820913	322788	1982
03	19390	B Z HLONGWANE	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19820716	300588	1982
03	300434	V A MTHEMBU	B1	F/P ATTENDANT	B	M	19820709	210822	1982
03	19702	M MASANGO	B1	SUPV G 2	B	M	19820709	312088	1982
03	130173	M MSOBO	B1	HANDYMAN	B	M	19820623	322788	1982
03	110219	M MKETHWA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19820607	303488	1982
03	130016	M MAGWAZA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19820601	322388	1982
03	300785	M NOMBWU	B1	PATROLMAN	B	M	19820405	880400	1982
03	110257	M DAWEDE	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19820401	390788	1982
03	110196	S CELE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19820201	310188	1982
03	110439	SJ CELE	B2	SERV EST WORKSHOP	B	M	19821201	310488	1982
03	300458	BJ NDLOVU	B2	LORRY DRIVER	B	M	19820907	211022	1982
03	305305	CA NDI MANDE	B2	RELIEF ATTENDANT	B	M	19820603	810600	1982
03	300418	NZ BALOYI	B2	FINISHER	B	M	19820525	213322	1982
03	300413	BJ MTHETHWA	B2	PUMP HOUSE ATT	B	M	19820524	213323	1982
03	19519	MA VUSIWE	B2	PROCESS TRAINEE	B	M	19820514	300688	1982
03	110424	MJ DUBE	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19820501	303288	1982
03	300801	CN NKOHLA	B2	L/CORPORAL	B	M	19820301	217000	1982
03	300783	MD NHLEBELA	B2	SENIOR PATROLMAN	B	M	19820202	880400	1982
03	302538	M F MPUNGOSE	B3	DRIVER EHD	B	M	19821201	842701	1982
03	19801	L BUN TSA	B3	CLERK G3	B	M	19821015	312188	1982
03	110356	J RANANA	B3	SUPERVISOR L SEN	B	M	19820822	303488	1982
03	302541	T G MBONAMBI	B4	TIME OFFICE CLERK	B	M	19821215	869920	1982
03	300320	E H SITHOLE	B4	INVESTIGATOR	B	M	19821108	217000	1982
03	241828	A D MBONAMBI	C2	SENIOR SECURITY OFFI	B	M	19821101	217000	1982
03	241541	A VUMISA	C3	IND RELATION OFFICER	B	M	19820312	404101	1982
03	302712	M MNGADI	A1	LOADER	B	M	19830901	842601	1983
03	302696	B F HLONGWA	A2	TIPPER CLEANER	B	M	19830110	842601	1983
03	300435	J T MTHETHWA	A3	BOILER PLANT GREASER	B	M	19831003	210822	1983
03	302630	M D MDLALOSE	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19830801	831604	1983
03	302637	S L NGCOBO	A3	STACKER	B	M	19830801	831604	1983
03	302607	M KEYIZANA	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19830701	831604	1983

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	302544	S ZUNGU	A3	SEWER	B	M	19830101	831604	1983
03	110114	S NGCONGO	B1	DRIVER	B	M	19830923	303288	1983
03	302103	P LATA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19830401	322788	1983
03	302698	C HLELA	B1	PREMIX/PREP	B	M	19830301	869616	1983
03	110149	S NOKWENKWE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19830301	303188	1983
03	300780	M SIBIYA	B1	PATROLMAN	B	M	19830110	880400	1983
03	300429	JM MUGABELA	B2	CLARIF OPERATOR	B	M	19831003	210423	1983
03	302608	MJ MSOMI	B2	MICRO RELIEF	B	M	19830701	831604	1983
03	130174	JM NCAYIYANA	B2	CRANE OPERATOR	B	M	19830601	322688	1983
03	110217	S MBEDESHO	B2		B	M	19830525	303488	1983
03	302566	MB VILIKAZI	B2	CLERK WELFARE	B	M	19830501	831604	1983
03	130029	M POKOMFU	B2	MICRO RELIEF	B	M	19830501	322488	1983
03	302554	MD TEMBE	B2	DRIVER/OPERATOR	B	M	19830413	831604	1983
03	300760	WB NXUMALU	B2	MICRO RELIEF	B	M	19830110	217000	1983
03	241820	P Q KHOZA	ZZ3		B	M	19831003	214800	1983
03	130061	M MPUNGOSE	A1	GARDENER	B	M	19841001	322488	1984
03	13751	E J MTHEMBU	A3	FIELD OPERATOR	B	M	19840401	400588	1984
03	130001	R PHUNGULA	B1	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19841001	322688	1984
03	110225	M MGWIGWI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19840912	303488	1984
03	130074	H NTAMO	B1	GEN SUPERVISOR	B	M	19840630	322588	1984
03	19513	Z MAKHALANA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19840502	300688	1984
03	110177	M NYAWOSE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19840401	310188	1984
03	19212	M T MNGAYI	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19840301	300588	1984
03	110226	S J MATHUMBU	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19841015	303488	1984
03	19833	W MASONDO	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19840312	312188	1984
03	130054	M SHEZI	B2	HOSTEL SUPERVISOR	B	M	19840201	322488	1984
03	19810	J GWABALANDA	B4	MAINT WKR	B	M	19841221	312188	1984
03	19218	S SHEZI	B4	TRAINING ESTATE SUPV	B	M	19841025	300588	1984
03	302335	S KANTHUTHAMA	A1	GEN. WORKER	B	M	19851129	869923	1985
03	19059	S ZANGWA	A1	GEN WKR G3	B	M	19851112	265500	1985
03	110466	M SIDOYI	A2	DRIVERS ASSISTANT	B	M	19850701	219310	1985
03	13778	S M MPUNGOSE	A3	FIELD OPERATOR	B	M	19850807	400588	1985
03	19721	M P DLOMO	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19851217	312188	1985
03	110025	M J MKIZE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19850501	310488	1985
03	19202	S P LINGANISO	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19850412	300688	1985
03	130078	V D MJYAKHO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19850326	322588	1985
03	130198	M R HLONGWA	B1		B	M	19850325	322688	1985
03	130109	M NDLOVU	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19850101	322788	1985
03	300473	M S CHABANE	B2	MOBILE EQUIP OPERATOR	B	M	19851028	211622	1985
03	110216	S J NGAZANA	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19850522	303488	1985
03	110212	W DUKU	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19850515	303488	1985
03	300485	E MTHETHWA	B5	CERT MNTCE WORKER	B	M	19851101	211822	1985
03	19715	T A GCWELE	C1	OPS SUPV	B	M	19850601	312050	1985
03	302761	C J NSELE	B1	MIX/CONTROL	B	M	19861201	831605	1986
03	302758	M R MAPHUMULO	B1	DES.F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19861201	831704	1986
03	110091	M M NGWANE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19861020	310188	1986
03	110160	M KALAKASHE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19861001	303188	1986
03	300794	P N MAPHUMALO	B1	PATROLMAN	B	M	19860908	880400	1986
03	130166	M MANDELA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19860901	322388	1986
03	110071	B MKWANAZI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19860527	310188	1986
03	19163	A KHWELA	B1	SUPV G2	B	M	19860521	300688	1986
03	110067	B MPANZA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19860515	310488	1986
03	110243	S L RADEBE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19860507	310488	1986
03	110256	S NTSHANGASE	B1	SUPERVISOR IRRIGATIO	B	M	19860501	390788	1986
03	110065	E M MTHETHWA	B1	SUPERVISOR IRRIGATIO	B	M	19860501	390788	1986
03	110239	D GQIRA	B1	SUPERVISOR CULT	B	M	19860423	310488	1986
03	110228	Z MGCWANGULE	B1	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19860414	303188	1986
03	300793	A S MDLETSHI	B1	PATROLMAN	B	M	19860324	880400	1986
03	110209	M NQOKO	B2	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19861101	310188	1986
03	19521	M E DAZA	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19861008	300688	1986
03	110465	D M KHAWULA	B2	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19860601	3034488	1986
03	130018	M P DUMA	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19860107	322788	1986
03	110211	M A YIGWANI	B3	H SEN SUPERVISOR	B	M	19861101	303188	1986
03	110006	L MZOBE	B3	CORPORAL	B	M	19860908	404103	1986
03	110471	A LUTHULI	B3	MOTORS RECEPTION	B	M	19860901	219310	1986
03	110077	E V NCEMANE	B3	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19860901	218501	1986
03	300427	C MBONAMBI	B5	WARRANT OFFICER	B	M	19860409	880400	1986
03	241834	T C NYAWO	C1	LOSS CONTROL OFFICE	B	M	19860324	217000	1986
03	11735	S M NYAWO	C5	ASST ESTATE MNGR	B	M	19860303	312150	1986
03	19028	G NTULI	A1	GEN WKR GR3	B	M	19870601	312088	1987
03	302768	M M KHUMALO	A1	OFF/LOADER	B	M	19870101	869609	1987
03	302759	S B BIYELA	A1	LOADER	B	M	19870101	831704	1987
03	300509	V M KHUMALO	A2	ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19871001	211622	1987
03	300463	S T MTSHALI	A2	ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19870601	210223	1987
03	300461	V M MTHALANE	A2	BEDPLATE ATTENDANT	B	M	19870601	210223	1987

