

SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF LABOUR RELATIONS  
IN RURAL AND URBAN INDUSTRY

A Sociological Perspective of South  
African Industry

by

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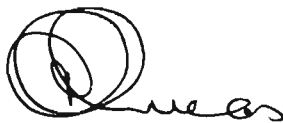
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Promoter: Professor Lawrence Schlemmer  
Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences,  
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PREFACE

The whole of the content of this thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized initial 'L' followed by the name 'ucas' in a cursive script.

B.H. LUCAS

Pietermaritzburg,  
December 1986.

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## ABSTRACT

From a review of sociological theory, and the main features of the South African labour environment, the enquiry was designed to identify pressures for change amongst South African industrial workers. Research involved 554 workers in five industrial situations, ranging from that peripheral to 'black homeland' areas to that of settled urban workers in metropolitan Durban, and 43 managers and supervisors.

Factor analysis of data revealed three themes (the 'social dynamics') in terms of which workers responded consistently. The first was the causative integration dynamic, the second the responsive dynamic of orientation to change. The interaction of these dynamics defines the nature of internal labour relations. Successful management of these dynamics demanded effective communication and involvement. The third theme was identified as the adherence dynamic, representing extrinsic pressures or responsibilities compelling workers to find employment, and inhibiting or regulating their freedom of egress. The external environment is beyond the control of management, and is influenced by both government policy and general economic conditions.

Conclusions are that historic restrictions on labour mobility and residence in South Africa have contributed significantly to conditions hindering achievement of South Africa's full growth potential. Growth impediment arises from accumulation of workers in work situations not of their choice, from which they cannot easily escape, and in which they become increasingly uncommitted and alienated. This contributes to gradual development of potential conflict which, considered generally,

assumes the character of that based on social divisions of class and race. However it also explains, through the example of South African industry, how it is possible for societies to function over long periods of time when significant levels of internal conflict and opposition remain within the bounds of equilibrium.

Capitalism in South Africa is seen in the context of an interdependent spiral of gradual economic decline and rising political discontent. Essential steps in its reversal would include removal of all restrictions on personal freedom of movement, and urgent integrative management strategies.

South African industry is compared with American and Japanese industry in the social dynamics context. The study draws independent support from, and lends support to theory evolved in United States industry from work done particularly by Hirschman (Hirschman, A.O., 1970), and Sayles (Sayles, L.R., 1958).

"There exists an urgent need in South Africa for research on the sociology of organisations to be undertaken. Many important questions cannot at this moment be satisfactorily answered because of a severe lack of empirical data. This means that actions that are taken, and which generally must be taken if anything is to be accomplished, are not taken on the basis of well-informed decisions. In other words they are not as rational as they might have been had more information been available." (Jubber, 1979. p.202).

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"If in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary, and subordinate position. Therefore, in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved." (Mao Tse Tung, 1937. p.126)

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SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF LABOUR RELATIONS IN RURAL AND URBAN INDUSTRY

- A Sociological Perspective of South African Industry.

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- A Study Outline1.1 STUDY MOTIVATION

The study which is described in the following pages was driven by an insistent curiosity that has been shared by many, a desire to get to grips with the elusive substance of the dynamics of change, preferably in a conceptually measurable way. Such a quest is of singular urgency in South Africa today, but understanding of the questions it raises are of vital interest to all societies, at all times and everywhere.

The concept of change carries with it that of order-order in the sense of a desire for adherence to that which is already established, or alternatively of interest in the new - and society's felt need for security in any progression between the two. Measurement of the desire for change in society, and the degree to which this might or might not be tempered by respect for a need for order, were thus integral to the study structure. Since the manner and causes of the action and interaction of these hypothetical factors was of great importance care was taken to ensure that their operation was to be examined in a wide variety of circumstances. Yet for the sake of seeking underlying consistencies the study had to be undertaken within a social context that would allow comparison between circumstances within the study, within a broader South Africa, and with related studies elsewhere.

The social relationship chosen was that between worker and employer in industry. It was chosen because it is the central relationship in an industrial state, the point of contact between labour and capital, between the domestic and corporate social system, and in South Africa between black and white. The nature of the relationship is also central to Marxist theory and thus to the conflict between Marxist and liberal or conservative interpretations of social and historical events, and between East and West. The bond between employer and employee is an unavoidable one in industrial society,

forced upon both by survival imperatives, just as in agrarian societies the vital relationship is that between the peasant and whoever controls the land. It is because of the vital nature of such relationships that both have featured prominently in major historical and revolutionary events.

Finally the relationship was chosen for reasons of accessibility facilitated by the author's position as a personnel manager in industry.

In this chapter detailed references are not given since the works of all authors referred to in passing appear in context at later stages in this dissertation.

## 1.2 THE THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

An overview of the literature suggested that the theoretical basis of research should take into account the sociological perspectives of both the functionalist and conflict schools. Reference was therefore made to the relevant concepts of the Parsonian and Marxist frameworks, and to related works, as the source of research purpose, definition, and content. The relevance of South African tensions, and the on-going analytical controversies between the radical, liberal and conservative interpretations of events were considered. The research setting was appropriately contextualised by analysis of the processes of social investment which are represented by the worker's entry into an employment contract. The contract thus initiated is the contact point referred to above, between people and between social systems.

The 'employment bond' thus formed was examined in the context of the South African labour environment which is characterised by the compelling pressures to seek employment which have arisen from a vanished agrarian option, a paucity of employment alternatives, low levels of social security, restricted labour mobility, and the migrant labour system. From examination of previous theoretical and practical studies of the work relationship, and of the options likely to confront the worker as his term of employment progresses, a hypothetical

framework was constructed. This framework was built about the dominant themes of the worker's change orientation and interest in order. The questions eventually posed in the research instrument tested these hypothetical themes in the context of the worker's consciousness of the cultural, social, political, economic and personal interests that could prove relevant to his industrial role. Responses were scored on a Likert scale with change orientation (from low to high) providing the score rationale.

### 1.3 THE RESEARCH ENVIRONMENT AND POPULATION

Seven separate samples of workers were interviewed in five different industrial settings in Natal and the South Eastern Transvaal. These included one timber processing plant situated in a homeland 'border' area, one in a small town, and one relatively isolated in the white farming area. They also included three samples from forestry or agro-forestry operations, and one sample of settled urban workers from a range of townships and employers in the greater Durban metropolitan area. The survey thus included workers from the full spectrum of stages in industrial development from homeland border to metropolis. Workers numbered 554 in all. Of these one third were semi-skilled and two thirds unskilled, one half lived in company single quarters, and one half in a family environment, four fifths were men and the balance women. The majority, however, were not unionised.

At three operations a total of 43 company managers or local supervisors were asked to respond to the survey schedule as they thought the average worker would respond. The contribution of this aspect of the research exercise was an evaluation of the processes of communication between management and worker and the attitudes of the former to change and accommodation.

### 1.4 DATA ANALYSIS

#### 1.4.1 Primary Analysis

Data from the completed fieldwork was computerised with the assistance

of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal in Durban. Using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) programmes the data was first subjected to reliability testing, then factor analysis. Through factor analysis three sets of test statements were identified to which workers had responded in a consistent manner. The common content of these sets of questions enabled their identification as particular themes of opinion. These three themes were labelled as the change, integration and adherence factors. The change factor reflected workers' interest both in job alternatives, and in change in the socio-economic system which provides these alternatives. The integration factor was a measure of the quality of the relationship between worker and employer as seen by the worker in terms of trust, employer sensitivity to problem representation, company concern and sincerity, the general quality of life, and equitable reciprocity in their dealings. The adherence factor reflected the principally extrinsic ties and pressures which tend to impose an inertia upon the worker, either compelling him to stay in employment from basic economic necessity, or anchoring him through personal ties, personal investment in job or home, or the progressive personal adjustment to necessity over a period of time.

To provide initial indications of exceptional factor variance, either in the various samples, or associated with particular biographical variables, multivariate and regression analysis was used. Thereafter raw scores were derived from the principal variables in each factor and used to represent the factors.

#### 1.4.2 A Worker Typology

The change and integration scores were together seen to reflect the quality of the internal relationship between worker and employer and response to it, and were strongly correlated. These were used to construct a four-category typology by which workers could be categorised according to their orientations on the issues in question. These were derived and labelled as follows:

High Change + Negative Integration	= <u>Alienated</u>
High Change + Positive Integration	= <u>Ambitious</u>
Low Change + Positive Integration	= <u>Settled</u>
Low Change + Negative Integration	= <u>Uncommitted</u>

Characteristic behaviour and attitudes that might be expected from the nature of the factor variables, and the way in which workers had responded, provided a basis for refining earlier hypotheses. The responses of each category to the survey issues were examined and related well to expectations (which is anticipated from a typology derived from factor orientations).

Subsequent to the completion of factor analysis strong independent support for the paradigm, and assistance in interpreting the different nature of responses by the four worker categories, was found in the "Exit, Voice, Loyalty, Neglect" (EVLN) model. This model was and still is being developed in the USA by Farrell, Rusbult and Lowery from research data derived from surveys amongst U.S. federal employees, and from the theoretical guidelines of Hirschman. These behavioural labels referred to the core behaviours that could be expected from four employee types, these being comparable respectively to the four categories noted above.

A second source of independent support was found, at a later stage, in Sayles' study of industrial work groups in Michigan (1951 - 1955). From observation of the behaviour and history of work groups Sayles divided work groups according to their dominant characteristics. The patterns he described coincide almost exactly with those established here through factor analysis.

The interpretation of research results allow a virtual synthesis of three models independently developed from different theoretical origins in very different work environments. Together they further the analysis of the processes of change and of the progression in social groups from a stable and conservative state of consensus to conditions of potential conflict based on a desire for radical change.

### 1.4.3 Significant Variables

A number of biographical variables proved occasionally significant but by the conclusion of the study it became apparent that a major consideration was whether or not workers lived in hostels or "en famille", the latter state being the more settling of course, since conflict between the roles of worker and family member are thus reduced. Perhaps even more important was the perception of the environmental conditions, behind the adherence factor, which determined the fluidity or viscosity of the labour market. Restricted labour mobility (and herein lies the importance of labour market fluidity) inhibits exit from unsatisfactory work situations, resulting in accumulations of dissatisfied and unsatisfactory workers.

### 1.4.4 Managers and Supervisors Assessments

The process referred to above indicates that a sluggish labour market presents management with more difficult circumstances to manage and supervisors with more difficult relationships.

Relevant to this task was the analysis of managers' and supervisors' estimates of "average worker" response to the survey schedule. The majority tended to make too conservative an assessment. Accuracy of assessment was effected by a number of considerations discovered in subsequent discussion and investigation. Media exposure tended to heighten sensitivity to threatening possibilities so that company level managers, subjected to a heavy flow of industrial relations material, were with very few exceptions very accurate in their estimates. They were also not subject to an influence having the opposite effect—constant routinised associations with the loyal, settled employees which in the case of local supervisors can have a reassuring but misleading effect. Another important characteristic which effected the accuracy of their estimates was their views on the question of interpersonal communication. Authoritarian supervisors exhibiting preferences for downward communication were less accurate in their estimates than those who placed a heavy emphasis upon two-way, adult-to-adult communication with workers and upon prompt problem resolution.

## 1.5 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

### 1.5.1 A Social Dynamics Theory of the Employment Bond

The evidence and comparisons available in the study allow the identification of the three themes referred to as "social dynamics" which together determine the labour relations profile of the relevant work group.

The integration dynamic was identified as causative in that integration failure leads to dissatisfaction, thence to a desire for change. The change dynamic is therefore responsive in nature. The response to dissatisfaction in brief terms progresses from interest in effecting change by increasingly vocal and insistent representations to a more aggressive expression, and finally to a desire to leave the organisation. Alternatively dissatisfaction can lead to neglect and lack of commitment. The third dynamic is the adherence dynamic which is regulative in that it reflects the pressures forcing the worker into a particular situation, and preventing him from leaving it if he has become sufficiently dissatisfied to want to do so.

Since any organisation cannot suit everybody there will always be some who are not satisfied. The more inhospitable the external environment becomes, through factors such as recession and unemployment, and legislative or administrative controls over labour mobility, the more the departure of dissatisfied workers is arrested.

Results of the research show that workers who are classified in the model as 'Alienated' or 'Uncommitted' generally have negative attitudes towards work, are less productive, more frustrated and more aggressive. A restrictive labour market, offering few practical job alternatives, creates 'viscous' conditions for the worker, restricting facility of movement. This leads to an accumulation of demanding, under-productive workers in much the same way as sluggish cash flow leads to an accumulation of under-productive capital. The logical results are a deteriorating labour relations climate, rising costs and declining revenue.

The opposite condition in which labour can move freely allows the

departure of dissatisfied workers whilst those who find conditions to their liking are the element who now accumulate of their own free will, creating as a group a positive industrial relations climate, increasing revenue, and an increased capacity to pay better wages. Firms not passing on benefits of improved production risk slipping back into the negative dynamics spiral.

External environmental factors, which are fundamentally affected by government, the central bank, and international trading conditions, as well as demographic considerations, impact heavily upon the nature of the problems which management of a company has to deal with in labour relations. From this premise certain projections of the social dynamics principles are possible.

#### 1.5.2 The Implications for Management

Whatever the circumstances presented to management by external conditions they have to be managed to best advantage to minimise counter-productive influences. What is suggested by the theoretical base, now provided by the social dynamics of labour relations, is the adoption of an integrative management strategy aimed at securing the commitment of all employees at all levels.

At "interface" level this requires training in interface skills for workers and supervisors, renewed emphasis on supervisory training and on sincerely implemented human relations skills, and the development of quality control circles which are only sustainable in an integrated environment. These approaches need to be developed within the framework of a totally supportive corporate philosophy to which top, senior and middle management are completely committed. The participative management philosophies of companies such as those identified in the studies of 'excellent' companies by Peters and Waterman, which currently provide popular reading in management circles, offer examples of the American approach. Freedom of vertical mobility in the company is a necessary aspect of such policies. At ownership level the integration of employees into a fuller commitment can be additionally re-inforced by access to company assisted share ownership schemes - or 'participative ownership' of the kind growing in

popularity in Britain.

Traditional Japanese employment practice in industry was generally seen as too reliant upon the integration dynamic with certain disadvantages. Traditional American philosophy was seen as too reliant on the active response dynamic and over-emphasised individual progress and self-reliance. The excellent company, in social dynamics terms, is highly conscious of both dynamics, integrating employees and responding promptly and conscientiously to dissatisfaction. It also applies the same principles to customer relations, since the social dynamics considerations apply to marketing as much as to employment practice - dissatisfaction with the product leads to first mild, then aggressive complaint, and then to exit in favour of a competing firm's product.

Firms that have no sensitivity to 'voice', in the sense it is used in the EVLN model referred to, which is that of vocal representation and pressure for change, and which fail to respond positively to it, will do less well than their full potential in a monopolistic market or in conditions of imperfect competition. In highly competitive industries they will eventually be eliminated. Voice, and active response to it, are the cutting edge of competition and survival in a free market economy.

### 1.5.3 The Implications for National Productivity

The difficulties of firms subjected to the broad economic inefficiencies that can be logically associated with an unfree labour market are common to a greater or lesser degree to all which suffer the same restrictions. The nett result of restrictive labour mobility policies can only have been a constant factor of attrition in the depressed average rate of annual growth in national per capital output. This the National Productivity Institute cites as only 0,3 percent during the period 1972 - 1983, and levels of absolute output per capita which fall well below those of most industrialised countries.

The question is one of great public concern, and represents a

frustration of collective private effort over decades. The stifling effect of a mismanaged 'third dynamic', as argued in the final chapter, is one over which a government exercises the major part of those controls which are possible. Years of restriction upon freedom of residence and job mobility have had a price in terms of stunted growth which has yet to be paid by a whole nation and by generations to come. Its effects cannot be finitely calculated - nor can they be reversed in the short term.

The promise of some movement by government is now being shadowed by gathering momentum in the disinvestment and sanctions movement. The effects will be the continued entrapment of workers in jobs not of their choice, with no more personal freedom than before. And there are, of course, other effects.

#### 1.5.4 The Implications for Political Stability

The change dynamic reflects an active response, or a desire for active response, to dissatisfaction. Contained within an unwanted environment, levels of popular frustration are raised without options for their release except by mounting aggression against the systems in which and by which they perceive themselves restrained - capitalism and authoritarian government. There may thus accumulate a stagnant mass of alienated workers, anchored in patterns of thought and behaviour which increasingly assume the characteristics of class oppositions and contribute to class conflict.

It was noted that the change dynamic included, interspersed with expressions of interest in job alternatives, receptivity to suggestions of change in the entire socio-economic system. On the dynamic the divisions of opinion were seen to be evenly divided in the whole study, with local variations about the point of equilibrium. The distributions seen in the scattergrams provided show that social states cannot generally be firmly classified as ones of total consensus or of total conflict. Rather, as Cohen indicates, both states co-exist in tension with each other. However, the enforcement of economically inefficient

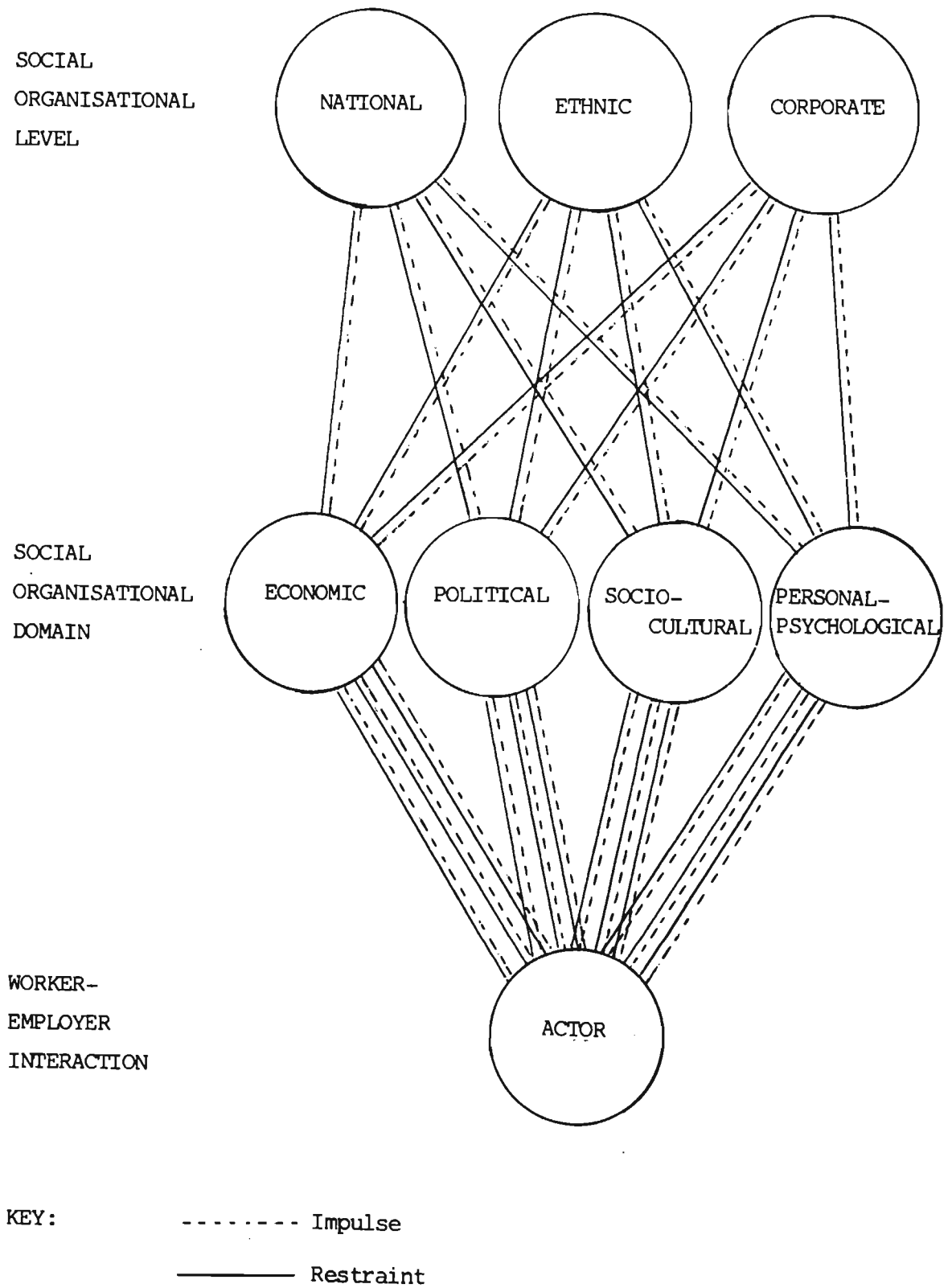
policies leads to resentment of the current system and eventual erosion of the economy's and society's capacity to resist decline and collapse.

Reference to theories of revolution and of aggressive political participation suggests their association with the accumulation of public frustration, constricted economic options, and growing social solidarity on the questions at issue.

The options facing South African society in the short to medium term include the survival or demise of capitalism. A capitalist or free enterprise economy cannot survive unless it is unfettered and unless its institutions and organisations respond actively, rapidly, and effectively to the challenge.



FIGURE 2.1 SOCIAL PRESSURE AND CONSTRAINT FOCUS IN WORKER-EMPLOYER RELATIONSHIP



intended to convey the fact that the worker and, likewise, his supervisor, manager, and peers, are the products of social forces derived from the various levels and social environments referred to above. These social forces are, in broad terms, likely to be either "motivating-to-action" goal-oriented needs, ambitions or other pressures, or otherwise "constraining-from-action", cautionary considerations of an economic, political, legal, moral, emotional, physical, or purely practical nature. The balance of these social forces must be the determinant of the worker's eventual decisions, and the form of his interaction with the other actors in the work environment, who are also subject to a similar but uniquely different set of pressures and constraints.

A central and major question of South African industrial relations today must be whether a factory, or other work-place environment, is predominantly one of social conflict, or one of voluntary co-operation between its elements. Alternatively is it an amalgam of both conflict and co-operation, and if so from what are these elements derived and how do they inter-relate?. Obviously important in industry everywhere these questions are the more so in South Africa where, in the main, the divisions between management and worker, capital and labour, coincide with those of race.

The answer to such questions can only be found, if at all, in an identification of the major social dynamics of human interaction in South African industry, and an assessment of their influence in determining attitudes towards the existing social and industrial order, and the intensity of the desire for change which these may provoke. However, work groups in company or corporate systems of social activity are elements of the broader national or ethnic systems within which they function, or from which they are derived. An investigation of their characteristics needs therefore to be preceded by an examination of the broader field of sociological theory wherein the means for empirical research may be found.

## 2.2 INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT IN SOCIETY

### 2.2.1 Differing Schools of Theory

It is, or has been, in certain quarters, fashionable to refer to two opposing schools of thought in sociological theory. These are,

firstly, the "structural-functionalist", or "integration" school which perceives society as based upon a consensus of values between its members, co-ordinated by the integration of their interests and institutions, and secondly, the "conflict" school which perceives society as primarily based upon conflict between its elements, controlled by coercion and pressure.

The debate has often been heated, acrimonious, caustic or dismissive. Of this Schumpeter (1942. p.54) provides an apposite example:

"(In Marx) the exaggeration of the definiteness and importance of the dividing line between the capitalist class in that sense and the proletariat was surpassed only by the exaggeration of the antagonism between them. To any mind not warped by the habit of fingering the Marxian rosary it should be obvious that their relationship is, in normal times, primarily one of co-operation and that any theory to the contrary must draw largely on pathological cases for verification."

However, in most of the social sciences at any rate, the obvious may often not be the truth, or when it is, it is only part of the truth. The task of sociological enquiry must be "the perception of the reality behind the facades." (Berger, 1963. p.44).

Orum (1983, p.104) referred to the alleged polarity of the conflict and consensus theories in sociology as a red herring - "Marx and Weber are assumed to represent the former perspective, and Parsons to serve as an example of the latter one. This opposition is at most, one of emphasis. No careful student can fail to find important elements of agreement, in values and attitudes for instance, in Marx, or to locate important elements of conflict in Parsons."

### 2.2.2 Dahrendorf's Models of Society

Dahrendorf (1958, p.105) rejected the sufficiency of a "structural-functionalist or consensus" theory of society resting on these main elements.

- "1. Every society is a relatively persisting configuration of elements.
2. Every society is a well-integrated configuration of elements.
3. Every element in society contributes to its functioning.
4. Every society rests on the consensus of its members."

He postulated and developed a complementary model diametrically opposed on all these elements:

1. Every society is subjected at every moment to change; social change is ubiquitous.
2. Every society experiences at every moment social conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous.
3. Every element in a society contributes to its change.
4. Every society rests on constraint of some of its members by others."

Comparing his opposing models Dahrendorf wrote that "it appears that the juxtaposed pairs of postulates are in no way mutually exclusive with respect to social reality. It is impossible to decide by empirical investigations which of the two models is more nearly correct ... both models are in a certain sense valid and analytically fruitful. Stability and change, consensus and constraint are, it would seem, two equally valid aspects of every imaginable society."

A more detailed comparison of models was provided by Cohen.

### 2.2.3 Cohen's Models of Society

Cohen (1968. p.166-172) expanded upon the arguments and elements underlying the "allegedly" different models of society and his "Models A and B" representing the consensus/integration/structural-functionalist and the coercion/conflict approaches respectively summarise their contrasting features clearly and concisely:

COHEN'S MODELS OF SOCIETYMODEL A(CONSENSUS/INTEGRATION)

- (a) Norms and values are the basic elements of social life
- (b) Social life involves commitment
- (c) Societies are necessarily cohesive
- (d) Social life depends upon solidarity
- (e) Social life is based on reciprocity and co-operation
- (f) Social systems rest on consensus
- (g) Society recognises legitimate authority
- (h) Social systems are integrated
- (i) Social systems tend to persist

MODEL B(COERCION/CONFLICT)

- (a) Interests are the basic elements of social life
- (b) Social life involves inducement and coercion
- (c) Social life is necessarily divisive
- (d) Social life generates opposition, exclusion and hostility
- (e) Social life generates structured conflict
- (f) Social life generates sectional interests
- (g) Social differentiation involves power
- (h) Social systems are malintegrated and beset by 'contradictions'
- (i) Social systems tend to change

Model A, he said, emphasised the importance of norms and legitimacy through the characteristics of commitment, cohesion, solidarity, consensus, reciprocity, co-operation, integration, stability and persistence. Model B however emphasised interests and power through the characteristics of coercion, division, hostility, dissensus, conflict, malintegration and change.

Cohen himself was critical of the dichotomous view, pointing out that the elements of the models were not mutually exclusive, nor did the acceptance of the elements of one model automatically imply that the other elements in the model need be accepted also.

