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**Black Workers who leave:
A Study of Factors relating to
Labour Turnover among African
Employees in Decentralised
Timber-processing Plants.**

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NOVEMBER 1977

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CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES

BLACK WORKERS WHO LEAVE: A STUDY OF FACTORS RELATING
TO LABOUR TURNOVER AMONG AFRICAN EMPLOYEES IN
DECENTRALISED TIMBER-PROCESSING PLANTS

Lawrence Schlemmer
Christopher Rawlins

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PREFACE

This study was undertaken on behalf of a major forestry company operating in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal. The research covered many aspects of the company employees' circumstances and responses to the work environment, and three earlier reports have already been submitted.

Labour mobility, or alternatively termed, labour turnover, is the subject matter of this report. The study was undertaken in three factories associated with the forestry industry; all of them situated well away from the urban-industrial centres of South Africa. This report, then, documents the factors which bear upon labour mobility in industrial settings in rural or semi-rural areas. In South Africa today, policies of industrial decentralisation are being pursued, both in regard to the establishment of "Homeland Growth Points", and in the development of industry in so-called border areas on the fringes of the Bantustans. In the light of the well-known and well-documented phenomenon of the migration of workers to urban industrial complexes, it is of interest to attempt to establish what the responses of workers are to industrial work in areas far removed from the major centres. Are decentralised industries regarded as second-best alternatives? Are they a step in the progression of workers from tribal homeland to modern city? Although the characteristics of the workplaces studied in this report cannot be generalised incautiously, this study does help to shed light on the issue of labour movement from rural area to large city.

Professor L. Schlemmer
Director
Centre for Applied Social Sciences

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The authors would like to record their appreciation to the sponsoring company for making this research possible. It is hoped that the report will assist the company in its continuing efforts to improve labour conditions and prospects for Black employees. We would also like to thank colleagues in the Centre for Applied Social Sciences for the difficult and painstaking work which went into the collection, coding, computer-processing of results and into the typing and proof-reading of the report - in particular, Mrs Ulla Bulteel, Mr J. Kuzwayo, Mr S. Maphumulo, Miss Beata Mbanda, Mr D. Nduli, Miss Ann Morton, Mrs Susan Burrows and our secretary, Mrs Patsy Wickham. Without the assistance of these colleagues and others, the study would not have been possible.

Lawrence Schlemmer
Christopher Rawlins

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Compiled by Roger D.J. Allen
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CHAPTER I

LABOUR TURNOVER IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Labour turnover is an issue of well-nigh universal concern - it is debated by employers wherever wage labour has become an institution. As a phenomenon of industrial society, it can, to a large degree, be explained in terms of fairly universal factors. Many of the causes of labour turnover in one industrial society may very well be identical or similar to causes in any other industrial society.

However, this does not mean to say that individual variations in causative factors may not occur from society to society and from region to region within a society. One may accept in broad principle that labour turnover relates both to general factors and to factors specific to a particular labour force.

In South Africa, as elsewhere, one often finds employers seeking to explain labour turnover in terms of specific characteristics in their labour forces. Such explanations may very well be valid or may contain vestiges of truth. If not based on research or systematic observation, however, such explanations may be little more than attempts to rationalise a phenomenon in the face of uncertainty.

A major basis of difference in the range of factors underlying labour turnover is the extent to which a labour force is either an established industrial proletariat or a newly industrialising group, relatively unaccustomed or adjusted to the pattern of regular, unbroken wage labour. Hence patterns of labour turnover have varied between periods of early and late industrialisation in, say, Europe, and today vary between the developed and the developing nations.

For this reason we are not able to approach our topic with a conceptual framework derived only from the analyses of labour turnover

carried out in advanced industrial society. The fact that the groups we have studied are Africans of varying degrees of urbanization and exposure to industrial life makes it essential that we be sensitive to the findings of studies conducted both in the developed and developing worlds.

Labour turnover can be viewed at a variety of theoretical levels. These levels can be seen as ranging along a continuum which emphasises psychologically-based explanation at one end and sociological (group-based) explanation at the other. Each perspective provides a partial, segmental view; they overlap in some respects with alternative frameworks and are not incompatible with each other. Each one adds to our understanding of the behaviour of an individual or a group of individuals in employment situations.

Psychologically-based theories emphasise the individual's relationship to the circumstances and characteristics of his job and exclude both his relationship to the social groupings to which he belongs, extending from the factory to the wider community, and the responses of groups as such to the employment situation. One theory in this respect relates turnover to the worker's suitability for the job he is required to do. This involves a matching up of the worker's skills, intelligence, temperament and interests with the qualities required for an efficient execution of the job. It is apparent that a worker may be under-qualified or over-qualified, so that a job that fails to utilize the full skills and intelligence of a worker may contribute to dissatisfaction as much as one that overtaxes his resources. Corresponding to this idea is an emphasis on the importance of good selection, induction and training. This theory gains support when labour turnover is highest among new employees which is frequently the case. A study by the Personnel Research Division of the University of the Orange Free State (Langenhoven 1971) concluded that African job terminations were mostly a result of inadaptability.

Psychologically-oriented theories need to be grounded in a theory of motivation. In its simplest form motivation theory postulates that if a man's needs are satisfied by his employment he will continue in that

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employment. Vroom and Deci (1974: Ch.4) establish the fact that the degree of satisfaction of certain personal needs supplied by a person's place of employment has a significant direct relationship to his continuing to work for that company. These personal needs are for recognition, for autonomy, for a feeling of doing work that is important and for evaluation by fair standards.

One may question the relevance of all of these needs for an African tribesman or semi-tribesman. Maslow's theory of a need hierarchy, however, has been found useful in studies of African motivation if the theory is applied with a degree of flexibility. A study by Hall and Harris (1970) of the motivational patterns of a rural and an urban group of adult male Vendas, found need patterns mainly oriented towards physiological and esteem needs. It was also found that even where the physiological needs are not fully satisfied the esteem needs operate.

Psychological theories begin to include sociological components when job satisfaction is connected with the employee's relationship to his supervisors and fellow workers. In this respect a study of the unemployed Africans in Grahamstown by Charton (1969) concluded that "it is perhaps to be expected that job satisfaction for the unskilled in an industrial society will consist largely in personal relationships and personal material gain, rather than in satisfaction gained from the performance of the job itself, or from its meaningfulness for the community of which he is a part". Scott *et al.* (1961) believe that supervisors who inspire employees with confidence so that they will talk over their problems with them and who find time to talk with their men tend to have low absenteeism and labour turnover. A feeling of group belonging also tends to hold the employees.

From a wider perspective job satisfaction may not be directly related to labour turnover. Goldthorpe *et al.* (1968a) have shown that modern workers who feel that they are as well paid as they can expect will persist in a job which they otherwise dislike. Peil (1972) finds two factors which impede the effect of dissatisfaction on turnover among Ghanaian factory workers. Leaving a job voluntarily may have such serious

economic consequences that the older worker, in particular, does not wish to even contemplate it. Secondly, Peil points out that Ghanaian workers have not been socialised to the modern concept that one should like work and find it satisfying; hence the effects of dissatisfaction are reduced.

Deprivation felt by the worker is thus relative to some external reference group and is conditioned by social norms. Many workers remain in jobs they do not like or leave jobs with which they are generally satisfied. Flowers and Hughes (1973) have proposed a theory based on the finding that employees' reasons for staying are not the opposite of their reasons for moving. They maintain that people stay because of inertia; that is, until some force causes them to leave. This inertia can be strengthened by job satisfaction, by a sound company climate, by the employee perceiving his outside job opportunities negatively and by non-work factors such as community links and financial responsibilities.

Flowers and Hughes distinguish four types of employee behaviour which illustrate different attitudes to staying with a company. Turn-overs are those who are dissatisfied with their jobs and have few constraints on where they work; they will tend to leave. Turn-offs are those who are dissatisfied but stay because they feel that they have to, and they are most likely to generate problems in employee relations. Turn-ons are highly motivated and stay with the company for work reasons. They, however, are most likely to leave if their job satisfaction is reduced. Turn-ons-plus experience job satisfaction as well as having other reasons for staying with the company.

It is clear that there are additional factors involved in labour turnover where the workers are part of a process of migration from a rural to an urban environment, or from a subsistence farming to an industrial environment. Kapferer (1972) maintains that both the processes underlying labour turnover and the general process of migration should be subject to explanation in terms of a single analytical framework. He is

critical of the static "push-pull" models commonly applied by those conducting migration studies, since these models call for no more than description of the characteristics of migrants and their situation at one point or another in time. This criticism applies especially to some of the theories already discussed, particularly those which suggest that the employee's decision to stay or leave is the outcome of a process of balancing gains and losses that remain static over time. These theories fail to describe adequately the experiential "chains"; the sequences or chains of events, that account for decisions to move.

Kapferer adopts an approach which views the choice or decision of an individual to move at any one point in time as a consequence both of the choices and decisions he has made in the past and the choices he is oriented towards in the future. He develops two concepts which are of particular importance to this approach. The first of these is the concept of "commitment" which is defined as a function of the degree to which the investment of an individual in a set of social relationships reduces the attractiveness of investing in an alternative set of relationships. Investment refers to the expenditure which an individual has made in time, energy, emotion or in things of a more material kind.

The degree of commitment can be measured according to the extent to which, in the perception of the individual, possible gains from investing in an alternative set of relationships, exceed or are less than the likely costs to be incurred in relinquishing the benefits received from current investments. Translated to the problem of migration, commitment to a particular town exists when a migrant has invested in a set of socio-economic and even socio-political relationships to such an extent that the gains of pursuing other opportunities, which would entail his movement to a rural area or another town, would not exceed the costs that such a move would involve. Kapferer's research experience at a factory in Zambia suggests that insofar as individuals do assess gains against costs they do this in vague, general and approximate terms. This leads to the conclusion that individuals would only contemplate a move if, from their perspective, the gains very clearly outweighed the costs.

To expand briefly at this point, it is relevant to observe that the model described above is not simply an economic one, which would emphasise only money costs and benefits of migration. The typical economic model using the notion of "opportunity costs", balances alternative incomes against costs of displacement in money terms. This kind of model can be criticised for the neglect, by economists and even some sociologists, of sociological considerations. The analysis by Kapferer is not confined to investments which can be subjected to relatively easy measurement, i.e. money costs and gains.

The value accorded to investments is of fundamental importance in arguing costs and gains. It needs to be emphasised that the value of investments need not remain constant over time and cannot be adequately assessed if the value of each investment is assessed separately from the other investments. The value of investments and consequently the degree of commitment changes over time. For example, time itself constitutes an investment and can lead to increased commitment. Thus the length of time an individual spends in one urban centre can have the effect of increasing his commitment to this urban centre. But the value of time as an investment may decrease after a labour migrant has passed the mid-point of his able-bodied career and the possibility of making other investments, which at one time were regarded as low in value, have their value correspondingly increased. Thus the more a migrant approaches retirement age the lower the value he is likely to place on the time which he has invested in the urban centre of his migration. As the value of investments can change over time, so the value of one investment cannot be assessed in isolation from others. For example, the value of an individual's investment in his job may be dependent on other investments such as having a wife and children.

Factors relevant to the point migrants have reached in their lives, migratory and job careers permit inferences to be made as to the likely distribution and type of their investments and the value they are likely to place on these investments. These factors are age, the point an individual has reached in his urban and labour career, marital status, skill and education. Because these factors are relevant in varying ways to the migration behaviour of all migrants they facilitate an assessment

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of the extent to which factors underlying the general migration process also explain the differential rate of turnover in the factory.

The length of time an individual has been involved in an urban labour career is connected in two ways with the likely distribution and type of his investments. First, individuals who have just entered the employment market are more likely to be subject to influence and pressure through a set of social relationships in which they have invested in their rural homes since birth. Secondly, and correspondingly, they are likely to have invested in few relationships which are town-rooted. The introductory experience of migrants to work and town life in general is largely through relatives and friends from their home areas. Such experience, at the early stage of their migratory careers, is likely to increase the effect of influence and pressures emanating from the rural area on their urban and migration behaviour. The incapsulation of a migrant in a set of ties rooted in his rural area explains the widely observed pattern for migrants who have just started their urban careers to work for relatively short periods of time in the towns. Closely related to this phenomenon is the pattern for such migrants to experience frequent job changes, although this may not always be associated with a move back to a rural area. The short experience of urban life which the recent migrant has, often means that he has few investments in the town of his migration other than that of his job. A lack of other investments means that the recent migrant is not subject to the same degree of constraint on his action which is often the case with other migrants who have had considerable employment and urban experience.

The presence of a migrant's wife and children in town affects the consequent pattern of his migration and job movement. Migrants who have wives and children with them make fewer inter-urban moves and moves back to their rural homes than single migrants. In many cases this pattern is a consequence of the fact that some migrants have married after they have become well-advanced on their urban labour careers, and have entered a more stabilised period of urban residence. The presence of a migrant's wife and children in town further increases his tendency

to become stabilised in urban residence.

Housing is an important factor which differentially affects single and married migrants, not only in terms of the frequency in changes of urban residence but also their propensity to change jobs. Married men are more likely to leave one job for another when the alternative employment does not necessitate a change in urban residence. For married men the choice to remain in current employment or to seek alternative employment in the same town is preferable to seeking alternative employment in another town. This is because the costs of movement, transporting their families and giving up housing for which they have at the very least expended considerable time in waiting, would exceed the possible gains from new employment in another town.

Although the general pattern is for single men to experience more inter-urban moves than married migrants, it does not necessarily mean that married migrants will exhibit a lower rate of job changes than single men. We could possibly expect a pattern of high mobility among married migrants if, notwithstanding their greater commitment to the town of their current residence, they also had more job alternatives open to them elsewhere because of higher levels of skill and experience. It is also probable that a married migrant who is skilled may have just as many employment opportunities in a particular town as a single migrant who is unskilled but yet relatively free to search for work over a wide number of towns.

A general conclusion which can be drawn is that migrants who are relatively highly educated, who have just started on their urban and labour careers, and who are in work inconsistent with their career expectations as educated individuals, can be expected to engage in frequent job changes. Furthermore, this can be expected to persist until their career objectives are met or they re-define these objectives in terms more in line with the realities of their growing experience.

It can thus be argued that the general factors which relate to

different patterns of migration affect the way in which factors specific to the work context are likely to operate differentially on the factory workers. The tendency for an employee to leave one place of employment for another is dependent on the extent to which the set of investments he has made in his place of work is inter-related with his set of investments in the general urban environment. It is also dependent on the perceived value which a worker in the factory is likely to accord his investments there, relative to alternative possibilities. It needs to be added that once a worker is caught in a credit relationship he is bound more closely to his place of work.

The value accorded to present investments is also a function of the extent to which the benefits from them can be increased in the future. Thus it can be expected that workers who have the opportunity of increasing their benefits by continuing to invest in a current set of relationships at their place of work are likely to evince a greater stability of employment than those workers who can increase their benefits only by pursuing alternative investments elsewhere. Skill is a strong bargaining resource which permits the workers who possess it to expect to achieve more benefits from continuing to work in the factory. It is uncertain for the skilled workers that the value gained in the long term from a change of jobs would outweigh the long-term advantages to be gained in their current place of work, for example, as a result of agitation for improved wage and work conditions.

Another factor to be considered is the increased value a worker may place on a set of investments as a result of their more intrinsic and less easily assessed immaterial quality. The form and content of the sets of relationships established at the work place and the way these overlap with relationships carried on after working hours will affect a worker's propensity to change employment. There is a tendency for skilled workers to be enmeshed in a more closely knit set of relationships than the unskilled employees. The types of relationships in which the skilled workers are enmeshed constitutes an important investment from which they benefit not only in terms of friendship but also in the assistance they

can expect to receive through such relationships at times of crisis. By leaving the factory a skilled worker risks a considerable loss in the form of these investments, whereas the unskilled worker with few relationships does not.

The theoretical perspectives examined so far have in common their treatment of labour turnover as a separate dependent variable to be explained by the effect of sociological and psychological determinants. Labour turnover can also be perceived as one of several outcomes or by-products of conflict between industrial groups with opposed interests.