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	19266	M NXUNGULA	A2	GUARD ITI BAY	B	M	19870225	300588	1987
03	302769	J W MAKHOBA	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19870101	831604	1987
03	19813	M SOMGXADA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19871214	312188	1987
03	19481	B M MPANZA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19871101	300588	1987
03	19480	D S THUSI	B1	SUPV .G1	B	M	19871101	301488	1987
03	110307	V FATHUKA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19871001	303488	1987
03	110310	Z BHAWUDINI	B1	SUPERVISOR HARVEST	B	M	19871001	303288	1987
03	110313	B NCAYIYANA	B1	SUPERVISOR WEED	B	M	19871001	310388	1987
03	110295	M NTULI	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19870901	310488	1987
03	110304	N NDOVELA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19870901	303488	1987
03	110303	S KETEKYAKHE	B1	HARVEST SUPERVISOR	B	M	19870901	303288	1987
03	110288	D MZUIDUME	B1	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19870803	310188	1987
03	110286	M MZIZI	B1	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19870801	303188	1987
03	110285	M SONAKALI	B1	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19870801	303188	1987
03	19396	D NTLELEM	B1	SUPERVISOR G 2	B	M	19870727	300588	1987
03	300464	M J NGUBANE	B1	BOBCAT DRIVER	B	M	19870601	210822	1987
03	300799	E S MSANE	B1	PTLMAN DOGHANDLR	B	M	19870518	880400	1987
03	110253	M DIMANI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19870501	310488	1987
03	130191	V NONTAMO	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19870401	322588	1987
03	130178	M MATHUMBU	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19870201	322688	1987
03	302762	S J MNGADI	B1	F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19870101	831704	1987
03	302763	M S NGCOBO	B1	H/DRIVER	B	M	19870101	831704	1987
03	110333	M MQALA	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19871101	300588	1987
03	19166	J N NTLAUZANA	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19871027	310488	1987
03	110294	Q NDZIMAKHWE	B2	DRIVER LOADER	B	M	19870901	303288	1987
03	110302	M A NDLOVU	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19870901	310488	1987
03	110299	M NOLALA	B2	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19870901	303188	1987
03	110289	M MZINJANA	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19870801	310488	1987
03	110130	K M LUTHULI	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19870601	218501	1987
03	110133	I M LUTHULI	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19870601	218201	1987
03	110134	M P MDIMA	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19870601	312088	1987
03	19719	M MAYIFIHLWE	B2	DRIVER G3	B	M	19870401	303188	1987
03	130176	A DLAMINI	B3	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19870201	322688	1987
03	241570	S T ZAWUKA	B5	ESTATE SUPERVISOR	B	M	19870907	322750	1987
03	300446	N J GUMEDE	B5	CERT.MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19870601	210822	1987
03	241530	T L ZWANE	C3	ASST.REGION MANAGER	B	M	19870818	218501	1987
03	300318	N L MDLETSHE	A1	SHREDDER PIT CLEANER	B	M	19881001	210123	1988
03	302312	D MKHUMBUZI	A1	LOADER	B	M	19880512	869609	1988
03	300510	C S NTANZI	A2	ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19881201	211622	1988
03	300800	D GUMEDE	A2	LABOURER	B	M	19880501	217000	1988
03	300329	S VUNDLA	A3	RIGGING HAND	B	M	19881001	211622	1988
03	300026	L NAICKER	B1	DOTER DRIVER	B	M	19881001	210123	1988
03	110391	N Z NCANE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19880913	310488	1988
03	19483	M K ZUNGU	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19880901	300688	1988
03	19422	R MBAMBO	B1	SUPV G2	B	M	19880801	312088	1988
03	19562	M M MBATHA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19880706	300688	1988
03	100101	P NAICKER	B1	SUPERVISOR CULTIV	B	M	19880706	303188	1988
03	110480	Z MKUBA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19880628	303488	1988
03	130227	M MZIZE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19880628	322388	1988
03	302307	P HLONGWA	B1	MIX/CONT/OPERATOR	B	M	19880512	831605	1988
03	130220	N SITSHISA	B1	CUTTING SUPERVISOR	B	M	19880501	322588	1988
03	130219	T W NENE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19880419	322388	1988
03	130218	A DIMAMI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19880418	322488	1988
03	110342	L MATUMBU	B1	HARVEST INDUNA	B	M	19880409	310388	1988
03	3023303	M W MKHIZE	B1	QUALITY INSPECTOR	B	M	19880204	869615	1988
03	19482	Z Z MHLANGA	B1	DRIVER G 4	B	M	19880202	300588	1988
03	130214	N O CHALA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19880128	322588	1988
03	130229	S RAMZA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19880101	322488	1988
03	110390	T P MNDIYATA	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19881103	310188	1988
03	110353	M G NCAYIYANA	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19880915	322788	1988
03	110370	Z MNDIYATA	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19880501	303288	1988
03	110351	S J QOTELO	B2	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19880501	310188	1988
03	113346	B M MATHUMBU	B2	DRIVER G LOADER	B	M	19880418	218101	1988
03	110343	B E DLADLA	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19880413	218006	1988
03	110354	D D GUMEDE	B2	CLERK SIDING	B	M	19880401	303288	1988
03	110395	K M NQOKO	B3		B	M	19881005	310488	1988
03	300325	J H GUMEDE	B3	MAINTC. WORKER	B	M	19881001	211622	1988
03	300321	S M MNGANGA	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	B	M	19881001	210622	1988
03	130225	N SHANGE	B3	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19880701	322360	1988
03	110340	M T MANZI	B3	SENIOR LIAISON OFFIC	B	M	19880401	218201	1988
03	110335	A S GUMBI	B3	SENIOR SCOUT	B	M	19880201	218201	1988
03	241536	S M NGOBO	B5	ESTATE SUPVISOR	B	M	19880501	303150	1988
03	2594	S S KUBEKHA	D2	SECTION ENGINEER	B	M	19880113	212200	1988
03	300337	A M NCUBE	A3	SPILLER PLANT OPERAT	B	M	19891201	210300	1989
03	302318	M J MAJOLA	A3	SEWER	B	M	19890109	831604	1989