"It may be," he wrote, "that the possession of a particular characteristic in the most extreme form would exclude the possession of its opposite. But no one could surely suggest that societies usually have only the characteristics listed under (Model) A or only those listed under B."

It is not the intention at this point to attempt any reconciliation of the opposing models, since such argument can range over all the levels and elements of any social system, and their interactions, internal or external, present or future, netting more than one of Orum's "red herrings." But if, as Cohen remarked, societies usually possess each of the characteristics of his two models and its opposite in tension with one another, then together they are a fruitful source of the social action criteria to be considered in constructing any instrument of sociological research, and each will be considered in the following pages.

## 2.3 CONSENSUS, INTEGRATION, OR STRUCTURAL -FUNCTIONALIST THEORY

### 2.3.1 Structural-Functionalism as an Holistic Approach

Reading (1976. p.91) defines functionalism as "the doctrine that social or cultural elements are functionally interdependent." Society and its component structures and elements are seen as an interrelated and integrated whole. Change in one social element leads to a measure of dissonance with related elements. Such dissonance either leads to the accommodation of change by the adjustment of the related elements, or its frustration or modification by their collective inertia or resistance. Faunce (1968. p.4-7) analogises society in structural-functional terms with the physical edifice of a building. Social roles are a society's building blocks, the division of labour (or the distribution of social role-tasks) determine its width and plan, power and status at succeeding layers determine its vertical dimensions and profiles, and social integration determines how these units and dimensions are linked together. Cohen (1968. p.14) refers to functionalism as an holistic approach which tends to treat societies as social wholes having characteristics similar to those of a biological organism with systemic properties.

Functionalism is often attacked as being inadequate to the task of explaining processes of conflict and change. Exception has also been taken to its reference to "need" and "systems" as though society was a biological entity instead of an inanimate concept. Such charges were firmly rebutted by Parsons (1977, p.180) in this explanation of function:

"Functional significance may be determined by the simple criterion of the dysfunctional consequences of failure, deficit, or excess of an input to a receiving system, as asphyxiation is the consequence of failure in oxygen input, and so oxygen input is judged to be functionally significant for the organism. Function is the only basis on which a theoretically systematic ordering of the structure of living systems is possible. In this context functional references certainly need beg no question about how structural arrangements have come about, since the biological concepts of variation, selection, and adaptation have long since provided a framework for analysing the widest variety of change processes."

The value of functional theory as a reference source for sociological phenomena as the raw material for empirical research lies precisely in its holistic all-embracing nature which, at its highest level, seeks to explain the whole field of human interaction.

Without derogation from other major theorists of the functionalist school, and the pioneers of sociological theory, to whom he was indebted, it can be said that none adopted a more holistic approach to theory than did Talcott Parsons (1902-1979). His work provides the most comprehensive contemporary presentation of structural-functional theory. It is therefore proposed to sketch an outline of his theoretical framework before leading into other works which focus on the conflictive and coercive aspects of society.

### 2.3.2 Role, Collectivity, and Interaction

Although it is tempting to begin with the grand conceptions of Parsons which embraced all living systems, he advised his students to start at the other end of the social spectrum with the single actor or, in their plurality the collectivity of actors (social units):

"A role may now be defined as the structured, i.e. normatively regulated, participation of a person in a concrete process of social interaction with specified, concrete role partners. The system of such interaction of a plurality of role-performers is, so far as it is normatively regulated in terms of common values and of norms sanctioned by these common values, a collectivity." (Parsons.1961 (b) p.167).

By actor, it is clear, Parsons thought not of an individual in his totality, but of the "individual-in-role" as the smallest unit of the social system (Parsons. 1961 (a). p.74 - "for social systems the minimum unit is the role of the participating individual actor.") The individual may fulfil many roles in many different contexts - he may for example be commuter in the morning, factory worker in the day, soccer club member in the afternoon, and father and husband again in the evening - although of course influenced by the particularities of his individual personality, this very personality is shaped to a large extent by the values instilled in the individual and 'internalised' from the formative processes of acculturation and socialisation which project the values of society through parents, peers, schools and other institutions.

In their role capacities members of society interact with each other in what Parsons refers to as the double contingency of interaction.

"The concept of interaction is the first order step beyond the action concept itself toward formulating the concept of social system. In speaking of action we assume meaningful motivations and goal directedness.....

The crucial reference points for analysing interaction are two: (1) that each actor is both acting agent and object of orientation both to himself and to the others, and (2) that, as acting agent, he orients to himself and to others and, as object, has meaning to himself and to others, in all of the primary modes or aspects ...

From these premises derives the fundamental proposition of the double contingency of interaction ...

Of course the contingency factor multiplies with each addition to the number of acting units."

Despite the 'contingency factor', and the consequent potential complexity of interaction, society has ready-formulated expectations of the daily roles of the actor which exert a regulating force upon his behaviour, and for which society has partially pre-conditioned him.

In addition the character of interaction between actors is further shaped and limited by the orientational alternatives open to each, and which each must resolve in determining their course of action. These 'dilemmas' were referred to by Parsons as 'pattern variables' and they are represented by terms indicating the extremes or polarities of choice implicit in each. These are outlined briefly below. (Parsons. 1951. p.106):

(i) Affectivity vs Affective Neutrality

The alternatives of orientations here implied are the actor's choice between immediate gratification, or its deferment which requires both self-discipline, and practical option.

(ii) Self-orientation vs Collectivity-orientation

These alternatives suggest that an actor needs to determine whether priority should be given to individual or to collective interests.

(iii) Universalism vs Particularism

The implied choice of decision in this instance is whether the actor should treat the other, the social object, in accordance with the general or universal norms or moral values governing role-expectations, or in a manner derived from alter's particular relationship to ego.

(iv) Achievement vs Ascription

The implied alternatives are that an actor's attitude to another may be determined by the latter's achievement and performance, or that it may be determined by what the latter is (i.e. male or female, black or white, member or non-member), and a socially ascribed, categorical response.

(v) Specificity vs Diffuseness

Here the actor may decide whether to interrelate with alter on the basis of the specificity of alter's role. For example, if ego is a passenger on a bus and alter is the bus conductor the interrelationship of roles is limited and situation-specific. If alter is also a friend, or a member of the same football club, the relationship is more diffuse even though the primary transaction is function-specific. In a tribal or rural society relationships are generally more diffuse and alter may have many roles in relation to ego, e.g. as senior kinsman, and as spiritual, military and political leader. Generally the more developed and specialised the society the more specific, rather than diffuse, are most role orientations.

The pattern variables provide opportunity for comparisons between the reality and theory of practice in South African industry. For example does practice adhere to the theoretical free-enterprise reward of advancement in return for achievement, or is advancement wholly, mainly, or partly a matter of ascribed racial or language group status? They also draw attention to contrasts between the probable and theoretical orientations of members of a rural, traditional or tribal society, members of a modern western industrial society. Likely decision patterns on economic questions would be as follows:

<u>Rural Traditional</u>	<u>Modern Urban Industrial</u>
Affective	Affective Neutrality
Collectivity-orientation	Self-orientation
Particularism	Universalism
Ascription	Achievement
Diffuseness	Specificity

These orientations are arguable and not invariable, but for the most part they will prove to be opposite in nature. The fact that

modern day black workers in South Africa are mostly migrants in both figurative time and space between (to varying degrees), rural-traditional and urban-industrial life-styles renders uncertain any glib "ascription" of their likely decision orientations. Some measurement of their comparative attitudes towards traditional and modern social values seems to be suggested as a useful component of research structure.

It will be noted that the concept of role prescription, and of patterned decision making, already conveys the impression of moderating or controlling influences upon the actor, whatever his individual proclivities may be in an interaction situation. Even if in some roles the social expectation is one of aggression such as might be expected by the fans or followers of a boxer, a soldier, or an activist leader, the same expectation will not apply to the actor's other social roles, or to those of most of the other actors with whom he interacts in other social situations.

### 2.3.3 Norms and Values

As was noted above Parsons thought of society in a structural sense as being divided into two main subdivisible components. One of these, the "collectively organised population," or "collectivity", and its interaction, have been referred to above. The other is the "normative order" which includes the norms and values which in a very broad sense are the laws and rules of social interaction. Parsons regarded a shared basis of normative order as the most important single condition of the integration of an interaction system. (Parsons 1977. p.168):

"The concept of a shared basis of normative order is basically the same as that of a common culture or a symbolic system. The prototype of such an order is language. A language involves a code, consisting of the generalised norms which define "correct" speech or writing, as the basis for using symbols to formulate and transmit messages. Although there is considerable minor deviation, the massive fact is that all speakers of a language 'observe' the norms of the code - 'conform' to them if you will - on penalty of not being understood."

This cultural analogy provides a powerful example of the influence of a normative order and the fate of social actions that do not meet "system" criteria.

Values have a general application, or shared normative value, throughout the social system or through several or many sections of it. They derive their authority and legitimacy from the cultural system of which more will be said. At a less general level 'norms' have regulatory significance for particular social processes and relationships, and for more specific social units. They do not embody the principles which apply beyond the collectivity or limited social unit, (though they should not contradict these). "In more advanced societies, the structural focus of norms is the legal system." (Parsons. 1969. p.21).

Legislative enactments or provisions are usually specific to social situations or functions. In a smaller societal unit, such as a factory, disciplinary or safety rules provide a parallel. Both laws and company rules which are 'norms' draw upon the underlying and acknowledged 'values' of society and from these derive their legitimacy. A factory safety requirement may be the wearing of "hard-hats" in certain areas of the factory, and observance may be enforced by disciplinary rules. The norm of behaviour by all workers is thus prescribed, the underlying 'value' is the common respect for human life and safety. Laws or rules which contradict, or cannot draw upon the moral foundation of shared values will lack legitimacy in the eyes of those who do not share them, and the question is thus of critical importance in multi-cultural societies such as that in South African industry.

As has been indicated in reference to the role-actor, values particularly, and also norms, become 'internalised' in the individual by acculturation and socialisation, or in the case of collectivities, "institutionalised." In this sense the collectively organised population is the focal point of action between the cultural system as the origin of the normative order, and the personality system, in which it becomes instilled to a greater or lesser degree, exerting a stabilising influence with which the individual's personality and personal goals may identify.

As Cohen (1968. p.28) points out in discussing what is referred to as the 'value-consensus' theory of social order, commitment to common moral values may collapse when circumstances change radically, and disorder may result also from a clash of values in the contact between different societies. Values no doubt have an integrating function to the extent that they are shared within the memberships of a social group, or between the members of different, interacting groups. Where they are not shared the fact may be of neutral or disruptive significance.

#### 2.3.4 Functional Requirements of Society: The Four-function Paradigm

Concerning the functional organisation of any social system, or indeed any living system, Parsons postulated that it had to provide for four basic functional sub-systems to determine the ends and provide the means for coping with the exigencies thrust upon the system from both internal and external sources.

"The main guiding line of the analysis is the concept that a complex social system consists of a network of inter-dependent and interpenetrating sub-systems, each of which, seen at the appropriate level of reference, is a social system in its own right, subject to all the functional exigencies of any such system relative to its institutionalised culture and situation and possessing all the essential structural components, organized on the appropriate levels of differentiation and specification." (Parsons, 1961 (b). p.168)

Mayhew (1982. p.29) in introducing Parson's selected writings emphasised this point, which is fundamental in understanding Parson's theoretical base:

"The key to this entire edifice of four-fold classification is found in the notion that each functional sub-system of a larger system is itself a system, and as such has its own four sub-systems; or, looking at the hierarchy from the other direction, each system is a functional sub-system of yet a larger system. Thus the whole realm of organized action can be analysed as a complex set of systems within systems within systems."

The four-functions basic to the paradigm were Adaptation, Goal Attainment, Integration, and (latent) Pattern Maintenance. In diagrammatic representations these functions are normally represented by the initial letters A,G,I,L (in Macro-systems) or a,g,i,l (in micro-systems). These are described briefly below, and the descriptions are assisted by reference to Figures 2.2 and 2.3:

(i) Adaptation (A)

This functional sub-system provides a means for perceiving the nature of the external pressures and requirements of the system's environment, of communicating these needs to the other functional sub-systems, and of interacting appropriately with the environment. In terms of the whole human action system represented in Figure 2.2. this function is carried out by the human physical organism itself. In terms of the less extensive social system represented in Figure 2.3 the adaptive function is carried out by the economy, the means through and by which the social system adapts to its external environment and survives.

(ii) Goal-Attainment (G)

This functional sub-system provides the larger system with a system for determining the ends or goals, and their priorities, for dealing with the external pressures sensed through the adaptive function. In the broader human action system this capacity is found in the personality system. In the social system the function is that of the political system which determines the ends to be met in coping with pressures primarily external to the system.

(iii) Integration (I)

The integrative function is concerned with internal ends which principally "concerns the mutual adjustments of (the system's) units or sub-systems from the point of view of their contributions to the effective functioning of the system as a whole." (Parsons.1961 (b) p.163).

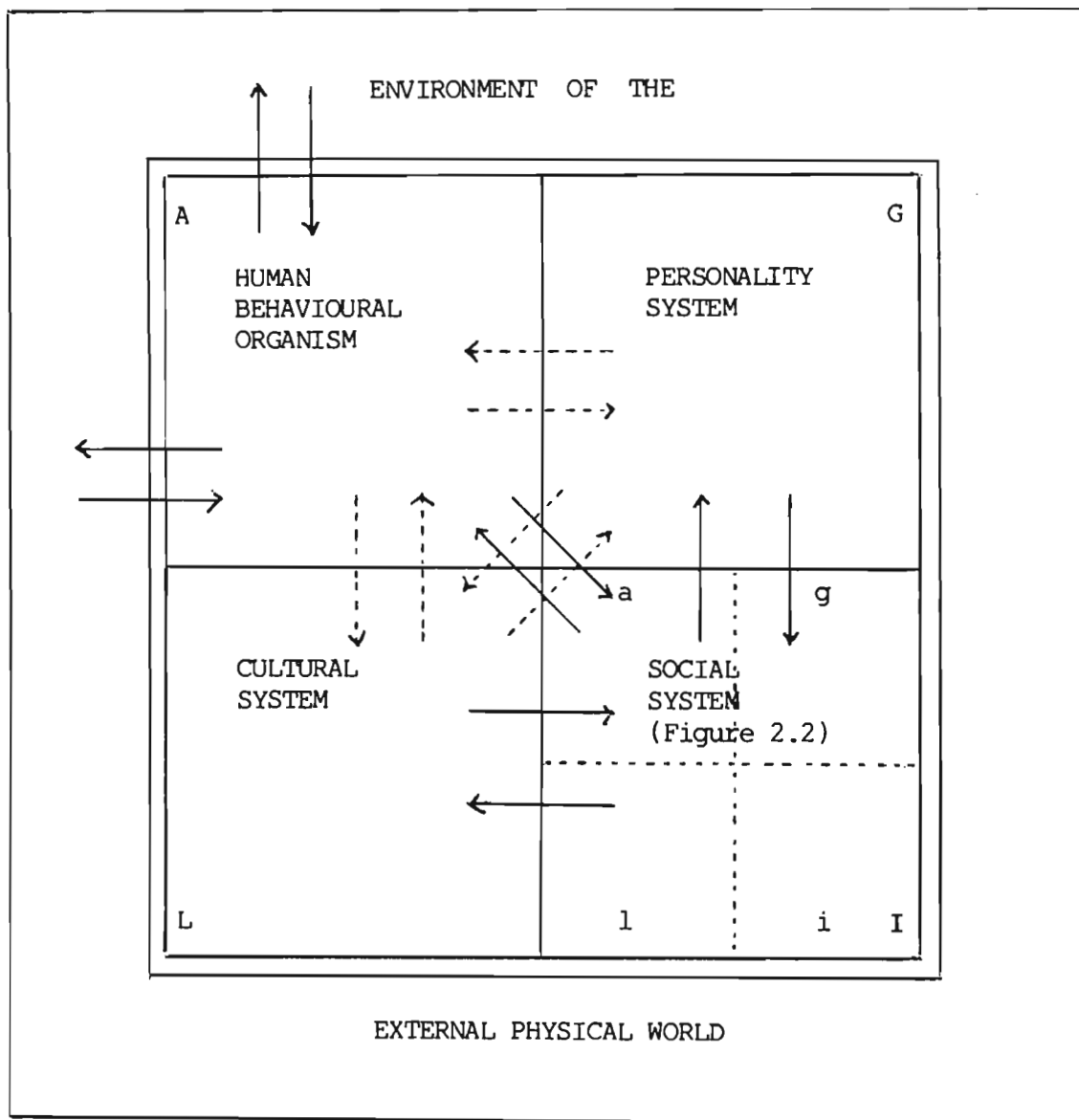
In the larger scheme of the totality of human action this function is that of the social system, and within the social system itself the function is specifically that of the societal community, which is the sum of the collectivities and role-actors in their interaction situations, and which have been discussed in section 2.3.2 above.

(iv) (Latent) Pattern Maintenance (L)

The latent pattern-maintenance sub-system is an internal means for the functioning of the system: "the principal resource for integration of the units within a system is consistency in the basic pattern of their relations. Hence, a system must have means of establishing and sustaining a stable structure." (Mayhew, 1982. p.26). The latency of this sub-system is that it is a defining resource for the other 'active' sub-systems with which it may interact. In the broader scheme of human action this function is carried out by the 'cultural' system, the ultimate social source of society's value systems. In the smaller-scale social system pattern maintenance is fulfilled by the fiduciary system which can be regarded as including those bodies which interpret and perpetuate the general and enduring normative order of the social system: religious, cultural-educational, kinship, and professional organisations are examples. (Parsons, 1977:p.388).

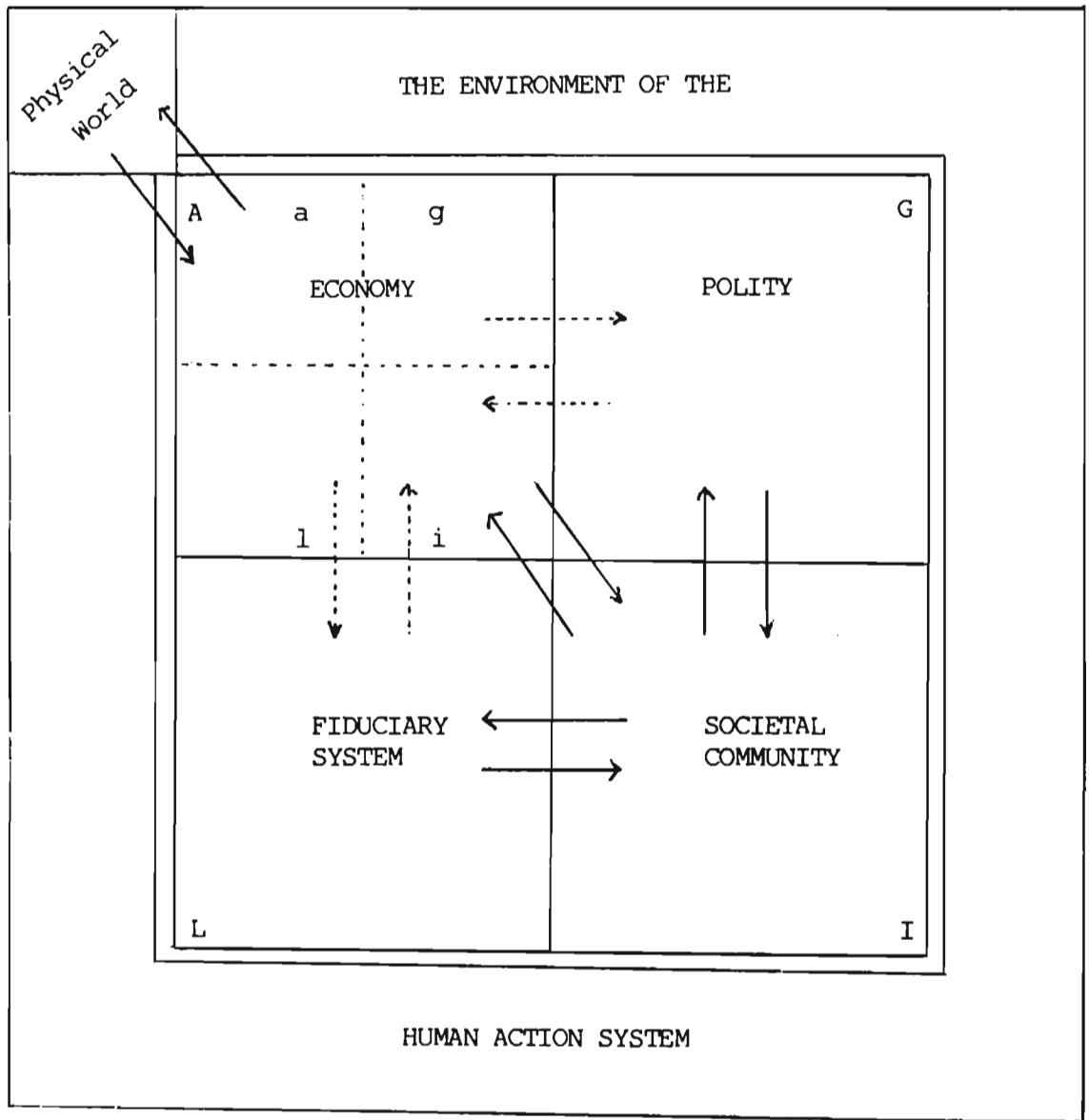
Apart from internal interaction between social units within sub-systems, there is of course interaction across the boundaries of sub-systems. Exchange processes occur between all the four sub-systems (Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration and Pattern maintenance), but relations with the external environment are mediated through the adaptive sub-system after integration within the integrative sub-system. Hence the distinction of these interchange routes in Figures 2.2 and 2.3 as primary routes of interchange.

FIGURE 2.2 THE HUMAN SOCIAL ACTION SYSTEM: FUNCTIONAL ORGANISATION



- A - Adaptation
- G - Goal attainment
- I - Integration
- L - (Latent) Pattern maintenance
- (primary) interchange routes
- - - - -> Other interchange routes

FIGURE 2.3 THE SOCIAL SYSTEM: FUNCTIONAL SUB-SYSTEM ORGANISATION



In the process of interaction there is "goal-directedness" and certain "media of exchange." There are principally four methods of obtaining compliance with goal-directed demands, and these are related to specific "media of exchange" most usually found in one of the four functional sub-systems. These relationships, in brief, are:

<u>Method of</u> <u>Influencing alter</u>	<u>Medium of</u> <u>Exchange</u>	<u>Functional</u> <u>Sub-system</u>
Inducement	Money	Economy (Adaptive)
Deterrence	Power	Polity (Goal Attainment)
Persuasion	Influence	Societal Community (Integrative)
Invoking Commitment	Commitments	Fiduciary System (Pattern maintenance)

#### 2.3.5 The Relevance of Functional Theory to Empirical Research

Structural-functionalism, which Parsons' theories are seen to epitomise in the broad sense, has been criticised for imputing the concepts of "need" and "system" to social groups as though they were a single, almost conscious biological organism, and as deficient in explaining change and conflict. Parsons' retort was quoted earlier.

Haralambos (1980. p.10) summarising an introductory account of functionalism says:

"In summary, society, from a functionalist perspective, is a system made up of inter-related parts. The social system has certain basic needs which must be met if it is to survive. These needs are known as functional prerequisites. The function of any part of society is its contribution to the maintenance of society. The major functions of social institutions are those which help to meet the functional prerequisites of society. Since society is a system there must be some degree of integration between its parts.

A minimal degree of integration is therefore a functional prerequisite of society. Many functionalists maintain that the order and stability they see as essential for the maintenance of the social system are largely provided by value consensus. An investigation of the source of value consensus is therefore a major concern of functionalist analysis."

It is difficult to envisage any form of human existence and interaction that can be dignified by the term social that does not entail a high degree of integration and functional interdependence within or between its elements. Functionalism presents a working model of society in its most integrated and interdependent state. For so long as a social unit remains as one, with common mechanisms of political, economic, social, and moral or legal control, and to the extent that it does so, it may be regarded as a functional "system."

However the primary functions of Parsons' social model themselves present the sources of conflict and social anarchy. Adaptation to environmental pressure, as a harsh and unavoidable motivator and regulator of all human action, must breed both resentment and compliance. Control of the resources necessary to goal attainment is achieved from competition between interest groups and the paramountcy of the fittest, of winners over losers. Value consensus and pattern-maintenance is achieved by the successful defense of existing norms against innovation, or by the incorporation of innovation which must be derived from dissident value supporters. The integrative institutions of the social system are able to reconcile these conflicting forces within society, or between its units, or they are not, and the extent to which they are successful determines the predominance of order, stability and integration, or the emergence of change and its instabilities, malintegration or disintegration. Functional theory tends to describe society at its integrated pole but, however integrated, each social unit simultaneously "contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction."

Whatever the real or semantic objections to functionalism it has the virtue of containing within its frame of reference most of the

recognisable institutions of most social organisations, and it attempts to explain their interrelationships. An unabashed theorist, Parsons nevertheless decried hiatus between theorist and empiricist investigation. Theory, he maintained, provided the criteria for discriminating selection of important from unimportant fact in the vast welter that faces the sociologist (Parsons.1938.p.74-75). It also provided a framework which lent coherence and direction to research effort, with a catalytic effect in research development lacking in theoretically isolated studies. His closing plea was:

"Let us take what we already have and both use it to the utmost and develop it as rapidly as we can. Let us not either through failure to understand what it is that we have or through disillusionment with its very real shortcomings, throw it overboard to the tragic detriment of the interests of our science. If it is used and developed through the intimate co-operation of empirical and theoretical work, I am very hopeful for the future of sociological science."

Functionalism provides an important source of the social phenomena which can test the degree of integration in society by their presence or their absence in the results of an empirical study.

## 2.4 SOCIAL CONFLICT THEORY

### 2.4.1 The Delimitation of Discussion

Of functionalist or integration theory it might be asserted that Parson's work represented its apogee, incorporating in its broad scheme most of the areas of middle range integration theory which preceded or succeeded it. Of social theory based primarily on conflictual interpretation it might be asserted that the work of Karl Marx marked its first comprehensive expression and provided a framework or background for the subsequent development of middle range conflict theory. Conflict and Marxist theory ranges

through all areas of social action, lends itself to endless discussion, and is not adequately encapsulated in the work of any one major theorist. Its relevance extends far beyond the scope of this dissertation, questioning the whole future of capitalism, and the social systems with which it is associated. It is not wholly germane to the investigation and some limit must be set.

The discussion below is therefore concerned with the central and interdependent issues of social stratification, relative deprivation between members of social groups, alienation from work and society, and some reference to the functional aspects of conflict and their relevance to industrial relations.