Clark Kerr (1954) maintains that industrial conflict has more than one aspect, for the manifestation of hostility is not confined to any single outlet. Its means of expression are as unlimited as the ingenuity of man. The strike is the most visible expression. But conflict with the employer may also take the form of peaceful bargaining and grievance procedures, of boycotts, of political action, of restriction of output, of sabotage, of absenteeism or of personnel turnover. Several of these forms, such as sabotage, restriction of output, absenteeism and turnover may take place on an individual as well as on an organised basis and constitute alternatives to collective action.

Hyman (1972: Ch.3) points out that for discontent to be expressed in a strike or in collective action, a minimum of worker solidarity and organisation (both formal or informal) is presupposed, almost by definition. He quotes studies which suggest that lower-skilled workers, apathetic workers and in many situations, female workers, all of whom tend to lack either cohesion or a militant consciousness, will express grievances or dissatisfaction in disguised ways, including absenteeism or labour turnover. Therefore, depending on the nature of the labour force, different forms of conflict function as alternatives. Hyman makes the point that attempts to suppress manifestations of conflict like the open expression of grievances without removing the underlying causes of unrest, may merely divert the conflict into other forms. He quotes a case of a major British Motor Company which, more than a decade ago, dismissed a number of

shop stewards as trouble-makers. The resulting demoralisation at shop floor level led to a fall in strike figures, but absenteeism, accidents and turnover all rose sharply. Hyman points out that the reverse may also occur; i.e., where unemployment reduces the level of turnover due to job insecurity, strike-proneness may increase in a situation where unions can protect strikers from dismissal.

Turnover is thus viewed as one of several resolutions to open, latent or suppressed industrial conflict. Even disguised forms of grievance-expression may be interchangeable. Peil (1972) notes that firms in Ghana with high absenteeism rates do not necessarily reveal high rates of turnover; in some cases the one may in various ways compensate for the other.

The industrial conflict perspective thus requires that turnover is not analysed in isolation from the other forms of expression of conflict, whether these are initiated by workers or management. The various forms of turnover can also be understood as interlinked in the process of dynamic interaction between workers and management. Management may initiate a termination by dismissal or workers may do so by resigning or desertion, but these actions represent different sides of the same coin of conflict. Thus, for example, a refusal by management to negotiate a grievance may result in a worker resigning because he sees himself as having no other alternative. On the other hand, a worker's failure to co-operate or make concessions may lead to a situation when management has no alternative but to dismiss. Then again, a worker may even deliberately provoke a dismissal either because of his own or management's desire not to compromise or negotiate.

In South Africa, where labour organization among African workers is weakly developed, there is possibly greater overall emphasis on individually-based labour action such as turnover and absenteeism than there would be in, for example, Europe or the United States of America. This would be even more true of relatively isolated labour forces in small towns or in rural areas in South Africa, such as the labour forces we have studied.

Finally, we need to consider the relevance of the issue of the so-called "work ethic" among non-European populations. Broadly the question here is the extent to which a lower degree of commitment to industrial labour or to work as such can be a factor influencing labour turnover, in the sense that periodic withdrawal from wage labour may be congruent with a non-western work ethic.

Very broadly, it has been argued extensively in sociological literature that a complex socio-religious and historical process in Protestant Europe produced a widespread positive compulsion to work or at least a habit of labour, sanctified by religious prescription. Such an attitude, it is argued, underlay the commitment to industrial labour which emerged among European proletarian populations. However, there is by no means basic agreement on the causes of industrial commitment, and certainly there is abundant evidence pointing to the need to coax and persuade, say, English workers into regular wage labour in the early years of the industrial revolution (Pieris, 1969: Ch.7). There is some doubt as to whether the work ethic and the notion of demonstrating virtue through work and success was not primarily a bourgeois rather than a proletarian or peasant phenomenon. Pieris, quotes an author called Ure, who over a century ago emphasised the need to train Englishmen to "renounce their desultory habits of work" and to overcome the "refractory tempers of workpeople accustomed to irregular paroxisms of diligence", pointing out that Ure was probably referring to recruits to industry who were accustomed to seasonal agricultural work rather than the unremitting effort of factory work (Pieris, 1969: 97, 98).

Pieris quotes studies demonstrating that similar problems have existed in more recent times throughout Asia, the Near East and Africa, and that phenomenally high rates of labour turnover and absenteeism are concomitants of the adjustment of rural subsistence farmers or peasants to industrial employment. Indeed, it would seem that in many parts of the world, not even rural unemployment or underemployment provides the perfectly elastic supply of labour that objective economic conditions would suggest in theoretical terms. Hence in many colonial territories,

and in South Africa as well, it has been the practice to levy bread or hut taxes, or to institute systems of compulsory labour in order to ensure a labour supply.

In Africa (Elkan, 1957) and Asia (Pieris, 1969: 96 quoting K.M. Patel) the functions of the rural community in providing long-term security have meant that until industry has been or is able to provide sufficiently high levels of reward, social benefits and social security, a fully-fledged industrial commitment will not emerge except where dire economic necessity makes it inevitable.

Broadly, then, among workforces in transition from rural to urban identification, high rates of absenteeism and labour turnover may be a consequence of a need to retain effective social integration into a rural community and of a desire to enjoy the periods of rest and leisure associated with seasonal peasant or subsistence economic activity. (This point, of course, has to be read in conjunction with the points made earlier on the basis of Kapferer's analysis). It is under such circumstances that a "backward sloping supply curve of labour" - the tendency to work less if rates of remuneration increase - or more broadly, the tendency to interrupt periods of work when certain target amounts have been earned are to be detected.

These comments should not lead us to stereotype African labour in South Africa, however. South Africa has a long history of industrial labour and the African worker has been an industrial worker (albeit often a migrant contract worker) for many decades of industrial development. The problems of "transition" outlined apply to some segments of the African labour force, but among other segments where industrial commitment has emerged fully, other dominant causes of labour turnover have to be sought. In view of the "relative deprivation" of African workers as evidenced by large income differentials between wages for Whites, Coloureds and Indians, and Africans (even at equivalent levels of work (Leistner and Breytenbach, 1975)) we must be fully alerted to the possibility that much of the labour turnover and absenteeism is a latent expression of grievances.

In South Africa too, we have some evidence of high rates of dismissals suggesting the possibility that a large contribution to labour turnover may lie in inadequate disciplinary and supervisory practices. In a study conducted by the University of the Orange Free State (Van Breda and Langenhoven, 1972) among a sample of 110 firms in Bloemfontein, 42% of job terminations over the previous twelve months were due to workers being discharged.

Lastly, we should also consider that Influx Control laws operating upon Africans in industrial or urban areas may contribute to labour turnover in some ways and inhibit it in others. Some "artificial" labour stability is obviously encouraged by the legal provisions which make it possible for unemployed Africans or for Africans who break one-year migrant worker contracts to be endorsed out of particular areas. On the other hand, the need to become employed quickly once having entered a particular area of employment must encourage Africans to take the first available job in many instances with a view to leaving it for more suitable employment once legal and other circumstances permit.

We may note in conclusion to this section, then, that in examining labour turnover among Africans in South Africa, we have to take conceptual note of three broad sets of factors: those relating to labour turnover among industrialised workers, those relevant to transitional workers, and those relevant to workers in a particularly complex system of legal controls on labour mobility and freedom.

CHAPTER IITHE SITUATION STUDIED

The three factories studied have in common a rural location some distance away from the nearest large urban area. The Hermannsburg factory is situated about 140 Kms from Durban between the small rural towns of Greytown and Kranskop. The Melmoth factory is situated close to the small rural town of Melmoth about 180 Kms from Durban. The Iswepe factory is situated between the small towns of Ermelo and Piet Retief in the Eastern Transvaal about 500 Kms from Durban. Despite these rural locations two factories are within easy travelling distance of a growing centre of employment. The Hermannsburg factory is about 90 Kms from Pietermaritzburg, and the Melmoth factory is about 100 Kms from Richard's Bay and 70 Kms from Empangeni. The Iswepe factory, however, is about 300 Kms from Johannesburg. Evidence from the fieldwork suggests that this study is not concerned with isolated rural labour forces, but with people who, regardless of their own employment experience, have many friends and relatives working in major urban centres.

The African labour force at Hermannsburg totalled 360 at the time of the study, of whom 31 were interviewed individually. Of these 31, 29 were Zulu and 2 were Pondo. About 70% of the work force was housed in compounds with the other 30% living in their own homes in the nearby rural locations, and travelling daily to the factory. Of those in compounds about 80% travel to their homes at least once a month, 50% making home visits weekly, since the majority of labourers have homes about 16 to 24 Kms away.

At the Melmoth factory there were 170 employees, all Zulu, at the time of the fieldwork, 50 of whom were interviewed. About 95% were compound residents with the remaining 5% travelling daily to their homes. Of the 50 about two-thirds had homes up to 32 Kms distant with the remainder having to travel from 32 to 80 Kms to reach home. About two-thirds of the sample travel home once or twice a month with most of the remainder either travelling daily or weekly.

The African labour force at the Iswepe factory comprised 294 persons of whom 35 were interviewed. Forty per cent of the work force were Zulus, 40% Swazis with the balance drawn from a variety of groups of whom the Xhosas and Malawians were most numerous. About 70% were housed in the factory compound and 30% lived outside in married quarters or kraals. The majority of the compound residents travelled home either weekly or monthly.

The Hermannsburg factory falls within the Umvoti district of KwaZulu which had a population of 3 274 Whites and 52 282 Africans according to the 1970 Census and an African population density of 61,4 persons per square mile. The bordering district of Kranskop had a density of 80,3 persons per square mile. The Melmoth factory falls within the Ntonjaneni district of KwaZulu which had a population of 647 Whites and 43 603 Africans in 1970 with an African population density of 67,7 per square mile. The Iswepe factory lies in the district of Piet Retief which had a population of 6 195 Whites and 54 587 Africans in 1970 with an African population density of 26,9. The KwaZulu densities are high by rural standards which could imply that the opportunities for successful seasonal agricultural activity may be limited. Labour turnover in the factories could be affected by the consequent seasonal absence.

As this study is concerned with the process of labour turnover it is appropriate to set out the available indices measuring its extent. The turnover rate at the Melmoth factory was calculated to be 162% based on the terminations for the 4 months prior to the fieldwork. Calculations based on terminations for specific labour sections for a period of 1 year prior to the study showed considerable variation between sections. For example, the rate for the "spents removal" job was 444% and for bark handling 427% whereas it was 100% for sewing and bagging and 80% for loading and stacking. Fifty per cent of the interview sample were found to have left 1 year later, but this sample was weighted in favour of long-service employees who would be less likely to leave. The Hermannsburg factory had a 100% turnover rate based on the three months prior to the fieldwork.

However, the interview sample which was unweighted, showed a rate of 26% 1 year later. At the Iswepe factory the rate was 104% based on 2 months terminations prior to the fieldwork and 23% a year later based on the sample which was weighted in favour of the long-service workers. Terminations were analysed according to whether they were dismissals or resignations, although a lack of information did not allow this division to be determined with absolute confidence of accuracy. It was found that dismissals comprised roughly 32% of terminations at Melmoth, 49% at Hermannsburg and 33% at Iswepe.

Employee records were also analysed according to length of service. The percentage of employees who had less than 1 year's service was 44 at Melmoth, 67 at Iswepe and 35 at Hermannsburg. Those with service of at least 1 year but less than 3 years were 21% at Melmoth, 20% at Iswepe and 23% at Hermannsburg. Those with service of 3 years and more were 35% at Melmoth, 26% at Iswepe and 42% at Hermannsburg (the Hermannsburg figures are based on the sample which was drawn by random selection).

The mean length of service of the terminations at Melmoth was 5 months and at Iswepe 8 months. Eighty-three per cent of terminations at Melmoth had been employed less than 6 months and 92% less than 1 year. Seventy per cent of terminations at Iswepe had been employed less than 6 months and 88% less than 1 year. Figures were not obtained for Hermannsburg.

The three factories are engaged in the production of wattle bark extract, this product being sought principally for its tannin content. Essentially this operation is performed by draining the chopped bark of its extract, through the application at high pressure of water above boiling point, and concentration of the resulting solution.

Initially the green bark arrives from the timber estates in bundles and is stacked prior to its being fed into chopping machines which chop it into small pieces. The chopped bark is fanned upwards to a bin

container from where it is directed as needed to extraction vessels known as autoclaves. These autoclaves are arranged in series on a modified counter-current system, i.e., the nearly-spent bark meets fresh water coming into the cycle, whereas the fresh bark is first extracted by a solution already charged with tannin. When a certain density of extract is reached in this initial boiling process, the tannin-charged solution is separated from the spent bark and then concentrated, first in multiple-effect evaporators and finally in vacuum tanks until it thickens on cooling. This concentrated liquor is run into hessian bags which hang on racks until the extract solidifies. The hessian bags pass under the finishing tanks along a conveyor belt. The bags are then weighed, adjusted and sewn up by sewing machine before being stacked on shelves.

A fairly wide range of jobs is necessary to carry out the production process and these vary according to skill required, responsibility embodied, rates of pay, level of tension and stress and physical conditions. At the top of the scale there is a small group of workers whose rate of pay is negotiable. These include skilled tradesmen such as plumbers and welders, and jobs entailing considerable responsibility such as truck drivers, storemen or labour controllers. This group represented about 4% of the total labour force at the time of the study. Next on the pay scale is a group which represents about 1% of the total, whose job entails responsibility for supervision of other workers or for quality control of the extract. This includes the jobs of extract checker, compound controller and the operator supervising a shift. Below this category is a small group of machine operators whose jobs would be classified under Grade III of the National Development and Management Foundation classification. These jobs are semi-repetitive and require definite technical skills. They also involve decisions requiring co-ordination and interpretation of facts. The work is without constant supervision and there is limited use of the worker's own discretion. Examples of these jobs are boiler operator, autoclave operator and finisher operator. These operators perform functions such as regulating the intake of water and extract, controlling the input of steam and air

and controlling boiler temperature. These functions require the regulation of valves, the reading of densities and temperatures, the setting of time clocks and the checking of pumps. There is a need for the operator to remain continually alert otherwise costly errors could ensue. For example, the liquid extract could be allowed to boil over in the finishing tanks. These operators, who represent about 4% of the labour force, are exposed to heat and steam and the possibility of personal injury in the event of an accident. At the same level of pay are those indunas who supervise workers but are not responsible for machinery.

The next grade of workers includes assistant operators and those whose machine control is simpler and less responsible. Examples of these jobs are the "multies operator" and the "chopper operator". On the same scale are other semi-skilled workers such as the head laboratory assistant, the fitter's assistant, assistant storeman, fork-lift driver, knife grinder, lorry conductor and sewing machine operator.

Below these categories, the remaining 70% of jobs are unskilled and involve manual exertion in varying degrees. The bark bin job consists of shovelling chopped bark into the respective autoclave entrances, and, while not excessively arduous, has an irritation component in the form of dust. The bagging job is simple and repetitive involving the attachment of the empty hessian bags to the conveyor belt. The job of stacking the bags of solid extract on to shelves and later on to lorries is a strenuous operation, but one that is not continuous through a shift. The worker may be stacking for a third of his shift and lining the bags for the rest of the time. Each bag weighing 105 lbs is lifted by two men on to the stacking shelves.

The physically most arduous and unpleasant jobs are those classified as "spents removal", bark handling and boiler firemen. In the spents section the processed bark is loaded on to wheelbarrows and deposited next to the boiler fires where it is used as fuel. The boiler fireman's job consists of shovelling wood and spents on to the fire and disposing of the accumulated ash. Both these jobs are extremely strenuous

and involve exposure to heat and dust. The bark handling job consists of unloading the bundles of green bark from the truck and stacking them ready to be fed into the chopper. The job of feeding the bark into the chopper is slightly less strenuous. Both of these jobs have a danger element in that workers may be injured by falling bundles of bark.

Rates of pay vary according to the job grade and length of service. As an example the following starting rates were in force at one of the factories at the time of the research: sawing firewood 12,6 cents per hour; off-loading green bark 12,0 cents; stacking extract 14,0 cents; feeding choppers 14,5 cents; bagging 14,0 cents; spents 17,3 cents; fireman 15,0 cents; autoclave assistant 18,0 cents; fitter's mate 18,4 cents; laboratory bark sampler 19,0 cents; boiler operator 24,0 cents; compound controller 29,0 cents; welder 50,0 cents. The truck driver received R130 per month.