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	300351	D S BALOYI	B1	FED PUMP ATT.	B	M	19891201	213322	1989
03	110332	NS NDEBE	B1	CLERK WELFARE	B	M	19891001	303288	1989
03	110355	M NKENYANA	B1	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19890901	303488	1989
03	110224	M G SIGODLWANA	B1	SUPERVISOR CULTIVAT	B	M	19890601	303488	1989
03	130251	T J SHEZI	B1	PLANTING SUPERVISOR	B	M	19890601	322588	1989
03	110050	M NCANGA	B1	CLERK WELFARE	B	M	19890601	310388	1989
03	19520	M GUMBI	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19890523	300688	1989
03	130249	M MASALEGUBA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19890501	322388	1989
03	130254	M N MAYELA	B1	GEN SUPERVISOR	B	M	19890501	322488	1989
03	130252	S S GUMEDE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19890428	322588	1989
03	130246	N NYEMBE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19890412	322788	1989
03	130241	M NXUMALO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19890301	322688	1989
03	130237	M XINGISA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19890201	322388	1989
03	19006	V N BIYELA	B1	HEAD CONSERV GUARD	B	M	19890201	300588	1989
03	130236	B S NGEMA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19890111	322388	1989
03	19720	M MAYIFIHLIWE	B1	SUPV G2	B	M	19890102	312088	1989
03	130257	M M MBANDHLWA	B2	HANDYMAN	B	M	19891101	322688	1989
03	305304	B M FAKUDE	B2	COMP. EXP. CLERK	B	M	19890901	214900	1989
03	110032	M MABHANTI	B2	DRIVER B LOADER	B	M	19890605	303488	1989
03	130247	M BIKITSHA	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19890601	322788	1989
03	130238	L HLANJWA	B2	LORRY DRIVER	B	M	19890410	322788	1989
03	130233	Z D MBITA	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19890201	322288	1989
03	300344	A T SIBIYA	B3	MDE. DIFF P/OPERATOR	B	M	19891201	210323	1989
03	19484	A MTHIYANE	B3	CLERK G3	B	M	19890401	301488	1989
03	302361	B A NGOBESE	B3	HD DRIVER	B	M	19890213	842701	1989
03	300500	B A NTANZI	B3	MAINTENANCE WORKER	B	M	19890207	217510	1989
03	241851	M W CHILIZA	C2	SHIFT SUPER	B	M	19891218	831604	1989
03	241826	T P MCAMBI	C2	REGION SUPERVISOR	B	M	19890320	218101	1989
03	19060	B SIKADE	A2	ESTATE GUARD	B	M	19900604	265500	1990
03	300354	M R MNCWANGO	A2	ARTISANS HAND	B	M	19900301	211322	1990
03	302438	M E GUMEDE	A3	SEWER	B	M	19900806	831604	1990
03	300812	S G MSWELI	B1	PATROLMAN	B	M	19901128	880400	1990
03	19522	M QUWESE	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19901126	300688	1990
03	110016	M MVAKALELWA	B1	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19901119	303188	1990
03	19157	M A SIBIYA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19901008	300588	1990
03	19488	D J HLONGWANA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19900901	312088	1990
03	110461	M CHITHWAYO	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19900809	390788	1990
03	130272	M SINDELO	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19900803	322388	1990
03	110345	M T MANZI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19900731	310188	1990
03	130269	M BHEKINDLELA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19900601	322488	1990
03	19367	M B MCHUNU	B1	DRIVER	B	M	19900528	301988	1990
03	130268	M GOMEDE	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19900501	322388	1990
03	19356	M B NDLELA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19900403	301988	1990
03	130264	A M BHAYINETHE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19900403	322588	1990
03	19486	X NDOLOU	B1	SUPV G2	B	M	19900402	301488	1990
03	130265	T NDARA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19900402	322788	1990
03	19606	N MAQUTYWA	B1	DRIVER	B	M	19900206	312188	1990
03	19722	M MKUBU	B1	DRIVER	B	M	19900202	312088	1990
03	110013	V PHAKATHI	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19901113	303188	1990
03	130274	J M SISHI	B2	GARB LOADER DRIVER	B	M	19901001	322488	1990
03	110423	Z XWESA	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19900801	303288	1990
03	110305	G Z NDOVELA	B2	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19900611	303488	1990
03	110220	L GCALEKA	B2	BELL LOADER DRIVER	B	M	19900601	303488	1990
03	130267	M MAGABA	B2	LORRY DRIVER	B	M	19900501	322688	1990
03	110458	M J MTHEMBU	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19900130	303288	1990
03	19803	M J MUSSANE	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19900104	312188	1990
03	110425	M MADIKIZELA	B2	DRIVER G/LOADER	B	M	19900104	303288	1990
03	110266	B P NGIDI	B3	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19900801	218501	1990
03	300357	J M MAJOLA	B3	DIFFUSER OPERATOR	B	M	19900702	210300	1990
03	300360	W M KHUMALO	B5	CERT.MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19900801	211622	1990
03	302310	D B MBONAMBI	B5	PLANT OPERATOR	B	M	19900723	831604	1990
03	241843	M T LUTHULI	B5	REGION SUPERVISOR	B	M	19900711	218401	1990
03	300369	S M SOKHULU	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19911001	210223	1991
03	300372	P B NGCOBO	A1	CAN YARD LABOURER	B	M	19911001	210123	1991
03	19013	N NGUBANE	A1	GEN WKR G3	B	M	19910621	312088	1991
03	300374	S E MALULEKA	A2	ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19911001	210123	1991
03	300373	J M VILAKAZI	A2	ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19911001	210800	1991
03	300367	T L BUSUKU	A2	TOOL HAND	B	M	19910529	211622	1991
03	300368	J V DAYI	A3	DIFFUSER SPILLER OPE	B	M	19911001	210123	1991
03	300371	B N BUTHELEZI	A3	SPIRAL P/OPER GR V	B	M	19911001	210123	1991
03	300361	J MHLONGO	A3	RIGGERS HAND	B	M	19910201	211622	1991
03	110015	S D GEBANI	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19910923	303188	1991
03	110068	M PONONO	B1	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19910902	310488	1991
03	130283	P ZIBANGELE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19910901	322388	1991
03	110231	N SIPATALA	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19910812	303488	1991

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	110055	S S MTHI	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19910801	310388	1991
03	19221	S PHITSHANA	B1	DRIVER	B	M	19910725	300588	1991
03	19413	M D NOFANTA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19910710	312088	1991
03	130282	N MBIZAYOPHULW/	B1	CUTTING SPVR	B	M	19910701	322288	1991
03	19168	M MAHLANGENI	B1	SUPV G2	B	M	19910701	300688	1991
03	110052	Z JALI	B1	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19910601	310388	1991
03	110204	M MZIZE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19910528	310188	1991
03	130278	A MTOLO	B1		B	M	19910301	322788	1991
03	110374	G Z DUBE	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19910708	218601	1991
03	110404	M P DLAMINI	B2	DRIVER CRANE	B	M	19910601	218501	1991
03	110363	P K NODWENGU	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19910501	218101	1991
03	130276	M W KHUZAYO	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19910204	322388	1991
03	130275	B NYEMBEZI	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19910110	322688	1991
03	110141	R MGULUGULU	B3	SENIOR SERVICEMAN	B	M	19910701	310488	1991
03	241819	M E SITHOLE	B5	REGION SUPERVISOR	B	M	19910107	218201	1991
03	19003	B T KHUZWAYO	A1	GAME GUARD	B	M	19920217	300588	1992
03	300506	D S NTANZI	A2	ARTISAN HAND	B	M	19920701	210822	1992
03	302319	F A NGCOBO	A2	RELIEF	B	M	19920622	831605	1992
03	302306	M L CHAMANE	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19920622	831604	1992
03	302300	B MTHEMBU	A3	BAGGER	B	M	19920622	831604	1992
03	302305	T M SHANDU	A3	PLANT RELIEF	B	M	19920622	831604	1992
03	19608	M MADHO	B1	CUTTING SPVR	B	M	19921115	312188	1992
03	19609	J TSHAFELE	B1	DRIVER	B	M	19921115	312188	1992
03	130300	B MDLEKI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19920801	322788	1992
03	19607	W GWADISO	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19920430	312088	1992
03	130295	K E VALELA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19920408	322288	1992
03	130299	N N NTUSI	B1	GEN. SVR.	B	M	19920401	322288	1992
03	130297	M MZIZE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19920401	322388	1992
03	110059	T M NDIIMANDE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19920401	310488	1992
03	130298	S W KHITI	B1	SVR	B	M	19920401	322288	1992
03	110019	Z E MBELE	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19920301	303188	1992
03	130292	S NOMFANA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19920204	322388	1992
03	130287	S A KOMO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19920101	322288	1992
03	19423	M KAMZELA	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19920101	312088	1992
03	110034	B E XABA	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19920101	303488	1992
03	302316	S M SIBIYA	B2	SEWER	B	M	19920622	831604	1992
03	110093	M W MDOLIKI	B3	RECRUITING CLERK	B	M	19920201	400203	1992
03	110619	R W KHUZWAYO	A1	SANITATION HAND	B	M	19930401	310388	1993
03	110667	M A NDIKO	A1	SANITATION HAND	B	M	19930401	310488	1993
03	110656	Z NYAMA	A1	SANITATION HAND	B	M	19930401	303488	1993
03	110689	T H MTHETHWA	A1	TYRESHOP HELPER	B	M	19930401	219253	1993
03	110647	T TSHONGWANA	A1	SANITATION HAND	B	M	19930401	310188	1993
03	110705	L L YALO	A2	MOWER OPERATOR	B	M	19931101	218003	1993
03	110704	T V GXOYIYA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930901	303288	1993
03	110700	M NGCOBO	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930801	218201	1993
03	110701	S NGQIBANDABA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930801	303388	1993
03	110698	S Z MAPHUMULO	A2	LABOURER	B	M	19930801	218005	1993
03	110694	M MALAHLE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930601	218101	1993
03	110695	Z SUKUDE	A2	MOWER OPERATOR	B	M	19930601	218003	1993
03	110653	Z W NBABANGAYE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	303488	1993
03	110641	M DLAMINI	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	303288	1993
03	110655	P B MASIKIZI	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	303488	1993
03	110603	L MAZWL	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	303188	1993
03	110669	M CANDLOVU	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310488	1993
03	110600	W BALENI	A2	FIELD CHECKER	B	M	19930401	303188	1993
03	110665	B MSANE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310488	1993
03	110615	M MADIKIZELA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310388	1993
03	110613	T MDOVELA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310388	1993
03	110621	S MADUMA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310388	1993
03	110682	G M SOLOMON	A2	MOWER OPERATOR	B	M	19930401	218003	1993
03	110664	N BOZA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310488	1993
03	110616	K MELANI	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310388	1993
03	110623	M DENGE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310388	1993
03	110663	M BULELA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310488	1993
03	110605	D SHUDE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	303188	1993
03	110662	M HOYANA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310488	1993
03	110648	S KHAWULA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	310188	1993
03	110604	D SIKOBI	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	303188	1993
03	110607	G MGUBO	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	303188	1993
03	110679	M MTHETHELWA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	404100	1993
03	110671	M FAKU	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	370388	1993
03	110672	S XOLO	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	370388	1993
3	110673	M MBONGO	A2	ASSISTANT COOK	B	M	19930401	390788	1993
3	110618	N W MLAMBO	A2	FIELD CHECKER	B	M	19930401	310388	1993
3	110690	M ZAWANA	A2	WATCHMAN	B	M	19930401	303488	1993