#### 2.4.2 Social Stratification

Social stratification refers to a system of hierarchical division between social sub-systems which at successive levels are largely founded upon occupational status, and upon a division of labour characteristic of the functions in the total society undertaken by the members of the sub-system. In industrial society the form of social stratification which has received most attention, particularly in Marxian theory, has been that of class. Such divisions, being hierarchical, and in most instances associated with rising levels of affluence, and access to material wealth and other forms of reward, are inevitably barriers which may be contended, and to the degree that they are challenged or defended, and are permeable or impermeable, are likely to be primary foci of discontent within society. Certainly they provide social boundaries, however blurred they may be, across which social actors will make relative assessments of their own position, and which will normally be instrumental in determining the degree of integration or alienation between the successive social strata. In South Africa (and not only in South Africa), where the dichotomy between management and labour in industry is coincident with those between race, culture and structure, social stratification would appear to challenge Parsonian notions of integration very sharply.

Davis and Moore (1945. p.47) advanced a functionalist justification for social stratification and a differential distribution of reward. The main functional necessity for stratification was "the requirement faced by any society of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure". High rewards attached to positions which "a) have the greatest importance for society and b) require the greatest talent or training." Reward differentiation did not need to be particularly high in the case of the functional necessity expressed in a) but did need to be where this was coupled with a scarcity of supply in terms of b). The implications of this approach was the legitimisation of differentiation and control by a value system based on functional importance and scarcity of supply. They acknowledged that class solidarity and promotion of sectional interests could vary independently of normative criteria governing mobility, but it did not usurp the basic functionality of stratification based on a commonly recognised normative order. Clearly however an acceptance of the legitimacy of such social arrangements rests in turn upon participants' relative perceptions of the functional merits and indispensability of the basis for differentiation, and the control of or accessibility to the means of supply. (i.e. education and training).

Critics of Davis and Moore, such as Tumin (1953. p.54) pointed to dysfunctional consequences of stratification (particularly where imposed stratification usurps the legitimacy that could be accorded a commonly recognised role status system):

"the more rigidly stratified a society is, the less chance does that society have of discovering any new facts about the talents of its members. Smoothly working and stable systems of stratification, wherever found, tend to build in obstacles to the further exploration of the range of available talent. This is especially true in those societies where the opportunity to discover talent in any one generation varies with the differential resources of the parent generation..... Whether or not differential rewards and opportunities are functional in any one generation, it is clear that if those differentials are allowed to be socially inherited by the

next generation, then, the stratification system is specifically dysfunctional for the discovery of talents in the next generation. In this fashion, systems of social stratification tend to limit the chances available to maximise the efficiency of discovery, recruitment and training of "functionally important talent."

These arguments touch upon the central issues upon which integration and conflict theory diverge in so far as their relevance to the sociology of industrial society is concerned, and upon which Marx and Parsons took opposite views.

No more than Parsons should Marx be divorced from the time and place in which he wrote, and the starker political and economic contrasts of nineteenth century Europe, the sharp divisions of social class, and the cruder industrial and urban environment of the day presuppose that different solutions to political, social and economic problems would be the result of intellectual analysis. A brief paragraph from Marx on mid-19th century France vividly describes the conditions typical of that time and common to a large proportion of the contemporary populations of Europe:

"To the four million (including children etc.) officially recognised paupers, vagabonds, criminals, and prostitutes in France must be added another five million who hover on the margin of existence and either drag out their lives miserably in the countryside itself, or, with their rubbish and their children, continually leave the countryside for the towns and the towns for the countryside."  
(Marx, 1852. p.98).

The fundamental cause of the dreadful conditions which developed in Europe was the transformation from agrarian to industrial economies, with dislocation of people from the land by economic and/or political pressure, and their movements into urban areas ill-equipped or organised to receive them.

Marx interpreted these events fundamentally in terms of the progress of the class struggle which he perceived as being the common thread of evolution and revolution from the ancient world of slavery, to the medieval world of feudalism and the modern world of industrial capitalism. Under the latter system the slaves of the ancient world and bondsmen of the feudal world became the wage-labourers of industry. Under capitalism the forces of production, (machinery, technology and labour) were controlled not now by the aristocracy, or the landowners, but by the capitalists or bourgeoisie. The products of the wage-labourer were both the material one of the physical product of industry, over which he had no control, and its 'surplus value.' This surplus value was that portion of the product value which exceeded the subsistence wages of labour, and which accordingly offset the costs of raw material and machinery, and enhanced the property and profits of their owner.

"The rate of surplus value is therefore an exact expression for the degree of exploitation of labour power by capital, or of the labourer by the capitalist." (Marx.1863. p.474).

On the history of social revolution Marx and Engels had this to say -

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an interrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes" (Marx and Engels. 1848. p.32)

And on its future -

"But, with the development of industry, the proletariat not only increases in number, it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more.

The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois and the resulting commercial crises makes the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The increasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious, the collisions between individual work-men and individual bourgeois take on more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (trade unions) against the bourgeoisie, they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots. Now and then the workers are victorious but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers..... This organisation of the proletarians into a class and consequently into a political party is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself...."

Marx perceived a lasting and widening social and economic distance between the bourgeoisie and the workers. The former class, he believed, would be eroded by the tendency of the discarded and disillusioned to drop down and enrich the proletariat" ... entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat or are at least threatened in their condition of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress." (ibid. p.37)

Marx, then, saw a fundamental contradiction of interest between the two principal strata of society, owners and wage-labourers, with the barriers between them being most significantly permeable in the downward direction. Such perspectives remain characteristic of many conflict oriented theorists and working class members of the greatly more affluent western societies of the present day. Hyman (1975. p.22) for example, who takes a Marxist perspective of industrial relations in Britain, can still express it thus:

"The bulk of the population own no substantial property, and in order to earn a living must sell their own capacity to work. The wage or salary they receive is far less than the value of the work they collectively produce. The surplus is taken by the small minority who own the means of production; part is re-invested to provide for future profits, part is used for personal gratification. The control of this minority over the productive system, necessarily carries with it the control over those whom they employ. Hence there exists two fundamental social groupings or classes. On the one hand are those who work in a variety of manual occupations, in clerical positions, as technicians, or in minor supervisory grades, men and women who make an obvious contribution to production which is not adequately reflected in their pay and conditions. On the other, there are those whose property allows them to live from the labour of others, and the top levels of managers who, whether or not they have a major stake as shareholders of the companies they control, pay themselves a salary which far exceeds any contribution they may make to the productivity process.... Between these two classes exists a radical conflict of interests which underlies everything that occurs in industrial relations."

Work by Goldthorpe et al (1968. p.11) showed that in England, despite rising levels of affluence, those who remain working class by occupation remain working class by political loyalty. Swingewood (1975. p.12), taking note of Goldthorpe's work, and of studies undertaken in other European countries, noted:

"Contemporary sociological studies of English, French and German workers have shown the conceptual and factual naiveté implicit in the view that the working class of industrial capitalism has become "bourgeoisified." In France and Italy, for example, the urban factory worker generally remains persistently left wing in political choice (the Italian Communist party has increased its vote in every election since 1946), whilst in West Germany and Sweden the highly paid skilled workers are more radical than the semi- and unskilled."

So strong divisions of class interest appear to remain, providing a fundamental schism in social, economic and political affairs.

Parsons, however, believed that such interpretations were no longer adequate and that class barriers were and are being constantly eroded and permeated by the upward progressions of the members of an increasingly freer society (Parsons. 1977. p.220).

"It has frequently been noted that modern society has been characterised by a growing trend to pluralisation which is very much in accord with Durkheim's conception of the progressive growth of the social as distinguished from the purely economic division of labour. Of course, the scale of organisation has continued to grow; and many observers, particularly those with a neo-Marxist bent, seem to feel that the nineteenth-century characterisation of the stratification structure of industrial society, especially in the Marxian tradition, is still fully adequate. There is a sense in which this characterisation has been held to be re-inforced in the later stages of "capitalism" by the concentration of managerial authority and power in large organisations and by the growth of big government which has maintained close liaison with the private-enterprise business world."

Parsons then proceeds to draw attention to various areas in which he considers that in the United States have moved in a different direction from the Marxist prognostication. It is a crucially important area

in distinguishing the historical options open to developing societies, not least in South Africa. The thrust of Parson's argument is that in the United States there has been a dramatic increase in the range and level of occupational roles and opportunities which has stemmed from the burgeoning of institutions of higher education, providing training which is outside the control of "employing organisations and their managerial components." There has been a decline in the role of unskilled labour, and a growth in that of the technical and professional occupations. With that there has been a decline in the relative importance of traditional bureaucratic authority in most organisations, and growing autonomy for professional and technical occupational groups.

Spreading participation in cognitive endeavour has involved individuals as personalities, as behavioural systems, and in social roles - which processes reinforce the elevating and integrative effect upon individuals. The range of what Parsons calls "influentials" in society has shifted from the perception of businessmen as the natural leaders of the community to a spectrum which now includes academics, intellectuals, professionals with major academic training, clergy, political and business leaders, administrators, union leaders, and leaders of dissent groups.

This range and differentiation spreads through small and leading institutions, includes local and cosmopolitan figures and organisations. Apart from the greater range of options there have been elevations of category such as a new respect for cultural and theoretical achievement which has, in particular, boosted respect for, and the social standing of, scientists and others of "theoretical" competence, relative to that of the purely "practical" men of business. Though the kinship heredity of yesteryear "has not altogether disappeared - vide the Kennedys and Rockefellers - by and large eligibility is gained mainly by achievement, not kinship ascription." (ibid. p.224).

Parsons stresses the part played by these developments in blurring the lines of stratification, in integrating society "across lines of actual and potential conflict" - lines of both horizontal and vertical social division.

The functional view culminates in a crumbling of the inertia of imposed social stratification, through universal access to education and upward mobility and role status based on commonly accepted values.

There are many variations possible between the extremes of class stratification and social, economic, and intellectual mobility represented by the Marxian and Parsonian models respectively. In South Africa stratification is more aggressively evident in the stratification of ethnic groups than in the stratification within ethnic groups. There are many divisions within South African ethnic groups that hinder their progress towards complete unity and solidarity as a class, yet the process of growing consciousness of group identity and common interest can only gather momentum from the gradually rising levels of education, wider access to public news media, the constant interactions of ethnic sub-groups through the labour migration system, and the increasing organisation and consequent politicisation of labour.

#### 2.4.3 Relative Deprivation

In furtherance of his argument that implicit in the capitalist system was a widening economic gap between worker and owner Marx noted the relatively disadvantageous nature of any advances of wages allotted to the worker (Marx. 1849. p.25).

" A noticeable increase in wages presupposes a rapid growth of productive capital. The rapid growth of productive capital brings about an equally rapid growth of wealth, luxury, social wants, social enjoyments. Thus, although the enjoyments of the worker have risen, the social satisfaction that they give has fallen in comparison with the increased enjoyments of the capitalist, which are inaccessible to the worker, in comparison with the state of development of society in general. Our

desires and pleasures spring from society; we measure them, therefore, by society and not by the objects which serve for their satisfaction. Because they are of a social nature, they are of a relative nature."

Wages, Marx argued, might be measured as the money price of labour, or as real wages, being the sum of commodities which the worker could buy for his money, but, above all, should be measured as relative wages expressing the share of "direct capital to labour" (ibid. p.260), for wages and capital stood "in inverse ratio to each other. Capital's exchange value, profit, rises in the same proportion as the labourer's share, wages, falls, and vice versa. Profit rises to the extent that wages fall, it falls to the extent that wages rise."

The relative nature of felt deprivation is a constant phenomenon of life in almost any society. The figures quoted from the South African Institute of Race Relations in a later section (section 2.6) are an example, and the main reason for their inclusion in the institute's survey was obviously to underline the state of relative deprivation between races.

An important modern contribution to the study of relative deprivation, and the expression of dissatisfaction and discontent associated with it was provided by Gurr, (1970). Although Gurr was primarily concerned with the political field his major hypotheses are plainly applicable in industrial relations. Gurr referred to relative deprivation as productive of discontent or, synonymously, with anger, rage or dissatisfaction. He defined it as the (social)"actors' perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities", using the word value not in the Parsonian sense but as a synonym for a perceived goal state.

Gurr then described value expectations as the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities he conceived as the goods and conditions people believe they are capable of getting and keeping. In other words people

feel "relatively deprived" if for some reason they are unable to attain what they believe they have a right to expect.

Gurr's concern was the construction of a theory of causal sequence in the development of political violence. In brief terms he summarised the outlines of this theory - "the primary causal sequence in political violence is first the development of discontent, second the politicisation of that discontent, and finally its actualisation in violent action against political objects and actors." (ibid. p.12).

In industrial relations terms Gurr's outline could be paraphrased as "the primary causal sequence in industrial unrest is first the development of discontent, second the organisation of that discontent, and finally its actualisation in industrial action against economic objects and actors."

Gurr's sequence of progression was expressed in a series of hypotheses (ibid. p.237):

- 1 "The potential, for collective violence (discontent) varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of a collectivity." The "intensity" refers to the sharpness, or the perceived magnitude of the gap between the actual and potential situation and the dissatisfaction that results. The "scope" of the relative deprivation refers to "its prevalence with respect to each class of values among the members of a collectivity." Taking the progression of his model to the next stage of politicised discontent, the potential for political violence, Gurr hypothesised that:
- 2 "The potential for political violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of normative justifications for political violence among members of a collectivity." To this he linked another similar hypothesis:
- 3 "The potential for political violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of utilitarian justifications for political violence among members of a collectivity."

Here Gurr was saying firstly that where men in society hold norms which are tolerant of political violence the less restraint there is upon them for its employment. Secondly he was saying that where men see political violence as a useful or rewarding pattern of behaviour their readiness to resort to it is encouraged. Testing for such perceptions can provide questions which can be advantageous to a research enquiry.

From there Gurr developed his model toward the consideration of the outcome of the progression which is the magnitude of political violence, influenced by:

- a) the balance of dissident to regime coercive control, where high states of coercive control by either dissidents or the regime favoured lesser magnitudes of political violence, but an equilibrium of control between the two favoured a higher magnitude of political violence; and
- b) the balance of dissident to regime institutional support, where institutional support meant the extent to which dissidents or regimes might direct organisations through which they obtain consistent compliance with their demands, and directiveness, without resort to coercive sanctions.

In brief, Gurr's causal sequential model saw the potential for collective violence, or discontent, (with which may be compared the potential for industrial unrest) being dependent upon the intensity and scope of relative deprivation. The potential for collective violence (or industrial unrest) leads to a potential for political violence or politicised discontent (which may be compared with organised industrial unrest) which in turn is exacerbated by low social restraint patterns, and high perceptions of the efficacy of political (or industrial) action.

In the final stage the magnitude of violence or unrest depends upon the balance of control between "dissidents" and the "regime" (in a conflictive industrial relations context these might be referred to as union or labour and management or capital respectively).

Gurr (p.232) noted that "the most fundamental human response to the use of force is counterforce. Force threatens and angers men, especially if they believe it to be illicit or unjust. Threatened, they try to defend themselves, angered, they want to retaliate." and;

"The use of coercion to control discontent and maintain stable patterns of social action has complex and potentially self-defeating consequences and political elites and dissidents can best establish and maintain enduring social support by providing patterns of action that have predictably rewarding consequences for their followers. Regimes can minimise support for dissidents and channel political discontent to constructive, or at least non-destructive, purposes in so far as they offer stable, effective, institutional alternatives to violent dissent. But if regimes rely primarily on force, dissidents can increase the scope of their support and their effectiveness by creating the rewarding patterns of action that regimes fail to provide."

Among potential candidates for conversion to revolutionary expectations Gurr numbered "relatively disadvantaged people who have recently begun to interact with more prosperous groups, or who have been regularly in contact with such groups and regularly subordinated, also are susceptible to conversion. The closer their association with more advantaged groups, and the less their objective (and subjective) opportunities for improving their own status, the more easily they can be persuaded of the justifiability of aspirations for a better life and the necessity for revolutionary action to attain it. Subordinated urban classes, new migrants to cities, and people on the margins of expanding modern economies make better potential recruits for revolutionary movements than rural peoples still caught in the unchanging web of traditional life." (ibid p.354).

In view of the interdependence today of industrial relations in South Africa and the determination of its political future Gurr's work plainly provides important suggestions for needed research into the perceptions of the potentially discontented concerning their actual position relative to their felt needs, hopes, aspirations, and real expectations.

#### 2.4.4 Alienation

Reflection upon the concepts of social and economic stratification, and of relative deprivation, if they are accepted as broad realities, leads to consideration of the degree to which individual social actors or, more particularly, workers, feel reconciled to, or integrated with, the social, economic and environmental circumstances of their being. To the extent that their work circumstances and rewards provide the means for satisfying their broad personal, social and economic goals, at a level of either acceptable cost or positive satisfaction intrinsic to work itself, it is likely that workers will feel integrated with the social system of the work force and the industrial organisation of which they are part, and the broader regional or national systems within which these operate. To the extent that the opposite is true, that they perceive their employment environment and system and the encompassing national environment and systems as hostile, or incompatible with the achievement of their goals, they will feel un-integrated, estranged, or, in the normal English usage of the word, alienated.

Marx used the term alienation in particular senses intended to distinguish the relationship of the worker under capitalism to the product of his toil, from that which might exist, in other modes of production, or economic systems- between say the skilled medieval craftsman and fruit of his toil produced wholly by and for himself. It emphasised that under the capitalist industrial system workers sold their labour power as one of the means of production owned solely by the capitalist, and that what passed through their hands as a raw material and finished product was at no stage their own, and from it they derived none of the satisfaction of creativity:

" .... the worker is related to the product of his labour as to an alien object." (Marx. 1844. p.95)

"What constitutes the alienation of labour? First that the work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature, and that, consequently, he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery

rather than well being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary but imposed, forced labour. It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs. Its alien character is clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there is no physical or other compulsion it is avoided like the plague. External labour, labour in which man alienates himself, is a labour of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Finally, the external character of work for the worker is shown by the fact that it is not his own work but work for someone else, that in work he does not belong to himself but to another person..... It is another's activity and a loss of his own spontaneity." (ibid. p.98).

In Fromm's interpretation of, and comment upon Marx's concept of alienation, and in whose work the last two interpreted extracts are published, he points out that the condition applies not only to the wage-labourer, as he observes (Fromm, 1961. p.56) :

"There is only one correction which history has made in Marx's concept of alienation: Marx believed that the working class was the most alienated class, hence that the emancipation from alienation would necessarily start from the liberation of the working class. Marx did not foresee the extent to which alienation was to become the fate of the vast majority of people, especially of the ever-increasing segment of the population which manipulate symbols and men, rather than machines. If anything, the clerk, the salesman, the executive, are even more alienated today than the skilled manual worker..... (who) are hired not only for their skill, but for all those personality qualities which make them "attractive personality packages", easy to handle and to manipulate. They are the true "organization men" - more so than the skilled labourer - their idol being the corporation."

Faunce (1968, p.94) compared Fromm's interpretations with the five alternatives advanced by Melvin Seeman:

- (i) powerlessness - or loss of control over the important events affecting our lives, now becoming an almost universal experience.
- (ii) meaninglessness - or the difficulty of making accurate predictions in industrial society about the behaviour of others or about the outcome of our own actions.
- (iii) normlessness - or the circumstance in which there are no legitimate means to achieve socially prescribed goals: "in industrial societies for example, emphasis upon the goal of economic success is more pervasive than are the legitimate means for attaining this goal."
- (iv) isolation - or the social distance of those who according to Seeman "assign a low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society." (i.e. they opt out of their society's particular "rat race").
- (v) self-estrangement - or the engagement of an individual "in activities that are not meaningful in themselves, but are simply means to other ends."

Faunce's own usage of "alienation" was in the sense that:

"Alienation means the opposite of commitment or identification - - a disjuncture between self-esteem maintenance and status-assignment systems ... we are alienated from others, or from any organization in which we are a member, to the extent that the criteria we use to evaluate ourselves are different from the criteria used by others in evaluating us."

The underlying feature of all of the foregoing extracts and observations is a common recognition that an integration of workers' goals with those of the employing organisation is desirable and conducive to labour peace, productivity and commitment, and that in the absence of integration a dehumanising, sterile form of labour,

discontent, and alienation are the products. Such an approach to the management of employees is embodied in the now generally familiar "Theory Y: The Integration of Individual and Organizational Goals" of Douglas McGregor (published in Sutermeister, 1963. p.194) which rested on integration and communication between worker and organisation, and which continues to contribute to the basic content of much current management and supervisory training in industry. McGregor acknowledged the difficulties of applying the principles of his theory to labour management, but held out hope (ibid. p.200):

"We need not be overwhelmed by the dimensions of the managerial task implied by Theory Y. To be sure, a large mass production operation in which the workers have been organized by a militant and hostile union faces management with problems which appear at present to be insurmountable with respect to the application of the principle of integration. It may be decades before sufficient knowledge will have accumulated to make such an application feasible. Applications of Theory Y will have to be tested initially in more limited ways and under more favourable circumstances. However, a number of applications of Theory Y in managing managers and professional people are possible today. Within the managerial hierarchy, the assumptions can be tested and refined, techniques can be invented and skill acquired in their use. As knowledge accumulates, some of the problems of application at the worker level in large organizations may appear less baffling than they do at present."

From the foregoing sections the threads of alienation or integration run through the concepts and realities of social stratification, relative deprivation, and men's relationship to their work. If research is to make a meaningful contribution to industrial or political peace in South Africa a fitting objective might be a measurement of the present distribution, on an integration -alienation scale, of a representative section of the working class population, and identification of the reasons catalytic to integration or alienation.

#### 2.4.5 The Relevance of Conflict Theory to Research

In the foregoing review of conflict theory the following research areas were suggested:

- (i) Quantitative measurement of the desire for change amongst the working class population, its intensity, its nature and the perceived possibilities for its satisfaction (section 2.4.2).
- (ii) ascertainment of workers' own assessments of their current position relative to their felt needs, hopes, aspirations and real expectations and utilitarian and normative justification for collective action (section. 2.4.3).
- (iii) measurement of the distribution on an integration-alienation scale of a representative section of the working class population, and the reasons behind this.

In reviewing the sufficiency of these research objectives reference is made to Dahrendorf's essay 'Toward a Theory of Social Conflict' (Dahrendorf, 1958). His model for analysis of social conflict assumes the dichotomy of social roles into positive and negative dominance roles in imperatively co-ordinated groups which has been a feature of all the conflict theory mentioned above. This leads to the consequent assumptions that firstly, the carriers of negative and positive dominance roles have opposite latent interests; secondly, that an interest in the preservation of the status quo is expected from those in positive dominance roles, and an interest in change from those in negative dominance roles; thirdly, that interest groups originating in this manner are in constant conflict over the preservation or change of the status quo; and fourthly, that conflict among interest groups leads to change in the structure of their social relations, through changes in the dominance relations.

It is considered that a testing of the first three assumptions has already been anticipated and that the fourth is under constant test in South African society, and awaits historical resolution.

Dahrendorf also noted three 'conditions of social conflict' which were:

(i) Conditions of social organisation, which may effect the form of the organised interest groups and recruitment thereto and their activation. These conditions include social conditions, such as the possibility of communication, political conditions, such as freedom of association, and technical conditions such as the possession of material means, leadership and ideology. As far as the labour movement in South Africa is concerned these conditions are almost completely met with the formation in November 1985 of the united trade union body, COSATU (The Council of Trade Unions of South Africa). The matter of a common ideology was a major obstacle to the federation's formation (Indicator Industrial Monitor Vol. 3. No 2. Spring, 1985. p.2). There is now however a declared common ground on such principles as non-racialism, one union- one industry, worker control, representation based on paid-up membership, and co-operation at national level (Anglo American Corporation Industrial Relations Quarterly Review Third Quarter, 1985. p.3).

The apparent resolution of different interests has to stand the test of time and gain real commitment before full unity is achieved amongst union rank and file. In the meantime the receptivity of workers, unionised or not, to suggestions of radical changes in the social relations of production can be tested as part of a research programme.

(ii) Conditions of conflict, which include the degree of social mobility, and the effectiveness of mechanisms for the regulation of conflict. Mack and Snyder (1957. p.213) raise the question of whether increased social mobility increases or decreases social conflict. A logical conclusion is that it will inevitably stimulate an increased incidence of localised conflict arising from the resistance of positive dominance groups, but contribute to a lessening of the scope for collective violence initiated by negative dominance groups, in terms of Gurr's primary hypothesis, as relative deprivation becomes less marked. Social and occupational mobility in South Africa is severely curtailed by legal restrictions on residential rights, and

by the value systems of many of the positive dominance group who underpin the political system. Labour's aspirations in this area, and the reactions of their supervisors and managers, are empirically testable. The mechanisms for the regulation of conflict referred to by Mack and Snyder would include firstly, government and management sensitivity and receptivity to labour aspiration, and their consequent policies, and, secondly, labour legislation, legal precedent set by the courts, and law enforcement. The less the sensitivity and flexibility of the former, which is measurable to a degree, the greater is likely to be the load (which is observable) upon the latter, and the risk of their being overwhelmed by the volume and intensity of dispute.

(iii) Conditions of structural change are the group of conditions or variables which Dahrendorf (ibid. p.110) sees as determining "the form and the extent of social structural changes which arise from the conflict of interest groups. Probably (he notes) a relatively intimate connection exists between the intensity of the conflict and the change, that is, also between the conditions of conflict and of the structural changes. However, additional factors come into play, such as the capacity of the rulers to stay in power and the pressure potential of the dominated interest group. The sociology of revolutions and especially the unwritten sociology of uncompleted revolutions should contribute considerably to making these factors precise."

The capacity of rulers to stay in power is not something that can be anticipated with certainty from any empirical test of existing conditions or attitudes, offering as it does an extensive and uncertain field for analysis with many social, economic and psychological variables. The pressure potential of the dominated interest group is derived either from exogenous sources in the form of its external moral, financial, organisational, and political support, which is observable; or from endogenous qualities, conditions, resources, attitudes and self-assessments which determine its internal moral, financial, organisational and political will, unity, capacity, and support for the exertion of pressure upon the positive dominance group, and which in some aspects are measurable.

For the earlier expressed research objectives of assessing workers' change orientation, perceptions of relative disadvantage, and system integration or alienation, Dahrendorf provides both confirmation and the suggestions useful to an analytical framework. In addition his essay suggests the contextual considerations of his 'conditions of social conflict' and the importance of the 'positive dominance group' in the conflict equation.