CHAPTER IIITHE RESEARCH APPROACH

Several research methods were combined in an attempt to gain the most comprehensive understanding of the problem of turnover, and to validate the authenticity and interpretation of data obtained from any single method.

Individual interviews were carried out with a selection of workers who were sampled randomly after being divided on the basis of length of service. The interview sample thus comprised a short and a long-service group. Each group would be representative of the different job categories, ages and type of accommodation.

Two or three group discussions were held at each factory. These were organised according to the criteria of age and length of service. Thus a group would consist of about 9 men, all of whom were young and had been employed a short while, or, of older men who had completed long service.

In both the individual and group interviews much importance was placed on establishing good rapport and sympathetic communication with respondents. An important contribution to this effort was the fact that fieldworkers lived in the compound in 2 of the 3 factories, thereby enjoying fairly extensive informal relationships with employees and facilitating a familiarisation process. In most of the individual interviews cigarettes and cold-drinks were shared and beer and biscuits were available in the group discussions, which were tape recorded.

Informal discussions were also conducted with the labour officers or compound controller on the subject of personnel policy and related topics. In addition all the recorded details of the previous 3 months' terminations were extracted from company records. Data on the performance and attendance of respondents were obtained from management as well as post-interview information on terminations of employment of respondents.

It will be noted that the numbers of sample interviews with individuals are relatively small. This fact needs to be placed in perspective. The respondents interviewed were generally very poorly-educated men who experience difficulty in articulating their reactions. To conduct interviews of adequate depth and scope required very long interviewing sessions, and great patience on the part of interviewers. It was decided that the quality of interviewing was more important than obtaining larger numbers of superficial, possibly even meaningless responses. Hence the sample sizes were deliberately restricted. Among populations where individuals are relatively homogeneous in social origin, however, large samples are not required for achieving adequate reliability.

To offer some additional explanation on the issue of the interviewing problems we experienced, we may perhaps point to the fact that pre-literate or poorly literate people (anywhere in the world) find it difficult to conceptualise their responses to specific interview questions in clearly bounded categories. Respondents who think in a pre-literate, non book-oriented cognitive mode tend to respond to stimuli in a holistic way, in which discrete impressions and reactions are integrated and run together into a broad affective or emotive attitude "set". This makes it difficult for respondents like these to isolate specific reactions to particular problems or stimuli. As interviewers, we are concerned with particular reactions to events, and the non-particular, rather diffuse consciousness of the workers interviewed made interviewing a highly time-consuming and difficult process.

Great care had to be taken to ensure a reasonable degree of honesty and authenticity in the interviews. This problem is partly a function of the socialized expectations and meaning attributed to an interview situation by an African respondent. Africans have become accustomed to evading the truth in an interview situation because they have learnt that the truth does not always serve their interests. Not fully understanding the objectives of the research interview they would tend to either avoid responding in a way which they perceive as

prejudicial to their interests, or to respond in the way they think they are expected to respond. Time and again interviewers would find respondents more relaxed and spontaneous once the interview was completed. It was felt that one reason why respondents took so long to answer questions was a result of the above factors.

Interviews were, of course, conducted in Zulu. This entailed great problems of precise translation and interpretation, requiring considerable checking and re-checking of translated answers. Interviews were coded into categories for computer tabulation and processed on the University computer. Group interviews were transcribed, translated and subjected to content analysis.

CHAPTER IVWAGES AND MATERIAL REWARDS IN RELATION TO TURNOVER

A fairly common assumption in regard to labour turnover is that the relative adequacy of wages is an important determinant of the tendency of employees to stay with or to leave a particular company. This is a fairly obvious hypothesis and requires no elaboration. Indeed it would be surprising if there were no relationship between adequacy of wages and labour turnover since common sense would point to the contrary. Yet Pettman in his review of research literature indicates that the issue of the relationship between rewards and turnover is far from fully resolved (Pettman 1973:47).

In our data a range of questions were asked of the respondents bearing upon the extent to which wages were perceived to be adequate or not. First of all, respondents were asked how they evaluated their wages and were also asked what their estimation was of a "fair wage". In addition to this, data were obtained on the size of the group dependent on the respondent and on the proportion of wage remitted to any family members living at a distance from the workplace. In a sample containing a substantial proportion of migrant workers, it was also necessary to enquire whether or not respondents were dependent on wages alone for income, or whether there were other forms of income to supplement cash wages. Additionally, a range of fairly obvious questions relating to grievances were also put to the respondents and these questions on grievances naturally made allowance for mention of material rewards.

An analysis of the data on employees' grievances shows no significant relationship between the extent to which employees mentioned wage levels (or wage levels in relation to work effort) as a grievance and labour mobility. Although virtually 90% of employees articulate these two grievances, the proportion is not markedly different among those employees who were still employed eleven months after the

survey¹⁾ and those employees who had been dismissed, had resigned or had deserted employment. In fact, the data tend to show that there may be a slightly higher rate of mention of wage grievances among those still employed than among others, but this is a highly tentative observation since the differences are by no means large or statistically significant. Exactly the same findings appear to apply when the data are analysed according to length of service. The rate of mention of wage grievances, although high in all groups, does not appear to be significantly higher in the category of employees who have been with the company for less than 6 months than, for example, in the category of employees who have been with the company for 5 years or more.

It would seem then that in regard to wage grievances we are dealing with what is termed a "saturated" variable. So high a proportion of employees mention this as a grievance that it does not appear to occur differentially among employees in different categories of labour stability, nor incidentally, among employees in different age groups. It does not seem then that mention of wage grievances, in response to a general question on grievances, allows us to discern any relationship between material rewards and labour mobility. What, however, of other indices?

When we turn to consider how employees evaluate their wage (i.e., what norms of reference or kinds of comparisons employees use in assessing the adequacy of their wages) it would appear that a tendency does exist for those employees remaining in employment after roughly one year to be more "localised" in the way they set about assessing their wage levels. What we mean here is that they tend to take other employees in the same factory as a standard of comparison rather more frequently than is the case among employees who had left the company.

1) To simplify expression, from this point onward in the text we will refer to the eleven month period as a period of roughly one year. Hardly any differences were likely to have been recorded had the period been extended to a full twelve month time-lapse.

One may hazard the tentative conclusion that labour mobility is related to a tendency to compare wages with those of others outside their own factory. This conclusion is reinforced by a very slight tendency for employees with terms of employment of longer than 6 months at the time of the study also to be somewhat more localised in their wage comparisons than employees with terms of employment of under 6 months. Therefore, two sets of data tend to reflect the same general tendency. The tendency is not very strong, however, and points to a mild or weak relationship between the nature of wage comparisons and labour mobility. It needs to be added that this relationship between the tendency to make localised comparisons in evaluating wages and labour stability is inevitably rather weak because a majority of employees in all groups tend to take their felt needs as a basis for the evaluation of their wages. In this regard it is interesting to note, however, that the resignees were less inclined than others to take felt needs as a standard of evaluation, showing instead a greater tendency than others to evaluate wages in terms of effort required on the job. More generally, the tendency to use a reference group, whether inside or outside the factory, as a basis for evaluation of wages is certainly not dominant among the labour forces studied and, therefore, it can explain no more than a slight extent of the labour turnover which occurs.

When we assess labour mobility in terms of the respondent's estimation of what a fair wage would be, however, the results tend to contradict those just presented, in the sense that those still remaining in employment after roughly one year tend to have a slightly higher estimation of a fair wage than those who had resigned or deserted. (Those who had been dismissed, however, conformed to expectations.) This finding would not suggest that those who had left the employ of the company were doing so because of a perception of their wages as being too low for the work they were doing or too low in relation to their needs. When the same issue was analysed according to length of service of employees at the time of the study, we find no tendency for those with a shorter length of service to have higher estimations of a fair wage than those with a longer length of service; in fact the tendency

is in the opposite direction. This is due, probably, to the fact that those with longer service tend to be in more senior positions in the factory and, therefore, their own relatively higher wages would encourage higher estimates of a fair wage.

In general, therefore, the information on estimates of a fair wage do not reveal any marked relationship between a concern with the relative adequacy of wages and labour turnover.

A central focus of concern in assessing the relationship between labour turnover and material circumstances is obviously the extent to which the actual wage received influences labour turnover. In this analysis it was pointless to attempt to consider the relationship between length of service and the amounts of the wages received, since there is an automatic relationship due to the rise in wage rates with increasing length of service. However, it is useful to look at the picture as regards actual wages received among those still employed after roughly one year and those not employed after the same period. When we look at our respondents we find that only 40% in the category of wages up to R29 per month¹⁾ were still employed after the lapse of roughly one year, whereas over 73% of those who had been earning more than R29 per month were still employed after the same lapse of time. The difference between 40% and 73% is highly statistically significant.²⁾ When the total variation as between those still employed after roughly one year, those dismissed and those who resigned or deserted is examined, the relationship is also significant. Of those earning less than the adjusted figure of R29 per month, 30% had been dismissed and 30% had resigned or deserted compared with equivalent figures of 15% and 12% among those earning more than the adjusted

1) Although there were wage increases during the period of the field-work the results have been so adjusted as to bring down higher wage levels and to bring up lower wage levels to a norm corresponding to the R29 dividing point referred to in the text.

2) Critical Ratio = 3,29, d.f. = 115, $p < ,01$.

figure of R29. The full range of results are presented in Table I. The total variance in the table is statistically significant.¹⁾

TABLE I
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LABOUR TURNOVER AND WAGE RATES

Still Employed After Roughly ..	Wage Categories Based on Wage Rates Adjusted to Levels Pertaining at June 1974	
	Up to R29 pm	Over R29 pm
One year Resigned or deserted Dismissed	40% 30% 30%	73% 12% 15%
Total	100% (N = 30)	100% (N = 86)

It can be asked whether the category of dismissals is relevant to this analysis. Obviously a dismissal is qualitatively a very different kind of termination of employment to a resignation or a desertion. However, it has come to be fairly readily assumed that very often a substantial proportion of dismissals occurs among employees who are not highly motivated to retain their jobs. Although we would not base any firm arguments on the difference between the rate of dismissals in the two categories of remuneration, it is nonetheless suggestive. What is more important, however, is that 30% of the lower-paid employees resigned or deserted compared with 12% among the higher-paid employees. If nothing else, these results indicate very clearly that employment stability tends to increase with levels of remuneration no matter what the nature of the termination of employment might be.

A factor closely associated with the material interests of employees is that of the size of the group dependent upon the employee.

1) Chi-square = 10,98, d.f. = 2, $p < ,01$.

This, of course, relates very closely to age as well, and in the brief statements which follow we make no pretence at being able to distinguish between the effects of family responsibilities and age of employees, since our sample sizes did not permit of such sophistication. We should see the variable as a compound of dependency and age.

When considering the relationship between the employment status of workers after the lapse of roughly one year and the size of the group dependent on the employee we find among those who had only themselves to support or had one dependant, the proportion resigning or deserting employment to be roughly 27%, whereas among those with more dependants (i.e. three and above) the proportion was only 13%. This difference does not quite attain the level of statistical significance desirable for a firm conclusion to be drawn,¹⁾ but at a roughly 10% level of confidence one may state that the younger type of employee with few dependents seems more likely to leave employment than the older type of employee with more dependants (or the employee with more dependants irrespective of age).

This concludes the analysis of the individual interview material as it relates to the effect of wages and material benefits on labour mobility but it does not, of course, include some of the material obtained from group interviews which may shed further light on the relevance of material interests to labour mobility. The topic will, therefore, be discussed again in due course.

1) Critical Ratio = 1,67, d.f. = 112, $p < ,10$.

CHAPTER VLABOUR MOBILITY AND THE NATURE OF WORK

In this section we will briefly consider whether or not any effects on labour mobility emanate from the nature of the work performed by the employees. In this regard it should be noted that our classifications of type of work were attempts at objective categorisations, made on the basis of observation, and were not subjective classifications made by the employees themselves. We turn initially to an assessment of the relationship between what we as the researchers perceived to be the degree of effort involved in a particular job and indications of labour mobility.

Work was graded into the following four categories of effort: very heavy; moderately heavy; light manual, and non-manual work. Among those performing very heavy work we find that only 36% of the sample were still employed after roughly one year, compared with 64% among those performing medium heavy work, 83% performing light manual work and 91% performing non-manual work. Twenty-eight per cent of employees in the very heavy manual category had resigned over the period compared with 20% in the moderately heavy category of work and 7% in the light manual category. The trend in the results, however, was even more dramatic as regards dismissals; we find that 36% in the very heavy manual category had been dismissed compared with only 16% and 10% in the moderately and light manual categories respectively. It seems very clear, on the surface of it, that there is a significant relationship between the degree of effort required on the job and a tendency for employment to be terminated.¹⁾

It is important to note, however, that the operative factor

1) When the categories of work are tabulated against employment status after the time-lapse of roughly one year, a Chi-square figure of 23,47 is obtained, d.f. = 6, $p < ,01$.

here is not only one of the heaviness of work; there is a tendency in the labour force for older people to be engaged in the lighter kinds of work. Therefore, part of the relationship between tendency to leave and the degree of effort required on the job is due to an intervening variable of age, and this of course, relates to the greater readiness with which young people can leave employment. Nevertheless, on inspection, it would seem that this intervening variable does not account for the entire relationship between degree of effort required on the job and tendency to leave. There appears to be an independent relationship between tendency to leave and effort, irrespective of age. This independent relationship, however, is substantially accounted for by the fact that the people engaged in heavy manual work tend to be dismissed more frequently than others. Whether this is due to heavy manual employees taking their jobs less seriously and being less concerned about dismissals than others, or whether it is concerned with the quality of supervision in the heavy manual categories cannot be said at this stage. All that can be said is that overall labour mobility seems at least in part to be related to the degree of effort required on the job.

We also judged various categories of work in terms of degree of discomfort likely to be experienced by employees. Jobs were classified into those with constant irritants, those with irregular irritants and those with no irritants. Irritants were defined as being excessive noise, vibration, heat, exposure to sawdust, chemicals, oil, grease, fumes, etc. As with the previous job classification, exposure to irritants is likely to be related to the age of employee since the younger employees are likely to be those who are most constantly exposed to the kinds of irritants mentioned in our examples. However, when the degree of exposure to irritants is correlated with both length of employment in the company and with employment status after roughly one year, we find highly significant relationships,¹⁾ and these relationships

1) In the case of length of service at time of fieldwork, Chi-square equals 17,22, d.f. = 6, $p < ,01$; in the case of employment status after roughly one year Chi-square = 11,7, d.f. = 4, $p \dagger ,02$.

are stronger than the relationship between age and exposure to irritants. We may conclude, again, that there is an independent effect on labour turnover derived from irritants and discomforts in the work situation.

CHAPTER VILABOUR TURNOVER IN RELATION TO CAREER TRAJECTORIES OF EMPLOYEES

We turn now to an examination of various indices of previous career patterns, present subjective career perceptions and future career aspirations among employees. We consider this to be important because labour turnover, obviously, is a consequence of an alteration in the career trajectory of an employee and may result from a conscious decision to alter the direction of a career. If employees use a particular kind of employment simply as a stepping-stone to other kinds of employment, the employment situation used as a stepping-stone obviously will manifest high levels of labour turnover. We are not suggesting here that this is the only reason for job termination; obviously our other sections reveal a number of other factors which predispose or cause men to leave, without the decision to leave necessarily being related to career considerations. However, we consider that this focus of analysis is very important to an understanding of labour turnover particularly in rural or small-town employment situations, where the location of employment may very well cause the particular factory to be regarded primarily as a stepping-stone to better prospects in urban areas.

As a background to this analysis we may point out that an inspection of the job and mobility histories of the employees suggests that they are predominantly rural in employment and general life background. Roughly 77% of employees had only rural or rural plus small-town experience. Less than 10% of employees revealed a predominance of life in large urban areas.

When we consider the employees' reasons for leaving their previous jobs very little that is noteworthy appears in relation to labour turnover. There is a tendency for those employees who remained in employment after a lapse of roughly one year to be markedly less inclined to have left their previous jobs because of poor pay and remuneration than those employees who had either resigned or deserted or who were dismissed.

There is, thus, a clear suggestion that the employee with a tendency towards labour mobility is more inclined to be concerned with improved remuneration than others.