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	110697	M Z NGOBESE	A3	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930701	218201	1993
03	110696	M ZULU	A3	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19930701	218601	1993
03	110660	T NGUTYANA	A3	COMPOUND COOK	B	M	19930401	310488	1993
03	110642	M MGOTYWA	A3	COMPOUND COOK	B	M	19930401	310188	1993
03	110622	K NYATHI	A3	COOK	B	M	19930401	310388	1993
03	110683	S D GUMEDE	A3	HANDYMAN ASSIST	B	M	19930401	218005	1993
03	110644	M MANGUNGA	A3	COMPOUND COOK	B	M	19930401	310188	1993
03	110650	M YALO	A3	COMPOUND COOK	B	M	19930401	303488	1993
03	110609	M SIBANGENI	A3	COMPOUND COOK	B	M	19930401	303288	1993
03	110706	S D MNAKWA	A3	COOK	B	M	19930401	310488	1993
03	110602	M YALO	A3	COMPOUND COOK	B	M	19930401	303188	1993
03	110674	D NODAYINGE	A3	COMPOUND COOK	B	M	19930401	390788	1993
03	302328	V S MAGWAZA	A3	SEWER	B	M	19930101	831604	1993
03	302342	W MDLOLO	A3	SEWER	B	M	19930101	831604	1993
03	302330	V M XULU	A3	HOLIDAY/RELIEF	B	M	19930101	831604	1993
03	302325	T J NGCOBO	A3	SEWER	B	M	19930101	831604	1993
03	302339	S P FAKUDE	A3	PACK/MACH/ATT	B	M	19930101	831605	1993
03	110063	T J NCANE	B1	CLERK WELFARE	B	M	19931201	310488	1993
03	110039	S DHEZI	B1	SUPERVISOR HARV	B	M	19931201	310488	1993
03	302453	A NDLOVU	B1	PREMIX PREP	B	M	19930301	869616	1993
03	110431	F J KHUMALO	B1	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19930801	218101	1993
03	130303	N MADULO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19930601	322688	1993
03	130304	T A NGUBO	B1	COMPOUND SUPERVISOR	B	M	19930601	322688	1993
03	130302	M MKUZWA	B1	CLERK /VAN DRIVER	B	M	19930501	322788	1993
03	130359	T A MTKILANA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19930401	322588	1993
03	130301	L MVINJELWA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19930301	322288	1993
03	110043	L MKHOZI	B1	SUPERVISOR PLANTING	B	M	19930101	310188	1993
03	302326	J M DLUDLA	B1	PELLETIZER OPERATOR	B	M	19930101	831604	1993
03	110042	J M NDOVELA	B1	SUPERVISOR CULTIVATE	B	M	19930101	310188	1993
03	302332	J T MAPHUMULO	B1	PELLETIZER OPERATOR	B	M	19930101	831604	1993
03	302349	M BIYELA	B1	PELLETIZER OPERATOR	B	M	19930101	831604	1993
03	302331	M DLAMINI	B1	FORKLIFT DRIVER	B	M	19930101	831704	1993
03	110020	Z C NKWINI	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19931101	218501	1993
03	110378	W B MKHWANAZI	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19930801	218101	1993
03	19816	M MATHABUZO	B2	BELL LDR DRIVER	B	M	19930719	300688	1993
03	130305	P MADIKIZELA	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19930701	322488	1993
03	110044	F K GUDLA	B3	HOSTEL SUPERVISOR	B	M	19930901	303288	1993
03	302350	P N CELE	B5	CERT.MAINT.WORKER	B	M	19930101	211600	1993
03	1159	N C SOJI	D2	PROCESS ENGINEER PR	B	M	19931001	212300	1993
03	110707	S BONGWA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19940303	303188	1994
03	300504	M MKHWANAZI	A2	ARTISAN'S HAND	B	M	19940301	211622	1994
03	110710	B E NCUBE	A3	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19941003	219310	1994
03	110708	N NDOVELA	A3	COOK	B	M	19940330	303188	1994
03	110327	M MADIKIZELA	B1	HANDYMAN	B	M	19941201	310388	1994
03	302562	B NZUZA	B1	DES. F/LIFT DRIVER	B	M	19941023	831704	1994
03	110222	M HLONGWE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19940809	303188	1994
03	110040	R M NYEMBEZI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19940801	303488	1994
03	110123	T MTSHALI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19940722	390788	1994
03	130320	Z ZIYELA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19940701	322388	1994
03	19426	E NDEBELE	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19940701	312088	1994
03	130319	B MAKUPULA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19940701	322388	1994
03	19425	P MNGOMEZULU	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19940701	312088	1994
03	130318	V JAMELA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19940701	322388	1994
03	130317	S SOTSHOZI	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19940701	322388	1994
03	110129	MW NQOKO	B1	HANDYMAN	B	M	19940502	390788	1994
03	130313	V KINGA	B1	GEN. SUPERVISOR	B	M	19940401	322288	1994
03	130312	S NDOVELA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19940401	322788	1994
03	130316	M MKHUTSHELWA	B1	GEN. SUPERVISOR	B	M	19940401	322288	1994
03	130314	P M MPFOFANA	B1	HERB. DRIVER/INDUNA	B	M	19940301	322588	1994
03	130309	M MAKANYA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19940301	322788	1994
03	130308	V NKAYI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19940301	322788	1994
03	130307	S G MIYA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19940101	322788	1994
03	110236	S P GUMEDE	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19941101	218101	1994
03	110227	J J MYEZA	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19941001	218201	1994
03	110325	W M MANZI	B2	LIAISON OFFICER	B	M	19941001	218201	1994
03	110054	S MADLALA	B2	RECRUITING CLERK/DRI	B	M	19941001	404101	1994
03	19723	N M JOMBA	B2	BELL LDR DRIVER	B	M	19940912	312088	1994
03	110223	Z SELANI	B2	HARVESTER DRIVER	B	M	19940809	303188	1994
03	130321	V N NGCOBO	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19940701	322788	1994
03	110072	B K MZILA	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19940601	390788	1994
03	110267	S W KHUTSHISWAYO	B3	HOSTEL SUPERVISOR	B	M	19941107	310488	1994
03	110030	S S NGXOLA	B3	SERVICE MECHANIC	B	M	19940801	218501	1994
03	110136	J MBUYISA	B3	SERVICE MECHANIC	B	M	19940504	322288	1994
03	130315	K V MGABI	B3	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19940501	322488	1994
03	110022	S E SAPO	B3	SENIOR SERVICEMAN	B	M	19940310	310188	1994