Dahrendorf concludes:

"It need hardly be re-emphasised that these unsystematic observations can, as such, hardly lay a foundation of a theory of conflict. Nevertheless, we put ourselves in a position to ask meaningful questions both on the theoretical level and with respect to empirical problems. Each of the conditions mentioned offers a fruitful object of theoretically oriented investigations. And in the empirical sphere, the systematic association of factors in such an investigation redirects our questions from a haphazard search for ad hoc relations in the world of coincidences to a meaningful study of specific interdependencies, whose locus and meaning are fixed by a general perspective."

## 2.5 INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT: A FUNCTIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE

### 2.5.1 Similarities Between Opposites

The discussion of sociological theory in this chapter began with a distinction of structural-functional (or integration) and conflict theory, a distinction qualified by its usefulness in identifying criteria for research investigation, and by Cohen's observation that "societies usually possess each characteristic and its opposite in tension with one another."

As Orum remarked, common elements are identifiable in the work of such apparently irreconcilable theorists as Marx and Parsons, both of whom provided holistic explanations of society, although the former focused more specifically on the social and economic relations of industry, and their relevance for social and political determinism. It is inevitable perhaps that in dealing in their

different ways with what remains basically the same subject of study, that of human society, that there are certain similarities in the concepts referred to and addressed by both Marx and Parsons. The following passage from Marx's "The German Ideology" (Marx, 1846.p.17) embraces in an economy of words the concepts of interdependent economy, polity, social system, cultural system, values, norms, roles and interchange which are central preoccupations of Parsonian theory.

"The fact is, therefore, that definite individuals who are productively active in a definite way enter into these definite social and political relations. Empirical observation must in each separate instance bring out empirically, and without any mystification and speculation, the connection of the social and political structure with production. The social structure and the state are continually developing out of the life process of definite individuals, but of individuals not as they appear in their own or other people's imagination, but as they really are, i.e. as they are effective, produce materially, and are active under definite material limits, presuppositions, and conditions independent of their will. The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men appear at this stage as the direct efflux of their material behaviour. The same applies to mental production as expressed in the language of the politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics of a people."

#### 2.5.2 Functional Aspects of Conflict

A perspective of social conflict which to a degree allows the accommodation of both the normative, structural-functional approach, and the more positivist conflict, or dichotomous view of society, if not their reconciliation, is that which deals with its socially functional attributes. Coser (1956. p.8) defined social conflict as a "struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralise, injure or eliminate their rivals."

Given that scarcity of status, power and resources are a social fact, the second postulate of Dahrendorf's conflict model, that "every society experiences at every moment social conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous" must unavoidably be accepted.

Mack and Snyder (ibid. p.228) note that "no scholar, reformer, critic or politician has ever denied that conflict is an all-pervasive fact of human life, nor does anyone deny that society persists in spite of violent and costly conflict. As a matter of fact, the functional and dysfunctional aspects of conflict are opposite sides of the same coin." They remark upon "a persistent tendency to regard all conflict as bad, as susceptible to complete elimination given 'good will,' 'understanding', and so on, and as basically different from 'co-operation.'" (ibid.p 212). Drawing upon the wide range of literature on conflict they identify five major propositions on its functional aspects (ibid. p.228).

- (i) Conflict sets group boundaries by strengthening group cohesiveness and separateness.
- (ii) Conflict reduces tension (i.e. by the fact of its expression) and permits maintenance of social interaction under stress.
- (iii) Conflict clarifies objectives.
- (iv) Conflict results in the establishment of group norms.
- (v) Without conflict, accommodative relations would result in subordination rather than agreement.

Dubin (1957. p.179) articulated the functional aspects of conflict in the industrial arena, again with five central propositions:

- (i) The social structure of complex industrial societies is continually changing.
- (ii) The central function of group conflict is as a major social process determining the direction of social change.
- (iii) Conflict between groups becomes institutionalised.

Continuous conflict leads to:

- evolution of the ends sought by each group
- shared values about conflicting ends
- focus on disputes over means to a shared end

- standardised modes of conflict
  - routinised interactions
  - eventual resolution.
- (iv) Resolution of conflict determines the direction of social change.
- (v) Social welfare depends upon the outcome of group conflict.

In effect this argument means that conflict is an inevitable part of the integration process necessary to social goal attainment, and in fact indispensable to the achievement of goals which are acceptable to all contending parties. It may be further construed that, since the positive dominance groups control the public means of social goal achievement, goal formation and realised goals are likely to favour those groups in inverse relation to the extent of participation in the process of negative dominance groups, resulting in lower levels of social integration for goal attainment purposes and higher potential for conflict. Consequently too, persistent goal attainments not built on social integration and the resolution of conflict are dysfunctional for the losing group, and a source of continued and accumulating conflict. Two further important implications for the interpretation of South African circumstances can be drawn from Coser's discussion of the impact and function of conflict in group structures. (Coser, 1956. p.72). These are that:

- (i) interdependence (between sub-groups) "whilst checking tendencies toward a radical break with the system, is no bar to differences of interest leading to conflict; on the contrary, the greater the interdependence, , the sharper the focus of attention upon questions of relative advantage."
- (ii) The coincidence of social conflicts at a particular dividing line tends to result in a radical social cleavage more likely to produce dysfunctional results from conflict than where conflictual issues, even though more plentiful, arise between a greater variety of groups.

## 2.6 INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT: SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES

### 2.6.1 Wide Divisions, Narrowing Options

Coser's considerations of interdependence leading to a greater focus upon questions of relative advantage, and the coincidence of social conflicts at a particular dividing line, would appear to point, in the South African context, to a dysfunctional prognosis - dysfunctional for society in its present form. This implies at the least that any new equilibrium can only result from major re-alignments in South African society which have the effect of changing the fundamental nature of interdependence between groups, or creating alliances of interest across the present lines of division. Either, to have real effect, would be radical in terms of present norms, and particularly in terms of the norms of the dominant groups.

In considering the alternatives to the maintenance of the status quo Coser distinguished between change within, or change of the present system. (Coser, 1957. p.114-122). He referred to a change of social system "when all major structural relations, its basic institutions and its prevailing value system has been drastically altered." Examples would be the successive changes of economic system from slavery to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism, and in some cases, from capitalism to communism or socialism. But, as Coser pointed out, not all changes of systems are so clearly defined - some are the end sum of on-going changes within the system. In broad terms changes of system amount to revolutionary change, but changes in the system represent evolutionary change.

The question that Coser was leading up to was "whether given forms of conflict will lead to changes in the social system, or to breakdown and to the formation of a new system, will depend on the rigidity and resistance to change, or inversely on the elasticity of the control mechanisms of the system. Rigid systems which suppress the incidence of conflict exert pressure towards the emergence of radical cleavages and violent forms of conflict. More elastic systems, which allow the open and direct expression of conflict within them, and which adjust to the shifting balances of power which these conflicts both indicate and bring about, are less likely to be menaced by basic and explosive alignments within their midst."

Elaborating upon the sources of tension and conflict Coser pointed out that any social or economic system rested upon an allocation of power, status and reward, and that there is never complete agreement about the manner of their allocation. Further, that such discontent leads to the challenge of those who control the allocation, and that if the legitimacy of control is also questioned, discontent results which may be expressed in a manner outside the social norms, unless there is an institutionalised channel of protest. Change will have a different effect upon the different strata of society and as their interests are threatened so may individuals and sub-groups "no longer do willingly what they have to do, and do willingly what they are not supposed to do."

The facts of differential interests and consciousness in South Africa are everywhere apparent in everyday life, and they are supported by the facts of government expenditure and comparative levels of economic achievement. The South African Institute of Race Relations Surveys (1983 and 1984) give the following comparative figures drawn from government sources relating to the main ethnic groups within South Africa and non-independent homelands:

<u>Item</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Coloured</u>	<u>Black</u>
Educational expenditure per pupil (R.p.a) (1983/84)	1 654	1 088	569	239
Number of pupils per teacher - (1984 - RSA proper)	18,9	23,0	26,0	40,7
Apprenticeships registered (1983)	9 867	507	1 455	656
Average income per household (R.p.m 1984)	1 834	1 072	624	273
Median pay (r.p.m - 1983)				
Unskilled	589	428	383	351
Semi-skilled	797	681	618	524
Skilled	1 407	1 187	990	849
Social pensions (r.p.m 1983)	166	103	103	65

The psychology and practice of racial stratification is still well entrenched in South African society, although the 1983 survey includes information (ibid. 1983. p.126) provided by Nattrass, which has some

relevance to the erosion of this stratification. The survey notes the following for example:

1. Average growth in income 1971 - 81:

White	1,5 percent
Asian	6,5 percent
Coloured	3,4 percent
Black	5,5 percent

2. South African blacks now (1983) earn 40 percent of total national personal income, compared with only 26 percent ten years ago.
3. Black consumer spending increased from 25 percent of the annual growth in the consumer goods market during the period 1960 - 70, to a current 48 percent.
4. Blacks were moving from lower paid agricultural and construction jobs to mining, manufacture, and commerce so that the proportion of black workers employed in (non-homeland) agriculture dropped from 27 to 15 percent in 1980.
5. The proportion of blacks employed in technical and related occupations rose from 4,6 to 7,2 percent and in professional occupations from 10 to 18,5 percent in the same period.
6. Whites dominated administrative and management level jobs occupying 91,7 percent of these.

"Professor Nattrass stated that if current trends were to continue Africans must receive adequate education and training, more jobs must be created by an expanding economy, and workers be increasingly unionised to ensure smooth labour relations. Conversely, growing unemployment could have a detrimental effect and could, in the absence of legitimate avenues for political expression by Africans, lead to growing social unrest."

The progress which Nattrass' figures indicate represent some advance but plainly, if South Africa is to escape eventually from its image

of racially based stratification, and an identification with traditional Marxian descriptions of capitalism a very comprehensive, determined and accelerated programme to do so will be mandatory. The options open to South Africa, as a state and a nation in dealing with the question of racial stratification and the impediments that it places in the way of progress for blacks specifically, and the economy generally, are (simply) repression, reform or revolution.

The Human Sciences Research Council Main Committee report on investigation into inter-group relations (HSRC, 1985, p.152) (which was published only after the field work of this dissertation) saw the coincidence of dichotomic cleavages as a particularly acute problem for the resolution of problems in South Africa:

"Experts agree that even major economic and other inequalities have little political effect when they cut across group boundaries. However when economic, social and cultural divisions coincide, the potential for serious conflict increases vastly mainly because the groups (strata or categories or even individuals) have no shared interests or loyalties. The four core problems that were identified in the (i.e. HSRC) Investigation confirm very clearly that the course of intergroup relations in South Africa necessarily had to result in such a convergence of cleavages."

(The four "core problems" identified were (i) the historical usage of "ethnic and related differences as determinants for institutionalised separation and segregation", (ii) tendencies to group ascription and categorisation, e.g. "not only do whites think of Indians, for instance, in terms of a category rather than as individuals, but that Indians likewise regard whites as a group that as such discriminates against other groups," (iii) institutionalised inequality - "research shows that Africans, Coloureds and Indians experience the current statutory group differentiation as a serious restriction on their social and economic mobility. Structured social inequality almost always means a greater or lesser degree of restriction on the opportunities for upward mobility across class or ethnic barriers of persons lower in the hierarchy," (iv) isolation and insulation - "The policy of separate development pursued for the past 38 years alienated groups from one another in that it reduced the opportunities for spontaneous

and close contact between them - i.e. contact between individual members of groups. Separation thus also meant personal isolation for the members of the different groups in this country. It can be shown that a lack of contact can give rise to mistrust and suspicion between groups, ultimately leading to what can be described as vicarious or "indirect perspectives of one another."

South Africa, it is tempting to conclude, is governed by McGregor's Theory X. Against these considerations the present state of South African society is highly problematic, its future in the balance. Measured against the criteria of the Marxian and Parsonian visions of society present day South Africa must accord more closely with the description of capitalist society given by the former. The South African political and economic system is increasingly portrayed by critics as one of 'racial capitalism', capable of resolution by only the most extreme pressures, a view expressed in the following:

"The nation has to be structured by and in the interests of the black working class. But it can only do so by changing the entire system. A non-racial capitalism is impossible in South Africa. The class struggle against capitalist exploitation and the national struggle against racial oppression become one struggle under the general command of the black working class and its organisations." (N.Alexander, quoted in Frontline, April 1985. Vol 5. No 5. pp 10 - 11).

The gaps in South African society are wide, and it seems that the options are narrowing.

#### 2.6.2 The Liberal-Radical Controversy in South Africa.

The issues referred to in the preceding section which centre upon the greater integration or dismemberment of present South African society as solutions to its problems are those to which Schumpeter referred (section 2.2.1). The debate in South Africa between the liberal and radical interpreters of its troubled social history has been no more dispassionate between the adversaries. In summing up its conduct from a liberal point of view Welsh (1983.p.319) noted:

"Since roughly the 1970s the pacesetters in South African studies have been a new school, variously termed "revisionists", "radicals", or "neo-Marxists", who have trenchantly taken issue with what they call the "liberal" school, whose previous hegemony in the field went largely unchallenged. With mercilessness, diligence and passion the revisionists have exposed the weaknesses, shortcomings and failures of the liberals, so that by now one of the leading figures among the revisionists can triumphantly exclaim: "We've largely won our battles against the liberals... in the social sciences, we dictate the terms." "

As a general thrust the radicals are critical of the liberals for failing to comprehend their (radical) diagnosis and its prescription of a total change of the capitalist system, as well as their confusion of racial issues with what radicals believe are fundamentally issues of class. (Although the communist movement in South Africa was itself at various stages confused by the divisions of interest between the white and black working classes which it encountered in the South African context, Legassick recounts this wavering in reviewing the party's early history (Legassick, 1973. p.3-4) but then concludes firmly (ibid. p 67) "in South Africa there is no contradiction between the national and the class struggle. The national struggle, authentically carried out, is the means for the destruction of South African capitalism.")

O'Meara does much to clarify the Marxist position in relation to any remaining doubts about it in a penetrating re-appraisal of the establishment of Afrikaner political hegemony in South Africa (O'Meara, 1983). He demonstrates there the analytical qualities of many in the neo-Marxist school, attacking the liberals' approach to South African historiography, ; including that of Welsh. He criticises simultaneously both the conservative (Afrikaner) and the liberal schools. He scorns the first for the "large and uneven literature on Afrikaner nationalism" and the "tendentiousness of the great bulk of this writing .... (which) views 'Afrikaners' as much more than aggregates of people sharing a common language.

Rather they are seen as the constituents of 'Afrikanerdom' - a discrete, embattled nation, determined through a long history of struggle against external enemies to assert its separate ethnic identity and the social values inherent in the organic unity of the Afrikaner volk." (ibid. p.4).

The liberal literature he denigrates cuttingly as a pale, negative mirror image of this (Afrikaner) "political/cultural mythology" which attempts to explain National Party power as the "victory of the rigid, reactionary and racist ideals of a monolithic 'Afrikanerdom' over the modernising and integrative imperatives of economic development - as a triumph of ideology over the countervailing forces of production and the market economy... Its apartheid policies are seen as external to, but productive of distortions within the otherwise rational and colour-blind operation of market forces, leading both to strains within the economy and acute social dislocation and racial conflict." (ibid. pp 1 - 2).

Liberal interpretation, O'Meara maintains, is misled by too easy an assumption of too great an homogeneity in 'Afrikanerdom'. Whilst Afrikaners obviously had been organised and mobilised at specific junctures of history on the basis of ethnically exclusive and racist ideologies "at other junctures Afrikaans-speaking whites of various classes have differentially resisted such "ethnic mobilisation" and have been organised on other (and varying) bases." O'Meara then traced the shifting pattern of class alliances and divisions which characterised the Afrikaner ascent to and hold upon political power from the disruption of Boer agriculture in the wake of the South African war. From this to the emergence of agricultural capital through the resolution of the 'poor (Afrikaner) white' problem, to the ultimate establishment of Afrikaner monopoly capital in alliance with that of the English, and the verkrampste/verligte split. The latter he characterised as "essentially a struggle between those who fought to preserve the alliance of 1948, dominated by the interests of farmers and the petty bourgeoisie, and those who sought to adapt the ideology and policies of Afrikaner nationalism to the changing class composition of the volk. The verligte

phenomenon was a response to the emergence of a class of aggressive, self-confident Afrikaner capitalists whose interests now went beyond those of the narrow class alliance out of which they had emerged (ibid. p.251). Thus he revises and re-interprets the Afrikaner hegemony in terms of class.

Bundy (1975) similarly revised another vital chapter in South African history - that concerning the fate of the 19th century African peasantry -

"If I have adequately demonstrated that which I set out to then the dualist model of the South African economy is a misleading one; the distance between the races in economic, cultural, and political spheres was not an original state lessened by capitalist development, but rather the outcome of that development; and explanations of the underdevelopment of the peasant sector which rest upon the inherited backwardness and inadequacy of that sector are incorrectly premised. The conventional wisdom of South African historiography - already questioned in these pages - stands in need of a continuing re-examination" (ibid. p.388).

The revisionists question not only the wisdom of the liberals but also their integrity, particularly where they have criticised the radicals. The liberals are accused of selective representation and of misrepresentation. Wolpe (1978.p.241), counter-attacking Kantor and Kenny for their critique "The Poverty of Neo-Marxism: the case of South Africa", says "Now, it is to be noted that their survey covers only some of the work of the authors they specifically mention.... the effect of this sleight of hand is that they are able to represent certain problems which arise specifically in the articles they deal with, as if they are somehow generic to and inescapable in the Marxist analysis of South Africa." And "the second method of distortion utilised by Kantor and Kenny entails the straightforward misquoting and misrepresentation of the texts examined. Thus, firstly, barely

a single quotation from Legassick's or Wolpe's articles is cited completely accurately." And so on to other charges of wilful or otherwise culpable distortion, or of argument presented in a "customary slipshod way." (ibid. p.250).

Lipton, too, is pilloried - by Legassick and Innes (1977, p.438) "Lipton has a somewhat cursory attitude to 'facts' and often presents them in a misleading way." She is accused of "vacuity" and "confusion."

Reciprocally critical on occasion, but more reproachful than vitriolic, liberals acknowledge where they feel it due, the contribution of radical argument. "... Marxist thought has left its indelible imprint on all of the social sciences and will continue to do so in the future. The insights afforded by Marxist analyses of South Africa have been of immense value" (Welsh, 1983. p.320). He is critical of radical failure to define 'class', or to construct a systematic analysis of class and class formation, since as a concept it is so central to their analyses (ibid. p.322;1978,p.35). It was a question upon which Marx had left his students uncertain guidance. In "Das Kapital" (1867. p.92) he asked:

" - what constitutes a class? The answer can be found by answering another question' What constitutes wage labourers, capitalists, and landlords as the three great social classes? At first glance it might seem that the identity of revenues and of sources of revenue is responsible. The classes are three great social groups whose components, the individual members, live from wages, profit and rent respectively, that is from the utilization of their labour-power, capital and landed property.

However, from this point of view, doctors and officials would also form two distinct classes, for they belong to two different social groups, and the revenues of the members of each group come from the same source. The same would also be true of the infinite distinctions of interest and position which the social division of labour creates among workers as among capitalists and

landowners; in the latter case, for instance, between owners of vineyards, farms, forests, mines and fisheries."

At that point the manuscript broke off and was not completed before Marx's death. (As Ossowski (1963, p.99) remarked " The role of the class concept in Marxian doctrine is so immense that it is astonishing not to find a definition of this concept which they use so constantly everywhere in the works of either Marx or Engels" even though it "has in a certain sense become the symbol of his (Marx's) whole doctrine and of the political programme that derived from it. Certainly among revisionists in South Africa there is an ongoing argument as to the precise connotations of class in South African society).

Welsh is critical too of an ascendancy of class over ethnicity accorded by the radicals, which he did not see supported by conditions in socialist states "The experience of states like Russia, China and Yugoslavia that are ostensibly based on Marxist principles and view ethnic issues as fundamentally ones of class, strengthens this view (that Marx underestimated the tenacity of ethnicity and nationalism), for in each case ethnic minorities have been a persistent source of tension...." (Welsh 1978, p.34).

Perhaps the most telling criticism which Welsh makes is that while the Marxist seek out and expose in ringing tones the weaknesses of capital they are silent on the alternatives. "Capitalism and all its evil works must be abolished and socialism instituted. What kind of socialism is not made clear, and surely different individuals would favour different models." (Welsh, 1983. p.328) and "But they might argue for socialism on other grounds, perhaps as the only truly democratic system and the most effective, distributive system. Here, too, one is entitled to express scepticism. The experience of existing socialist systems hardly suggests auspicious prospects of "democracy"... not a single one of the existing socialist systems tolerates an opposition or respects civil rights. To label them "democratic" in any sense is to rob the word of all meaning."

The criticism may be well founded. From the practical point of view however the average black man in South Africa may be pardoned if he sees the faults of "capitalism" as it effects himself, and can only guess at the faults of socialism. But then the same argument might apply to their assessment of the respective merits. Their position, or more correctly positions, on this continuum it is important to establish.

Critically reviewing the merits and faults of all three schools (radical, liberal, and Afrikaner) Wright considered their greatest failing to be (Wright, 1977. pp 105 - 108):

"their unwillingness in the pursuit of causes, to recognise the extraordinary complexity of the South African past.... There can be in fact no one 'central theme' of South African history. The conviction that there is has both led to, and resulted from, oversimplified historical interpretations. There have indeed been broad central problems; race relations and economic development are two of them. The role of the Afrikaners is another. But these problems are really too vast and too general, and they have extended through too many phases of South African history, to serve as vehicles for a single interpretation or a single theme.... The most urgent task of historians of South Africa, acting in their role of historians, is to seek out these various perspectives sympathetically, to make the imaginative leap of perception that is needed properly to understand another individual's or society's way of doing things, and to recognise the distance as well as the directness, that exists between past and present, between Africans and Europeans.... They must try to understand the web of circumstances in which past people found themselves... (and) the fact that impersonal and uncontrollable social forces often determine the course of society's development."

In the continuing attempt to fulfil this historical task, he concludes, there "lies promise not only for an improved understanding of South Africa's past, but for an improved understanding of her present and even, therefore, for a useful anticipation of her future."

It is an historian's plea remarkably similar to that of Parsons noted in section 2.3.5. They are both a call for less passion, more detachment, greater objectivity in the collection and assessment of fact.

The foregoing references to the liberal-radical dispute have briefly concentrated upon it as such, rather than upon its theory, functional or conflictive; or the data which it calls upon. Its theory is pitched at the macro-level of South African society, and its data is of a similar nature and often the subject of the current dispute. The issues debated in the dispute remain unresolved, and it is appropriate to include consideration of both class and race in any investigation.

It is also possible to include a host of other relevant issues, such as workers' views on their freedom to change jobs, militant worker action, their treatment at the hands of whites, their sense of exploitation by their employers, the quality of working life, black government, black control of industry, worker control of industry, ethnic solidarity, respect for law, their wish to return to the land, their perceptions of their own progress, the pressures upon them caused by the 'reserve army of the unemployed', intimidation, police action, their wages and their aspirations.

There is a lack in all this argument of resort to the establishment of the current thoughts and feelings of the social actors involved, and assessment of how these might relate to the theories about which they so fiercely argue. There is needed an investigative scheme or framework that can span the gap between individual and nation. It is an important area of omission in the 'great debate' and in South African sociology.

## 2.7 THE ROLE OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY IN SOUTH AFRICA - A CONCLUSION

In this chapter an understanding has been sought of sociological theory which explains the operation of society in its functional and conflictive modes, and the rationale for each. An attempt has been made to relate these theories in terms that apply

demonstrably to South African society, and, more particularly, South African industry. In the latter interdependence between labour and capital is great, since labour has no other recourse for survival but to employment, and for wages and on terms which remain cost competitive for the capitalist compared to the alternative of extensive and expensive mechanisation. Industrial conflict is one of the many areas of potential dispute between two opposing interests identified by distinctions of culture, race, class and power. The conditions for industrial and social conflict appear fulfilled in South Africa to an extraordinary degree, - and yet society as a whole remains functional if subject to strain.

The persistence of these conditions is underpinned by the continued reluctance of a ruling white elite indisposed to share control of the public "goal attainment" apparatus for reasons which Cohen notes (*ibid.* p.117):

- (i) if they (whites) adopted any other policy they might lose their advantages without gaining others which they value;
- (ii) even if the long term advantages of abandoning policies of domination were understood they would consider these out-weighed by immediate and long term disadvantages;
- (iii) most whites believe that only repressive measures can prevent their cultural, and possibly physical, destruction.

This outlines a position of entrenchment which will only be changed by other options and greater understanding, by overwhelming force or by the most protracted attrition.

The theoretical framework leaves a wide gap between macro-theory, which is hotly contested, and a plethora of empirical studies in different micro-environments. What is needed for a greater understanding of this vexed situation is what Merton called a "theory of the middle range" (Merton, 1968, p.68), and the empirical data to support it. The attributes of middle range theory which Merton

enumerated will be referred to in the concluding chapter of this dissertation. For now, this chapter can be profitably ended, as it began, with the assistance of Cohen concerning the value of sociological theory to research. (ibid. p.236):

"Sociological theory should be assessed according to three criteria, first, it should be able to explain, or suggest ways of explaining why social phenomena have the characteristics which they do have; second, it should provide ideas for the analysis of complex social processes and events; third, it should aid in the construction of models of how social structures and systems operate. That these three criteria are interrelated is obvious."

South African society, with all its divisions, provides one of the clearest examples of a coincidence of cooperation and conflict, both in the workplace and in general. Industrial conflict is becoming more prevalent but it has not yet attained the levels of intensity which have occurred at one time or another, even in recent years, in most European societies. Certainly there is in South Africa, especially today, an all-pervasive awareness of the dangers that open, continuous, and widespread dissent could hold, but society has not yet reached that stage, the system cannot be said to be in general disorder. There are, it is true, pockets of disorder in the townships, incidents of temporary or limited failure of government control. The broad fabric of society, however, remains intact, accommodating within it at the same time both consensus and conflict, in line with the theoretical dispositions of this chapter.

Research objectives which have been suggested in the foregoing will be taken up in Chapter Five.

- A Background to Employment3.1 GROWING ENVIRONMENTAL PRESSURES3.1.1 Pressures from the Homeland Environment

Essential to any research undertaking is an understanding of the environment or context in which its subjects function. The environment, primarily the actual physical environment, thrusts upon any living individual or community a need to adapt to its imperatives, firstly in a physical sense through the adaptation, protection, or sustenance of the physical organism, secondly, in the case of a community, also in a social sense through the development of a collective system, or economy.

The economic system in turn has a profound effect upon the form of the social and political systems and nowhere is this clearer than in South Africa where the basic imperatives of survival have forced an interdependence between two very different cultures, one rural traditional and one urban industrial. For the individual the pressures initiated by the physical need to survive, are added to by social demands and responsibilities, and intensified by competition within the economic system for limited opportunities.