When we turn to a consideration of the effects of promotion on turnover, we find a rather inconclusive pattern emerging. We might hypothesise that those employees who have not enjoyed any advancement or progress in the work situation might be more inclined than others to seek employment elsewhere or to perform badly and hence to be more vulnerable to dismissal. We made an objective assessment of the extent of progress made by each employee interviewed by classifying him according to whether: (a) his job status had improved; (b) not improved with one previous job in the company; and (c) not improved over the course of having held two or more kinds of jobs in the company. The overall pattern suggests a relationship between progress in the employment situation and lower rates of labour mobility. Of the group of employees still employed after roughly one year subsequent to fieldwork, 28% had enjoyed some improvement in job status, whereas among those who had resigned, deserted or had been dismissed only 10%-11% had made objective progress in the company. However, as is obvious, this relationship can be due simply to age: the fact that older employees who, by virtue of long service, are more likely to have improved their position within the company are less likely to leave employment. It may bear no relation to the rate of promotion or progress as such. Indeed when we look at the relationship between promotion and length of time employed in the company, it emerges very clearly that virtually only those employees who have been in the company for more than five years have a record of objective advances in employment status. Accordingly, we analysed the relationship between promotion and labour mobility separately within the group having served the company for five years or more and the group having served the company for less than five years. In this analysis, however, no trend emerged simply because among employees who had worked for less than five years there was virtually no one who had enjoyed any improvement in job status and consequently it was impossible to discern any relationship.

Hence, the structure of opportunity within the company is such that processes of job progress and promotion are unable to make their effects felt on labour stability. It seems that largely only those employees who have served the company for long periods (i.e. five years or more) evince any upward shift in job status within the company and they tend to be the people who are also the most stable employees. Labour turnover on the other hand occurs primarily among those employees who have served the company for less than five years and it is among this group that no opportunities for job improvement appear to exist. The question of whether job status-advancement within the company can effect labour stability or not simply cannot be tested in the labour force studied, but, in principle, there remains the possibility that promotion opportunities, if available to the shorter-term employees, might very well reduce labour mobility.

The same kind of difficulty applies to the analysis of the effect of subjective perceptions of progress in the company and labour mobility. Whereas there is a very slight indication that those who perceive themselves to have made some progress tend to be more concentrated among the employees who were still in company employment after roughly one year than among those who had resigned or been dismissed, the fact is that subjective perceptions of progress tend to occur relatively very much more frequently among those employees who have long service and who are older men. For the same reason as emerged in the analysis of the effects of promotion and job advancement, all that can be said here is that among employees in the younger age groups who tend to contribute most heavily towards the labour turnover, there appears to be little sign that employees perceive themselves to have made meaningful progress within the company. We can only hypothesise that there may be a link between this kind of perception and labour stability. We also attempted an analysis of the effect on labour mobility of employees' perceptions of the chance of making future progress in the company; namely of obtaining a better job than the one they presently occupied. Here again the analysis was obscured by the fact that an overwhelming majority of employees in all

categories saw little chance or no chance of making any progress in the future, or felt that they had already reached a limited "ceiling" in the company. The figures suggest that there may be a slight relationship between perceptions of the likelihood of future progress and a tendency to remain with the company, but the trend in the figures is very far from being statistically significant. Generally the younger employees tend to be more pessimistic in outlook than the older employees although this is due in large measure to the fact that the older employees have already attained what they regard to be the maximum degree of progress; in other words the perception of actual opportunities for progress within the company does not differ according to age. The fact is, however, that younger employees, despite the fact that very few perceive themselves to have reached a maximum of advancement, feel markedly pessimistic about opportunities for advancement within the company. It would seem, once again, that we are dealing with a saturated variable in the sense that feelings of pessimism tend to overwhelm the entire labour force, and therefore any relationship between this outlook and labour mobility is obscured. We have to remain hypothetical in suggesting that there may be some link between employment stability and objective and subjective perceptions of progress within the company.

Shifting to a different focus of analysis, we now consider the responses to a question on whether or not employees would prefer to obtain some other kind of work elsewhere or not. The responses reflect a great deal of apathy, resignation and lack of specific concern with future careers; almost 35% of employees interviewed indicate that they do not know or have not thought about alternative employment or are resigned to their present situation. Only roughly 20% of all employees indicate that they like their present job, and this proportion tends to vary according to whether or not they were in employment after the lapse of roughly one year, in the sense that an insignificant proportion of those who were subsequently dismissed liked their present work. This may, of course, be due to factors associated with their dismissal, and does not necessarily reflect a relationship between labour mobility and

attitudes to the present job.

Our results show no significant difference between the proportions actually liking their present job among those remaining in employment after a lapse of twelve months and those having resigned or deserted employment in the interim. Overall roughly one-third of our respondents indicated that they would like an alternative job elsewhere and this proportion, while perhaps a little higher among those who had been dismissed, did not vary between those still in employment and those who had resigned. There appears to be some trend in the results according to length of employment. The proportion of employees desirous of obtaining alternative work elsewhere is constant at between 40% and 50% among men with up to five years of service, but among those with over five years of service, the proportion drops to roughly 20%. Therefore, there is some suggestion in these results that the newer employees are less contented than the older employees. Bearing in mind that it is among the newer employees that labour turnover occurs, the results are suggestive. In fact we found that among those employees with less than five years' service it was only among the very recent recruits (i.e. with those of under six months of service) that anyone was prepared to express a liking for the present job. The picture, then, is quite serious from the point of view of achieving the kind of orientation among employees which would discourage labour mobility.

We are not suggesting that the differences we have mentioned reflect a causal relationship between job dissatisfaction and labour mobility, since it may very well be that for various reasons employees who are younger tend to be more mobile and quite independently of this, also tend to be less satisfied with present employment. We would suggest, however, that labour mobility is not likely to be reduced unless the very low degree of job satisfaction existing among the younger employees is able to be countered.

In continuing the investigation of the effects of perceptions of present and future careers on job mobility, we also asked respondents

whether they would like to work in a city or not. This was asked on the assumption that labour turnover was possibly connected with a desire among African employees to eventually gain the kind of experience that would allow them to seek work in a city like Durban. Although not statistically significant, there is a suggestion in our results that a relationship between these variables exists, since a somewhat higher proportion of people not remaining in employment after a lapse of one year expressed a desire to work in a city than among those who remained in employment. However, once again, it is impossible to disentangle this factor from the range of intervening factors which might be effective among more recent youthful recruits to the company. We found that there was a clear tendency for those employees who were younger to be more inclined to want to work in the city than among those employees who were older. Also, as would be expected, the tendency was for those employees with more than five years of service in the company to be far less likely to express a desire to work in the city than those with less than five years of service with the company. Hence we have a reasonably firm indication of the fact that the shorter-service, and particular-shorter-service youthful employees, are very much more inclined than others to want to work in major centres of employment; in fact among the younger shorter-service group we can speak of an almost overwhelming majority in this category. We are fairly confident that this is in fact one of the factors contributing to labour turnover. Needless to say, this does not necessarily mean that the people wish to work in a city for reasons which are essentially connected with employment in a city as opposed to employment in a small town or in a rural area; their reasons may simply be connected with a recognition of better job opportunities and more favourable remuneration in the larger centres of employment.

Perhaps some light can be shed on this issue by considering the pattern of future goals and aspirations mentioned by employees in the interviews. Very few, no more than a handful of employees in fact, actually mentioned a desire to go to live in the city. Their future

goals and plans were strongly oriented towards maintaining, supporting and developing their families or establishing families, acquiring land and acquiring the finances to purchase houses and certain kinds of consumer durables. A small proportion had entrepreneurial ambitions. The only distinct difference in aspirations between those employees who remained in employment after a lapse of one year and mobile employees was the fact that those who had been dismissed appeared to be uninterested in maintaining or developing their families; it is a possibility that they were a youthful unmarried group.

When we look at the pattern of future plans and aspirations in relation to length of service in the company, one of the possible factors associated with labour stability emerged in the sense that those employees with longer service in the company were more likely to say that they had no particular plans at all than those with shorter service in the company, from whom most of the labour turnover appears to emerge. On the basis of this finding it is possible that lower labour mobility among the longer-service employees may be due either to complacency or to apathy rather than to a positive job commitment and a feeling that their plans may be realised through their work. Most of the aspirations mentioned by employees are things that cost money, and for this reason the entire pattern of goals and aspirations suggests that for the men in those groups who contribute most to labour mobility, a powerful incentive to move must be the opportunity to acquire more money in order to realise their most prominent goals in life.

Finally, in this section, perhaps it needs to be noted that in the perceptions of the employees as a total group there does not appear to be any practical constraint on labour mobility, since roughly 6 out of 10 employees appear to feel that they could find work elsewhere if they really wanted to. Only roughly 2 out of 10 employees feel that they would have difficulty in finding work elsewhere. Hence the labour force in the factories we studied does not appear to see itself as a "captive labour force" in a sense which may be characteristic of some

rural enterprises - mainly farming. There does not seem to be any clear trend in the results which would suggest a strong relationship between perception of opportunities elsewhere and labour mobility. The people remaining in employment after a period of one year were just as likely to feel that they could find work elsewhere as those not remaining in employment. While the very young employees tended to be slightly less optimistic in general than the remainder of the employee group, the shorter-service employees in general tended to be slightly more optimistic about the prospects of finding employment elsewhere than the longer-service employees. Rather fewer among the shorter-service group mentioned that they would expect difficulties. Although these trends are not statistically significant and our conclusions in this regard are tentative, it would seem that in the short-service group one finds the highest potential for labour mobility as judged on the basis of their perceptions of opportunities elsewhere.

CHAPTER VIILABOUR STABILITY AND FAMILY OR PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES

In the introduction to this essay we referred to the study conducted by Kapferer in which he concluded that an important factor bearing upon the behaviour of migrant workers was the perception of the social cost versus social benefit of any particular move from the home area to work, and by extension, from workplace to workplace. In terms of this kind of thinking one would hypothesise that those employees whose families live with them on the company premises, or with them where they reside while working for the company, are less likely to move away to seek alternative employment than those who are single, or those whose families live elsewhere at some distance away from them. In our analysis we were hard put to isolate the effect of lack of family dependence because this, obviously, is closely related to age and, as our previous discussion has suggested, age is associated with a number of variables predisposing men towards labour mobility. Understandably, quite apart from the specific influence of family circumstances, one would expect young unmarried men to be more mobile than older married men.

This is borne out by the results obtained ; we find, for example, that among all employees who were still in employment after roughly one year, 29% are single whereas 48% and 53% respectively of those who had been dismissed or had resigned were single. This difference in the proportions of single people in the various categories mentioned above produced wide differences in the proportions of people who have their immediate conjugal families with them: 39% among those still in employment after one year, 14% among those who had been dismissed and 5% among those who had resigned.

We obtain a clearer picture of the effect of family location if we look only at the married men. Here we find that among those married

men still in employment after one year 53% had their immediate family with them, compared with 27% among those who had been dismissed and 11% among those who had resigned or had deserted employment. The differences between these percentages were found to be statistically significant,¹⁾ and hence we may conclude that the presence of immediate family living with the employee either on factory premises or at his workplace home is an important factor discouraging labour mobility.

The same pattern emerges when we consider the relationship between family circumstances and duration of employment in the company. Once again, taking only the married men, we find that among those of over five years' service with the company 55% have their immediate family living with them whereas the proportion of those with their families with them among those married employees with less than five years of service drops to 25%. This difference was also found to be significant, reinforcing our earlier conclusion.²⁾

On the surface of it, these results would suggest that migrant workers (whether officially migrant or informally migrant) are likely to be more mobile as employees than men who are able to bring their families with them to the places where they work. This conclusion cannot be carried too far, however, since many men may very well avoid bringing their families to live with them in an employment location which they might perceive as temporary. Indeed, we cannot exclude this possibility from our interpretation given above, since it is possible that once employees in the company decide that they are not in the market for alternative work, they may very well make a variety of arrangements for their families to join them, whereas those who consciously or unconsciously are desirous of finding alternative employment may not make similar

1) The difference between 53% and 11% referred to above produced a Critical Ratio of 2,33, d.f. = 61, $p < ,05$. The difference between the 53% and the combined category of employees who had deserted and resigned produced a Critical Ratio of 2,54, d.f. = 71, $p < ,02$.

2) The difference between 55% and 25% referred to above yielded a Critical Ratio of 2,50, d.f. = 71, $p < ,02$.

arrangements even if they feel quite free to do so.

The broad trend in these findings is reinforced by the results of another enquiry relating not to families but to all dependants. We asked respondents where their dependants stayed, and the answers produce similar pattern of rather striking differences between the men who were in employment after roughly one year and those who had been dismissed or had resigned. In the first category, i.e. those who were still in employment, 34% had their dependants with them compared with 14% among those who had been dismissed and only 5% among those who had resigned or deserted employment. Among men with no dependant who had resigned or deserted employment, over 90% were people whose dependants lived elsewhere.

CHAPTER VIIILABOUR TURNOVER AND THE INTERNAL
ORGANISATION OF THE FACTORY

Relationships between work attitudes, responses to supervision and reactions to company policy on the one hand and turnover on the other are always extremely difficult to establish. Decisions to leave employment as a consequence of work frustrations depend on very subtle subjective factors, not easily identified in most research designs. An attempt was made in the study to explore the possibility of there being a relationship between perceptions of supervision, for example, and the tendency towards labour mobility. As expected, no significant trends emerged from the cross-tabulations between questions on supervision and whether or not employees were in their jobs after a lapse of one year. Some slight indication of a relationship does, however, emerge which can only be stated very tentatively: the employees who resign seem slightly more likely than others to feel that White supervisors should show greater respect to Black workers. There is also a very slight and once again statistically non-significant relationship between the desire for more effective consultation with workers and a tendency to leave company employment. Rather more of the workers who leave employment than the workers who stay seem to be apathetic about White supervision: i.e. they declare themselves resigned to the quality of White supervision as it is, while nonetheless perceiving this supervision to be bad. These findings, however, have to be contrasted with some evidence of a tendency for the employees who remain in employment after the lapse of roughly one year to plead for less punitive supervision rather more than those who resign or who have been dismissed.

If this pattern shows anything it would suggest that those who are inclined towards labour mobility have slightly more sophisticated expectations as regards supervision, particularly respect and consultation compared with others, who tend more often simply to emphasise the desire for supervision which is less harsh and punitive. However, the people

who tend to leave employment also seem to be more resigned to inadequate supervision. This may contradict the conclusion just stated but it may also be a fairly sophisticated response, bearing in mind the probability that the men see improved supervision as being a highly unlikely alternative.

More generally, however, the kind of analysis which was made tended to show that wage grievances are always sufficiently strongly felt to intrude on perceptions of supervision. This factor was particularly evident among employees who had been dismissed. One wonders, therefore, whether this does not constitute some additional evidence that the employees who are dismissed are people whose dissatisfaction with wages is such as to produce unco-operative or aberrant behaviour.

A rather curious tendency emerges in the results of an enquiry into the popularity or unpopularity of African *Indunas*. Whereas generally a majority of workers tend to regard the African *Induna* as popular and sympathetic, the proportion is considerably higher among those men who were found to have been dismissed in the period subsequent to the study than among those men who remained in employment or who resigned: the relative proportions were roughly 95% as compared with 70%. We certainly cannot offer any explanation for this relationship at this stage except to say that it would seem to indicate that the problems and difficulties that people who are dismissed experience with supervision does not appear to be applicable to their relationships with *Indunas*.

A very interesting finding emerged when employees were asked what their attitude would be to the appointment of a senior African supervisor to replace Whites in supervisory roles. When answers to this question were related to labour stability a clear trend emerged for those employees who resigned in the period subsequent to fieldwork to view the appointment of such an African supervisor far more negatively than either

those employees who had been dismissed or those who were still in employment. Whereas over 70% of those employees still in employment felt that the appointment of an African supervisor would be a good thing for various reasons, under 30% of those who had resigned felt this way. The relationship proved to be statistically significant.¹⁾ The only explanation we would venture for this finding is that the employees who resign are very much more individualistically oriented than other employees, and therefore are more likely to suspect that an African supervisor would not treat them as "Black Brothers". One must conclude, therefore, that those most inclined to leave the company of their own free will are men who see very little prospect of an improvement in conditions or company/employee relations irrespective of changes in policy of a minor nature. They would appear to be men who tend to be cynical and disillusioned, not only as regards Whites in supervisory capacities, but also with regard to Blacks in supervisory positions.