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COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	130310	N VALIPHATHAWA	B3	SENIOR SERVICEMAN	B	M	19940301	322550	1994
03	302434	N DUBE	A1	OFF LOADER	B	M	19951002	869609	1995
03	302336	B MOTSEWABANE	A1	CLEAN/TEAMAKER	B	M	19951001	869923	1995
03	110721	M MADIKIZELA	A1	SANITATION HAND	B	M	19950801	303288	1995
03	302614	M A NXUMALO	A1	LOADER	B	M	19950109	831704	1995
03	110725	P B SIYEPHU	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19951101	404102	1995
03	110724	K VUNDLE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19951101	310188	1995
03	110715	F YENGWA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19950401	218201	1995
03	302445	M A NGEMA	A2	TIPPER	B	M	19950319	842601	1995
03	110711	Z DLANGWANE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19950201	390788	1995
03	300426	N G SIMELANE	A3	SAMPLER	B	M	19951113	212300	1995
03	110716	Z MYEKENI	A3	COOK	B	M	19950601	303288	1995
03	302826	V A MABASO	A3	WEIGHER	B	M	19950109	831605	1995
03	110493	S E NCUBE	B1	FIRE TOWER WATCHMAN	B	M	19951215	390788	1995
03	110491	Q V MANGXIKWANA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19951201	310188	1995
03	300300	S DLAMINI	B1	ASST. DIFFUSER OPERA	B	M	19951113	210200	1995
03	300421	E GWAMANDA	B1	ASST. DIFFUSER OPERA	B	M	19951113	212300	1995
03	110488	Z SIKUNDLANA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19951101	303188	1995
03	110486	M MADIKIZELA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19951002	303288	1995
03	130327	T E MDUBEKI	B1	TRAINEE SERVICEMAN	B	M	19950701	322688	1995
03	110467	M MDODI	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19950601	390788	1995
03	110468	V NONDALANE	B1	HANDYMAN	B	M	19950601	390788	1995
03	19700	N M MDLETSHE	B1	DRIVER G4	B	M	19950501	312088	1995
03	110714	C G NGIDI	B1	DEVELOPMNT. CLERK	B	M	19950401	218201	1995
03	19014	D J MAYIFIHLWE	B1	SERVICEMAN G2	B	M	19950301	312088	1995
03	130325	D J MLINYELWA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19950102	322488	1995
03	110489	T M MASINDANI	B2	REGION CLERK	B	M	19951201	218501	1995
03	110490	C MAJOLA	B2	SERVICE MECHANIC	B	M	19951201	218101	1995
03	110487	J T NGIDI	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19951101	310188	1995
03	110329	M MDLISWA	B2	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19951001	322688	1995
03	19031	T H DLAMINI	B2	BELL LDR DRIVER	B	M	19950905	300688	1995
03	110470	M S YALO	B2	HANDYMAN	B	M	19950701	370388	1995
03	110428	D B NGOMANE	B2		B	M	19950401	218101	1995
03	19203	M MPHIKWA	B2	SUPV G1	B	M	19950301	30688	1995
03	110174	L NGCOBO	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19950101	218601	1995
03	300424	M S NGIDI	B3	TRAINEE PROCESS S/VI	B	M	19951113	217302	1995
03	300422	A PHATHEKILE	B3	TRAINEE PROCESS S/VI	B	M	19951101	217302	1995
03	300353	V MTHETHWA	B3	ASSIST .PAN BOILER	B	M	19950515	210600	1995
03	300511	S O KWEYAMA	B3	L/CORPORAL	B	M	19950401	217000	1995
03	19222	M THONGA	B4	MAINT SUPV	B	M	19951101	312088	1995
03	241840	H A MBANE	B4	ESTATE SUPVISOR	B	M	19950901	310450	1995
03	19200	M XHAPHA	B4	MAINT WKR	B	M	19950116	301988	1995
03	241850	D S MAHLOBO	C2	RELIEF SHIFT SUPER	B	M	19950717	831604	1995
03	241822	M K NCALANE	C3	ASST .ESTATE MANAGER	B	M	19950501	303250	1995
03	241540	P W SIBIYA	C3	ASST EST MANAGER	B	M	19950101	322750	1995
03	2749	A M NKABANE	C5	HUMAN RECOSE OFFICER	B	M	19950116	217200	1995
03	110730	N NGEMA	A1	SANITATION HAND	B	M	19961201	390788	1996
03	110726	M MTHETHELWA	A1	SANITATION HAND	B	M	19960301	404102	1996
03	110727	B NGIBE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19960901	404103	1996
03	110728	Z NJIKINJA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19960901	303488	1996
03	110729	M MZIZE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19960901	303488	1996
03	300514	L F MKHIZE	A2	ARTISAN'S HAND	B	M	19960901	210200	1996
03	130346	T PHANDLE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322788	1996
03	130350	B ZUMA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322788	1996
03	110514	M B MPUNZANA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19961201	303188	1996
03	110513	T KANYAYO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19961201	310188	1996
03	100364	P RAMSAMY	B1	LOOK-OUT TOWER ATTND.	B	M	19961201	300200	1996
03	130352	Z S ZUMA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322788	1996
03	130344	T MADIKIZELA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322388	1996
03	130354	M D KHWELA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19961201	303488	1996
03	130345	M R MATYHOBANE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322788	1996
03	110512	K E SIBIYA	B1	IRRIGATION S/MISOR	B	M	19960903	390788	1996
03	130341	M SOBHOYILE	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19960901	322588	1996
03	130340	F P NTSHANGASE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960901	322688	1996
03	130339	V N MABINDISA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960901	322688	1996
03	130338	M S HLONGWE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960901	322688	1996
03	110510	V YENGWA	B1	TRAINEE SERVICEMAN	B	M	19960801	310488	1996
03	110509	M MAPHETSHANA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960801	310188	1996
03	110506	S B QWABE	B1	ASST. SERVICEMAN	B	M	19960601	370788	1996
03	130335	M J NOMAXAKA	B1	WELFARE CLERK	B	M	19960601	322588	1996
03	110504	B P MASUKU	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960601	303288	1996
03	110505	B N CELE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960601	303488	1996
03	110503	Z DUNGE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960513	303188	1996
03	130332	V L MKHIZW	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960501	322788	1996
03	110499	V MASINGA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960501	310488	1996

ANNEXURE A

COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	130331	T JALI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960501	322788	1996
03	130333	S GIGWANA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19960501	322788	1996
03	130330	N T SOYINI	B1	HANDYMAN	B	M	19960401	322488	1996
03	110494	M DACA	B1	IRRIGATION S/VISOR	B	M	19960301	3970788	1996
03	110495	M P BHALA	B1	IRRIGATION S/VISOR	B	M	19960301	390788	1996
03	110485	S C GUMEDE	B1	DATA CAPTURE CLERK	B	M	19960201	219270	1996
03	110492	K YALO	B1	HARVESTING SUPV.	B	M	19960101	303488	1996
03	130353	B P NQAYI	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322788	1996
03	130351	X K MPUNGOSE	B2	BELL LOADER DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322788	1996
03	130347	P M ZAWUKA	B2	BELL LOADER DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322788	1996
03	130349	M P NOMBIZANA	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322788	1996
03	130348	M MANQAMANE	B2	CRANE DRIVER	B	M	19961201	322788	1996
03	130343	F DEYI	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19961101	322288	1996
03	130342	M YIGWANA	B2	BELL LOADER DRIVER	B	M	19961001	322788	1996
03	130334	J J HLANGABEZA	B2	LORRY DRIVER	B	M	19960601	322588	1996
03	130336	M J MADIKANE	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19960601	322588	1996
03	130337	G Z MAKHANYA	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19960601	322588	1996
03	110501	M MPONDO	B2	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19960501	303288	1996
03	241833	M C NDEBELE	C1	OPERATIONS SUPERVIS	B	M	19961201	404000	1996
03	241831	M N NTULI	C1	OPERATIONS SUPERVIS	B	M	19960805	322650	1996
03	241829	B MHLANE	ZZ3	APPRENTICE TURNER	B	M	19960401	214800	1996
03	302351	B J MNYANDU	A1	LOADER	B	M	19971101	831704	1997
03	302355	M MSWELI	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19971101	831605	1997
03	302357	R T BIYELA	A1	LABOURER	B	M	19971101	831605	1997
03	302337	P T SHANGE	A1	LOADING	B	M	19971001	831704	1997
03	302334	D R MAKHANYA	A1	LOADING	B	M	19971001	831704	1997
03	302333	B J NGEMA	A1	LOADING	B	M	19971001	831704	1997
03	302344	M P MTHEMBU	A1	LOADING	B	M	19971001	831704	1997
03	302343	B W MAKHANYA	A1	LOADING	B	M	19971001	831704	1997
03	302345	W M NDLOVU	A1	LOADING	B	M	19971001	831704	1997
03	302340	M M MAKAMA	A1	LOADING	B	M	19971001	831704	1997
03	302338	P J MAKHOBA	A1	LOADING	B	M	19971001	831704	1997
03	19004	W F BIYELA	A1	GAME GUARD	B	M	19970618	300588	1997
03	110732	M TSHIKI	A1	SANITATION HAND	B	M	19970501	303188	1997
03	19002	A M NZUZA	A1	GAME GUARD	B	M	19970224	300588	1997
03	302356	M S BLOSE	A2	RELIEF	B	M	19971101	831605	1997
03	302359	D S NDLOVU	A2	RECYCLE	B	M	19971101	831604	1997
03	302352	D S NZIMELA	A2	TIPPER	B	M	19971101	831604	1997
03	302358	M S MALAMBA	A2	RELIEF	B	M	19971101	831605	1997
03	302320	A M MHLABATHI	A2	TIPPER	B	M	19971001	831604	1997
03	302322	V B CELE	A2	TIPPER	B	M	19971001	831604	1997
03	302324	M I CHILIZA	A2	TIPPER	B	M	19971001	831604	1997
03	302323	S S MTHEMBU	A2	TIPPER	B	M	19971001	831604	1997
03	110734	G I PHOKOTHO	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19970701	310388	1997
03	306307	D M SHEZI	A2	ARTISAN'S HAND	B	M	19970601	217514	1997
03	306306	S S RADEBE	A2	ARTISAN'S HAND	B	M	19970601	217514	1997
03	110731	M NGOBESE	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19970201	370588	1997
03	302354	J Z HLONGWA	A3	LABOURER	B	M	19971101	869609	1997
03	302353	M B GUMEDE	A3	SHUNTING/RELIEF	B	M	19971101	869609	1997
03	110735	G MTWA	A3	COOK	B	M	19970701	310388	1997
03	110534	S E MADIKANE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER S/VIS	B	M	19971001	310488	1997
03	110532	S MBONWA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19971001	310488	1997
03	110533	D J CINGO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19971001	310488	1997
03	110531	V R NXUMALO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19971001	310488	1997
03	130360	V A MTHIYWA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970901	322588	1997
03	110529	N NONTLANGA	B1	IRRIGATION S/VISOR	B	M	19970801	390788	1997
03	110528	F P MAHLOBO	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970801	310388	1997
03	130357	S E NGEMA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970701	322688	1997
03	110526	M MANYANE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970701	310388	1997
03	130358	M MPAMILE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970701	322688	1997
03	110524	N N NGUTYANA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970601	303288	1997
03	110522	S E MDLETSHE	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970601	310188	1997
03	110523	M NKOMENTSIMINI	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970601	310188	1997
03	130355	F P ZWANA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970501	322588	1997
03	110520	B L NKABANE	B1	WELFARE CLERK	B	M	19970228	404101	1997
03	110517	M MKHONANDODA	B1	SUPERVISOR	B	M	19970101	303188	1997
03	110518	T M MJAJA	B1	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970101	310488	1997
03	110535	M P GUMEDE	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19971101	303488	1997
03	110530	V DIMANE	B2	BELL LOADER DRIVER	B	M	19970901	310488	1997
03	110525	P VATSHA	B2	DRIVER TRACTOR	B	M	19970701	310388	1997
03	110527	M DLAMINI	B2	TRACTOR DRIVER	B	M	19970701	310388	1997
03	110521	S VUNDLA	B2	HARVESTER OPERATOR	B	M	19970501	303488	1997
03	110519	W J GUMEDE	B2	DEV. SCOUT	B	M	19970201	218501	1997
03	241845	S N GIDA	B4	T.ESTATE/SUPERVISOR	B	M	19970901	404000	1997
03	241839	M N HADEBE	B4	MAINT.SUPERVISOR	B	M	19970601	322450	1997