Population pressures in the black agricultural sector are such that access to land is limited and its productive capacity has steadily deteriorated. Any options formerly provided by subsistence or market farming to meet basic survival and other needs have long since become severely curtailed and the facts show an over-whelming dependence on access to the labour market. According to statistics of the Bureau for Economic Research: Co-operation and Development, the government agency monitoring economic trends in the homelands, and quoted in the Survey of Race Relations in South Africa (1983. pp 363 - 67) 35,7 percent of the population of South Africa was resident in the homelands in 1980. The homelands, however, produced only 3,4 percent of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in that year. A breakdown of total Gross National Product (GNP) for the homelands of Bophuthatswana,

Ciskei, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Qwa Qwa, Transkei and Venda was as follows:

<u>Item</u>	<u>R (000)</u>
(a) Commuter Income	1 775 573
(b) Migrant Income	2 684 610
(c) GDP of Africans	1 780 807
(d) GDP of Non-Africans	328 889
(e) Less Foreign Factor Payments	<u>(197 857)</u>
(f) Total GNP	<u>6 372 022</u>

Ignoring item (e), the allocation of liability for foreign factor payments, and excluding income derived from commuter and migrant employment in the South African economy, the total African GDP produced in the homelands was R1780,8 million - item (c). Figures given for the resident population of the same homelands in 1980 totalled 11 764 850. Gross domestic product generated by blacks in the homelands therefore amounted to a per capita amount of just over R150 per annum (R12,60 per month) of a total homelands GNP, expressed in per capita terms, of only R542 per annum. The survey also notes that a study by the University of the Transkei found that more than half the families in the Transkei survive on a cash income of R80 or less per month, more than 90 per cent of this coming from migrants. And thirty percent of families survived on less than R50 per month of which 95 percent was derived from migrant remittances.

Alternatives to employment within the main South African economy for black urban area residents, for example in the informal sector, or for blacks from neighbouring independent states which supply labour to South African industry have not been investigated. There appears to be no reason however why any more advantageous position than that outlined above should be expected.

The conclusion must be that environmental pressures on blacks, in the homelands or elsewhere in South Africa must be very great, and increasing. Logically it must be a factor of great importance in labour relations since it must inhibit black job mobility, whether vertical or lateral to a remarkable degree.

Schlemmer (1983. p.1) notes:

"There is still a proportion of black workers which is shrinking by the year, in which one finds some evidence of a withdrawal of labour in order to enjoy leisure, or to pursue rural agricultural commitments. Among a clear majority, however, the commitment to urban or industrial work is a life-long commitment, with the goal of individual material and occupational advancement. This kind of commitment, which is wellnigh universal in industrial society, is a stabilising factor at a very basic level in industrial relations. To put it very simply, it means that labour withdrawal in the form of strikes or stoppages, are reduced to the minimum necessary to secure a concrete objective."

Drawing from surveys involving some 1 200 workers in 1982-83 Schlemmer et al (1983. p.44) provided a ranking of the resources which respondents considered most valuable. These were, with the rank weighting of respondents opting for them:

<u>Resource</u>	<u>Rank Weight</u>
Freedom to seek work anywhere	100
More education	91
More training	63
Strong, powerful black leader	35
Franchise for parliament	33
Strong trade union	31
Active work in a political organisation	6

The authors comment that "the essentially pragmatic, job-advancement oriented consciousness shows itself. The political resources are all down-rated compared with those things which equip a worker to seek his own advancement."

It might also be concluded that the first three resources are aids to lateral as well as vertical mobility which must be an important

consideration to workers conscious of the environmental pressures earlier discussed.

Various other studies have referred to perception of acute environmental pressure by black workers.

The Institute for Industrial Education's (1976) post mortem on the Durban strikes of 1973 referred to du Rand's 1970 study of African workers in New Brighton ("Swartman Stad en Toekoms") in which he found a relatively low level of job mobility among the 150 workers he interviewed; nevertheless only 15% of them were in their present jobs because they liked them. "The rest all indicated to a greater or lesser degree that in their case there was not really a choice of employment, but that conditions, especially the need to obtain employment as soon as possible, in order not to lose the right of residence in the city, and the fact that attractive employment was in any case scarce, forced them into it so to speak."

Strydom (1977.p.85) in his study of internal and external stress factors relating to occupational roles of black employees on a Free State gold mine remarked that:

"We can, with certainty, assume that the migrant workers and their families are the people who suffer most under the migrant labour system. The economic situation is such in most of the donor (i.e. labour-providing) countries is of such a nature that many of their inhabitants have no other option than to look for employment elsewhere. In this process they earn the necessary money, but the disadvantages seem to out-weigh the benefits by far."

De Vries (1983. p.19) observed in his study of the change to the quality of life of black mine workers in South Africa:

"The chief factors contributing to the forbearance of the major protagonists in South African industry in the face of perceived non-fulfilment of contractual obligations are, for the migrant workers, the impoverishment of their home areas, the shortage of jobs and the lack of marketability of their skills, and for industry management, the fear of violent and spontaneous worker action."

Environmental pressures of course do not operate only in South Africa - they are quite obviously universal. Differences are those of type and degree. Environmental pressure on the striking British coal-miners, faced with the demise of their traditional homes and occupations, but able in the final analysis to re-settle elsewhere, and to draw unemployment benefits while doing so, was obviously severe but not as severe as that faced by the average black worker in South Africa. The lot of the average Ethiopian on the other hand is presumably much more severe. Perhaps the vital question is towards which degree of severity is South Africa heading?

### 3.1.2 Pressures from Unemployment and Population Growth

A significant additional weight is given to environmental pressure by the growing unemployment crisis in South Africa. The South African Institute for Race Relations Survey (1983. p.132), quotes the Chairman of the Corporation for Economic Development, Dr. J.Adendorff, as stating that the annual increase in African work seekers would rise from a current level of 230 000 per annum to 360 000 by the turn of the century- now a scant fourteen years ahead. If this demand were not met, Dr. Adendorff warned, labour unrest and a lowering of living standards would follow. He added that (as part of the necessary corrective programme) at least R1200 million per annum would have to be spent in the homelands merely to prevent worsening unemployment.

It is most probable that actual achievements in the creation of jobs will consistently fail to meet the levels suggested by Dr. Adendorff. Some estimates suggest that in fact jobs are being destroyed faster than they are being created. Meth (1985), for example, notes a net average loss of 17 453 black jobs annually during the period 1981 to 1984, deriving his figures from Central Statistical Services sources. He notes that during an earlier period of economic expansion (1972 - 76), job creation for blacks averaged 110 042. He therefore argued that in a comparative sense the annual capacity to provide new employment had decreased by a total potential of 127 495 to a negative level.

The Human Sciences Research Council report on South African Society (HSRC. 1985 p.46) accepts an unreliability in available statistics on unemployment, but utilises estimates which indicate that the percentage of unemployed amongst the potential labour force has increased steadily from approximately 16 percent in 1974 to 22,5 percent in 1982. Such a steep progression, if continued for whatever reason, must have the most serious consequences.

Giliomee (1982. p.27) noted that "the incidence of landlessness and unemployment have in recent years become acute in rural areas. South Africa has over the last couple of decades stopped being a labour-absorbing economy employing not only all those within the national boundaries who wanted jobs, but also large numbers from outside. It is now a labour-extruding economy, particularly as far as the primary sector is concerned. Widespread unemployment became visible in the mid-seventies." Giliomee attributed this to two major factors:

- mechanisation, which he held largely responsible for the lag of annual growth in employment behind the annual rate of growth of output between 1946 and 1970 (5,2 percent compared with 2,7 percent)
- the growth in the population.

Sadie (1985. p.54) estimated that unemployment will leap from a current three million to five million by the year 2000. These are almost wholly accounted for by the unskilled sector. (Sadie, 1984. pp. 17 - 19), which in South Africa is disproportionately large if compared with a more sophisticated economy such as that of Canada. He comments that the economy is not moving to accommodate the problem. On the contrary, unskilled labour is being used as though it were a scarce, not an over-abundant factor of production and increasingly replaced by capital intensive factors, despite the enhanced requirement for (scarce) servicing skills.

Concludes Sadie:

"However, during the past decade a major influence has been emanating from the unskilled labour force itself, aided and

abetted by employers who are being pressurised to apply, not the economic norm of a worker's marginal product , but the social norm of paying him a decent "living wage", when and if you employ him.

It is a beautiful principle which cannot be faulted on its own. The poverty and hunger of those not employed as a result, is not included in the principle. In the traditional extended family system it might be preferable to have two bread-winners earning R200 a month each than only one earning R300. And increasingly the muscle flexing of the new trade unions for both economic and political reasons, with strikes and threats of strikes, is making the reliable machine a preferred alternative to the unreliable worker. And so the ranks of the unemployed or non-employed unskilled workers are being swollen all the time. And the replacement of labour by capital does not even have the compensatory virtue of raising the level of multi-factor productivity. The productivity record is miserable. The sequel is misery."

According to the Race Relations Survey for 1984 (p.244) Dr. P. Smit, Deputy President of the Human Sciences Research Council, characterises the problem as one of permanent structural unemployment with South Africa's population soaring to 45 million by the end of the century, with the African population contributing 80 percent to that growth and whites 13 percent. The current population of South Africa and the independent homelands is officially estimated at 32 614 458 (ibid. p.184).

It is quite clear that the effects of deteriorating rural resources, mounting population, increasing mechanisation in production methods, economic recession accentuated by a prospect of trade sanctions, and legal restrictions hindering job mobility, will combine to exert enormous pressure upon the black population to seek and find employment in an over-supplied labour market, and a drastic loss of real personal freedom to change employment for personal or economic motives.

### 3.2 EMPLOYMENT ENVIRONMENTS - A SPECTRUM

#### 3.2.1 The Classical South African Labour Scene

Classic conceptions of the South African labour scene are those of a mass of migrant labour, leaving their friendly rural homes and families for lengthy sojourns in the harsh and impersonal worlds of mining, urban manufacture, or the forestry and cane industries in the white agricultural sector. From the tranquility and freedom of the traditional village they are plunged into a life of regimentation, clock-cards, overseers and "compound" managers. The traditional bee-hive hut and its artefacts are exchanged for comfortless barrack-like buildings, grim, and packed with workers sleeping between shifts, their lives occasionally enlivened by colourful displays of traditional dancing or other, less reputable forms of off-duty entertainment. Marquard (1962. p.59) painted such a picture:

"Every week five or more special trains arrive at Johannesburg with hundreds of Africans going to work on the mines. Some of them have been there before; many of them are coming for the first time from the simple, pastoral life of the reserves to the rush and noise of a big city, and to a strange, machine-dominated existence in a highly organised industry. The train journey is the first unfamiliar experience; thereafter come the harsh compounds with their brick buildings and concrete bunks, the mass-produced, balanced diet, the shattering experience of being rushed to the bowels of the earth in a cage to work at a dangerous job. It is a big change from the small village community, where a man has a recognised place in the life of the community and where he is surrounded by familiar and kindly objects, to the anonymous vastness of a mining compound where he has a number instead of a name and where he hears the roar of mining machinery instead of the lowing of cattle on the hills."

Whilst remaining true to life in many cases the classical picture lacks the wide spectrum of the realities of industrial life in regard to the degree of urbanisation and the nature and quality of life, which develops during the course of any industrialisation process.

### 3.2.2 Some Alternative patterns

Apart from the classical labour scenario referred to above, in what are now rather trite terms, the economy in fact provides a number of employment patterns along an industrial developmental scale, some retaining aspects of the classical type. The types of situation referred to are:

#### Type 1: Border Industry

The industrial enterprise is located close to the homeland area, enabling workers to live in socially natural circumstances and to commute from their homes to work on a daily basis. Their situation may capture important advantages of both worlds, though lacking the glitter and sophistication of life in the major cities enjoyed by some.

#### Type 2: Small-town Industry

The industrial enterprise is located in one of the small towns that may have begun as an agricultural, marketing and communication centre, later attracting small scale industry perhaps to process the raw materials characteristic of the region for consumption elsewhere. Workers are likely to reside in a variety of circumstances such as township married accommodation, company or municipal single quarters, or, perhaps illegally, on neighbouring farms. Usually their traditional or homeland homes will be some distance away, but more accessible than those of migrant workers in the large conurbations.

#### Type 3: Rural Industry

The industrial enterprise is located in the country, some distance from either the homeland or the urban areas. Like the small town factory it probably exists to process locally produced raw materials by which its activities are characterised. Its workers are too far from home to commute daily but not so far that they cannot maintain fairly frequent contact. They are likely to be males who live for the most part in single accommodation provided by their employers and separated to a large extent from contact with the opposite sex. Unlike the border

industry worker they are cut off from a socially natural life, and because of the scattered nature and scarcity of employment opportunities in rural industry, particularly as their work experience fits them for a particular industrial activity, their job mobility is limited. Unless they are prepared to abandon any experience or other progressive advantage they have gained, and their social ties in the homeland, to which they are closer than they would be from the major towns, they have very limited freedom to change their circumstances.

#### Type 4: Agricultural Industry

The industrial enterprise is industrial in the sense that it is formally organised on a large scale by a corporate body, but agricultural by nature of its activities. Of this type the major examples are provided by the cane growing and forestry industries of Natal and the Eastern Transvaal. Being labour intensive such enterprises are best situated near to major sources of labour. Workers may be daily, weekly or monthly commuters between home and work, maintaining their social roots very much in the former. Sometimes traditionally identified with the classical labour formula earlier referred to, because of the large work-organised mass of labour employed, and because most are housed in single quarter "barrack" blocks, in fact the condition is alleviated by the presence of male and female, and of married employees and their families, which provides a greater degree of social naturalness than the hostels for male workers on the mines. In addition work itself, although physically hard and demanding, is of an open-air nature, more akin to traditional activities, less immediately supervised than in processing or manufacturing industries.

#### Type 5: Urban Industry

Urban industry refers to the urban industrial enterprises in the formal sector. Workers may live in circumstances of the classical South African migrant pattern, or in a more modern and comfortable version, or, at the most developed pole of the urbanisation and industrialisation continuum, they may live a settled urban life with their families in township married accommodation or other nearby black areas from which they can commute to work daily. Like the border industry workers they have

some of the major advantages of both worlds but lacking in their case is likely to be the additional source of sustenance in the form of the arable land and grazing rights that may be accessible to homeland residents.

### 3.2.3 Locating Appropriate Examples

Opportunity was found in the timber industry in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal for the inclusion of appropriate samples from all the types of employment situation referred to above, with the exception of the urban industrial type. A sample of workers in general industry in the Durban metropolitan area was therefore included. A map of Natal and the South-Eastern Transvaal is given as Figure 3.1, showing the areas in which research samples were selected. The distribution of the situation types referred to above, according to locale is noted below, proceeding from North to South:

<u>Locale</u>	<u>Employment Situation Type</u>	<u>Number of Samples</u>
South-Eastern Transvaal	Type 1 Border Industry	1
	Type 2 Small-town Industry	1
Zululand	Type 4 Agricultural Industry	1
Natal Midlands	Type 3 Rural Industry	1
	Type 4 Agricultural Industry	2
Durban (Metropolitan Area)	Type 5 Urban Industry	1

As well as including all the industrial types identified the above distribution also provided a balance of three timber processing plants and three forestry estates. This lends some merit to the selection as a study in the context of the timber and forestry industries. A more detailed discussion of the nature of the samples is not appropriate at this point and is undertaken in Chapter 5.

As part of the description of the general context or environment of the study some reference to the main features of the timber industry is undertaken in the following section.

## 3.3 THE SOUTH AFRICAN TIMBER INDUSTRY

### 3.3.1 Production and Labour

Statistical information used in this section has been mainly obtained

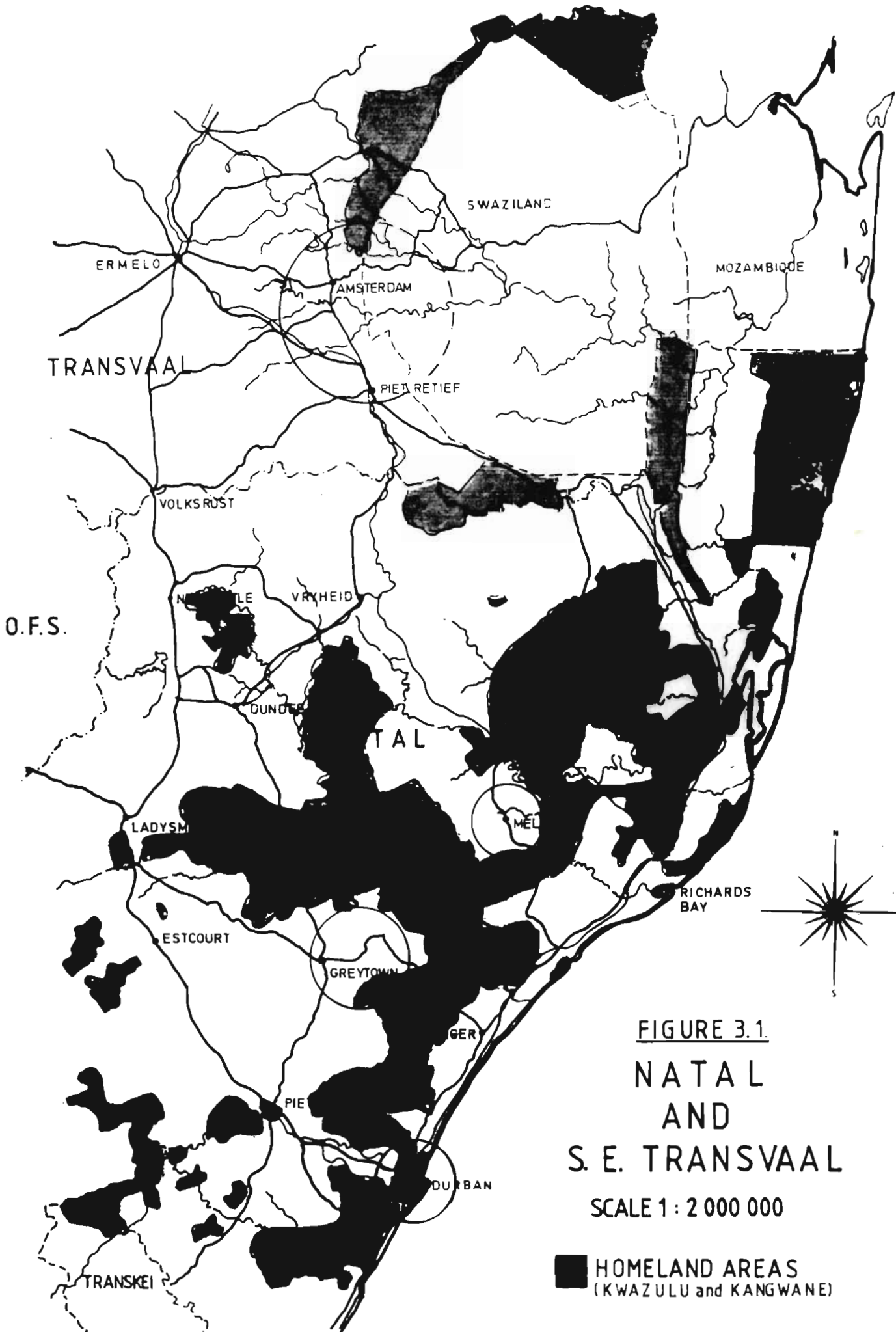


FIGURE 3.1.  
 NATAL  
 AND  
 S. E. TRANSVAAL  
 SCALE 1 : 2 000 000

■ HOMELAND AREAS  
 (KWAZULU and KANGWANE)

by direct enquiry from the offices of the Forest Owners Association or from the various associated bodies of the timber industry. It is presented briefly and uncritically, and as adequate for the purposes of its inclusion in the study.

Total plantation production is over 13 million cubic metres of round timber annually, produced from 1,2 million hectares of planted timber. Of this area 48 percent is in the Transvaal, 35 percent in Natal, 11 percent in the Cape, 5 percent in the Transkei, and the remainder in other homelands. Thirty percent is owned by the State, and the balance by the private sector (43 percent by large companies and 27 percent by small companies and private farmers).

The following shows a broad breakdown of production from South African timber processing plants:

<u>Process</u>	<u>Plants</u>	<u>Product</u>	<u>Annual Production</u>
Sawmilling	140	Sawn Timber	2 million cu. m
	58	Mine Supports	1,8 million t.p.a.
Pulp and paper (primary process)	12	Pulp	2,6 million t.p.a.
		Paper and	1,3 million t.p.a.
		Paper-board	
Wattle bark extraction	3	Tanning Extracts	45 000 t.p.a.
		Adhesives	
Pole preservation	-	Treated poles	271 000 t.p.a.
Other	-	Charcoal, matchwood etc	168 000 t.p.a.

An estimate of capital investment in the industry, based on historic costs, and including the two huge pulp and paper mills recently completed at Ngodwana and Richards Bay, is R4,1 billion. Of this figure R1 billion is invested in forestry and R3.1 billion in processing. Of this latter figure fully 85 percent is accounted for by the pulp and paper sector.

An approaching problem for the processing industries is that of raw timber supplies which are sufficient to meet current consumption, but which are not increasing at a rate sufficient to meet projected

demand. The basic problem is the inability or reluctance of growers to afford heavy investment in crops which have anything from a ten to forty year growing cycle, and a calculated return in real terms of only two to three percent based on industry economic studies.

Since demand is expected to become acute however the economics for the grower who can afford the investment should logically become attractive within the constraints set by the availability of alternative foreign supplies where timber production from natural forest areas is highly mechanised and prices competitive.

The industry is a major employer, predominantly in rural areas and small towns, employing some 122 000 black workers in total, 79 000 in forestry and 43 000 in timber processing. Total cash input into the rural economy through wages paid in the industry is about R175 million per annum.

Forestry or growing operations tend to be very labour intensive compared to the industrial or processing operations, with heavy use in many operations of unskilled labour, including a high percentage of females, and a lesser number of semi-skilled workers such as tractor and lorry drivers and various machine operators. Average monthly income in forestry is low (1984), at R95 per month, with housing and rations, and limited medical and educational facilities, being normally provided. In these respects the research forestry samples were reasonably typical, with average monthly income in the R76-R100 range. Many workers live within fairly easy reach of their homeland homes, depending on the area concerned. Frequently more than one household member is employed at the same workplace, enhancing total household income to a degree not found when the bread-winner works far away.

In processing enterprises the average cash income was notably higher at R164 per month, plus food and accommodation. The average monthly wage of respondents in the study fell within the range R151-R200 per month.

Whilst wages are low the industry plays an important role in providing employment for a large number of workers close to their homes and is thus very significant in the marginal areas which are transitional between the traditional rural and modern urban sectors.

Supporting this perception in a vein reminiscent of Professor Sadie's remarks given in section 3.1.2, the following quote is relevant from Allen's previous study of a border industry timber-processing plant, where he refers to the need for employment in peripheral areas (Allen. 1977. p.126):

" further development of the employment centres should continue to be labour intensive rather than highly mechanised. Manpower is the most abundant and under-exploited resource which the homeland areas possess. It may be argued that labour-intensive further development of the border-industries will (1) for the time being help minimise the type of social dysphoria in the homelands that would inevitably follow from increased unemployment, (2) as a by-product help maintain favourable relations between the homelands and "White"South Africa, and (3) most important of all, remain consistent with sound social and macro-economic perspectives on development in the third world generally. Employers in border industries would do well to acknowledge that, although they are probably directed by a head office in a large and advanced industrial conurbation, they themselves are operating in what is to all intents and purposes part of the third world. They may fruitfully picture themselves not merely as outposts of western industrial manufacturing technology (and methods), but alternatively as important agents of change in the heart of a developing territory. Thus in an earlier report (Allen and Schlemmer, 1975) to the sponsoring company we cited certain observations by ILO (International Labour Office) experts on the timber industry globally, as follows:

- Little information is available.... (on effects of technical progress) .. from developing countries. Where machines help to open up forests, they are a useful means of improving the economy and creating new job opportunities. But in many cases, it is doubtful whether mechanisation is economically or socially justified ....

- In view of the increasing number of jobless in the rural areas of developing countries, these problems are now better understood than formerly, when technology used to be transferred unthinkingly from the industrial to the developing world." (Quoted by Schlemmer and Allen from the General Report of the Second Tripartite Technical meeting for the Timber Industry, Geneva. Recent Developments and Progress in the Timber Industry, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1973).

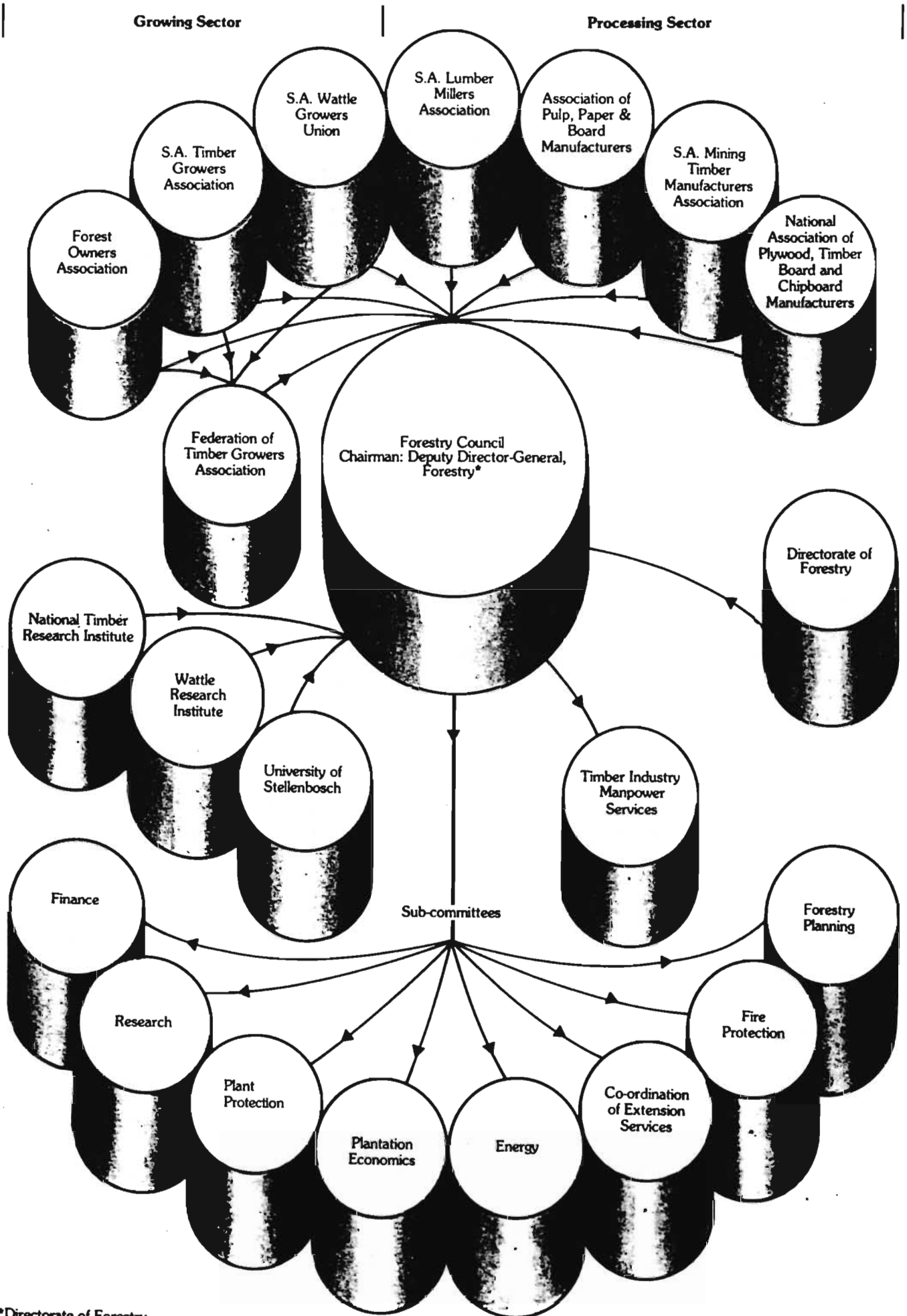
### 3.3.2 Industrial Relations Organisation

The central legislation of the forestry industry is the Forest Act, revised and published in Government Notice 1783/1984, (Government Gazette No. 9380 dated 29th August 1984). Inter alia the Act provides for a Forestry Council which acts as a liaison and co-ordinating body between growers, processors, research and service organisations, committees of council and the Directorate of Forestry and Environmental Conservation. Their relationship is shown in Figure 3.2 (Organisation of the Forestry Industry-Private Sector) which is reprinted from "Forestry in South Africa." (1980. p.23), published by the Green Heritage Committee of the Forestry Council, with the kind permission of the directorate.