An analysis of potential importance was a comparison of labour mobility and attitudes towards the Works Committee operating within the company. Employees were asked in general terms about the type of satisfactions or dissatisfactions they experienced with the Works Committee. A variety of answers were elicited, the details of which are not germane to this analysis, but which can be combined into three broad categories: indications of satisfaction; indications of ambivalence or lack of knowledge; and negative attitudes. Among the employees that remained in company employment after the time lapse, some 31% evinced various kinds of satisfaction with the Works Committee compared with only roughly 11% among those who had resigned. This difference was found to be not highly significant but nevertheless of consequence.²⁾ We have, therefore, a fairly substantial indication that

1) The exact percentages were 73% as opposed to 29%; Critical Ratio = 3,41, d.f. = 87, $p < ,01$.

2) Critical Ratio = 1,673, d.f. = 108, $p < ,10$. A Chi-square test of contingency was performed on the variation among three categories of attitude towards Works Committees and three categories of employees (still employed, resigned and dismissed) but this proved not to be significant.

labour mobility is related to degree of dissatisfaction with the only mechanism operating for the regulation of labour relations within the company. This relationship should not, however, be overstressed since it can be partly explained by the fact that those employees still in company employment after the lapse of time are undoubtedly employees who have also been in employment longer and, therefore, are more accepting of the company arrangements made in regard to the regulation of labour relations. This caution notwithstanding, however, the overall pattern is for those people who leave company employment to evince less satisfaction with the Works Committee system as it operates and if nothing else, this indicates room for improvement. An inspection of the relationship between length of employment and attitudes towards the Works Committee in the company reveals a very clear tendency for the attitudes to improve with longer service. The two sets of results that we have quoted then, seem to indicate that the Works Committee system does not achieve the desired result among those employees who are relatively new to the company. Certainly a part consequence of this may be that no adequate redress to grievances is seen to exist among substantial numbers of people in the newer employee group and this may in fact be related to labour turnover. A possible factor underlying this pattern is that it is the older employee who tends to have personal relationships with colleagues who are on the Works Committee whereas the younger or newer employee is somewhat socially alienated.

In the light of the findings just discussed it is of interest to note a rather anomalous pattern of results emerging from a question in which employees were asked to indicate issues which they would like the company to clarify. A variety of problems and uncertainties emerged but what is interesting is the fact that a somewhat higher proportion of employees who subsequently resigned mentioned no points requiring clarification by the company. This would appear to contradict the earlier result unless one assumes that among this group of employees (resignees) the level of trust or the expectation that the company could in fact adequately explain and clarify problems was rather lower than among other employees. A larger proportion of resignees may have felt

that it was not even worth seeking an explanation. In the light of earlier evidence and the results quoted immediately above we feel fairly certain that levels of trust among employees who resign are lower than among those who do not resign.

CHAPTER 1XLABOUR TURNOVER AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES

It is obviously an accepted fact that not all occupations attract the same type of person. We may assume that certain occupations would be more attractive than others to people holding certain values, attitudes and interests. One may find that employees with certain life goals would be content with a particular type of job whereas people with other life goals would regard the same jobs as temporary expedients. In a situation where one, very broadly and perhaps oversimplly, may postulate a continuum between highly urbanised African workers on the one hand and rurally-oriented workers on the other, it may well be that important relationships exist between what we may term the degree of sophistication or "westernisation" among African employees and the extent to which certain types of work are considered desirable or undesirable. The focus of our studies is rural factories, which, although the production techniques and many of the jobs involved are modern and sophisticated, are nonetheless situated rather closer to a rural environment than to a big city atmosphere. Quite apart from the type of work involved, the setting of the factories and the kind of relationships and general atmosphere which may be connected with the rural location of the workplaces may attract some kinds of African workers and discourage others. The same would apply to the physical location of the factories in relation to areas of rural lifestyle, on the one hand, and in relation to small and large urban complexes on the other, and all that this might imply as regards the employees' relationships with their areas of origin and areas of orientation.

We would assert that there is a possibility, if not a probability, that labour turnover is related to the "social type" of African recruit to the labour force. No highly complex reasoning lies behind this assertion; many people might agree that a rural factory which does not offer exceptionally favourable career opportunities may

be less likely to retain attraction for a more sophisticated, ambitious and adventuresome type of employee than it would for a more traditional employee who might have lower life expectations in general. Indeed in embarking on the analysis in this section we would like to posit the broad hypothesis that a relationship exists between "social personality" and labour mobility. In a situation where the modern urban sphere of life is seen as imbued with positive significance in the minds of many Africans, the more active, ambitious and discriminating individuals may very well be those whose employment in rural situations is likely to be less stable than those whose orientations are more staid and conservative.

Our interviews were very largely concerned with factors which we postulated to have a bearing on work motivation, but there were a number of specific items especially included to shed light on the problem of labour turnover. In many of the questions, the answers enable us to assess the basic values and orientations of respondents, and the analysis which follows is based on a selection of these items.

For the purposes of this analysis we first considered those items that could provide some insight into the life goals of the employees who remained in company employment as compared with those who resigned or who were dismissed.

One such item was concerned with employees' reasons for the necessity of saving. Those employees still in employment (referred to subsequently as non-mobile employees) were more likely to give reasons which related to family goals, to the need for security or to the need for the conservation of resources. The employees who had resigned subsequent to the fieldwork (the "mobile" employees) were less likely to give reasons of a more conservative, security-oriented and family-oriented type.¹⁾

1) The proportions giving answers of the types mentioned were: non-mobile employees 51%; mobile employees 20%. Critical Ratio = 1,764, N = 45, $p < .10$. Note in this test and in many of the ensuing tests the N is lower than the total sample size due to the fact that not all employees were asked the questions being analysed - the sample had to be split to shorten the duration of the interviews.

This result was significant at the 10% level of confidence and, therefore, is highly suggestive, particularly in view of the fact that it is consonant with our hypothesis.¹⁾ The "mobile" employees, unlike the stable employees, were rather more likely to give reasons for saving connected to the enjoyment of money or the attainment of specific personal goals. Furthermore, they were even more likely than others to complain that they could not save; this being taken as an indication that their immediate consumption needs were such as to make saving more difficult.

Another question which provided some insight into the general nature of the values of employees was one relating to the careers which they would like their sons to pursue; which we interpreted as being indicative of their own values. Here there is a very slight suggestion that the mobile employees have higher aspirations for their children than the non-mobile employees. More marked, however, is the fact that among employees who had been dismissed there was a significantly²⁾ higher proportion who chose to mention professional employment or employment requiring very high education for their children. This suggests the possibility that the kind of man who is unlikely to adapt and adjust to the work situation may be someone who feels that it is below his level of aspirations.

From the results of a very general question on the respondents' life goals, a rather weak but nevertheless suggestive trend emerges for the mobile employees to be relatively less concerned with factors like health, survival and subsistence and to be rather more concerned with job conditions, mentioning desires for secure jobs, jobs of better

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- 1) Where some direction in the pattern of results is hypothesised, the so-called "one-tailed" test of significance can be applied which would reduce the estimated standard error, giving a 5% level of confidence.
 - 2) Eighty-nine per cent among those dismissed as compared with 58% among non-mobile employees. Critical Ratio = 1,71, $p < ,10$ ($p < ,05$ in a one-tailed test).

status and good working conditions. This impression must be stated very tentatively, however.

Rather more convincing and interesting results, however, were obtained from a series of questions relating specifically to work, work progress and productivity. For example, when respondents were asked how their benefits compared with those applicable in other workplaces, the mobile employees gave answers which generally suggested that they were more inclined to make comparative assessments of benefits in the company than the non-mobile employees, who very often were unable to make any kind of comparison at all. (The finding is tentative because differences were not statistically significant.) Employees who had been dismissed fairly consistently perceived the benefits in the company to be worse than those obtainable elsewhere. The general picture is that the mobile employee, particularly the employee who gets dismissed is more likely to evaluate work situations comparatively.

Out of a wide range of answers emerging from a question on what employees think of a colleague who works harder than others, a tendency appeared for the mobile employees to be less inclined to give the "respectable" answer, i.e., that the man would be more popular than other men. The mobile employees were rather more likely to say that such a colleague would be unpopular.¹⁾ This is not to suggest that the mobile employees are less hard-working themselves or that they deprecate hard work. The latent content of the answer is most interesting in this case, and it would seem to indicate that mobile employees are less "other directed" or approval-oriented than the non-mobile workers. Perhaps they may not be the sort of people who work hard for approval but rather for satisfaction and rewards.

1) Seventy-nine per cent among mobile employees vs. 53% among stable employees, Chi-square = 4,21, p,20 to ,10. This result falls short of significance but since the result is congruent with the broad hypothesis that the mobile employees would be people of a type less likely to give conforming and socially-approved answers, the probability may be halved.

A question on whether men who work harder should be paid more than other men generally elicited more elaborate and perceptive answers from the mobile employees than from the non-mobile workers. The mobile employees were relatively more likely to distinguish between hard work as a result of individual motivation and as a result of job content. On the other hand the non-mobile employees were relatively more likely to give very generalised answers simply linking strenuous work with the need for more pay, showing little tendency to consider that hard work could also occur as a result of higher motivation.¹⁾

An interesting pattern emerged from the answers to a question on whether or not employees would continue to work if they had enough money to meet all their needs. The mobile employees tended to give "ambitious" answers more readily than the non-mobile employees - 63% of the mobile employees mentioned either the goal of increasing their wealth or the goal of acquiring capital for entrepreneurship, or mentioned that as wealth increased so their expectations would rise, compared with only some 33% among the non-mobile employees.²⁾ A similar conclusion can be drawn from the answers to a question on why respondents felt that men worked. The mobile employees tended to be more inclined than non-mobile employees to give answers suggesting progress, consumer ambitions, independence and pride in work. We present this conclusion somewhat tentatively since the classification together of such a disparate range of responses is debatable and therefore cannot be taken as formally indicative of any one personality type. However, the pattern is highly suggestive.

In contrast to the more "progressive" orientation of the mobile employees as regards work in general, their views on the possibility of

1) The proportions of employees giving the "strenuous work deserves more pay" answer were: non-mobile employees 71%; mobile employees 32%. Critical Ratio = 3,2, N = 113, p < .01.

2) Critical Ratio = 2,4, p < .02.

progress within the company are distinctly more cynical than those among non-mobile employees. When asked about how they saw the progress of men in the company, fully 100% of the mobile employees were either unable to gauge progress among their colleagues or considered that no one had made any progress compared with a percentage also high but nevertheless significantly lower among non-mobile employees, i.e. 74%.¹⁾ Furthermore, somewhat more of the mobile employees than the non-mobile employees considered that they personally had made no progress within the company. This perception must be particularly frustrating for the mobile type of employee since our other results have shown that the mobile employees are more keen to acquire the kind of skills which would facilitate occupational progression. This trend emerged particularly from the answers to a question on whether they would attend night school and for what reasons - the mobile employees were more likely than others to mention a desire to acquire work-related literacy and other skills which would assist them in their jobs.

Mobile employees seem to have a somewhat different orientation to others as regards their own work in the company. When asked whether they would prefer to work quickly or slowly in achieving the same amount of production for a given reward, the mobile employees were significantly less likely to mention a desire to work slowly.²⁾ This may relate to a characteristic among the mobile employees to be rather more energetic in their approach to their work, or of wanting to get on with things, or of a greater awareness of the value of private time. The mobile employees were also more prepared to state that they would perform overtime provided that the rewards were adequate. In doing so they were less concerned about physical exhaustion than the non-mobile employees and their motivation seemed to be more money reward oriented than the stable employees.³⁾

1) Critical Ratio = 1,81, $p < ,10$.

2) Twenty-one per cent vs. 41%, Critical Ratio = 1,6, $N = 91$, $p \pm ,10$. In view of the general hypothesis the probability can be halved.

3) Proportions not prepared to work overtime: non-mobile 33%, mobile 11%. Critical Ratio = 1,82, $p < ,10$ ($,05$ with one-tailed test). Emphasis on money as a condition for working overtime: non-mobile 20%, mobile 50%. Critical Ratio = 2,58, $p < ,02$.

When the employees were asked to respond to the question on why it was they felt less like working on some days than on other days (productivity seemed to fluctuate and hence this question was posed) the mobile employees were more likely than stable employees to state that these feelings did not occur (53% vs. 36%). In other words they seem to be somewhat less prone to "turn off". The other answers suggested that the mobile employees were somewhat less concerned about ill-health and "bad blood", and also less likely to mention depression as a factor affecting work performance. The general picture emerging from these replies is that the mobile employees are somewhat more energetic or "surgent" in their general approach to work and living than the non-mobile employees.¹⁾

While the mobile employees seem to have a more energetic work orientation, this does not necessarily mean that they will actually work harder, and some of the previous results have suggested this contradiction. One of the reasons is that the mobile employees may be somewhat more cynical about the possibilities of rewards for additional effort in the company. For example, when the employees were asked whether they thought it would be a good idea to work in competing teams and to be rewarded on team output, the mobile employees were more likely than others to suggest that fair competition within the context of the company work organisation was impossible: 40% vs. 15%. In response to a question on whether they would prefer to work quickly or slowly they were more inclined to state that in their view the machines set the pace and that there was no real room for individual productivity motivation (26% vs. 10%).

Some of the questions which were put to employees about their leisure behaviour can provide us with a certain measure of insight

1) The pattern of differences referred to above did not achieve significance on a two-tailed test: Critical Ratio = 1,55, $p > ,10$, but the level of probability on a one-tailed test would be somewhere between ,10 and ,05.

into characteristics relevant to mobility. For example, we asked respondents about the frequency of their drinking behaviour. In the results to the question it emerged that non-mobile employees were less likely than mobile employees to admit to drinking more than very occasionally or infrequently. This trend is rather difficult to evaluate since it could mean one of two different things; it could either mean that the mobile employees actually do drink more frequently than the other employees or it could mean that the mobile employees are more honest in their replies to the question on drinking. The trend in the results could be a combination of these two factors. Our previous results have suggested that the non-mobile employees tend to be rather more conforming, conservative and less adventuresome than the mobile employees. A corollary of this may be that they are also more sober in their habits, but it could equally mean that they are more cautious when it comes to talking about their recreational pursuits. The results just mentioned are reinforced by responses obtained from a question on men's reasons for drinking, since here the proportion of stable employees claiming that they did not drink was significantly higher than the proportion among mobile employees.¹⁾ Among the reasons given for drinking there was the merest suggestion that the mobile employees were more reckless in their drinking behaviour than others, since a larger proportion claimed to drink whenever liquor was available. This difference, however, was not statistically significant.

We turn now to deal very briefly with an aspect of the results which has already been discussed at an earlier stage in this report. We refer to a variety of constraints which act upon people in such a way as to inhibit labour mobility. One of the questions on ideals and aspirations put to respondents which relates to constraints on mobility was an item on the ideal place of residence. This we view as an indication of the possible limitation on mobility since those who

1) The proportion among non-mobile employees was 50% versus 28% among mobile employees; Critical Ratio = 1.69, N = 88, $p < .10$.

would wish to remain in the rural area or in company accommodation would naturally tend to be less mobile than those who aspired to work in other areas or perhaps in large cities. The answers to this question were, in fact, in the expected direction. Among the non-mobile employees only roughly 9% indicated that they would like to work in a big city whereas roughly 20% of those who resigned or those who had been dismissed indicated this preference. This difference was significant and is, therefore, supportive of the earlier conclusion that mobile employees are more venturesome and, therefore, less constrained by residential needs or preferences.¹⁾

A constraint on labour mobility of a type is the kind of social network within which an employee will find himself in an employment situation. Quite obviously, a rewarding and close network of friends, connections or relatives is going to encourage a man to remain where he is, whereas a position of social isolation or independence will lessen the social impediments to moving on to a new job. There are also relations of obligation which arise within a network of friends (minor debts, etc.) which may constrain mobility. With this in mind we enquired as to the number of close friends which respondents perceived themselves as having in the factory situation. The results, when analysed according to mobility, produce the expected pattern. Those still employed, i.e. the non-mobile employees were less likely to have no close friends than those who had been dismissed or those who had resigned: the proportions of people in the three categories stating that they had no close friends were, respectively, 34%, 67% and 53%. The difference between the non-mobile and the mobile employees was statistically significant.²⁾ The number of friends and the involvement in the social network of the company may, of course,

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- 1) The difference between the two percentages produced a Critical Ratio of 1,71, $N = 106$, $p \pm 0,5$ on a one-tailed test (the direction of findings is in the hypothesised direction and, therefore, a one-tailed test is employed,
 - 2) Difference between 34% among non-mobile employees and 60% among mobile employees yielded a Critical Ratio of 2,68, d.f. = 110, $p < ,01$.

be the consequence of a long period of employment. However, this would not alter the conclusion that the lack of an effective social network may facilitate mobility.