ANNEXURE A

COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	241842	S MTHETHWA	C2	ELECTRICIAN	B	M	19970901	217510	1997
03	241836	B V ZUMA	C2	BOILERMAKER	B	M	19970303	211622	1997
03	241847	I B MATHEBULA	C3	INSTRUMENT TECHNICIAN	B	M	19971001	211822	1997
03	241848	M NCGOBO	C5	SEN.H/RECOURCES OFF	B	M	19971101	404101	1997
03	241846	N G ZUNGU	C5	S.ASST.EST.MANAGER	B	M	19971101	310250	1997
03	2607	A A MAKHUNDA	D1	ESTATE MANAGER	B	M	19971201	322450	1997
03	241837	E T NDULI	ZZ2	APPRENTICE ELECCTRIC	B	M	19970317	214800	1997
03	110736	V E VUKUTHI	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19980101	310188	1998
03	110737	S GASELA	A2	NIGHT WATCHMAN	B	M	19980101	310188	1998
03	110537	S JUKULU	B1	W.SHOP ATTEND/S.MAN	B	M	19980101	390788	1998
03	110536	I W MAZIBA	B2	SERVICEMAN	B	M	19980101	303488	1998
03	241849	P B NKOSI	C2	ASSIST.P.SUPERINTEND.	B	M	19980201	212300	1998
03	2547	W M BOND	C5	PROCESS FOREMAN	C	M	19810602	212323	1981
03	18153	R DAVID	B4	MAINT WKR	C	M	19830110	300688	1983
03	2604	C M LEWIS	D2	SECTION ENGINEER	C	M	19830452	212200	1983
03	242483	M MARTIN	C2	DIESEL MECHANIC	C	M	19880502	219254	1988
03	2746	D M WALSH	C4	SAFETY	D	M	19531101	880600	1953
03	5554	G C RIC-HANSEN	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19580101	322250	1958
03	3201	B F METH	D1	ASST W/SHOP MNGR	D	M	19590804	215126	1959
03	2518	L A STEWART	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19600315	310150	1960
03	2516	J O NAUDE	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19640102	310450	1964
03	2740	B H CARSLow	C4	MNTCE.MECHANIC	D	M	19650531	390750	1965
03	2544	G F PRINGLE	C5	MILL FOREMAN	D	M	19660501	210322	1966
03	1604	R E THURSTON	D2	REGION MNGR	D	M	19671106	218101	1967
03	2514	G H OGILVIE	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19680201	303150	1968
03	2519	J PENFOLD	D2	AGRONOMIST	D	M	19690317	400100	1969
03	5552	R H KUSTER	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19700202	322650	1970
03	2738	K M THORPE	C5	ELECTRICAL FOREMAN	D	M	19710401	217510	1971
03	2571	D J SCHAFER	C5	MACHINE SHOP FOREMA	D	M	19710111	211322	1971
03	2906	C J KOCH	D3	INFORM CNTR MNGR	D	M	19721001	869880	1972
03	2510	R R FOXON	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19731201	303250	1973
03	5556	R GRANT	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19730401	322350	1973
03	5580	C B CHAMBLER	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19761004	322750	1976
03	2608	P A LOWRY	D1	CANE SUPPLY QUAL C	D	M	19770516	215901	1977
03	5575	R J HART	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19780701	303350	1978
03	5340	W D BADENHORST	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19780501	322550	1978
03	220361	A J CLEMENTS-WHIT	C2	TURNER MACHINIST	D	M	19790521	211322	1979
03	220381	N J ROODT	C3	SUPERVISORY ARTISAN	D	M	19790816	211622	1979
03	2581	N D MCFARLANE	C5	F/MAN WORKSHOP	D	M	19791126	219250	1979
03	2700	M D ROUGIER-LAGAN	C5	STORES CONTROLLER	D	M	19800904	214900	1980
03	2772	B F COOPER	C5	MECH.FOREMAN	D	M	19800204	811403	1980
03	2526	M J GEORGE	D2	ACCOUNTANT	D	M	19800701	216000	1980
03	1612	C D INGLE	D2	REGION MNGR	D	M	19800301	218501	1980
03	2549	C J CHASE	C5	ENERGY SUPPLY F/MAN	D	M	19810401	210822	1981
03	2745	R S STROUD	C4	MAINT.CONTROLLER	D	M	19820118	370450	1982
03	2714	P S RATCLIFF	C5	FABRICATION FOREMAN	D	M	19820906	211622	1982
03	1629	A G PHILLIPS	D1	BUSINESS MNGR	D	M	19820111	219310	1982
03	2525	N B HOCKLY	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19820601	310350	1982
03	2713	D J GARDINER	C4	BOILER SUPERTNDT	D	M	19831005	210822	1983
03	2905	R AVELING	D0	SALES MANAGER	D	M	19830301	869801	1983
03	220311	T E BILLINGTON	C3	PUMP FITTER	D	M	19840403	217513	1984
03	2709	G L GREENWOOD	C5	SEN.LOSS CONTROL OFF	D	M	19841001	212500	1984
03	2904	J A STEENKAMP	D0	SALES MANAGER	D	M	19840301	869801	1984
03	220502	F M PRETORIUS	C3	EST MAINT CONTROLLER	D	M	19850801	370450	1985
03	220306	P G LENFERNA DE LA	C2	FITTER	D	M	19861110	210322	1986
03	2712	S G BATSTONE	C5	RAWHOUSE FOREMAN	D	M	19860707	210322	1986
03	2732	C C COOMBS	C4	BOILER SUPERTNDT	D	M	19871109	210822	1987
03	2760	S C MAGUIRE	C5	RAWHOUSE FOREMAN	D	M	19870323	210622	1987
03	1626	O DU PLESSIS	D2	SNR ESTATE MNGR	D	M	19870101	310250	1987
03	220323	G C FARQUHARSAN	C2	FITTER	D	M	19880711	210822	1988
03	2770	N J ODENDAAL	C4	MAINTANCE CONTROLLE	D	M	19880222	370450	1988
03	2715	A S NORRIS-JONES	C5	SEN/ASST ESTMNGR	D	M	19880718	310350	1988
03	2753	M G GETKATE	C5	ELECTRICAL FOREMAN	D	M	19880405	211922	1988
03	2742	B NEWLANDS	C5	SNR ASST.EST.MNGR	D	M	19890101	322750	1989
03	220728	E R JOHNSON	C3	DISTRIB SUPERNT	D	M	19900801	831704	1990
03	2598	T G BARRY	D2	IRRIG SERV MNGR	D	M	19901201	390750	1990
03	220325	A W LUBBE	C2	TURNER MACHINIST	D	M	19910701	211322	1991
03	2758	R B WEST	C5	S/ASST.EST.MANAGER	D	M	19910201	322250	1991
03	220406	V W LESLIE	C2	FITTER	D	M	19920301	210622	1992
03	2903	M A BARLOW	D3	SALES MANAGER	D	M	19921001	869801	1992
03	220521	L ANDERSON	C3	ASST EST MANAGER	D	M	19930201	322650	1993
03	2741	B P HUININK	C5	SNR ASST.EST.MNGR	D	M	19930401	322450	1993
03	2902	S C KNOETZE	D0	CREDIT MANAGER	D	M	19930301	869904	1993
03	199	C A OREILLY		TEMP	D	M	19941101	880600	1994
03	6380	G M HUBBARD	D2	PROCESS ENGINEER	D	M	19940101	212300	1994

ANNEXURE A

COMPANY No	INITIALS	SURNAME	GRADE	TITLE	RACE	GENDER	DATE STARTED	DEPT. CODE	YEAR STARTED
03	8402	D MCLOUGHLIN			D	M	19960501	215126	1996
03	220717	B D BRYANT	C2	ELECTRICIAN	D	M	19960501	211922	1996
03	220714	A P MILES	C3	ASSIST.ESTATE MANAGER	D	M	19960311	303150	1996
03	220712	M R GUZOVIC	C3	INSTRUMENT MECHANICI	D	M	19960108	211822	1996
03	2764	I C COULTHARD	C5	P/STATION FOREMAN	D	M	19960301	810902	1996
03	2605	D J BOTHA	D1	ESTATE SURITY MNG	D	M	19960729	404103	1996
03	4623	B C ROBERTSON	D2	LOSS CONTROL MNGR	D	M	19960301	217000	1996
03	220715	R M LESLIE	ZZ3	APPRENTICE TURNER	D	M	19960401	214800	1996
03	220719	C A MITCHELL	C3	INSTRUMENT TECHNICIAN	D	M	19970602	211822	1997
03	2901	L M DE KLERK	D3	SALES MANAGER EW C	D	M	19970601	869801	1997
03	400055	D F PRINGLE	TEM		D	M	19970901	211522	1997
03	220730	R A BROWNING	C2	FITTER	D	M	19980401	210622	1998
03	220721	A V WATTS	C3	SEN.ASST.EST/MANAGE	D	M	19980301	310450	1998
03	220720	R G PRINGLE	ZZ1	APPRENTICE M/WRIGHT	D	M	19980101	214800	1998