Of the three growers' organisations, and four processors' organisations, shown in the top part of Figure 3.2 none of the growers' bodies are organised in terms of the Labour Relations Act, nor are their members subject to the terms of the Act as employers, nor to those of the Conditions of Employment Act, nor to wage determination legislation as their activities are classified as agricultural (many in any case having mixed forestry and agricultural enterprises). They are however subject to most provisions of the Machinery and Occupational Safety Act, apart from those relating to the need for employees' safety representative committees.

The four timber processors' associations, shown at right top in Figure 3.2 are subject to the terms of all the legislation mentioned. Only one is party to an industrial council in terms of the Labour Relations Act-the Association of Pulp, Paper and Board Manufacturers Unions participating on the Industrial Council are the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the South African Electrical Workers Union, the

# Organisation of the Forestry Industry – Private Sector



\*Directorate of Forestry

South African Boilermakers Union, the Paper Wood and Allied Workers' Union, and the National Sugar and Refining and Allied Industries' Employees Union\* . Two others have registered employer's associations in terms of the Act - The South African Lumber Millers Association and the National Association of Plywood, Timber Board and Chipboard Manufacturers.

Black Trade unions active in the industry, other than those referred to above include the following:

- National Furniture and Allied Workers' Union
- South African Allied Workers' Union
- Black Allied Workers' Union

The greater part of the industry remains non-unionised however, and it thus provides opportunity for study in social environments which are subject to normal economic and other influences, or discontents, before any organisation or 'politicisation' of that discontent, to use Gurr's terminology, has occurred. This circumstance presents an inviting area for comparative research at a later stage of development in this area.

### 3.4 SOCIAL SYSTEM INTERACTION IN THE EMPLOYMENT ENVIRONMENT

#### 3.4.1 Social Systems Interaction Models in Employment

As has been intimated above, the timber industry in South Africa, which in this respect could be very similar to any other industry elsewhere based on "migrant" labour, through the worker, draws into a complex industrial relationship three distinguishable social systems and environments. These are the:

- national social system;
- domestic or homeland social system;
- corporate industrial, or workplace, social system.

The use of models is advantageous in tracing the progress of a worker

\* This has since (1986) become defunct.

from his origins in the homeland (or other domestic environment), through the decision to seek employment, to enter a specific employment contract, and to remain with or leave it. The advantages of constructing a model are the clarification of key points of contact between social systems and the key points of decision and circumstance which tend to shape the worker's attitudes, his sense of integration, alienation, or simply entrapment.

No model can possibly account for every influence promoting or restraining the social actor, as Jones (1975. p.6) noted with reference to economic models and theory :

"The assumptions or postulates of a theoretical model are frequently criticised for being 'unrealistic.' The real world is, however, much too complex to be completely mirrored: if it is to be understood the best that can be hoped for is that it will be well represented ... A man who demanded a map at a scale of one-to-one would be considered eccentric to say the least. In much the same way, an economic theory or model simply cannot be 'realistic.' An economic theory is intended to cut its way through the complex morass of real-world 'fact' so as to illuminate a particular problem."

The models provided by Figures 3.3 and 3.4 are an elaboration of the influences outlined in Figure 2.1, in Chapter 2. The use of two successive models was found necessary. The first, in Figure 3.3 traces the worker's entry into employment, and through a sequence of events and decisions leads to the worker's assessment of whether current employment offers potential goal satisfaction or not. An orientation on a persistence-change continuum is suggested. The second model takes up the change orientation as a primary input in Figure 3.4, and introduces into the worker's relations with an employer, sequential processes of conflict resolution, resulting in a second, more matured, orientation, being attitude towards working with or against the system (i.e. the Company) on a "low system"- "high system" continuum.

Finally the models suggest four categories from a combination of the two continua. These are:

- Low Change - High System (Integrated)
- Low Change - Low System (Uncommitted)
- High Change - High System (Unsettled)
- High Change - Low System (Alienated)

Both models begin with adaptations of Figure 2.3, which was used in Chapter 2 to reflect Parson's four-function paradigm, in application to the social system as a whole. The functional sub-systems are used to portray the social sources of impulse or restraint on worker orientations. The models do not incorporate all the matters which have emerged from the consideration of theory in earlier sections, but do provide a limited social map of system interaction and interdependence, and of process and structural considerations. More detailed comment on the outlines intended by the models is given in the following sub-sections.

#### 3.4.2 Social Systems Interaction and Worker Change Orientation in Employment

Figure 3.3, short-titled "Social Systems Input to Actor (Worker) Change Orientation" is divided horizontally by descending sequential levels for reference purposes:

Level 1 is intended to convey, from left to right, the existence of company, national and homeland social systems as the broad social background to the interactions of the industrial setting. The overlapping and interlinked nature of these systems, as they effect employment, is conveyed in the subsequent decision routes of the worker. The homeland social system is labelled as such, but is intended to indicate any of the range of the domestic social systems from which the worker may originate, whether actual homeland, or black urban township, or white farm kraal.

A diagrammatic application of Parsons' functional sub-systems ensures that account is taken of the input of pressures and restraints upon the actor which originate from the following sources in all three major social systems:

- the physical and economic environments and the corresponding adaptive system;

- the political systems of control and direction;
- legal, administrative and normative requirements;
- family, community and moral value considerations.

Level 2 shows that in the social environment at home (at right) the actor absorbs and forms through processes of acculturation, internalisation and education a set of personal and socially recognised needs, values, goals, reciprocal expectations of self and others. Together with formal schooling these represent his 'education' or preparedness for participant adult life. The values of the wider national social environment will also be absorbed after the sifting and critical evaluation of his homeland social system. In addition the actual nature of the physical and economic environment in his or her own area will dictate the nature of the basic physiological, or survival, needs of self and family, and the intensity and urgency of their need for satisfaction.

At the same time, as these needs and aspirations are formed within the homeland social system, so the opportunities for their satisfaction are being determined by the economic conditions, and the legal, social and political limitations imposed by the wider national social system.

Level 3 indicates that: a) the homeland social system has determined the initial and basic goal capabilities of the actor and the nature of his priorities (whether or not these are immediately clear to him); b) the wider national social environment has determined the opportunities available, the effort, discomfort, or 'cost' that is encountered in realising these opportunities, and the rewards of doing so.

Level 4 indicates the decision to seek the expected rewards, and to accept the expected costs, and take the specific opportunity of an available offer of employment which is determined by the production needs and financial or earnings capacity of the offering company.

Level 5 represents the entry into a formal or informal contract of employment with the employer. This is characterised by legal obligations,

role specification and interaction, reciprocal expectation, and intensified and more personalised processes of social diffusion, as the social influences of corporate and other social systems and persons mingle in the worker's consciousness with those previously internalised.

Level 6 represents the point at which the established worker evaluates his new situation, both as an individual and as a social being cognisant of the views and attitudes of his work peers. His evaluation will be in terms which are relative to the desired goal state earlier formulated, but subsequently moderated in the light of the perceived achievements of others. If the actor/worker is satisfied from his evaluation this will tend to affirm the current acceptability of the employment contract as a vehicle for goal satisfaction. If not he will logically consider the progress being made towards closing the gap between reality and aspiration.

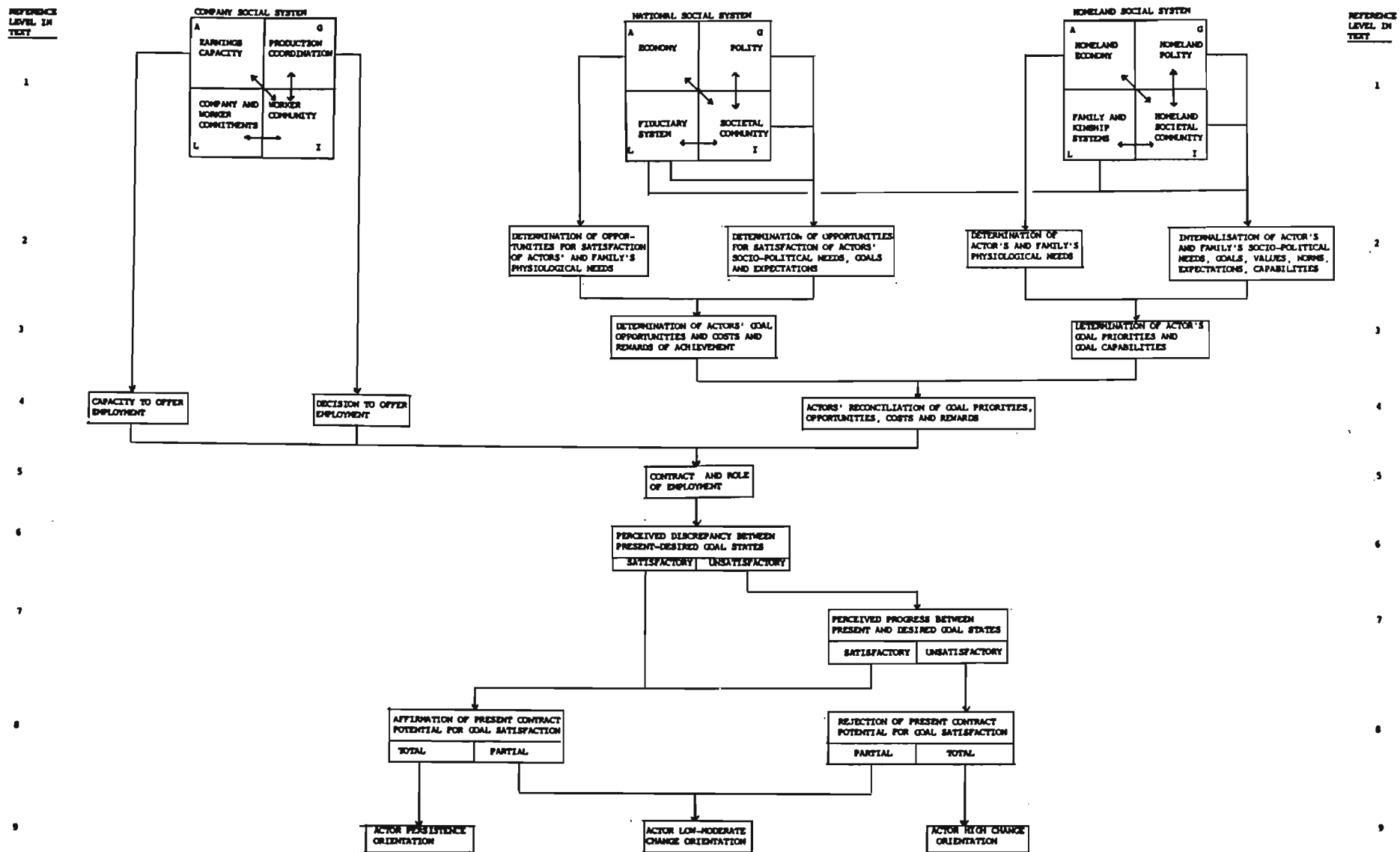
Level 7 shows the review of perceived progress towards desired goals, and that satisfaction or dissatisfaction with progress logically tends to the affirmation or rejection of the present contract.

Level 8 indicates that the affirmation or rejection of the employment contract in the mind of the actor may be qualified or total, and represents the quality of his evaluation of the exchange relationship with the employer and the beginning of blame apportionment for his situation. The resulting degree of affirmation or rejection of the employment contract in the mind of the worker is logically indicative of the intensity of his desire for change in the circumstances of his work.

Level 9 portrays these degrees of change orientation as follows:

<u>Contract Stance</u>	<u>Implied Persistence- Change Orientation</u>
Total Affirmation	Persistence
Partial or qualified affirmation or rejection	Low to moderate change
Total Rejection	High Change

FIGURE 3.3 SOCIAL SYSTEMS INPUT TO ACTOR (WORKER) CHANGE ORIENTATION



The end result of this decision and orientation process becomes an essential input to the processes followed in Figure 3.4

### 3.4.3 Social System Interaction and Worker Integration or Alienation

Figure 3.4 is short-titled "Social Systems Input to Actor (Worker) Integration-Alienation." It is divided in horizontal levels in the same manner as Figure 3.3.

Level 1 assumes the same system sources of input to the circumstances of worker-employer interaction as Figure 2.4. The nature, more particularly the emphasis, of these inputs differ however from the previous models at succeeding levels.

Level 2, at centre, begins with the input derived from the previous model by which the actor's change orientation has been established. Any change orientation whether high, moderate, or low, must, within the employment context, initially seek redress from the company. The company's decision to accommodate will be determined by management's willingness, and the firm's capacity, to do so. At this point the situational elasticity, the channels of communication, and the sensitivities of both worker and employer, lead into the communication process where they are tested.

Level 3 indicates that the necessary consequence from level 2 moves into the communication process, by which term is meant some form of interchange of communication and views, however fertile or sterile. This leads to the necessity for decision - first a response by the employer and then by the worker.

Level 4 shows the nature of the employer's decision (or the cumulative effect of a series of decisions, or policies) which may be either:

- (a) an accommodation of the worker's aspirations, in which case the worker's assessments of the need for change at the succeeding levels of the model are likely to be both low and favourable to the confirmation of the company's system as an acceptable vehicle for satisfaction of the worker's various goals (eventuating in a low change-high system, or 'integrated' orientation at level 10),

- b) a refusal or failure to accommodate the employee's wishes. In the case of the latter decision by the employer, the employee in turn is forced to decide upon a course of action. Other factors influencing that decision include his perceptions, derived from the normative climate that prevail within the company community, of worker solidarity, organisation and social pressure, and of the employer's legitimacy and authority in the eyes of workers.

At this point the normative and utilitarian justifications for resistance to employer decisions that find disfavour may be considered, and the inception of a conflictive pattern of interaction may form.

Level 5 shows that the decision taken by the employee may be to accept the refusal of the employer to accommodate his requests, or to reject it. If he:

- a) accepts the employer's decision, which has not accommodated the employee's desire for change, then he must re-assess his goals, adjust his desire for change to a lower key, and opt either to support, or to acquiesce or submit to the company system. The higher the degree of support for company decisions, policies and practices the higher is the support for the system which they typify and the closer will be the worker's sense of integration. The higher the element of acquiescence in his decision the greater will be the sense of system alienation.
- b) rejects the employer's decision not to accommodate his desire, or requests for change he must consider his alternatives. Unless he is acting irrationally other considerations will include the availability of other jobs, determined by the general levels of employment and buoyancy in the national economy, and the nature of the skills he himself can offer. Likewise the social, legal, and political restrictions that narrow his options must be taken into account.

Level 6 reflects the decision resulting from the factors relevant to level 5. The decision of the worker may be:

- a) to acquiesce, which may lead to goal moderation (level 9) and a Low Change-Low System orientation shown at level 10. Such an employee is unlikely to feel integrated, due to a low level of commitment to goals shared with the employer. He may be 'uncommitted.'
- b) to contest the employer's decision. Such a decision calls for inward re-affirmation of goals and desire for change at levels 7 and 8, and forces the worker to consider at level 9 whether:
- (i) to work through the company and its system to achieve the changes desired, which could be labelled a High Change-High System reaction. The employee could be considered 'unsettled' in the sense that change is desired, but it is seen that either it is possible to accomplish this change within the system, or that the company or system is not to blame for inability to effect the change.
- (ii) to work within but against the company by enlisting outside help, or by retaliating in some way against the company. This would represent a High Change-Low System orientation, indicative of a poor industrial relations climate.
- (c) to separate from the company and possibly the employment sector. Before separating the employee may, in addition to the national economic and political factors effecting his freedom of mobility, consider (also shown at level 6) the capacity of the homeland economy to re-absorb and support him, the demands of his dependants and relatives for financial support, and the cultural values, norms and goals which are relevant to the social and status components of his decision.

#### 3.4.4 Contribution of the Models to Research Design

The models support, and to a significant extent arise from, earlier

FIGURE 3.4 SOCIAL SYSTEMS INPUT TO ACTOR (WORKER) INTEGRATION-ALIENATION

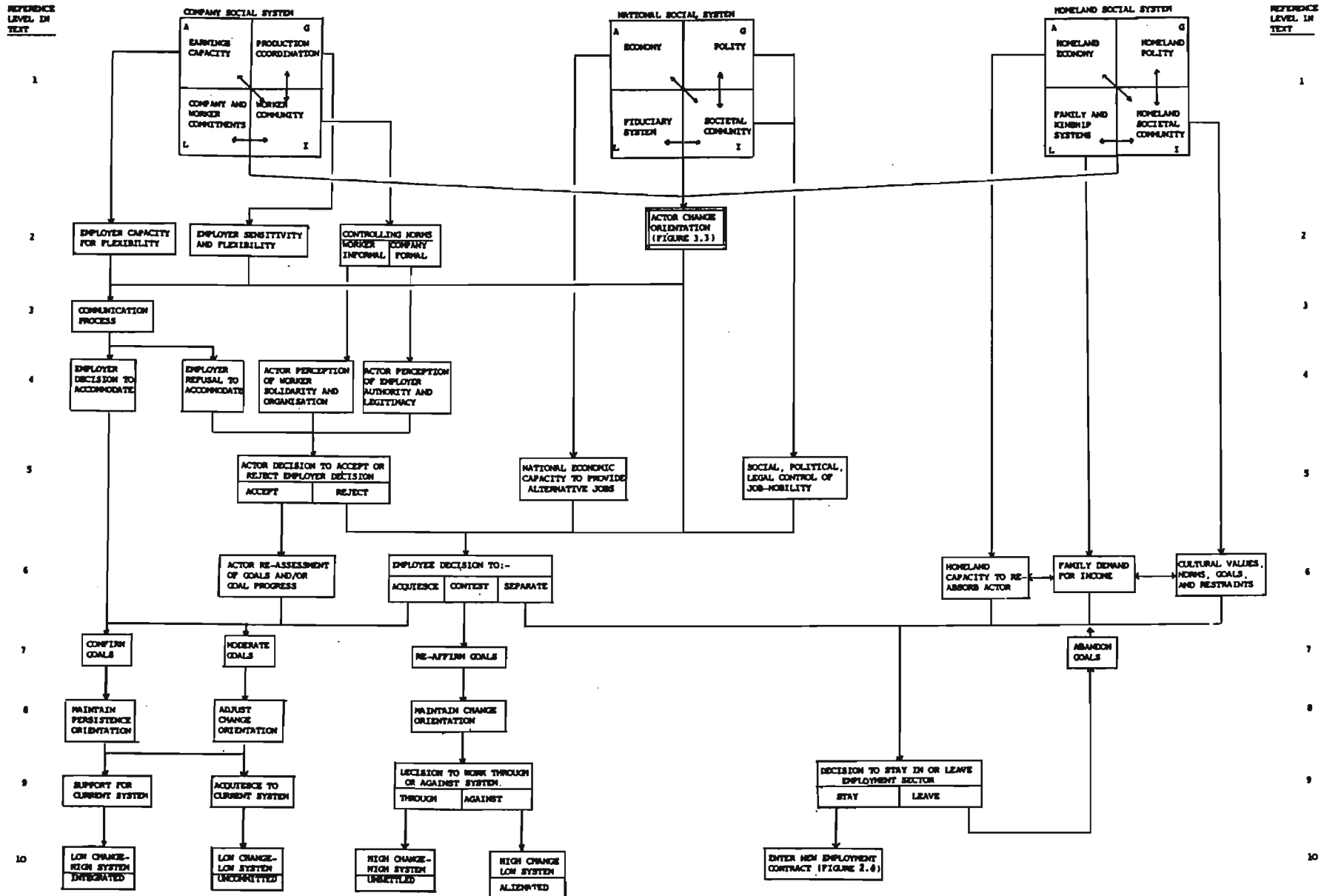


FIGURE 3.4

recognition of the importance of goal achievement, change orientation and integration with the work (and wider) social systems away from the domestic environment. In addition they support or suggest the possible incorporation in research design of some means of measuring workers' responses to suggestions in the areas noted below, preferably with reference to the political, social and value-cultural domains of homeland, country and company:

- workers' goals relative to aspirations;
- employer sensitivity and flexibility, and workers' perceptions of this;
- the effectiveness of communication processes in the workers' eyes;
- workers' assessed legitimacy of the employer's authority and disciplinary methods;
- workers' perceptions of their own solidarity and support;
- workers' willingness to confront their employer, and their assessment of associated risks or other restraints;
- alternatives to industrial employment.

### 3.5 THE RELEVANCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS TO EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

This chapter suggests that the physical, political, economic and social environments, and the various intensities and combinations of these factors, must produce powerful influences upon workers and their attitudes to employment. The economic factors pertaining in the homelands indicate inexorable and inescapable pressure to seek employment outside the homelands. The levels of unemployment, and other studies, indicate a low level of flexibility in employment alternatives. The existence of a number of stages in the development of industrialisation suggest a choice of study samples over as wide a range as possible. The facts that the timber industry provided much of such a spectrum, that some employers were willing to allow the conduct of social research led to its choice as the study's main research area, and to a brief description in section 3.2 of its main interests and activities. Finally, in section 3.3

models were drawn up which were intended to show the social environment of system interaction and interdependence which is the background to each employment relationship, and from which some research interest areas were listed in sub-section 3.4.4

The chapter has drawn in the influence of environment, in its various ranges of locale and intensities of pressure to the considerations of change, relative assessment, and integration or alienation suggested in Chapter 2. These considerations have important implications for relations between worker and employer, and the next chapter, Chapter 4, will concentrate upon an examination of other studies in the sociological field which are relevant to the 'employment bond' between worker and company.

CHAPTER FOUR    EMPLOYMENT AND THE WORKER

- The Employment Bond

4.1    THE EMPLOYMENT BOND - AN EXPLANATION

The central feature of the model in Figure 3.3, Chapter 3, at level 5, was the entry of the worker into a contract of employment and his assumption of a new life-role conferred upon him by the nature of his job. It is the social bonding point of the products of two social systems, the corporate industrial and the domestic (or homeland), both operating within a third - the national social system. It is also the joint product of demand and supply for workers, and of demand and supply for jobs. This brings into focus the relationship central to this dissertation. The model then follows the progress of the worker through the influences and events which, together with his own personality, might determine the nature and quality of the bond that develops from the initial contract. Subject always to the force of necessity to work, the bond may nevertheless prove to be a positive and rewarding one, productive of a general happiness for the worker; but it can, on the other hand, prove to have negative, alienative consequences, productive of unhappiness or misery.

The product of the model was a suggestion that workers might be classified or categorised. This proposal has to be treated with some caution as categorisation tends to imply a sharper classification than human variety lends itself to in truth. Very sharp polarities in human groupings are likely to be an exception rather than the rule - which would probably favour gradual differentiation between individual and individual so that ranges of difference become apparent, and great extremes only observable between those at opposite ends of any particular spectrum. Nevertheless the use of categories, thus qualified, has become a commonly used analytical tool. Perhaps also they can be applied more impersonally, and with greater impunity therefore, to the employment bond rather than the employees per se. The principal purposes of this Chapter therefore are to peruse some of the theory available which is germane to the subsistence and maintenance of the employment bond, whether for

integrative or coercive reasons, and to combine it with the factors so far developed to devise a reasonable categorisation of workers. From this, and from an estimation of the characteristics that might be associated with the categories, additional areas for inclusion in research enquiries and analysis may be identified.

#### 4.2 INTEGRATIVE AND COERCIVE ASPECTS OF THE EMPLOYMENT BOND

##### 4.2.1 Integration and Interchange

In moving forward from the models utilised in the closing sections of the preceding chapter, and referred to further above, Parsons and Smelser (1956. p.114) provide a helpful integration and interchange explanation of the contractual implications inherent in the employment of a worker.

"The typical occupational contract integrates three partially independent systems of action: (1) the organisation in which ego is employed; (2) the household of which ego is a member, and (3) the personality of ego."

In social systems terms there is an adaptive component to the contract where ego becomes involved in adaptive relations with other units. Both organisation and household must allow a margin of freedom for ego to fulfil his obligations in the other. The exchange media is that of money for services, from which household (in the kinship and pattern maintenance system) and firm (in the adaptive system of the economy) are both intended to benefit.

An integrative aspect of the exchange is the new role assumed by the employee and conferred by the employer, and an exchange of influence through the social status achieved by the employee, and the furtherance (ideally) of the firm's reputation and links with the societal community.

In pattern-maintenance terms there is an exchange of commitments derived from (assumed) underlying values.

"A 'good' organisation recognises an obligation to pay "good" wages and salaries; furthermore it is proud of its prestige position and the prestige that its personnel derive from this position. Conversely, a 'good' family in our (i.e. U.S) society recognises the obligation of its employed members (especially the husband-father) to be 'good at his job' and to consider his job 'important' above and beyond the remuneration level." (ibid. p.117).