Another constraint, of course, is the obvious one of the perception of the likelihood of being able to find another job. When questioned on this a slight but interesting relationship emerged whereby the mobile employees were somewhat more optimistic about finding another job than those still in employment and than those who had been dismissed. (The result was not tested for significance due to small numbers of replies.)

In talking about friendship networks we spoke indirectly about indebtedness being a possible constraint on movement. A more direct question on this was put to respondents in order to establish whether or not indebtedness either to friends or the company existed. The relationship between the type of indebtedness and labour mobility is interesting and in the expected direction. Respondents were divided into three categories: those who never borrow; those who borrow from friends or from the company but who are not currently indebted, and thirdly, those who are currently indebted either to friends or to the company. When the results within these classes are classified according to whether respondents are still employed, had been dismissed or resigned, the pattern of differences was significant at the 10% level.¹⁾ Taking the proportion of people currently owing money among those who had resigned (3%) compared with those who were still employed (31%) yielded an even more significant result.²⁾ Here we have a clear indication that the mobile labour force is less enmeshed in a network of debt obligation than the labour force which is non-mobile. The implication of this is once again not entirely clear since relationships of indebtedness may accumulate over time and hence the longer-term employees may be more likely to fall prey to borrowing than the shorter-term employees

1) Chi-square = 7,8, d.f. = 4, $p \pm$, 10.

2) Critical Ratio = 2,14, d.f. = 91, $p <$, 05.

(short-term employees were, of course, more likely to be mobile as earlier results have demonstrated). However, once again, the results show a factor reinforcing the "stability" of the longer-term employees.

Another form of constraint or impediment to mobility is, of course, whether or not the employee has established himself in a residence outside the company, which usually involves some kind of commitment to land or a house, hut or kraal, whether inside or outside a homeland. The results when related to labour mobility, once again, produced a pattern in the expected direction. Those who had resigned were far less likely to have established themselves outside the company property in the manner described above: 16% versus 39%¹⁾. It seems, therefore, that the type of employee who is not resident in an institutional company setting, is, for whatever reason, less likely to be mobile than the employee who is housed on company land or in a company compound, and who, therefore, may experience fewer social constraints to leaving.

This result is rather crude, however. A more detailed picture is that the employees least likely to be mobile are those in company married quarters, those most likely to be mobile are the men in company single quarters and those who live on their own land in homelands have a mobility pattern which is intermediate between that of the two groups above. This is not a firm finding since in the sample only 16 respondents were established in homeland residences. Furthermore, the homeland group tended to be younger than the company married quarters group, and this intervening variable may have influenced the results.

In one factory, we undertook a detailed analysis of the size of the homeland landholdings of married employees in the sample. The

1) The difference between these proportions yielded a Critical Ratio of 1,92, $p < ,10$. Since this is in the expected direction a one-tailed test can be applied and, therefore, the probability is smaller than ,05.

average land allotments, for the three categories of (1) non-mobile married employees, (2) married men who had resigned or deserted and (3) dismissals, were respectively (1) 13,000 square metres, (2) 22,000 square metres and (3) 27,000 square metres. Being based on results in one factory only we must be cautious, but the pattern is suggestive. In group interviews, particularly at the factory in the Eastern Transvaal, men spoke freely about the fact that married men in company married quarters accommodation were trapped and unable to move away. These men envied their colleagues who had land of their own, which offered some security and hence gave them greater freedom to seek alternative employment. If we take all these various indications together, it certainly would seem that the basic security of a reasonably adequate landholding away from the company gives employees some freedom to take risks in order to improve their employment situation.

By far the most dramatic difference between mobile and non-mobile employees is seen in their marital status. Among those who had resigned or had been dismissed no less than 73% were single, compared with 34% among stable employees; a result which was highly significant.¹⁾ One need not dwell on the numerous and varied constraints on mobility that marriage, family and dependants bring in their wake.

We turn finally to a brief set of results which gives indication of a factor operating in the employment history of respondents which might be related to labour mobility. On the basis of a series of different questions it appeared as if there were a tendency for those employees who were mobile to have been younger at the time of their recruitment into the company, and yet to have held more previous jobs than non-mobile employees, and for those jobs to have been of shorter duration. The results, taken singly are not statistically significant but if taken as a pattern we believe that they create a substantial impression that there is a certain type of potentially mobile employee

1) The difference between these two proportions yielded a Critical Ratio of 3,5, d.f. = 112, $p < ,01$.

being recruited. We would venture the suggestion that a young man who has held a number of previous jobs of short duration may, on the tentative evidence available, continue the high mobility pattern. With the wisdom of hindsight gained from the results, this kind of pattern is what one would expect. More broadly, we have to relate this pattern to some of the differences in outlook, values and personality which we have outlined earlier and pose the question of whether there is not an outgoing, more adventuresome, and less conservative type of youthful employee who is not only likely to be mobility-oriented in his current situation, but whose previous job history reflects a similar pattern, despite the fact that the length of time available to him to shift from job to job has obviously been restricted by virtue of his youthful age.

CHAPTER XASSESSMENTS OF THE EVIDENCE

Up to this point our analysis has been based on the patterns of response to individual items in a structured interview. No attempt has yet been made to interrelate these discrete findings, nor to compare them with the results of intensive group interviews conducted among the labour force.

The nature of the interviewing and the characteristics of the people interviewed made it impossible to obtain readily quantifiable results, or to interview a large sample of people. For this reason we cannot rely on some of the well-known techniques for interrelating a large mass of evidence (i.e., Regression Analyses or Factor Analyses). These techniques, in order to produce meaningful and stable results, require quantitative measures and, in the case of regression techniques, large samples.

A Factor Analysis was carried out on some of our data, however, with a view to a tentative analysis of interconnections in our evidence. A Factor Analysis is based on an inter-correlation matrix made up of all the variables included for the exercise. It is a means of analysing inter-connections in the data so as to reduce a large number of detailed measures to a smaller number of clusters of variables (or factors), each representing a particular trend in the results. We conducted the Factor Analysis on twenty objective (non-attitudinal) items from the individual interviews.¹⁾

In perusing the results of our Factor Analysis, the most

1) Attitudinal variables could not be included since these were not easily able to be quantified and were often based on sub-groups in the total sample.

meaningful patterns were to be detected in the so-called "unrotated factors".¹⁾ There were six factors, together accounting for some 67% of the total variance in the inter-correlations. The strongest factor, the so-called "general factor" accounted for 28% of the total variance. This factor can quite easily be identified as a stability-mobility cluster.²⁾ The loading of items on this factor suggests what we have already discerned in earlier results, and thereby provides interesting confirmation of much of the earlier discussion. Non-mobility (labour-stability) is connected with mature age, higher than average work performance, higher than average wage, more dependants, job advancement, lighter work, greater skill, longer service and married status.

The third factor isolated, contributing roughly 9% of total variance, points to the presence of an interesting sub-group of mobile employees. (This factor revealed a high loading on the mobility index.) The factor included the following items with high loadings: better than average performance ratings, better than average ratings of employee responsibility, higher than average education and outdoor work. These results suggest³⁾ that there is a sub-group of mobile employees who have high potential for advancement. Yet they would appear to be clustered to some extent in outdoor or part-outdoor work, probably log-sawing, loaders, green bark off-loaders, extract loaders, cleaners and gardeners. Whether there is an identifiable sub-group like this in

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- 1) Rotation in Factor Analysis is a technique whereby greater descriptive precision is sought by recombining items within factors so as to spread the variance as evenly as possible across the factors. It gives a greater number of discrete or semi-discrete factors which contribute substantially to the overall variation in the body of the data. In this particular case, however, rotation of the factors proved to be unprofitable - it did not meaningfully change the overall pattern and weakened some of the interesting clusters in the unrotated results.
 - 2) Indexes of labour mobility had high loadings in this cluster.
 - 3) One cannot make the strict assumption that a cluster of variables in a Factor Analysis always refers to a sub-group in a population. However, in this case independent observations support the conclusion that the pattern of inter-correlations is based on a segment of the labour force.

the labour force or not, the results show clearly that talent is being lost through labour mobility.

The information obtained from group discussions cannot be directly related to labour turnover because the views and attitudes expressed cannot be connected to particular individuals and their later employment behaviour. The wide range of issues raised during the discussions also cannot be rated according to their relative importance as contributory factors to turnover. Furthermore, there can be no objective confirmation that the factors felt by the group participants to be most important are in fact so. The kind of conclusions drawn from the computer correlations cannot be drawn from the group discussions. However, the interview-based conclusions can be evaluated by reference to the group discussions, and the novel factors raised during the group discussions can be evaluated according to their relationships to the interview-based conclusions.

When group participants were specifically asked to outline the main causes of resignations, low wages was, without exception, given as the most important factor. In addition there were several wage-related complaints which may have gained in significance as a result of the basic wage grievance. One of these was a dislike of the policy of calculating and paying wages on the basis of varying lengths of months. Failure to obtain an explanation of the variability of wage amounts was given as a cause of resignations. The Pondo workers hired at one factory¹⁾ were stated to have left primarily because they were confused by the variable month-end pay dates. At all three factories there was dissatisfaction because the correctness of the wage calculation could not be verified. Some complained that they were unable to check the accuracy of their clock card until the end of the month. Others felt that their clock card did not show the correct number of hours worked and they were unable to obtain an explanation. At one factory there

1) Melmoth.

were complaints that the exact amount of a recent increment was unknown. At another there was a failure to understand variations in the bonuses received by different men.

Wage grievances were seldom expressed in a comparative context as in the case of individual interviews. There were, however, general comparisons with other employers. At one factory¹⁾ working conditions were unfavourably compared with a nearby Sugar Mill, and at another²⁾ wages were perceived to be more favourable at a paper mill in Mandini. Conversely conditions at this latter factory were seen as much superior to those on the nearby estates.

The issue of relationships between White supervisor and Black worker was another dominating theme of the group discussions. There was strong resentment of the verbal and physical abuse inflicted by supervisors. As one man expressed it "for any minor mistake you may be sworn at and then kicked. I cannot do that even to my child". The abuse was seen to have certain consequences for the hierarchy of authority relationships. The factory manager is seen as having little control over his supervisors because he appears powerless to curb the abuse. Physical maltreatment of workers by the White foreman undermines the authority of the Indunas, and disrespect towards the Indunas devalues their credibility and authority in the eyes of the worker.

Disrespect at the informal level of communication is also present in the general relationships between White and Black. At one factory³⁾, a group of older long-service men expressed resentment towards the young White fitters and turners, who tease and molest them at work against their wishes. The worker sees himself as having no choice but to endure these provocations from Whites who are amusing themselves by this activity. As one man expressed his feelings "I put

1) Melmoth.

2) Hermannsburg.

3) Melmoth.

on a happy face although my heart is not happy about it".

In one employment situation¹⁾ there was considerable bitterness at the perceived injustice of the supervisor-worker relationship. It was stated that White supervisors are trained by Africans when they start. Once the supervisors have learnt the job they begin issuing instructions and acting in an authoritarian manner. The worker regards himself as subject to the arbitrary power of someone whom he respects neither for his personal behaviour or his job skill. White supervisors with short service are able to dismiss Black workers of long service without any appeal to a higher authority. As one man put it "there is no White who comes here and goes without having fired an African labourer". The high turnover of supervisors with the corresponding inconsistency of supervision is a cause of much dissatisfaction.

The participants in group discussions showed much resentment that they could not express disagreement or dissatisfaction without invoking an intimidatory, authoritarian response. This perceived inability to communicate on a rational unemotional level was seen to be related to the incidence of dismissals. It was felt that any disagreement with management was likely to result in dismissal regardless of the merits of the dispute. At all factories the making of mistakes on the job was given as an important factor in dismissals. However the workers complained that they did not get the opportunity to explain the cause of the accident which, they felt, did not always justify dismissal. For example, mistakes were seen as sometimes the outcome of exhaustion after working overtime. Also they were seen to result from insufficient training while deputising for absent workers.

The enforced transfer to the job of an absent worker was stated to be another important contributory factor in dismissals. Questioning these job transfers automatically led to dismissal. Another cause of

1) Iswepe.

dismissal was given as drunkenness of workers while working. However, workers stated that accusations of drunkenness were sometimes false, and there was mistrust of the accuracy of medical examinations. Unauthorised absenteeism from work was another factor contributing to dismissals. Workers also felt that there was not a fair consideration of the reasons for absenteeism or lateness.

It was felt to be unfair that people should lose their jobs because they are temporarily required at home to deal with a problem. There was a perceived lack of sympathy for the personal problems arising at the kraal home which necessitate a worker taking time off. For example, it was felt to be difficult to get time off from work to arrange for the burial of a child.

This lack of sympathy was seen to extend to the circumstances appertaining to a worker's illness. Having to get out of a sick bed to report illness personally is regarded with much resentment. There was dislike of the policy of compelling the sick worker to remain at the factory, instead of allowing him to recover at home where he could have better care. It was also a strongly felt grievance that a worker received no pay or rations while he was absent through illness.

Treatment was also regarded as unsympathetic in the event of expenses incurred through family illness. It was a source of much dissatisfaction that workers were unable to obtain a loan to meet an emergency expenditure. At one factory a White supervisor who lent money at high rates of interest was seen as exploiting workers' poverty. There was also criticism of their inability to buy on credit from the factory shop except on the day before pay-day.

An area of concern which was raised during all the discussions was the question of injuries received at work. It was felt that there was inadequate compensation in the event of injury while working. One reason for a dislike of having to take on an absent worker's job without any training, was the possibility of injury for which there was no compensation. At one factory there was expressed a reluctance to participate in

sports, because the company did not accept liability for any injuries which might result in medical expenses and absenteeism from work.

Considerable discontent was expressed on the subject of food supplied by the company. At one factory there was a feeling that the provision of rations was a method of unfairly lowering wages. The withholding of food as a sanction in the case of lateness or absenteeism was resented. The workers believed themselves not compensated for food which they did not receive when they went home over week-ends. At this factory a preference was stated for receiving uncooked rations once a month which they could cook for themselves. As one worker expressed it, "My feeling is that the supply of rations is another trick they use in order to pinch our money". There was also strong criticism of the practice of giving away waste food as pigs' food. The results of their toil was seen as disappearing down the mouths of pigs. One man said, "I feel very bitter because I know it's my flesh and blood and strength". Food was often wasted because it was regarded as unpalatable. At one factory there was dislike of the vegetable mix used in the soup and the beans used in the samp which were described as "cows'beans". Also at this factory there were complaints that the security guards, clerks, charge hands and councillors received preferential treatment especially in the allocation of meat. At all factories there were complaints about the quality and the quantity of the food.

The physical heaviness of certain jobs was given as a reason for resignations, although it was generally related to an evaluation of the reward. It was stated that the younger workers were not willing to tolerate unpleasant working conditions such as boiler heat, in return for wages which were regarded as inadequate. Shortages in the labour force were seen to be the cause of an excessive work load without a corresponding increase in reward. There was a general feeling that overtime was not fairly rewarded. There was felt to be insufficient break periods during a working shift. One man complained that he was not paid overtime for working during his tea-breaks and lunch-time.

Another complained that he was not paid for making tea on top of his normal job for which he was employed.

There were other ways in which workers expressed their views that their contribution to the company was not fairly rewarded. At all factories there was dissatisfaction with the poor recognition for long service. At one factory the men felt that they received no sign of appreciation for their work efforts through the year. What was regretted most was the absence of any annual bonus. It was felt that the White supervisors were getting a bonus for work performed by the African workers. Similarly, the government pension was regarded as so small as to be worthless, and it was regretted that the company did not provide a significant pension scheme.