ANNEXURE B

ZULU QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE TICK THE CORRECT ANSWER

A] PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Minyaka a) <less 20 years b) 21-30 c) 31-40 d) 41-50 e) 51-60 f) >61 years	
2. UHLALA KUDE KANGAKANANI NALAPHO USEBENZA KHONA a) <5 kms b) 6-15 kms c) 16-25 kms d) 26-35 kms e) 36-45 kms f) >46 kms	

3. Sekuyisikhathi Esingakanani Uhlala Kulelibanga

a) <5years	
b) 6-15 years	
c) 16-25 years	
d) >25 years	

4. Uzuza Malini Ngenyanga

a) <R 1000-00	
b) R100-00 --- R2000-00	
c) R2100-00 --- R3000-00	
d) R3100-0 --- R4000-00	
e) R4100-00 --- R5000-00	
f) R>R5100-00	

5. Likuphi Izinga Lakho Lemfundo

- a) Ngaphansi kuka Methilikhi
- b) Methilikhi
- c) Idiploma Engaphezu kuka methilikhi
- d) Iziqu
- e) Iziqu Eziphothulwe ne Diploma Ephakeme
- f) Iziqu Eziphakeme

6. Ikhona Inhlangano Ephakeme oyijoyinile

- a) YEBO _____
- b) CHA _____

ANNEXURE B

ngabodwana izingqumo														
	NO													
	N/A													
h) Sebenzisa yonke imiqondo rqhamukayo	YES													
	NO													
	N/A													
i)	YES													
	NO													
	N/A													

9. Wakwenza lokhu

		I	S	M	I	S	M	I	S	M	I	S	M
Shalenja	Yes No												
Zenza Samngane	Yes No												
Themba	Yes No												

10. Zakumukela kanjani lokhu izimenenja okumayelana nezinduna

	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a	
a) Themba													
b) Nika Amandla													
c) Thatha Njenga Baholi													

11. Wake wakubona ukucwasana ngobuhlanga kulenkampani

1960	Yes		No		N/A	
1970	Yes		No		N/A	
1980	Yes		No		N/A	
1990	Yes		No		N/A	

12. WAZIBONELA WENA NGOKWAKHO

1960	1970	1980	1990
------	------	------	------

13. izingxabona zazikuphatha kanjani kulenkampani

Method	1960	1970	1980	1990
--------	------	------	------	------

ANNEXURE B

a) Ngokubonelela				
b) Phoqelela				
c) Hlanganjela				
d) Phoba				
e) Okunye				

14. nawuyingxenywa engakanani ekuthathweni kwenqumo enkampanini

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Enkulu Kakhulu				
Kakhulu				
Kancane				
Kancane Kakhulu				
Wawyngekho				

15. zingakanani izinguquko emsebenzini wakho ezake zakhona

	1960	1970	1980	1990
< 10				
11-120				
> 20				

16. sashintsha yini isimo somsebenzi wakho

yebo _____ cha _____

17. inkampani iyakunika imoto yomsebenzi

yebo _____ cha _____

C] ORAL FORMS OF COMMUNICATION

1. Zazikhona izimbongi enkampanini

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

2. Umsebenzi wazo wabe ubukdeka uphephile

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

3. Umsebenzi wazo wabe ubukdeka uphephile

ANNEXURE B

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

4. Izimbongi zaziyi zaziwigkeka lenqubo ekhona

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

5. Imbongi yayikwazi ukunyusa izinga

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

6. Ukubongela babekuthatha njengengxemye yokuzithokozisa

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

7. Izimbongi zaziqwazelwa ngezimonto ezabe zikhona kuphela

Yebo _____ Cha _____

8. Izimbongi zazisho izinto ezazenzenka endulo kubaqashi ngokunjalo nakubasebenzi

Yebo _____ Cha _____

9. Ungasho ukuthi izibongo ziyizilandelo ezincomekayo

Yebo _____ Cha _____

10. Chaza Inhloso yalenkondlo iyafinyelela yini esidingweni somphakathi

Yebo _____ Cha _____

11. Ngabe baliqikelele izinga lomunto ngayedwa

Yebo _____ Cha _____

12. Ngabe lenkondlo isetshenziswe ukugwazela abasebenzi

Yebo _____ Cha _____

13. Ngabe loluhlobo lenkondlo lubalulekile yini ekwenzeni izinko ezithile

ANNEXURE B

Yebo _____ Cha _____

14. Ngabe izibongo lezi zihlale zikhuluma ngezinto ezenzekayo yini

Yebo _____ Cha _____

15. Ngabe Ukundluliswa kwembiko kwakwenzeka ngokushesha

Yebo _____ Cha _____

16. Ngabe inkondlo le iphelezelwa izinto ezinomfutho nezinqubekela phambili

Yebo _____ Cha _____

17. Ngabe izibongo ziyakha

Yebo _____ Cha _____

18. Ngabe imbongi bukeka njengomuntu onomqondo ovulelike

Yebo _____ Cha _____

19. Ngabe owakho umbono owomphakathi

Yebo _____ Cha _____

20. Ngabe imbongi ithathe njengoba zinjalo izikhondlo

Yeb _____ Cha _____

21. Ngabe izimbongi ziyahambisana nesikathi

Yebo _____ Cha _____

22. Ngabe babhekele indawo ethile

Yebo _____ Cha _____

ANNEXURE C

PLEASE TICK THE CORRECT ANSWER

A] PERSONAL DETAILS

1. Your age group

a) < less 20 years	
b) 21 - 30	
c) 31 - 40	
d) 41 - 50	
e) 51 - 60	
f) > 61 years	

2. How far do you live from your workplace?

a) < 5 kms	
b) 06 - 15 kms	
c) 16 – 25 kms	
d) 26 – 35 kms	
e) 36 – 45 kms	
f) > 46 kms	

3. For how long have you lived this distance away?

a) < 5 years	
b) 6 – 15 year	
c) 16 – 25 years	
d) > 25 years	

ANNEXURE C

4. What is your monthly income?

a) < R1000-00	
b) R1000-00 – R2000-00	
c) R2100-00 – R3000-00	
d) R3100-00 – R4000-00	
e) R4100-00 – R5000-00	
f) >R5100-00	

5. What is your study of education?

a) Less than matric	
b) Matric	
c) Post matric diploma	
d) Degree	
e) Degree completed with a higher diploma	
f) Higher degree	

6. Do you belong to any union?

- a) Yes
- b) No

7. Do you belong to any professional organisations?

- a) Yes
- b) No

8. For how long have you worked for your present company?

a) < 2 years	
b) bet 2 and 5 years	
c) bet 6 and 10 years	
d) bet 11 and 15 years	
e) bet 16 and 20 years	
f) > 20 years	

ANNEXURE C

B] COMMUNICATION

1. What was your language of communication in the following places?

Place	Language	1960	1970	1980	1990
Home	English				
	Zulu				
	Fanagalo				
	Other				
Peer	English				
	Zulu				
	Fanagalo				
	Other				
Supervisor	English				
	Zulu				
	Fanagalo				
	Other				
Management	English				
	Zulu				
	Fanagalo				
	Other				

ANNEXURE C

2. How did your Peers {P} ; Supervisors {S} ; and Management {M} communicate with you?

	1960			1970			1980			1990		
	P	S	M	P	S	M	P	S	M	P	S	M
Eng.												
Zulu												
Fan.												
N/A												

3. Was the communication between you and the company direct? {Were you able to talk to them?}

		1960	1970	1980	1990	
Supervisor	YES					
	NO					
Management	YES					
	NO					

4. Was the Indoena used to convey messages / information across to the supervisor and management?

		1960	1970	1980	1990	
Supervisor	YES					
	NO					
Management	YES					
	NO					

5. Can you recall having any problems with the translation when the Indoena was involved?

		1960	1970	1980	1990	
Supervisor	YES					
	NO					
Management	YES					
	NO					

ANNEXURE C

Make unilateral decisions	Yes												
	No												
	N/A												
Use brainstorming	Yes												
	No												
	N/A												

9. Did you do the following?

		I	S	M	I	S	M	I	S	M	I	S	M
Challenge	Yes												
	No												
Befriend	Yes												
	No												
Trust	Yes												
	No												

10. How did management view the following with regards to the indoena?

	Yes	No	N/A	Yes	No	N/A	Yes	No	N/A	Yes	No	N/A
Trust												
Give them power												
See them as leaders												

11. Have you witnessed any racial discrimination within your company?

1960	Yes			No			N/A	
1970	Yes			No			N/A	
1980	Yes			No			N/A	
1990	Yes			No			N/A	

12. If yes, have you experienced it personally?

1960	1970	1980	1990
------	------	------	------

ANNEXURE C

13. How was conflict in general handled in your company?

Method	1960	1970	1980	1990
Compromise				
Subdued				
Joint problem				
Force				
Other				