And of course too there are potentially the various psychological satisfactions to be derived by the employee from goal-attainment, which are discussed more fully in Parsons and Bales (1956. p.174), with reference to the integration of the personality system and its goal attainment sub-system. This was based, briefly, on motivations arising from assessments of present situational relationships to certain reward objects characteristic of a wide set of need dispositions, personally unique in combination, but acquired during the socialisation processes. They identified four basic types of goals "A - "success" or achievement goals; G - "hedonistic" or gratification goals, I - personality integrative or "satisfaction" goals, and finally L - pattern maintenance or, as the case may be, "creative" i.e. accomplishment goals." (ibid. p.174). (Note, A,G,I, and L refer to the functions of Parson's four-function paradigm outlined in section 2.3.4).

It is not intended however that this study should be drawn into the intra-personality interactions which belong more properly to the psychologist. However, they impact substantially upon the inter-personality, and inter-group interactions that concern sociology, particularly as the starting point for the worker impelled into the working world to seek the satisfaction of his own unique goal pattern.

Parsons' and Bales' interpretation is the normative one, reflecting the fully integrated process, and it may be possible to gauge the quality of the regard of the worker for the company, and also the gap between actual achievement and goal object in the minds of workers, in part-measurement of the degree of integration or alienation. This was previously discussed in section 2.4.5

#### 4.2.2 Coercion, Inducement, and Power

Clearly a work force whose values are complementary to, or identical in part, with those of the company will be system orientated and self-motivated at work. The expectation of industrial peace, productivity, and cumulative levels of wealth and opportunity in the economy is favoured by such relations in industry. Conversely, workers who are forced or induced to enter and remain in an employment relationship purely to satisfy physiological and environmental need, or in deference to some other form of coercion, and who are thus other other-motivated rather than self-motivated, are likely to be resentful and under-productive.

Martin (1977. p.72) quotes Adam Smith's observation on the motivation of the slave who "had no other interest but to eat as much and to work as little as possible, while the master had the opposite interest." The maintenance of such a relationship clearly must depend on a lack of viable alternative means of subsistence by the slave, and on the ultimate, even immediate sanction of force.

On the sources and mobilisation of societal power Etzioni (1967.p.151) noted:

"Societal structures are not just patterns of interaction of actors, patterns of expectations and symbols, but are also patterns of allocation of societal assets, of the possessions of a social unit. These can be classified analytically as coercive, utilitarian, and normative, concerning respectively, the distribution of the capacity to employ means of violence, material objects and services, and symbols (especially values). A measure of the assets a societal unit or sub-unit possesses is not in itself an indication of its power but only of its power potential. Assets may be used to generate more assets, may be consumed or stored, or may be used to overcome the resistance of other actors, which is meant by societal power. (This does not mean necessarily to force other actors; their resistance may be overcome, for instance, by offering a pay-off.)"

Etzioni expected some variation to be found in industrial compliance patterns with moral or calculative considerations underlying the commitments of most classes of employee, but to different degrees, or in different priorities. These can be shown as follows:

Job Class	Employee Involvement		
	High	Medium	Low
Blue Collar	Calculative	-	Moral
White Collar	Calculative	Moral	-
Professional	Moral	Calculative	-

Etzioni does not refer, in the employment situation, to a coercive-alienative association as a practical, or congruent one; the power-compliance relationship is based on the power of inducement that underlies an exchange of money in return for services.

Etzioni may finally be quoted in support of the central significance of the worker(or their collectivity), as a bonding point between social systems (ibid. p.158).

"As we see it, transformation of capitalist democracies is not propelled by conflict among classes but by interaction among organised collectivities. Thus, the collectivities involved may be ethnic groups or regional communities and not just classes, and the relationship among the subsocieties might be of coalition, limited adversary, etc., and not necessarily all-out conflict. Above all, the units of action are not the collectivities per se but that part of each which has been mobilised by organizations."

Etzioni's approach is compatible with research testing on an integrative-alienative scale and suggests also a probing for the manner of control most pervasive in each work-place.

#### 4.2.3 Trust, Legitimacy and Power

An interpretation of management-employee power-compliance relations with a different emphasis was provided by Fox's analysis of trust and disciplinary relationships in industry. In all he identified six patterns of relationships in which a key element was the level of trust between the parties. This tended to determine the level of reliance on disciplinary power in the organisation. In addition, levels of trust were associated with the degree of legitimacy which workers may concede in their recognition of employer authority (Fox, 1974. p.297).

Fox used the recognition of legitimacy by workers as a distinguishing feature between relationships based on authority, and those based on power. In the former, subordinates "legitimise the order-giving role of the superior and although sanctions are deemed necessary to deter or punish transgression, these too are legitimised. In the latter situation sanctions are used to impose upon others norms of both substantive and procedural kinds which they do not legitimise, and since this behaviour is forced upon them without their 'consent' they are more likely to experience this pressure or coercion as power." (Fox, 1971. p.37).

Where workers may be punished in the framework of an authority relationship they may recognise the justice of the situation, but in a power relationship a sense of grievance and injustice may be generated.

Fox saw low-trust relationships as being characterised by suspicion, jealousy, the misreading of others' motives, which if acted upon, encourage the self-fulfilment of these expectations (at the expense of others), inhibition to co-operation, and blockages in the handling of differences and disagreements. These were accompanied by specific expectations, and a narrow calculation of reciprocal obligations. The costs and benefits of concessions would be closely calculated, communications would be carefully and selectively screened in self-interest, dependence on each others' discretion would be minimised, suspicion would be quickly aroused, and sanctions invoked.

Fox best summarises this low trust relationship as that in which each party seeks his "pound of flesh", giving only what he has to in return; in fact a narrow unmagnanimous relationship of mutual prejudice, often recognisable in many accounts of the conduct of both sides in industrial conflicts.

Fox's approach to the characterisation of workplace relationships, although differing in emphasis from that of Etzioni, is similar to it in explaining the employment relationship as one between positive and negative dominance groups, in a manner which is compatible with classification on a moral-coercive, or an integrative-alienative continuum appropriate to the perspectives developed in Chapters 2 and 3. It contributes to research planning the possibility of testing workers' perceptions of the nature and legitimacy of their employer's authority, and of the general quality of their relationship with their employer, including its calculative aspects.

#### 4.2.4 Structural and Environmental Pressure

The influence of the environment external to the employment bond was a central concern in the previous chapter. Both Marx and Parsons acknowledged the compelling influence of the natural environment in social action, the former as the final reason why men accepted what was seen as their own abasement in the processes of industry, the latter as the reason for the development of generalised capabilities for goal satisfaction- the "raison d'etre" of an economy. It is a silent, insistent, and coercive partner in the employment bond.

The natural pressures which are exerted by the physical environment may be compounded by structural features inherent to the industrial and political system, and by social features concerned with the worker's family ties. Jubber (1979. p.188) identified three sources of coercive structural pressure upon workers in South Africa:

- a) The task structure which is responsive to the rationalities of production efficiency and is productive of task specialisation. An important end-product of this task specialisation is the lessening of dependence by the organisation on particular individuals which "increases the power of the organisation while reducing that of the worker." (This process was central to Marx's conception of worker alienation. Its relevance

to management control is that obviously the loss of a worker with a narrow range of skills is less damaging to an organisation than the loss of one with a wide range of skills. For these reasons protection of job security are, and must remain, important principles at issue with industry unions, where protection against skill erosion must be a more prominent issue where craft unions are concerned).

- b) The competence structure which any organisation must employ, if it is to rationalise and optimise its economic efficiency and durability, is the result of the acquisition and allocation of the skills appropriate to its production needs. Jubber points to the distortions thrust upon the competence structure of almost any South African enterprise by the legal or practical inhibitions, past or present, upon black educational and occupational advancement.
- c) The compliance structure which represents the manifold forces acting upon employees to produce conformative behaviour, persuading them that the advantages of working within the system outweigh the costs of working against it. Jubber discussed the compliance structures of the South African state, favouring non-black citizens over black citizens, and its projection in South African industrial organisational structure. The contrasting predicaments of black and non-black workers, he concluded, were the result of "social, historical and economic factors which have produced for the White workers a remunerative/normative compliance structure and for the Black - especially African - workers a coercive/remunerative compliance structure." (ibid. p.200)

Each of the structures referred to by Jubber have strongly coercive aspects, coercive by virtue of the fact that the options of workers are greatly reduced by their effect.

A study which provides further insight into external factors which reduce the mobility of workers was undertaken by Flowers and Hughes (1973). The external factors which they considered contributory

to a state of 'inertia' included both the possible economic one of limited job alternatives, and the social ones of family ties, responsibilities, friendship and extra-mural interests. Reversing the traditional question about employee turnover "Why do employees leave?", they asked instead "why do employees stay?"

Their brief answer to the question of why employees stay was the factor they labelled "inertia" - that employees tended to stay until some force caused them to leave. The factors they found that affected this inertia were both internal and external to the company, and included:

1. Within the Company

- (a) Job satisfaction
- (b) Company environment and the compatibility between the workers' and company's work ethic and values.

2. External to the Company

- (a) Employees' job opportunities elsewhere
- (b) Non-work factors such as financial, family and community ties and responsibilities.

Both aspects are fairly easily included in field enquiries.

From these considerations Flowers and Hughes postulated certain typologies or categories of worker, but before proceeding to that question, and in turning from the pressures and influences in the employment bond, a further reference to Cohen (ibid. p.117) is once again useful in conclusion, in the South African context:

"Why (he asks) do non-whites participate in this system?  
 Why do they perform certain roles in ways expected of them?  
 Why do they not withdraw from it, turning the tables on the whites and demanding separate states, however poor?  
 Why do they not overthrow the system?"

These questions are of course relevant to the central area of interaction which is that within the employment bond. The

reasons for black compliance which Cohen then advanced include to some extent most of the considerations referred to above; i.e.

- they can only satisfy their wants by doing so;
- they cannot see the possibility of revolting against the system without great harm to themselves, or with much chance of success;
- they accept the system because it conditions them to do so, and their roles within it, and those of others are defined and reciprocated;
- they (may possibly) internalise certain diffuse moral values which encourage them to accept laws because they are laws;
- they accept any participation in a system of expected, reciprocated roles;
- like whites, they come to accept the other race as part of their external environment.

That may not, however, be the whole answer.

#### 4.3 CATEGORISATION OF EMPLOYMENT BONDS

##### 4.3.1 Turn-ons, Turn-offs, Turnovers

Flowers and Hughes used two separate axes to analyse the reasons "why employees stay." These were "job satisfaction" and "environmental pressure." This yielded four basic categories to which they attached certain labels and ascribed certain expectations of behaviour in regard to job mobility and stability as follows:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Label</u>	<u>Expected Characteristics</u>
Low Satisfaction/ Low Pressure	Turnovers	Mobile. Likely to leave
Low Satisfaction/ High Pressure	Turn-offs	Stay because they have to (captive workers)

<u>Category</u>	<u>Label</u>	<u>Expected Characteristics</u>
High Satisfaction/ Low Pressure	Turn-ons	Stay because they want to
High Satisfaction/ High Pressure	Turn-ons- plus	Stay because they want to <u>and</u> have to.

The researchers found that whereas the "turn-on" and "turn-on-plus" workers were highly motivated, and the "turn-overs" did not long remain a problem since they tended to leave, "the turn-offs" were a problem category - "prime candidates for union activities; they can easily generate employee-relations and productivity problems, and conceivably industrial espionage or sabotage. These employees are highly dissatisfied with their jobs and stay for mainly environmental reasons.... Employees trapped in this category have two alternatives: (1) they can look for outside help; or (2) they can change their behaviour and either 'do exactly as they are told and no more,' or decide to 'get even with the company.'

#### 4.3.2 Engagement-Negative, Engagement-Positive

In 1977 Schlemmer and Rawlins utilised the Flowers and Hughes rationale in a study of decentralised timber processing plants, which happened to include one utilised in this study (referred to in section 3.2.2. as type 3 - rural industry). They found it valid but in the light of their own observations modified the categorisations of employee, or employment bond, as shown below (Schlemmer and Rawlins, 1977. p.79):

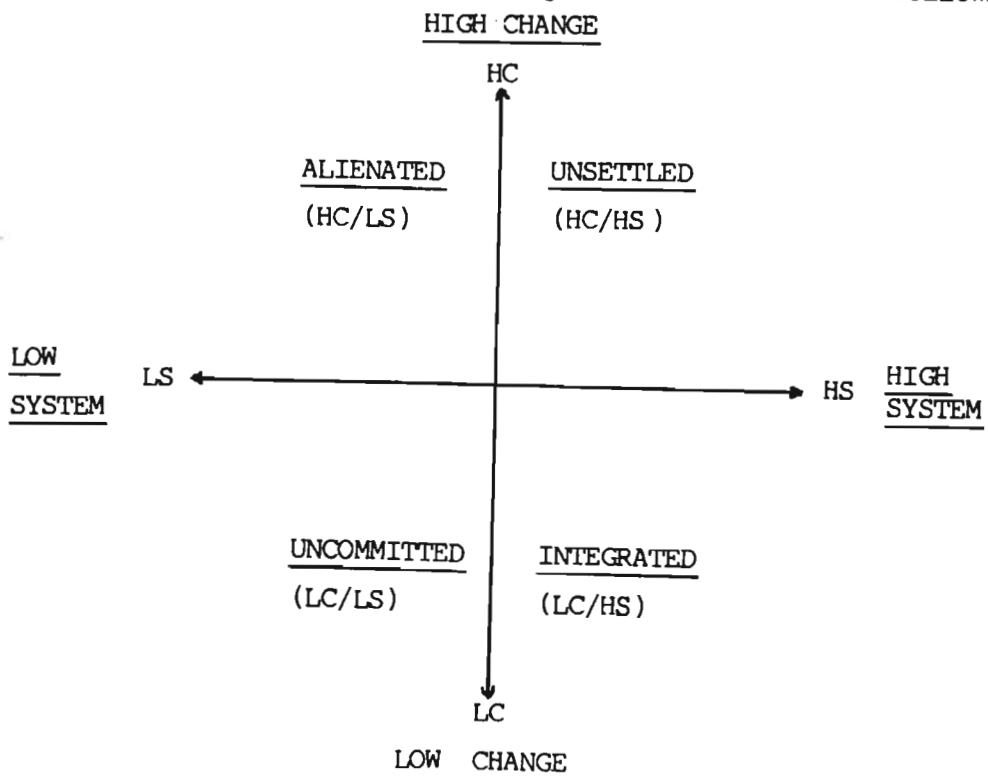
<u>Categories of Employment Bond</u>	
<u>Flowers and Hughes</u>	<u>Schlemmer and Rawlins</u>
Turn-on (and Turn-on-plus)	Engagement-positive (Productivity orientation)
Turn-off (active)	Engagement-negative (Bargaining orientation)
Turn-off (passive)	Apathetic
Turn-over	Rejection and withdrawal
Blocked Turnover	Rejection and retaliation or normlessness

#### 4.3.3 Integrated, Unsettled, Uncommitted, and Alienated

At this point it appears appropriate to re-visit the major factors expected to influence worker orientation in South Africa, to specify the different categories that their combinations might produce, to compare, or reconcile them with the categories referred to above, and to proceed to speculation about their possible characteristics in the next section. The model of system interaction through the medium of the worker, which was traced in Figure 3.3 (section 3.4.2), led to indications of change orientation in respect of the potential for goal satisfaction provided by a worker's current work contract (i.e. one of low, medium, or high desire for change). In Figure 3.4 the change orientation was taken through the possibilities of conflict resolution with the employer, determining the probable 'system' orientation, or system integration, experienced by the worker. This in turn resulted in the following four classifications of the employment bond.

<u>Factors</u>	<u>Category</u>
Low Change - High System	Integrated
High Change - High System	Unsettled
Low Change - Low System	Uncommitted
High Change - Low System	Alienated

Diagrammatically the four basic categories are derived as follows:



#### 4.3.4 "Captive" and "Mobile" Sub-categories

The four major categories of employment bond above take into account, principally, a combination of psychological, inter-personal and inter-system influences. If the "silent, insistent partner" in the employment bond is also taken into account then each theoretical category must make allowance for workers who are relatively bound by environmental inertia, and for those on the other hand who are relatively free of it. The implication of taking the environmental aspect into account in categorising employment bonds is the anticipation of a "captive" and a "mobile" sub-category for each major category mentioned above. The four major employment bond categories then become eight:

Interactive Category	Environmental Category	Employment Bond Category No.
Integrated	Captive	1
(LC/HS) *	Mobile	2
Unsettled	Captive	3
(HC/HS)	Mobile	4
Uncommitted	Captive	5
(LC/LS)	Mobile	6
Alienated	Captive	7
(HC/LS)	Mobile	8

\* Low Change/High System = LC/HS, etc

#### 4.3.5 Cross-Tabulation of the Employment Bond Categories

There remains the necessity for comparison or reconciliation of the classifications of employees suggested above with those suggested by Flowers and Hughes, and Schlemmer and Rawlins, before proceeding to the question of their (theoretical) characteristics. The following table should be sufficient for this purpose, pending the analysis of actual field research:

<u>Bond Category No</u>	<u>Category Label</u>	<u>Flowers-Hughes Category</u>	<u>Schlemmer-Rawlins Category</u>
1	INTEGRATED - Captive	Turn-on-plus	Engagement-Positive
2	INTEGRATED - Mobile	Turn-on	Engagement-Positive
3	UNSETTLED - Captive	Turn-on	Engagement-Positive
4	UNSETTLED - Mobile	Turn-over	Rejection-Withdrawal
5	UNCOMMITTED - Captive	Turn-off	Apathetic
6	UNCOMMITTED - Mobile	Turn-over	Rejection-Withdrawal
7	ALIENATED - Captive	Blocked Turn-over	Rejection-Retaliation
8	ALIENATED - Mobile	Turn-over	Rejection-Withdrawal

#### 4.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF EMPLOYMENT BOND CATEGORIES

##### 4.4.1 Expectations of Associated Attitudes and Behavioural Characteristics

The theoretical categories postulated, by virtue of the fact that they result from anticipated reactions to certain influences, presuppose characteristic reactions, attitudes and behavioural tendencies. These are considered in their major categories as follows:

##### 4.4.2 The Integrated Categories

The integrated worker in the "system interaction" models in Chapter 3 (Figures 3.3 and 3.4) was one who had found his employment as

having potential for the satisfaction, or near satisfaction of his goals. Where satisfaction was unlikely to be complete any conflict with the employer arising from this source was resolved or resolvable, and the situation, overall, certainly acceptable. The employee's life and goals have therefore integrated with the social system that is the company. His future becomes identified with it. Characteristic attitudes and behaviour that might be speculatively associated with such a situation could include:

- reluctance to adapt to necessary change;
- acceptance of discipline, rule-observant;
- compliance and co-operation;
- employee/company goal compatibility;
- low conflict orientation;
- steady work performance;
- high trust.

External environmental pressures or inertia would not appreciably alter the situation as long as they remained constant. The category would be identifiable with Flowers' and Hughes' "turn-on" and "turn-on-plus" categories, and with Schlemmer's and Rawlins' "engagement-positive" category. In the political system the equivalent category would be labelled 'conservative.'

#### 4.4.3 The Unsettled Categories

The "unsettled" worker that emerged from the processes and interactions of the models was one who had found the employment contract unsatisfactory in relation to his goal objectives. He therefore desired a change in his circumstances, achieving this either by increased effort at work or by persuasion of the company, or by seeking it elsewhere. His attitudes are not destructive to his relationship with the company as he still sees hope for progress within the system, and therefore it retains positive attributes.

Theoretically such an employee might be noted for the following characteristics:

- receptive to or eager for change in system or personal circumstances;
- rule-questioning; rule-challenging
- compromising and co-operative;
- employee/company goal compatibility unresolved;
- constructive conflict orientation;
- hard worker, ambitious, opportunistic;
- moderate trust.

External environmental pressures, if strong, would tend to increase internal motivation and invigorate demands for change- in which case the employee would be another Flowers and Hughes "turn-on" or Schlemmer and Rawlins 'engagement-positive'. If mobile, i.e. relatively free of inertia this worker could fit the "turn-over" and "rejection-withdrawal" labels.

In the political system the equivalent category could be labelled "moderate-progressive".

#### 4.4.4 The Uncommitted Categories

The uncommitted worker in the theoretical models was one only partially satisfied with the situation in which his employment contract results. Although his dissatisfaction has not been resolved he has failed to challenge this and has either scaled down or moderated his hopes or ambitions, or has simply succumbed or acquiesced to the situation. He is not integrated into the system, is not committed, is simply overwhelmed by circumstances.

Characteristic attitudes and behaviour could theoretically include:

- fear of change in personal circumstances;
- wishful rather than active towards desired change;
- avoidance of discipline; rule-evasive;
- minimal co-operation;
- low trust;

- employee/company goal incompatibility;
- conflict withdrawal;
- low work motivation.

This theoretical category may fit the "turn-off" or "turn-over" categories of Flowers and Hughes, or the "apathetic" and "rejection-withdrawal" categories of Schlemmer and Rawlins.

In the political context such a pattern would be labelled "apathetic".

#### 4.4.5 The Alienated Categories

The alienated employee in the models was one whose employment situation did not offer goal satisfaction or its prospect. With this conflict unresolved the employee fell into a conflictive pattern, seeking to change circumstances or the system, by separation from the company or by active opposition. The pattern is one of alienation from the system and its identification as a system in opposition. Characteristic behaviour could include -

- strong desire for change;
- impatient of discipline; rule-defiant;
- uncompromising, unco-operative, challenging;
- employee/company goal opposition;
- high conflict orientation;
- work disruptive;
- suspicious.

These tendencies would be exacerbated by high environmental pressure or inertia resulting in a focus of destructive influences within and against the company system, escape being blocked. The lack of exit opportunity could lead to a build up of these influences in terms of both their intensity in each worker, and in the number of these workers.

The category in Flowers and Hughes terms would be "turn-over" (if mobile), otherwise "blocked turn-over". In Schlemmer's and Rawlins' terms the "rejection-withdrawal" and "rejection-retaliation" labels

could apply respectively. In the political context this pattern would be termed "radical."

The categories which have been suggested for employees have been derived from the nature of expected interactions with the work, social or physical environment. The characteristics which might be ascribed to those categories are derived from a projection of the qualities which might have determined the decision path in the models referred to. The actual behaviour of workers, and their likely behaviour under certain pressures and circumstances, cannot be forecaste with certainty, but the chances of accuracy are likely to improve after the research data analysis.

#### 4.4.6 Employment Bond Categories: Relevance to Research Objectives

Recognition of major theoretical issues in social interaction led to their application in the suggestion of a worker typology, with implied attitudinal or behavioural characteristics. These anticipated characteristics centred upon workers' responses or reactions to the situational requirements of:

- change
- discipline
- compliance
- worker/company goal compatibility
- conflict resolution
- trust relationships
- work motivation

These provide a further and perhaps final source of suggestion for the dimensions of field research amongst workers. Together with the objectives which have developed from the content of Chapters Two and Three they will be integrated into the research instrument in the next chapter. First will be considered, however, though comparatively briefly, the question of those who represent

the other side of the employment bond relationship - the supervisors and managers, whose daily task it is to work with, or in control of, workers, and who have such great responsibilities, recognised or otherwise, in doing so.

#### 4.5 MANAGERS AND SUPERVISORS

##### 4.5.1 The Level of Interaction

The primary line of interaction between two major social systems, two races, two classes (in so far as they have become such), and the positive and negative dominance groups occurs at the level of the skilled supervisor. Although black-white stratification at the line dividing skilled and semi-skilled is slowly eroding in both South Africa and the timber and forestry industries it remains as the primary "inter-face" level. Below the level are "semi-skilled" lorry drivers, tractor drivers, machine operators, first line supervisors, and junior clerks whose duties are limited to fairly routine operations. Below them in turn are the mass of unskilled labour whose work is clearly defined, and subject to close and regular supervision. In forestry the tasks of unskilled workers may be varied according to seasonal needs, but in processing plants this is infrequent. These two levels, semi-skilled and unskilled, are generally referred to as "workers", or labour. In the work-places in the timber industry which are part of this study they are, almost without exception, black. Above this level are skilled artisans, industrial nurses, administrative workers, labour or personnel specialists and, of central importance, forestry or factory production supervisors with a repertoire of skills, acquired by experience and training, and broad enough to enable them to take charge of a district operating unit such as a forestry estate or factory processing section. In the timber industry samples utilised in the study the great majority of employees at this level are white, but there is increasing penetration by blacks. Employees at this level are referred to here as supervisory level employees or "supervisors", for if they do not directly supervise workers they at least relate to them as super-ordinates. Above the supervisory levels in turn are the local and centralised middle management, in line or specialist positions, and finally senior, company level, management responsible to a board of directors - these are referred to collectively as "managers."

#### 4.5.2 Opposite Latent Interests

In Chapter 2, section 2.4.5, several assumptions derived from Dahrendorf were noted, among them:

- (i) carriers of negative and positive dominance roles have opposite latent interests.
- (ii) an interest in the preservation of the status quo is expected from those in positive dominance roles, and an interest in change from those in negative dominance roles;
- (iii) interest groups originating in this manner are in constant conflict over the preservation or change of the status quo.

A primary motivator of change from the status quo is the "interest in change from those in negative dominance roles", and the gradual development of a sound theoretical base for the investigation of that interest has been the central theme of this dissertation to this point. This being so it was decided that supervisors' and managers' perceptions would be most profitably studied from two perspectives, which were:

- (i) their level of awareness of black feeling, opinion and attitudes. This would be some measure of the level of communication between the two groups on central but sensitive issues.  
  
The best way to establish this comparison, it was felt, was to ask supervisors and managers to respond to the field enquiry schedule questions, not as they themselves felt, but as they thought the blacks for whom they were responsible would respond. In this way, the degree of understanding, or the initial gap in perceptions, could be clearly and simply gauged;
- (ii) their reaction to confrontation with the actual results of the field survey and their proposals for managing its implications. Of major interest would be whether

their reactions would tend towards defensive maintenance of the status quo, or accommodative, adaptive reactions to a suggestion of change.

Clearly this stage could only be contrived and organised after full analysis of the data obtained from workers' responses to the research enquiries.

- The Research Instrument and Fieldwork5.1 DESIGNING THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT5.1.1 Theoretical Background Re-visited

Any broad-ranging discussion of sociological theory, relevant to the complex problems of a contemporary industrial society which is experiencing pressure for change, must raise issues far beyond the practical scope of any single research project. Inevitably selectivity becomes a high priority; it becomes necessary to select only the most salient from a range of research questions, yet, if possible, without losing the opportunity of casting a net wide enough, and of fine enough mesh, to catch the bigger "fish" in the sociological sea.