At one factory there was uncertainty as to whether they were entitled to a pension or not. It emerged from more than one discussion group that workers did not feel informed generally regarding company policies. Some complained of a lack of knowledge in respect of their output during the production process. This lack of information applied to the recruitment process as well. It seemed that many short-service resignations resulted from workers discovering that conditions did not meet their expectations. If they had been better informed it is possible that they would not have signed on. Workers also thought that they were misled by unfulfilled promises which caused disillusionment and alienation.

Various other grievances were expressed during the group discussions although most of those common to all factories have been described. At two of the factories it was a cause of much dissatisfaction that there were no accommodation or visiting facilities for relatives or friends who came to see them. Visitors had to sleep outside the compound in makeshift shacks or in the veld. There was also dislike for the system of visiting men having to produce reference books before entering the compound.

The functioning of Works Committees was discussed at length during all the group discussions, and the general feeling was that they do not serve any useful purpose in the channelling of grievances. The Works Committee was seen as representing the management and not the workers. As one man said, "They are the management's representative committee". In some cases it was felt that the Works Committee was obstructing the channelling of complaints to management. At one factory, as the issue of wages had not been dealt with, there was a reluctance on the part of the councillors to raise the issue of food. A member of the committee expressed the view that it is completely dominated by management and the workers' representatives are intimidated into docility. It was stated that management tries to discover who originates complaints and then takes victimising action. As one worker put it, "If one talks about poor rations they just say one is a Communist". It was said that the committee members do not consult with the workers or feel responsible to them. At one factory there was disagreement with the method of selecting Works Committee members.

Attitudes towards finding work elsewhere varied according to age and the family and property circumstances of the individual worker. Generally there was very little expression of a desire to work and live in a large town or city, even among the younger workers. Most workers expressed a readiness to remain at the factory provided wages and other conditions were improved. Those people who did move to towns or cities were described as going only in search of higher wages. One group of younger workers said that other friends and relatives sometimes tried to attract them away with the promise of better wages, when the truth was that these other friends only wanted their company.

Older men with long service usually regarded themselves as too old or physically weakened to find another job elsewhere. Those who were living at home or near to home felt a strong attachment and thus a disinclination to move. In this respect the findings of the group discussions parallel those of the interviews. The presence of immediate family is a strong factor encouraging stability of employment. For

some workers the deciding factor in a decision to leave or stay was seen to depend on ownership of land in the reserves. Those without land saw themselves as having no choice but to stay. One man explained, "I am sticking here simply because I have no land to cultivate". This sentiment was expressed particularly at the factory in the Eastern Transvaal and suggests that here there may be somewhat of a captive labour force. Being too old or problems in obtaining work permits were also seen as factors binding them to the factory.

In conclusion it may be repeated that it is not possible to differentiate between types of workers as finely as can be done from the interview data. The goals of workers were expressed consistently among members of groups. Dominant emphasis was placed on financial security, residential and family security and the education of children. To the extent that workers perceived themselves as not achieving these goals they did not find their job satisfying or motivating, and thus were more likely to terminate it either by resigning or by behaving in an irresponsible manner that ended in dismissal. By these standards a worker who perceives his wages as not meeting his needs, who does not live with any family and who has no secure residence tenure, may be classified as the most likely candidate for employment termination.

Another major emphasis was placed on problems perceived to exist as regards supervision, management-worker communication, grievance and disciplinary procedures, pay calculations and work organisation. Although these problems cannot be related directly to turnover, they facilitate mobility indirectly in that they undermine any attachment to the company that might otherwise be felt and create a climate of pessimism about prospects for job advancement and improvement in conditions. One way in which turnover is directly affected by these problems lies in the fact that they contribute to the high rate of dismissals.

The group discussions, dominated as they were by negative perceptions of the company, confirmed the conclusion from the interview

data that we are dealing with one large and significant "saturated" variable, in the sense that a degree of pessimism tends to overwhelm the entire labour force. The main distinction that emerges is between the younger, shorter-service worker and the older, longer-service worker. The former is more likely to see himself as having alternative opportunities and thus to express his dissatisfaction by terminating his employment, whereas the latter is more likely to perceive himself as a captive because of a lack of alternatives and thus to resign himself to continued employment.

In very general terms, then, the evidence from group discussions has tended to support the findings emerging from the personal interviews, but they have amplified our insights particularly as regards specific aspects of the way Black employees respond to management policies, supervision, communication, disciplinary procedures and aspects of the organisation of work.

CHAPTER XICONCLUDING REMARKS

I. The employment situations that we have studied, in our view, are fairly typical of rurally-located industrial operations in South Africa. Comments made about particular grievances or viewpoints of the Black employees should not be taken to signify that the factories studied offer worse employment conditions or prospects than most other similar operations. In fact, on the basis of other studies undertaken in rural Natal (confidential for sponsors, and hence unable to be quoted), we would assess the general conditions applicable to the factories we have been describing as rather better than that which is typical of rural employment for Blacks in South Africa. In as much as they do exhibit many of the important characteristics of low-wage, fairly labour-intensive, heavy manual industrial operations in South Africa, however, it is possible to regard our data as the basis for generalisations about labour turnover and mobility on a wider scale. What we will proceed to suggest in the pages which follow, then, is more likely than not fairly characteristic of labour mobility in most South African industrial enterprises which are not highly mechanised or automated, which employ Africans in lower-skilled positions rather than Coloured people or Indians,¹⁾ and, in particular, which are situated outside of the major urban industrial complexes (this latter provision may exclude a major proportion of industry, but it still leaves a substantial part of industrial production broadly within the scope of our generalisations, namely rural industry, homeland border industry and homeland growth-point industry).

It is very clear from our results that the loss due to labour mobility in the type of industry we are discussing is likely to occur very largely among younger workers and newer recruits. The loss to the

1) Here we are not necessarily suggesting specific characteristics in Coloured or Indian labour forces - we simply do not have the data to include them in our generalisations.

companies concerned naturally increases in some kind of ratio to the amount of training offered the new recruit. In the situations we have studied, whatever training is offered must suffer a fairly high early wastage effect, due to the higher mobility of newer recruits. We may add here that our results also show that, to the extent which successful training requires even moderately favourable aptitudes, the early wastage effect will be even greater, due to the fact that the better-educated, more able recruits are highly represented among mobile employees. One wonders to what extent the labour turnover rate in this kind of industrial setting discourages advances in training and technology, since the return on expenditure on training must be severely limited by the high rate of mobility among recent recruits.

II. In our introduction, we referred to the issue of urbanisation and industrial commitment, observing that a possibility exists that high rates of mobility may be a consequence of uneven commitment to industrial work among employees who are still rurally-oriented.

Our data provide little support for this. It is among the older, more conservative and traditional employees who are less concerned about working in large cities that labour mobility is lowest. This observation, however, embraces all types of older, married employees including those in company married quarters, and therefore does not, perhaps, answer the specific question of whether commitment to subsistence or peasant agriculture produces employment instability. Our data on this specific issue are unfortunately very limited - only some sixteen people in our samples lived on their own agricultural land. Among this small group, the level of labour mobility is intermediate between that of company single quarters (high mobility) and company married quarters (low mobility). This may suggest, superficially, that some relationship exists between mobility and rural agricultural residence. However, the small subsample of rurally-resident employees also contained a relatively high proportion of younger men, which could explain their higher mobility rates.

In the detailed discussion of our results we pointed to the fact that in one of the factories studied, the married, non-mobile employees have, on average, less land of their own than the average for mobile married men. We concluded very tentatively, that links with the land may create a basic feeling of security which would allow a man to take risks in seeking improved employment. In group interviews at one of the factories, those without land living on company premises were described as "captive" employees. This is as far as our data will take us, however. There was no evidence of turnover being due to men taking "rest" periods in order to withdraw to rural areas and pursue traditional pursuits.

It would seem, therefore, that we are dealing largely with a labour force among which traditional ties to the land of a type which compete with industrial commitment have become almost completely eroded. There is an attachment to land as a source of security and as a place of identification, but little else. Migrant workers in South Africa have tended to lose the characteristics of the erstwhile "classical" migrant - a man who worked in industry only to achieve a specific income target after which he would return to invest his savings in his rural enterprise. South Africa's African homelands, for men in their productive years, have become largely dormitory and retirement areas. Notions of two economies (the dual economy argument) existing side by side and competing for the commitments of migrant workers are outmoded. South Africa's African workers may not all be urbanised or even westernised but overwhelmingly, they display commitment to industrial work.

III. The theoretical comments in Chapter I outlined two levels of factors possibly related to labour mobility; Psychological and Sociological factors. Let us consider the relevance of our findings firstly to Psychological factors; i.e., those which bear upon particular characteristics or aptitudes of individual employees.

On the basis of the evidence we collected, we have suggested that the following personal attributes appear to distinguish mobile

workers from other employees:

- (i) They are less conservative in their social aspirations than others, placing relatively less emphasis on security and family life, perhaps tending to be rather more consumer-oriented.
- (ii) There are indications that they are also more achievement-oriented (in a broad sense) having higher aspirations for their children, and indicating that they would work for accumulation beyond their security and subsistence needs.
- (iii) They are employees who appear to have clearer conceptions than others of individual effort and motivation as a worker-input on the job (others tended to have a more passive view of effort, seeing it to be related to the nature of work rather than motivation).
- (iv) A closely related finding is that mobile employees also seem to have a more surgent (energetic, active) approach to work. (This is not to suggest that they actually work harder than others - we refer here to a latent orientation.)
- (v) There is a suggestion in our results that the mobile workers are more individualistically oriented than others.
- (vi) There is more than a suggestion in the findings that the mobile workers are fairly cynical, less trusting and perhaps even basically critical in their appraisal of the work environment.
- (vii) The tendency seems to be for the mobile employees to be slightly more "relativistically" oriented in the way they appraise their situation, showing this either by relating rewards to effort or rewards to some external standard of reference, rather than by relating rewards to felt needs.

Not all these results proved to be statistically significant, although many were. As the reader can judge, however, the characteristics outlined hang together and a general picture of a set of inter-related personal attributes emerges. Therefore, the results tend to support each other and the findings which did not attain customary levels of statistical significance have to be taken seriously.

One major question might arise, and that is whether or not the features outlined are not simply a function of the more youthful age of the mobile workers. However, a perusal of the results according to age revealed that only in a minority of the results on which the seven

conclusions above are based was there some coincidence between them and the results for different age groups. We are confident, therefore, that even among more youthful employees, the mobile worker displays important distinguishing characteristics.

In brief it would seem that the mobile or potentially mobile employee, compared to others, is more venturesome, more individualistic and more active in his responses to the environment, as well as exercising critical judgement in his evaluation of the environment. This broad description might in a sense tie in with a further set of conclusions; these being that the mobile employee is also¹⁾:

- (i) more sensitive to or disapproving of features in the work situation which lead to job dissatisfaction;
- (ii) more critical than others of weaknesses in supervision and management-employee communication;
- (iii) less likely than others to be able to save money, despite fewer dependants and a lower level of perceived subsistence needs (they are consumer-oriented people);
- (iv) more likely to drink heavily (or more likely to admit it). This is a finding which is difficult to interpret. One would expect heavier drinking among people whose personalities would predispose them to relatively greater frustration in daily life. One might also expect the more "unconventional" and individualistic mobile employees to be more prepared to admit to heavy drinking. What the true position is we cannot say;
- (v) more likely to be confident about finding alternative employment;
- (vi) more likely than others to wish to work in the big city;
- (vii) more likely than others to have left previous employment because of dissatisfaction with wages;
- (viii) more likely than others to have a history of frequent job changes despite a shorter overall period of work. They are people "on the move".

1) Once again not all the results quoted below were found to be statistically significant, but to the extent that the results form a pattern, those that were significant tend to lend additional weight to those that were not, in the context of a broad interpretation of trends.

The attitudes and behaviour of the mobile employee, then, suggest that he is a person who is more difficult to satisfy than others. Some managers may indeed even conclude that this type of employee is best avoided. There are two major arguments against this conclusion. Firstly, the proportion of people of the type outlined above among younger African recruits is likely to increase as education and exposure to urban stimuli expand. Secondly, the point made earlier is relevant here; this being that the mobile employees probably constitute the best training potential and, in favourable employment environments, are likely to be productive employees. There is no doubt that their personal attributes seem to constitute a challenge for management in the field of personnel policy.

IV. The discussion above has suggested that the mobile employees are to some extent at least a psychologically-selected group. This does not mean, however, that labour mobility is to be explained in psychological terms alone. As we all know, social behaviour is the consequence of an interplay of social and psychological factors. A group of men such as those broadly described above will in one situation be mobile workers, in another they may be the men who rise from the ranks into elevated job positions, and in yet another situation they may be the leaders in labour protest. In the employment situations we have studied they are more highly represented than others among the leavers. Why is this so?

In all work environments, employees generally have three basic ways of orientating themselves towards their work situation: engagement, apathetic acceptance (or simply apathy), or rejection. In our introduction we typified three possible responses as "turn-on's", "turn-off's" and "turn-over's", and clearly these to some extent parallel the engagement, apathetic and rejection responses. However, the "turn-off" category as described by the authors quoted (Flowers and Hughes, 1973) is perhaps too broad. In our view there are two possible "turn-off" responses; the one involving dissatisfaction and protest (an active response) and the other involving withdrawal into apathy and docility, giving a false impression of need satisfaction (a passive response). We should also perhaps make it clear that our "engagement" category can

involve two different kinds of worker orientation; one being a "productivity" orientation (positive engagement) and the other being a "bargaining" orientation. The distinguishing feature is that whether or not the workers are productive and happy or protesting and bargaining they perceive possibilities of obtaining rewards in the workplace and actively pursue them.

The rejection response can involve more than the turnover pattern. It could conceivably take a collective form, in which workers may stage a strike or stay-away, not really expecting improvements (the orientation is not a bargaining orientation) but in order to express discontent irrespective of the consequences. Not all strikes are to be understood in identical terms. Labour protest can be strategic (bargaining) or simply retaliatory. It may also take the form of individualistic retaliation - damaging equipment, industrial sabotage, etc. It may also take the form of high absenteeism.

We may depict our classification in comparison with a modified version of Flowers and Hughes' classification in the following way:

"Turn-on" (and "Turn-on-plus")	=	Engagement - positive
"Turn-off" (active)	=	Engagement - negative
"Turn-off" (passive)	=	Apathy
"Turn-over"	=	Rejection and withdrawal
"Blocked Turn-over"	=	Rejection and retaliation or Rejection and normlessness

The nature of the response or responses in a particular work situation is determined by the structure of opportunity and reward in the workplace, the characteristics and expectations of the employees, and by the constraints and opportunities for labour, both individually and collectively, in the wider society.

On the basis of our evidence we can attempt to answer some of the questions arising out of our distinction between three basic types of response. Firstly, why do the mobile workers "turn-over" rather than "turn-on"? Why do they not engage themselves positively in their

workplace and in their jobs? Most of the answers to this are already apparent in our earlier comments, but we should perhaps amplify the discussion.

It is evident from our results that the work environment (which, as we have said, is not atypical of employment outside urban areas) provides very little incentive for positive engagement. We have shown that hardly any of the mobile workers had made any objective progress. We also concluded that virtually the entire labour force was pessimistic about the possibilities of job advancement.

Levels of grievance are generally high. Wage grievances, for example, proved to be a "saturated variable" - since virtually everyone displayed discontent about wages the mobile workers did not emerge as having greater or less serious material grievances than others. The range of wage variation is probably too restricted to offer workers the incentive to improve their positions.

The working conditions of newer employees discourage work commitment. We established relationships between mobility and irritants on the job and the amount of exertion required. Both these job conditions, considered in conjunction with the fact that progress out of these jobs was considered unlikely, must to a substantial degree discourage commitment to a particular job.

More generally, both in individual interviews and in group interviews we gained a very strong impression of widespread job dissatisfaction and, particularly but not exclusively among mobiles, a general feeling of pessimism about the possibility of achieving satisfaction. Job dissatisfaction related not only to working conditions and pay, but also to supervision, aspects of work organisation and to the arrangements for worker-representation in the factories. (We might add here that the factories concerned are probably more advanced in this latter regard than many similarly located operations - at least Works Committees were in operation.)