14. To what extent were you involved in the decision making process within your company?

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Large extent				
Very large				
Lesser				
Very less				
Not at all				

15. How many changes have there been in your job profile since being in the company?

	1960	1970	1980	1990
<10				
11 – 120				
>20				

16. Has your working environment changed?

Yes No

17. Does your company offer you a company car?

Yes No

ANNEXURE C

C} ORAL FORMS OF COMMUNICATION

1. Were there any imbongis {praise singers} in the company?

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

2. Was his position a strongly guarded and highly valued appointment?

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

3. Did the position carry status?

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

4. Did the imbongi criticize the prevailing order?

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

ANNEXURE C

5. Was he a vehicle for the expression of social dissatisfaction?

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

6. Were the praise poets seen as a form of entertainment?

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Yes				
No				
N/A				

7. Did the izibonga as a poetry form constitute concentrated and rich historical texts only?

Yes No

8. Were the praise poets chronicles of individual lives of both workers and management?

Yes No

9. Would you say that the izibongo are poems of excellence?

Yes No

10. Is the purpose of praise poetry that of elevating the highest desirable qualities in society?

Yes No

11. Did they project an ethical system beyond the circumstances of the individual?

Yes No

12. Was the praise poets used to inspire the workers?

Yes No

ANNEXURE C

13. Would you say that praise poetry is essentially performance art?

Yes No

14. Did the izibongo always bellow out?

Yes No

15. Was the delivery always rapid?

Yes No

16. Was it always accompanied by frenzied and energetic movement?

Yes No

17. Were the izibongo creative?

Yes No

18. Was the imbongi seen as an incitor?

Yes No

19. Did he mould public opinion?

Yes No

20. Did the imbongi memorize poems?

Yes No

21. Did they compose on the spot?

Yes No

22. Did the izibongo change over time?

Yes No

ANNEXURE D

The six kinds of decisions, called Bands, referred to earlier can be defined as follows:

- **BAND F – Policy Making Decisions (Top Management)**
Overall policy decisions are regarded as being superior to any other decisions. They are associated with top level management and give the overall direction of the firm. The limits are very wide and in many cases are only specified by the laws of the land. Top management decides on policy in all major areas operation (e.g.: finance, production, marketing and human resources)
- **BAND E – Programming Decisions (Senior Management)**
The execution of policy is broadly planned or programmed within the limits of discretions set by top management. Senior management decides on organization structure. The overall programme for major functions, the relationship between major functions and the major operation objectives.
- **BAND D – Interpretive/ Probabilistic Decisions (Middle Management)**
The limits of discretion for interpretive decisions are set by senior management's programme, plan or budget. The interpretive aspect comes from the choice of a best decision out of a spectrum of possible decisions with the limits of discretion. These decisions often involve determining the best use of available manpower and machines to achieve the targets agreed in the programme. Middle management decides on systems and procedures, rules and regulations, plant manuals, localization plans/ programmes and interpretations not covered by existing rules, that is 'what to do.'
- **BAND C – Routine/ Process/ System Decisions (Skilled Employees)**
The rules having been set by the interpretive decisions, execution begins. What is to be done has already been decided and the next level of decision-routine-is the choice of the way in which it is to be carried out from established processes, practice, systems, trade knowledge and rules and regulations. People taking these decisions can decide which process to use. They know the operations. They must decide 'how', 'where' and 'when'.
- **BAND B – Automatic/ Operative/ Subsystem (Semi-Skilled Employees)**
This involves work in which the processes are defined and the freedom of choice is restricted to the operations. Within the constraints of the process-the 'how'-the

ANNEXURE D

workers can decide ‘where’ and ‘when’ to carry out the operation that constitutes the process.

- **BAND A – Defined Decisions (Basic Skilled Employees)**

The decisions made by the worker can be defined and the worker is left with little choice other than variation in control of the elements of an operations, that is ‘when’.

BAND	KIND OF DECISIONS	TITLE/ LEVEL	GRADE	KIND OF GRADE	TYPICAL TITLES
F	Policy-making	Top Management	11	Co-ordinating or Supervisory (Policy)	Managing Director
			10	Policy	Executive Director
E	Programming	Senior Management	9	Co-ordinating or Supervisory (Programme)	General Manager
			8	Programme	Assistant General Manager
D	Interpretive/ Probabilistic	Middle Management	7	Supervisory (Interpretive)	Department Manager
			6	Interpretive	Section Manager
C	Routine/ Process/ System	Skilled	5	Supervisory (Skilled)	Supervisor Foreman
			4	Process	Artisan
B	Automatic/ Operative Subsystem	Semi-Skilled	3	Supervisory (Semi-Skilled)	Chargehand
			2	Operative	Machine Operator Supervisor
A	Defined	Basic Skilles	1	Defined	Labourer

ANNEXURE D

However, a person will normally also make decisions of lower Bands in addition to decisions in the Band in which his or her job is located. More detailed examples are given in Appendix 'A.'

The Bands except for Band A, can be sub-divided into two grades. This is done because at all these decision levels there are positions where the person must supervise other people and jobs who make decisions in the same Band. The table above shows the basic breakdown of the decision structure of a company.

The even number grades can also be further sub-divided into sub-grades. These will be judged by the number of decisions taken, i.e.: variety, the pressure of work, the complexity of work, the tolerances, physical effort, the supervision required and the skill levels indicated by education, training and experience.

ANNEXURE E

1. Birth

- a) In what year were you born?
- b) How old are you now?
- c) How many brothers do you have?
- d) How many sisters do you have?
- e) What number are you?
- f) Where did your father work when you were small?
- g) Where did your mother work when you were small?
- h) What do you remember about your father?
- i) What do you remember about your mother?
- j) Were your parents educated?
- k) Can you tell me about the conditions in your area when you were growing up for example lights, water, roads, transport?

2. Childhood

- a) Where did you live?
- b) How big was the house?
- c) Did you own the house?
- d) Did you have your own room?
- e) Which school did you go to?
- f) What standard did you complete?
- g) Did you like school?
- h) Do you remember the teachers?
- i) Can you tell me about the political conditions when you were growing up?
- j) Who had the power in your area?
- k) Were there many chiefs or men in charge?

3. Parents and Teachers

- a) Were your parents cheeky?
- b) Did they punish you?
- c) How often did you get punished?
- d) What was the punishment?
- e) Who was the powerful person at home, mother or father?
- f) Who took decisions at home?

ANNEXURE E

- g) If mother did not listen to father, what did he do?
- h) Did mother or father drink alcohol?
- i) Where they abusive with you when they drank?
- j) At school, were you punished?
- k) How often?
- l) Who punished you?
- m) Why were you punished?
- n) If you told your parents, what happened?
- o) Did the teachers ever help you in any way?
- p) Did the teachers have any power?

4. Work (General)

- a) What was the first work that you had?
- b) Who gave you the job?
- c) Where did you work?
- d) Was it far from your house?
- e) How did you travel to work?
- f) Did you like your work?
- g) What was your job title?

5. First Job: Longaat Sugar

- a) When did you start working in this company?
- b) Did any family member work here?
- c) How long are you living in your present house?
- d) What jobs did you do first?
- e) How did you get this job?
- f) Can you describe that job?
- g) How many jobs did you do after that?
- h) Can you recall having any problems in the early years of your life/ job?
- i) Can you recall who used to give instructions in the 1960's, 1970's, 1980's, 1990's?
- j) In what language or languages were the message given in the 1960's, 1970's, 1980's, 1990's?
- k) In what kind of manner?

ANNEXURE E

6. Housing

- a) Where you given free housing? Why did the company give you free housing?
What reason?
- b) Where you given free lights and water?
- c) Where you given free transport to work? House – Company – safe
- d) Where you given food rations?
- e) What where the rations?
- f) Where you given food coupons for work? When did it stop?

7. Shift

- a) Where you given shift work?
- b) Did you like shift work?
- c) How did shift work affect family life?
- d) What problems did you have with shift work?

8. language

- a) what was your language of communication at home in the 1950's, 1960's, 1970's, 1980's, 1990's?
- b) in what language did you speak to your friends at work?

9. Strikes and Unions

- a) When did you join the union?
- b) How did people feel about joining the union?
- c) Who was the union leader? Did he have problems with the workers and managers?

10. Injuries

- a) Did you have any injuries?
- b) What kind of payment did you get from the company?
- c) Can you recall if anybody else got hurt or was killed and how did the company react?

ANNEXURE E

11. Grades

- a) Still in A2 or B1- so long, how do you feel about it?
- b) Did you fight t save your grade?

12. Children

- a) How many children?
- b) What are their names?
- c) Are they educated?

13. 1980 Provident Fund

- a) Did you take money out?
- b) Why? How much?
- c) If anybody did not want to take their money out, what did the others do?

14. Presentations/ Awards

- a) What did you get?
- b) A watch?
- c) Do you like it?
- d) Was it a good one?

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