A productivity orientation is not simply the result of job

satisfaction. It relates particularly to the extent to which men see rewards as being linked to the effort they expend. Employees will tend to improve their own productivity if they expect the outcome of that behaviour to lead to certain highly desired goals being achieved (Hunt and Hill, 1972). Various of our findings reveal that this condition does not apply in the work situations studied. Our group interviews revealed a great deal of confusion about the way in which wages were calculated. This confusion, whether justified or not, obviously breaks down any perception an employee might have had that his pay will reflect his output. Secondly, we encountered numerous serious complaints about supervision. Since a supervisor is the person who monitors an individual's performance, and therefore might recommend him for promotion, any lack of faith in the quality of supervision immediately lowers the expectation that effort will be noticed and rewarded, directly or indirectly. More generally, our evidence contained more than one indication that there existed, especially among mobile workers, a lack of faith or trust in management's general ability to improve its operations.

Additional results not discussed in preceding sections tend to show that while they are in employment, the mobile workers were already withdrawing from work commitment; here we refer to rates of absenteeism. Absenteeism generally is highest among mobile workers and among younger, newly recruited employees.

What we arrive at then, is the conclusion that the mobile employees - as a group the workers who reveal personal attributes making them potentially productive and ambitious workers - are or feel themselves to be prevented from developing commitment to work and progress in the factories. Their perceptions of the opportunities available relative to their goals must effectively block serious engagement in the work of the factories.

A second question is, given the dissatisfactions prevalent, why do the employees who might otherwise turn-on not exercise collective

pressure for improvement, via the available labour relations system (why do they not become active turn-offs). Here again most answers to the question have already been given but a few additional comments are appropriate. Among the employees for whom this question is most relevant, the mobile group, perceptions of the adequacy of the available channel for collective pressure (the Works Committee system) are most negative. Secondly, the mobile workers appear to be most atomised, having few friends in the work place and being generally less adequately integrated into the informal factory networks than other employees. Thirdly, there is some evidence that this group of workers are more individualistically oriented than others. Hence the group which experiences greatest dissatisfaction, and which also contains individuals who might be expected (on the basis of their talents) to take leadership in collective representation, is probably discouraged by the available machinery for worker representation and also disinclined to collective action by virtue of personal values and attributes (they have an orientation towards what is called "egoistic" rather than group-based advancement).

Given these factors, why do the mobile workers turn-over (resign or suffer dismissal) rather than adopt the response of other employees which to varying degrees, is the passive "turn-off" response? This latter response would involve a lowering of expectations, a restriction of ambitions, and settling into a state of consciousness consisting of a mixture of apathy and tenuous hope for improvement. The answers to this question are really quite simple. Firstly, they have positive expectations of finding jobs in the city or elsewhere (most workers gave this answer but the mobile workers are more venturesome generally and hence put their expectations to the test). Secondly, they are more inclined than others to want to work in the city. Thirdly, they have already become accustomed to job changes and fears of uncertainty perhaps do not affect them as much as they would the longer-service employees. Fourthly, and perhaps most relevantly, in Kapferer's terms (see introduction) they have made fewer social and material "investments" in the workplace and

in the area. They have less debt than other employees, they have fewer friends and they are less inclined to have established themselves in family circumstances on or near the work place. They also are less likely than others to have large numbers of dependants. As a consequence of these lower levels of social commitment and debt obligations, the social and material costs of making a move are lower than they would be for other employees. This relative lack of constraint is complemented by the fact that mobile employees, in terms of their personal values, are less security-minded than other employees.

We would suggest that the conclusions offered in the preceding pages go fairly far toward explaining the phenomenon of labour mobility in the factories we have studied, both at the level of social-psychological factors and at the level of structural features in the employment situation.

V. Faced with a problem of labour turnover of the type we have outlined, what might a company do to retain more of the potential labour talent lost through labour mobility.

One option might be to alter recruitment policy to avoid employees of the type we have found to be more mobile than others. If a company were to avoid recruiting younger, somewhat better-educated, unmarried Africans with a history of labour mobility, the turnover problem would in all probability be reduced. Such a policy would have serious disadvantages, however. Scope for recruitment would be sharply limited, because older men are probably less frequently available and the same would apply to younger men with a stable job history. Furthermore, the company would be depriving itself of a proportion of more active, potentially productive and ambitious recruits. This latter disadvantage would be most serious in cases where company operations are expanding and becoming more complex. A static production system could possibly weather this disadvantage more easily.

A more constructive option would be to offer incentives which would encourage the potentially mobile recruits to remain. We have

indicated that various economic and social ties ("investments") to the workplace or to the area in which the workplace is situated would most probably reduce mobility. If younger workers were to be given opportunities or helped to establish themselves in family circumstances near the workplace this objective could be achieved. This, obviously, is a possible solution which should be considered seriously. The practice of housing men in single-quarter hostels has serious negative aspects quite apart from the labour mobility it encourages or facilitates. We realise, that a policy of encouraging and assisting employees to establish themselves in family homes is expensive and may be impossible in locations far away from "homeland" territory or African township areas.

In any event, a policy of the type suggested should not be adopted without attention being given to the workplace itself. We have indicated the possibility that mobile workers drink more than others. If one-sided policies were adopted which would discourage mobility without lessening job frustration, conflicts in the minds of workers could become exacerbated, and the pattern of drinking among the "mobile" group in particular could become serious. More general damage to employee morale could also be expected.

It would seem to be imperative that wage policies be reviewed both to improve the overall level of wages and to provide greater scope for wage improvement with increasing length of service. It should be made possible to earn increments quite soon after joining the company, in order to avoid the phenomenon we encountered; i.e., that people of under five years' service had made very little objective progress in the workplace.

A redesigned wage policy should be part and parcel of a job enrichment programme, once again implemented in such a way that opportunities for job advancement occur not too long after initial recruitment. We have pointed to the fact that the more mobile workers appear to have a somewhat different pattern of work motivation from the

non-mobile men. The former are less inclined to be "deficiency motivated"; they show signs of having moved up from the Maslowian first-order subsistence needs. They possibly have needs for individualistic achievement, and certainly, if our group discussion results are anything to go by, they have sharply defined desires for a recognition of their human dignity. More generally, the broad personality profiles of the mobile workers presented earlier strongly suggest that they would respond to the challenges of job-enrichment. (Obviously, we recognise that job-enrichment is more difficult in some types of production systems than others.)

Wage reorganisation and job up-grading policies would fail to achieve the desired effect if other aspects of management policy were neglected. Wage calculations must be rigorously connected to whatever system of output monitoring is adopted, and the latter should be seen to be scrupulously objective. Allowance should be seen to be made for any fluctuating external impediments to output and workers should not be penalised (if the weather, for example, reduces production, the workers' wages should not be affected).

Job advancement and promotion must be linked to performance and the basis of the recognition of performance should be carefully explained. Most importantly, the quality of supervision should be such as to create confidence among ambitious employees that their merit will be recognised and that treatment will be fair and impartial.

An important component of the mobility problem arises because of dismissals. Aspects of our results suggest that those suffering dismissal have particularly high material aspirations and were also clustered in the very heavy manual categories of work. These men also display higher absenteeism rates, pointing to the possibility of problems of morale in the group. It is quite possible that the dismissal rate is directly linked to absenteeism. Most of our earlier suggestions would apply almost equally to the category of dismissals, but

additionally, it would seem that a serious study should be made of the reasons for absenteeism and steps taken to discourage it without necessarily resulting in the firing of workers.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly of all, attention needs to be given to the pervasive pessimism among Black employees about the prospects for more progressive management policies emerging in time. It is essentially a problem of the "image" of management.

The existing labour relations system - the Committee system - has certain grave basic disadvantages but it certainly can be improved and made to fulfil a useful function. It must function so as to give employees a sense of being able to influence management decisions and to give management the opportunity to reassure workers in concrete ways that it is responsive to employee problems and needs. What has to be avoided is a system in which largely the older, more established workers of the "trusty" type serve on the committee. They simply become associated with management in the eyes of the employees. The employees may not speak openly about this, and indeed they may even respect the older committee members, but the problem of the basic legitimacy of the committee will remain. A rotation of representatives, regular feedback meetings involving all employees, and opportunities for committee members to meet with the rest of the employees separately in order to discuss policy issues, are all possible ways of improving the committee system. Thought should also be given to the possibility of involving the committee in the reviewing of disciplinary procedures and even involving a committee representative in an assessment of a disciplinary infringement before action is taken against an employee.

Some of the suggestions we have outlined were already in operation in the company we have studied. We would like to state quite clearly that the suggestions we have made should not be interpreted as specific criticisms of the factories in which we conducted fieldwork. The suggestions may be of wider relevance in other operations within the

industry, and therefore we have ventured these rather comprehensive recommendations.

At the time of writing the South African economy is in the trough of a fairly major recession, and unemployment rates are particularly high among younger African men. Currently, therefore, the problem of labour mobility may be less serious for management than it was when the fieldwork was conducted. Needless to say, however, the same problems will emerge if and when the economy improves.

Perhaps an even more important consideration is that when turnover is "artificially" constrained by unemployment, the chances are great that different and perhaps equally serious problems will emerge in the workplace, among those men who, all else being equal, would seek employment elsewhere. For this reason the suggestions we have made may be considered beneficial even at a time of reduced labour turnover.

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A P P E N D I X

APPENDIXLIST OF PROBES USED IN FIELDWORK

1. How long have you been working in this factory?
2. What is your age?
3. What is your ethnic group, and mother tongue?
4. In what places did you live before you started working?

<u>Place</u>	<u>Rural or Urban</u>	<u>No. of Years</u>
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5. What education have you received?

<u>Place of Schooling</u>	<u>Rural or Urban</u>	<u>Std. Reached</u>
---------------------------	-----------------------	---------------------
6. What jobs have you had previously?

<u>Nature of Work</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Duration</u>
-----------------------	--------------	-----------------
7. Why did you leave each of these jobs? (PROBE WELL)
8. What is your present occupation at this factory?
9. What other jobs have you done at this factory?
10. Why did you choose to come and work at this factory?
 - (a). At the time you started here did you consider going anywhere else or not?
 - (b). Did you ask anyone else's advice or not?
 - (c). When you started working here, how long did you think you would stay in this work? (PROBE FOR REASONS IF NOT PERMANENTLY)
11. Do you or do you not feel that you have made some progress in your life since you have been working at this factory? Why?
 - (a). Do you or do you not think that some men at this factory have made more progress than others? Why? (IF YES) Why have some men been more successful?
12. Have you got any plans for the future? What are they?
 - (a). What things would you personally most like to achieve in your life if you could achieve anything you liked? Why do you want these things?

13. Generally speaking, do you or do you not think it is necessary for a man to save money, if he can? Why? (PROBE) What are you saving for?
14. What sort of work would you like your sons to do? Where would you like them to work? What pay would you like them to get? What is necessary to get such jobs?
15. What sort of things can cause a man misfortune? How can a man avoid misfortune?
16. Do you feel you are healthy and strong, not very healthy and strong, or weak and sick? Why?
- (a). What things injure a man's health in the long run? (PROBE)
- (b). What are the common illnesses that can keep men away from work?
17. What things do you like to hear your friends saying about you? Why?
18. What are the important things in life that make a man contented? Why? Anything else? (PROBE)
19. Who do you admire most, a man who has many friends or a man who is rich but has no friends? Why?
20. Who do you think is more likely to be successful in life, a man who concerns himself only with his own problems, or a man who also concerns himself with the problems of his friends? Why?
21. Could you tell me who lives at your place, your home? Who is head of the household?
- (a). Home/household where presently living:
- | <u>Relationship to respondent</u> | <u>Sex</u> | <u>Age</u> | <u>Occupation</u> | <u>Whether dependent on respondent</u> |
|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------|--|
|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------|--|
22. Are there any people whom you support or help to support, who do not live at your place? (Including relatives in the homeland)
- | <u>Relationship to respondent</u> | <u>Sex</u> | <u>Age</u> | <u>Occupation</u> | <u>Place of residence</u> | <u>Amount of support per month</u> |
|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
|-----------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
23. How often do you return to your homeland?
24. If you were a free man, and could live (and work) anywhere you like, where would you like to live and work?

25. (ASK RESPONDENTS IN MARRIED QUARTERS OR SINGLE QUARTERS) If you had the opportunity, would you or wouldn't you prefer to live in a nearby homeland rather than at this factory? Why?
26. (ALLOW RESPONDENT TIME TO THINK) Besides the people in your family, how many friends whom you can trust would you say that you have at this factory? How many of them are living here near you?
27. When you are not working at your job, how do you spend your time? (PROBE) What is your favourite kind of recreation?
- (a). Is there anything you would like to do after work every day if you had more time?
- (b). What other recreation facilities would you like to be available at the factory?
- (c). If you could attend night school after work what would you like to learn?
28. How often do you drink? (DETAILS PLEASE)
- (a). When do you feel most like drinking? Why do you feel like that?
- (b). Why do people usually drink, in their everyday life? (PROBE)
29. Why does a man work? (PROBE) Any other reasons? In what order of importance would you place these reasons?
30. If a man had enough money to meet all his needs do you think he would continue working or not? Why would he? On what would it depend?
31. Do you think a man who works harder than another man should be paid more or not? Why?
- (a). What is the best way to judge how hard a man has worked?
- (b). What do the men say about someone who works harder than others? Is he popular or not? Why?
32. Do you or do you not think that some jobs should be paid more wages than other jobs? Why?
33. Under what conditions would you be prepared to work longer hours? How would you expect to be compensated?
34. During the day would you rather work quickly and have long rest-periods or work slowly and have less rest-periods? Why?

- (a). (ALTERNATIVE TO Q.34) If you have to do a certain amount of work each day, would you rather work hard and quickly and finish sooner, or work more slowly and finish later? Why?
35. What can make a man decide to stay away from work for a day? Anything else? (PROBE)
- (a). Does it ever happen that on one particular day you feel less like working than on other days? How often does this happen? Why does it happen?
- (b). Do you feel this way as soon as you awake in the morning or only after you have started working? How does it affect the way you work? Do you feel the disability more in your body or in your mind?
- (c). (OPTIONAL) Does it ever happen that all the men feel less like working on a particular day? Why is this? How do you know that the other men feel the same way as you?
36. Do you think a man should or should not lose any pay when he misses a day's work although he is not sick? Why? What would be a fair way of dealing with absence from work through illness?
37. If the White supervisors want to make changes in your work, how should they decide about the change, how should they plan the change?
- (a). How should you learn about the change, and when?
- (b). Is there any way the supervisors could make your job easier?
38. In what way can the White supervisors lead and guide the men better than they do?
39. Is the Charge-hand you work with popular with the men or not? Why?
- (a). Do you or don't you think that the Charge-hands do their job well? Why?
- (b). What qualities do you think a Charge-hand should have? Do you or don't you think that the present Charge-hands are the best that could be chosen to do their job?
40. What do you think of the idea of a senior African supervisor being in charge of the workers and the Charge-hands?
- (a). What sort of man should such a supervisor be? (PROBE)

41. What do you think about the Works Committee (that has been formed at this factory)? What should the purpose of this Committee be?
- (a). By what method should one/did you choose the representatives on the Works Committee? (PROBE) How were the candidates nominated? In what way did you vote?
 - (b). Is there any information about your job or about the Company which you feel you haven't got but which you need to know? (e.g. Are you sure you know all the rules about wages, working hours, benefits, etc.?)
 - (c). (IF YES) Have you discussed this problem with a member of your Works Committee? What has been the result?
42. What benefits do you receive from the Company? (PROBE) Anything else? Anything else? etc.
- (a). Consider each benefit in turn, and ask yourself: What do you like about it? What do you dislike about it? Rations. Accommodation. Medical Services. Protective Clothing. Transport. Subsidised Meal.
 - (b). How do you think these benefits compare with those received by other country workers and by city workers?
43. What do you think about your present wage? (IF DISSATISFIED) What would you consider a fair wage for you to receive?
- (a). How do you know whether your wage is high or low? With whom do you compare yourself?
44. Do you think there is a chance for you to get a better job at this factory or not? What could help you to get a better job? What do you need, to get a better job?
45. Do you ever worry about losing your job, or not? Why? (IF YES) What makes you think you might lose your job? (IF NO) Why do you feel secure in your job?
- (a). Have you ever thought about finding another job or not? What sort of job? Why would you like such a job?
 - (b). (IF YES) Where would you like such a job to be? Why?
 - (c). What do you think about working in a city? (PROBE) Why do you say this?
 - (d). Do you think it would be possible for you to find work elsewhere?

46. If your grievances about your life at this factory were to be put right one by one, in what order would you like to see this done?



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