At this point therefore some brief recall is required of the issues and areas which have been raised in the preceding chapters, and then some priority assigned to their inclusion in the framing of the subjective section of the enquiry instrument to be used in interviewing workers. (The format for enquiry amongst supervisors and managers will be addressed in a later chapter, although, it will be recalled, they were requested to participate at the time of the enquiry amongst workers by responding to the enquiry issues as they thought the workers would do).

The development of the theoretical framework began in Chapter 2 with the concept of social order as a central issue, a "benchmark" against which to compare any other state of society. Within a nation a state of (relative) social order can be said to exist in the broad sense when central and local governments continue to function, when disruption of the peace occurs, if it occurs, in limited areas of the country for limited periods, and when the major groups and institutions continue in active interdependence. It was accepted that a state of relative social order contained within it, at the same time, processes of both integration or consensus, and processes of conflict.

Explanation of the manner in which social order persisted, while coping with the pressures upon it, was sought in the structural-functional paradigms of Talcott Parsons. Order basically was explained by the concept of social system. The accommodation and resolution of conflict and change occurred in the process or function of integration, underpinned by a broad normative order. Four functional inter-dependent sub-systems were identified. Their functions were adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and pattern maintenance. They were identifiable respectively with the economy, the polity, the societal community and its normative controls, and the cultural system based on durable value systems.

From conflict theory it was concluded that the source of conflict was in the competition for scarce resources necessary to survival, and it became salient when the integrative institutions and processes of society were unable to cope with opposing claims between different social groups and systems. A major source of unresolved tensions was identified as the lack of integration between social strata based upon class, or other ascribed criteria, where strata permeability was controlled by the positive dominance, or superordinate, group. In a stratified social system, the distance between the superordinate and subordinate groups, and their comparative or relative advantages or disadvantages in access to the wealth or assets of society is critically assessed by the subordinate group. The distance thus apparent to subordinate groups could result in a continued sense of alienation, or estrangement, from full participation in the control of the political and economic processes and systems which, nevertheless, continue to control their lives. This sense of denial, of "other-ness," at some point should logically give rise to a desire for change, change both in personal circumstances, and change in the social systems that maintain the status quo. The opposite nature of interests at the principal level of stratification is the chronic source of major conflict in South African society, its frequency and intensity depending upon the balance between the normative and organisational capacity for protest on the one hand, and the efficacy of the means of amelioration (accommodation or reform) or control on the other. The balance of this control, as Gurr noted, was a major determinant of the magnitude of the level of violence in society.

Attention was turned in Chapter 3 to the South African labour environment and note taken of the growing pressures of population, unemployment and reduced rural circumstances. Different industrial environments on the rural-urban continuum of industrialisation were discussed, and some explanation given of the timber and forestry industries from which most samples to be studied are selected. Models were then devised which were intended to convey the main events and processes which led the worker to employment, and influenced his thinking and behaviour there.

Chapter Four considered integrative and coercive aspects of the employment bond, and the possible categorisation of employment bonds resting on different types of relationships, each with different behavioural or attitudinal implications. Finally reasons were advanced for the decision to undertake a study of managers' and supervisors' attitudes, and their distance from, and reaction to those of their workers.

#### 5.1.2 Theoretical Parameters and Criteria

Since the most important and difficult aspect of devising the research instrument would be the section eliciting the subjective responses of workers on key questions, attention is now given to identifying the primary theoretical parameters, objectives and criteria underlying its construction.

1. Primary, and pervasive, objectives of the study should be:
  - (a) Ascertaining the existence and intensity of desire for change, in its many aspects, amongst black workers;
  - (b) Ascertaining the presence and strength of respect for the current social order.

It was decided that each and every subjective question, or test statement, put to workers in the study should incorporate one or both of these two underlying themes upon which the scoring continuum or scale would be based.

- 2 A further primary objective should be that of testing these orientations through a sufficiently broad social spectrum. If the existence and intensity of orientations on these

issues was to be ascertained by measurement on change and order continua, their scope might be ascertained by testing them in the domains likely to be of major concern to the worker, namely:

- a) the personal or psychological;
- b) the social and cultural;
- c) the economic and political;
- d) the work and industrial

Where possible, questions or test statements would be devised which were relevant to each domain yet which satisfied also the necessity to include underlying change and order themes.

3. Secondary defining objectives of the study were considered to be a necessity to adequately test subjects' responses in the context of the three main social systems reflected in the models of Chapter 3, i.e.:
- the domestic, or homeland social system;
  - the corporate, or industrial social system;
  - the national social system;

The process outlined in the models not only reflected a sequence of events in a typical workers' life, but in fact outlined one of the most significant processes of social diffusion in South Africa, and of transition from one cultural and normative system to another. Perhaps its only possible rival in this respect is the process of formal education which it succeeds chronologically in a workers' life.

- 4 Tertiary objectives of the study design were to include, without discarding primary and secondary objectives, reference to as many as possible of the social aspects, attitudes, considerations, phenomena or processes which contributed to the input or product of the system interaction models, and the consequent employment bond categories.

These are grouped below, in a sequence which roughly parallels their order of appearance or relevance, in the models of Figures 3.3 and 3.4 in Chapter 3. (It is presumed that these do not require elaboration at this point).

- (a) Norms, values, cultural projection, acculturation, internalisation;
- (b) Interests, pressures, needs, goals;
- (c) Priorities, aspirations, expectations, options;
- (d) Costs, rewards, inducements, relative deprivation, frustration, satisfaction;
- (e) Social diffusion, personal adjustment, education, experience, training;
- (f) Communication, expression, exchange, reciprocity, co-operation, trust, commitment;
- (g) Discipline, authority, legitimacy, stratification, sanction, power, coercion;
- (h) Blame, division, hostility, challenge, withdrawal, apathy, inertia, acquiescence, mobility, retaliation, justification, solidarity.

These considerations were then used as a check list of criteria which could be advantageously incorporated in the substance of the test statements to be put to survey subjects. It is believed that most of these criteria are accounted for in the enquiry schedule statements, although both the constraints of inventiveness in devising questions, and of interview time, came under strain!

### 5.1.3 Practical Considerations

It was necessary to take into account various problems of a practical nature in determining the type of research instrument to be used. These included:

- a) The large number of subjects. In section 3.2.2 interest was expressed in including samples from a range of industrial types.

Samples from seven work forces in four separate regions of Natal and the South-Eastern Transvaal were finally involved. Since, in addition, the samples should be large enough to consider them reasonably representative of the larger workforce from which they were selected, the final number of subjects was large at 554.

- (b) Expense. A large number of subjects implied escalation of expenditure in terms of time or money spent in travelling, interviewing, data capture and analysis, as well as some loss of working time by people being interviewed, which employers wished to minimise.
- (c) Consistency and Factor Analysis. Comparisons between samples would be an important purpose and product of the exercise. Also a large and common data base would offer improved potential for later factor analysis. For these reasons, it was necessary to present identical queries to each subject, and a common response scale.
- (d) Illiteracy. Since many or most respondents were likely to be illiterate, questions or statements would have to be put to them in a spoken form, in a language they understood.
- (e) Confidentiality. Because of the sensitive nature of many enquiries no inclusion or mention of anything leading to the possible personal identification of respondents could be entertained.
- (f) Biographical Data. The biographical data obtained should be broadly based, in order to allow the identification of meaningful predictor variables in the subsequent data analysis.

## 5.2 THE ENQUIRY SCHEDULE

### 5.2.1 A Schedule Outline

For the reasons given in the last section the decision was taken to employ an enquiry schedule which would consist of three principal parts:

- (a) an introduction to the interview;
- (b) objective biographical data;
- (c) subjective attitudinal data;

The English version of the enquiry schedule itself appears as an annexure to this chapter, Annexure 5A, and comment upon its content appears below. A Zulu interpretation was used in the field after thorough double-checking of its accuracy.

### 5.2.2 Introduction to the Interview

The introductory section to the enquiry schedule was a guarantee of privacy and anonymity for respondents by the Director of the Centre for Applied Social Science, University of Natal, - Professor Lawrence Schlemmer.

In implementation this assurance was repeated both collectively and individually to all participants and observed to the letter. It was impressed on interviewers and respondents that neither their names nor employee numbers should be given or asked at any stage. Interviews were conducted entirely privately.

It is considered that these assurances achieved a very high degree of success in terms of measures of freely expressed responses by persons interviewed.

### 5.2.3 Biographical Data

This part of the schedule consisted of questions put to respondents concerning their personal details and history. They also included certain questions concerning wage aspirations, which followed on from that concerning current wage levels. These questions may be referred to in enquiry schedule items 1 - 27. In brief they covered the following:

Sex of respondent  
 Place of birth  
 Age  
 Home and parental language  
 Own language literacy  
 Standard of education  
 Marital status  
 Number of dependents  
 Parents' marital stability  
 Father's labour migration history  
 Type of accommodation whilst at work  
 Frequency of visits to home village  
 Number of kinfolk working for the same employer  
 Length of service with employer  
 Occupation and skill level  
 Future service expectation  
 Current wage  
 Wage desires and aspirations  
 Ownership of livestock  
 Landholdings

Ordinal response codes assisted rapid field recording of data, rapid data capture, and later regression analysis against attitudinal factors and scores. In some cases response codes were re-ordered or re-grouped to facilitate analysis, and this will be pointed out where necessary.

#### 5.2.4 Subjective Attitudinal Data

There was little hesitation in deciding to use a series of test statements with a Likert response scale in gathering attitudinal data. This had the advantage of control and consistency in ensuring that enquiries in every case covered the parameters and criteria referred to in section 5.1.2. It also met the requirements of the practical considerations referred to in section 5.1.3. A further advantage was that it avoided the necessity of involving (unavailable) additional judges

which a ranking and grouping scale system such as the Thurstone scale would have entailed. (McCormick and Tiffin, 1975. pp 279-281).

The choice of responses to test statements were:

Strongly Agree  
 Agree  
 Don't Know  
 Disagree  
 Strongly Disagree  
 Refuse to Answer (in deference to any rooted objections to responding)

Responses to each test statement were allocated scores from one to five on the Persistence-Change, and Order-Disorder (or Low System-High System) continua envisaged in section 5.1.2. Phrasing of questions was deliberately and irregularly worded to ensure changes of score direction on these continua so that respondents were continually faced with changes in the meaning of "agree" or "disagree". For example a response "strongly agreeing" with a test statement suggesting change, or disorder would draw a score of five. If the wording of the statement however suggested persistence or order then a response in strong agreement would draw a score of one.

The score continua were thus:

Persistence	1	2	3	4	5	Change
Order						Disorder
(High System)	1	2	3	4	5	(Low System)

It is appropriate to note here that only 4,6 percent of responses were the neutral "Don't Know" response- scoring three. "Missing" or "refused" responses to the attitudinal items totalled 0,66 percent of the total. After due consideration these were scored as three, the neutral position). The content of the test statements used are contained in schedule items 28 - 104 in the schedule at Annexures 5A to this chapter.

Note was taken of a current feeling in certain circles that a five-point Likert scale was not satisfactory for use with illiterate, or barely literate, respondents. Apparently they are most at home with simple agreement or disagreement responses and incapable of finer degrees of emphasis.

To the author this seemed to be one step removed from one prediction that the only response would be "don't know", and likely to be as inaccurate. To any person with any knowledge of African languages, with their richness of nuance, and often with the most explicit vocabularies capable of describing many issues, mannerisms or appearances as exactly, or more so than the English language, this contention borders on the absurd.

Personal, social, cultural, economic, political and work related matters have been part of African life from time immemorial. Finer shades of meaning are indispensable and to contend that they are foreign to Africans, illiterate or not, is ascriptive in the extreme. In the event all available evidence indicated that all responses were used by almost all respondents, and logically so. No exceptions were found.

### 5.3 CONDUCT OF ENQUIRIES

#### 5.3.1 Pilot Interviews

Ten pilot interviews were conducted with persons in the Durban area in order to test the enquiry schedule and detect problems in its use. Difficulties were encountered with the layout of the original format, and the response options which were offered in the biographical data section. Corrections were duly made and the schedule appearing in Annexure 5A is the corrected (English) version.

Some difficulties were also experienced by interviewers in achieving privacy for interviews. Discussion of this problem enabled its avoidance in the ensuing field programme.

### 5.3.2 Participating Organisations

A common problem of sociological research in organisations is apprehension on the part of management concerning the possibility that the nature of the questions may have a disturbing influence upon workers. Further, being responsible for their companies, they may fear the use of research information for purposes detrimental to their interests. As a result requests to interview workers at two reputable establishments were declined - apparently on the grounds that the questions instilled a sense of shock. Two major companies in forestry and timber, however, allowed access to their estates and processing plants with the only restriction being that identification of the plants concerned should be avoided.

In the event it was found that the enquiries made from workers created not a ripple that was detectable either at the time, or subsequently. They appeared in fact rather more phlegmatic than the more nervous members of management, and hesitated little in responding to test statements, clearly having decided views and opinions on the issues involved. Probably most of this information is exchanged between them and their fellows almost constantly. It can be assumed with some certainty that any person or agency wishing to exploit such information, from motives not sympathetic to management, can gain access to it at a moment's notice, if it is not already available to them. Any black trade union or other organisation interested in the economic or political views of workers are operating in a social environment as familiar to them as the boardroom, office and club are to senior management. Gaining information is not a problem for them - but how they present it becomes a problem for management.

The greatest threats to the success and survival of South African management now and for the foreseeable future are not technical or financial ones but those in the field of political and industrial relations. It is their responsibility to see that they get on the network. If they shrink from asking questions they will not get answers. Without facts they cannot manage.

### 5.3.3. The Survey Samples

For reasons of sensitivity no indication will be given of the exact location of the samples, or of the precise nature of their activities, or of which sample comes from which of the two (unidentified) companies involved; nor is this necessary for academic purposes. It is necessary, however, to relate them to the types of industry distinguished in section 3.2.2. (Chapter 3). At the same time an indication is given of some of the sample characteristics in relation to those of the workforce from which it was selected. The samples are not always as representative of their populations in terms of ratio by sex, age, education, skill level, etc., as might be desirable. This would of course be extremely difficult to achieve in any survey when the number of biographical variables is taken into account and when their significance is not known in advance. Disruption to work had to be minimised, and the possibility of prejudicing workers' confidence in their anonymity by pre-selection had to be avoided. Although it was ensured that both men and women were included to a significant degree in the total sample, that both unskilled and semi-skilled workers were significantly represented, that a reasonable range of age groups was interviewed, and that both single and married quarter employees were included, it was not possible to ensure that each sample exactly represented the workforce. It was felt that, to some extent, this problem would have to be dealt with in later analysis by extrapolation of the results found. (Further comment on these problems, and the sampling approach consequently adopted, has been made in Appendix 1, page 505, inserted before final binding).

All arrangements for interviewing in the timber industry samples were made under the direct supervision of the researcher. In Durban the scheduling and daily control of interviewers was undertaken by a research officer of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences. All actual interviews were conducted in private circumstances where the respondent could not be heard by any person other than the interviewer. All fieldwork was concluded during the period late August to early October 1984.

Summaries are now given below of the main features of the samples:

a) Employment Situation Type 1 : Border Industry

One sample of this type was available for interview. Later in this text it will be referred to as sample no. 7

The plant concerned is a small timber processing plant situated within thirty kilometres of a homeland border. Most workers, (nearly 80 percent of those in the sample) commuted daily, or otherwise lived in company or township married quarter accommodation, and visit their nearby homeland villages at least weekly. Their domestic life can be classified therefore as socially natural, or approximately so, by most commonly accepted standards.

The working day begins at 07h00 and ends when the production task for the day is complete, normally about 17h00. A meal is provided during the midday break. The management style of the area mills manager was described by senior management as "firm, but fairly consultative." His reception of the research team was co-operative, and interested. Formal channels of communication at the plant were somewhat dormant; neither was there any trade union activity known to management. Formal disciplinary procedures existed, but disciplinary issues more often than not were dealt with informally. The personnel manager responsible for the plant described industrial relations there as "currently unproblematic, but not regarded as a model of how industrial relations matters should be handled."

The whole workforce consisted of 117 workers, of whom 40 were interviewed by the research team. The sample was divided by sex and skill level as follow, with figures for the whole work force given in parenthesis:

	<u>Unskilled</u>	<u>Semi-skilled</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	14 (38)	12 (31)	26 (69)
Females	13 (45)	1 ( 3)	14 (48)
<u>Total</u>	27 (83)	13 (34)	40 (117)

These distributions show that the sample had a greater proportion of females, and of semi-skilled workers, than most samples; in addition to the fact that a very large proportion lived in family circumstances. Comparisons of sample distributions are later given in Table 9.1 Chapter Nine.

b) Employment Situation Type 2: Small-town Industry

One sample of this type was selected for study. It will later be referred to as sample no 6. Domestic life for workers at this plant was less natural, more disrupted than for those who had been interviewed in sample no 7. Nearly half (49 percent) lived in not very satisfactory company single accommodation in the township. Meals were provided at the plant premises. Other workers were scattered, some in company married quarters (9 percent) some in villages or otherwise in private accommodation in townships (15 percent). Visits to homeland kraals were much less frequent than in sample no 7. One third visited home weekly (32 percent), rather more than half (54 percent) visited monthly, and the balance less frequently.

Daily routines were similar to those which had operated at the sample no 7 workplace. Morning and midday meals were provided for workers, and an evening meal for the single quarter residents.

Management style at the plant had varied according to changes of manager, but at the time of the survey was rated as "autocratic." There was no history of strikes and only minimal levels of union approaches to workers. A liaison committee had existed largely in name only but more recently a works council had begun to function more effectively. A company disciplinary code and a grievance procedure existed but these were seldom formally observed and thus disciplinary matters tended to be dealt with on an ad hoc basis.

The total work force included 356 workers of whom 65 were interviewed (18 percent). The following (numerical) divisions of the sample by sex and skill level is provided, with the equivalent figures for the whole plant population given in parenthesis.

	<u>Unskilled</u>	<u>Semi-skilled</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	40 (145)	5 (69)	45 (214)
Females	16 (120)	4 (22)	20 (142)
<u>Total</u>	56 (265)	9 (91)	65 (356)

It can be seen that the sample under-represented women, and the semi-skilled to some extent. Such considerations have to be kept in mind when projecting results of analysis to the whole workforce but are of less concern in interpreting associations with predictor variables in the total study sample.

(c) Employment Situation Type 3: Rural Industry

The description of what was denoted as "rural industry" will be recalled from section 3.2.2 .- i.e. an industrial enterprise located in the rural (white) area, some distance from either homeland or city. One sample of this type was included in the study - the third processing plant. The sample will later be referred to as sample no. 4.

Of all workplaces this one provided the least natural social circumstances since from a total workforce of 302 at that time only five were women. The sample of 100 were all males, 27 semi-skilled and 73 unskilled. Of these workers 96 lived in the company single quarters adjacent to the factory, even though 63 were married men. Their life after work therefore provides little change from the companionship of those with whom workers spend their working hours. Off-duty entertainment includes television, "piped radio" in each room, soccer and boxing. Little else is easily accessible, the nearest small town being at least 30 kms away and the nearest homelands even further. Accommodation is adequate, with four workers per room (four by six metres). Senior men are only two to a room with a private sitting room between two bedrooms. Three cooked meals are served daily in the dining room, the diet being balanced and plentiful, but plain.

Opportunity to visit home is more frequent than migrant workers in the cities would find with 46 percent of respondents being able to visit home at weekends but the remainder less often.

Local management's perception of the industrial relations climate has been that it is relatively trouble-free, although there is occasional overt expression of tension between individual black workers and white artisans or supervisors. A works council meets at regular intervals, and informally if necessary. The agenda is normally short, and representatives protest that the workers have few complaints. A safety committee also functions in a conscientious manner. A disciplinary code is observed and disciplinary hearings are conducted by the Labour Officer who is a White. Discharge of workers is only permitted with the authority of the Plant Manager, and only after a proper hearing. The manager's style could be described as sympathetic to workers but primarily oriented to technical and operational problems. The work force is not unionised, although some rural industries in the general area have become so. One union which established contact with workers about six months after the survey received little encouragement from them, and nothing developed from the contact. (This situation has since changed - Chapter Nine).

The work load is not generally onerous, although at peak times of production (a little more than half of the year) a three shift system is brought into operation (06h00 - 14h00 - 22h00 - 06h00), seven days per week, each worker working six shifts. Otherwise work proceeds on a five day week, day shift, routine from 07h00 - 17h00 including a 45 minute lunch break. Whatever system is in operation the working week is limited to 46 hours per week, exclusive of permitted and agreed overtime in terms of the Conditions of Employment Act.

(d) Employment Situation Type 4 : Agriculture/Forestry

Three samples of this type were included in the study, balancing the total of three processing plant samples. The samples will be referred to later as sample nos. 1, 2 and 3. Workers in these samples totalled 249. Work routines are similar at all three

samples. Estate products include round timber from pine, gum and wattle trees, and also wattle bark and, in certain areas, sugar cane. All these products have long growing cycles, ten to fifteen years in the case of the timber crops. Sugar cane is replanted roughly every ten years and ratoon-cropped (in inland areas) more or less every two years depending on seasonal factors. Work tasks mirror the cycles of the crop, - land preparation, planting, thinning, weed control, fire-control, felling, trimming, de-barking, stacking, loading and despatch. Much of the work is physically hard and demanding, but provides a broad enough range to accommodate most physically fit people. Work loads also can be adjusted by the individual since much of the work is organised on a set task basis by work study specialists. The standard task is set on what is achievable by a healthy adult male working at 75 percent capacity (British Standards Institutes' 0-100 scale) through an eight hour working day. Allowance is made in the standard for variance in climatic and topographical conditions. Remuneration tables are based on levels of production proportionate to the standard task so that younger and older, bigger and smaller, men and women, can find the level of production that suits their own physical capacities and manual dexterity. The length of the working day thereafter varies according to the personal daily target of the worker, but all are expected to begin very early in the day, when it is cool. An early morning meal is provided at company dining rooms at 04h30 in summer, and 05h30 in winter. Food for consumption during the day is taken to the plantations. Most workers finish their day between 15h00 and 16h00, and return to their quarters for a shower before dinner at 17h30. A five and a half day week is normally worked, with one Saturday off per month after pay day when most workers visit their homeland villages. Accommodation varies in age and quality but is generally as well maintained as such constraints permit. It includes both married and single quarter units, the latter with supporting communal facilities such as kitchens, dining rooms and ablution facilities. Television and limited sporting facilities are provided for entertainment. Married workers receive "dry ration" packs, and a meat ration, while food is cooked and served for most single workers by the company kitchens. The diet is

assessed by the company's medical officer as "comfortably in excess of nutritional and calorific requirements", and hygiene in food preparation and the health of food handlers is monitored regularly by state registered nurses employed by the relevant company. The nurses operate clinics for each estate in their district. These services cover preventive, curative, and health-educational needs.

Discipline on all estates appears to be managed successfully within the framework of a formal code. Grievance procedures are prescribed but in practice supervisors deal with complaints informally.

Labour Officers, who are blacks, assist local managers with these problems as well as general "trouble-shooting", recruitment, induction, hostel administration and organisation of recreation. The value of their services, especially in "go-between" roles as impartial investigators is valued by supervisors, and, even more by local managers who have to adjudicate problems.

Works Councils operate fairly effectively, with the assistance of labour officers, bringing forward many issues at meetings. These issues are evenly distributed between work related matters and those relating to off-duty matters. Only one work stoppage or strike of note has occurred at these estates but that was serious. This strike occurred at sample no. 1 some two years before the survey, involving all workers on the estate and others from neighbouring estates. Main stated issues were wage related. The principal issues were not conceded by management, and police became involved on police initiative when workers formed groups on public roads, and when a large gathering on company property failed to disperse. Workers then resumed work on the fourth and fifth days and conditions returned to normal. No workers were discharged and there have been no outward signs of a recurrence.

Typically on these estates a village accommodating workers includes single and married people with their wives and children, non-workers making up between one third and one half of the community concerned. Frequently more than one worker from a family is employed at the same time, which is very advantageous to their welfare.

The clinic, a school, and communal recreational facilities combine to provide a social environment which has many natural aspects to it, even if they differ substantially from the homeland environment. There were differences however between the samples in respect of the proportions accommodated in married or single quarters, and the frequency with which they were able to visit their homeland villages. These differences can be seen in detail in Table 6.19

Local management organisation at all three samples is of a nature typical of many forestry organisations, with a district forestry officer in charge of a number of estates perhaps of 1000 hectares apiece, each under the direct control of a forestry officer. Reporting to the forestry officer will be various foremen and leading hands in charge of work groups, functions, or types of equipment. Samples 1 and 2 were both from estates where the district forestry officer had his offices, workshops and staff, and where there was a relatively high concentration of semi-skilled workers operating equipment necessary to certain centralised and specialised production and service functions. In labour matters each was advised by the black labour officers previously referred to, whose services are valued by all. Sample no. 3 was from an outlying estate in the area managed by the district forestry officer where sample no. 2 workers were interviewed.

Naturally the personal management style of the local managers varies. At the sample no 1 area the district forestry officer is of the "firm but fair" school, but authoritarian and rather peremptory. This tends to set the trend among subordinate managers. At sample no 2 the local manager could be described as "concerned and interested" in the welfare of workers, on or off the job. When problems arise about work tasks he is quick to have them thoroughly checked by the work study specialists and rectified if necessary.

The breakdown of samples by sex and skill level in relation to that for each entire work force on the respective estates is given below, the workforce figures being in parenthesis:

	<u>Unskilled</u>	<u>Semi-skilled</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Sample no. 1</u>			
Males	53 ( 60)	37 ( 57)	90 (117)
Females	34 (140)	0 ( 0)	34 (140)
<u>Total</u>	87 (200)	37 ( 57)	124 (257)
<u>Sample no. 2</u>			
Males	24 ( 43)	25 ( 48)	49 ( 91)
Females	12 (160)	0 ( 0)	12 (160)
<u>Total</u>	36 (203)	25 ( 48)	61 (251)
<u>Sample no. 3</u>			
Males	27 ( 34)	12 (12)	39 ( 46)
Females	25 (101)	0 ( 0)	25 (101)
<u>Total</u>	52 (135)	12 (12)	64 (147)

It will be noted that men tended to be represented disproportionately in the samples. Consequently so were the semi-skilled, since men provided all semi-skilled workers on the estates in question, and women the greater part of the unskilled labour.

(e) Employment Situation Type 5 : Urban Industry

The fifth and last industrial type referred to in section 3.2.2 was that of urban industry. In the broader sense urban industry would include both a migrant and a settled element. For reasons previously explained (i.e. because the settled urban family represented the most developed stage of the social urbanisation process) a preference was felt for including a high proportion of settled workers whose homes were in town, or nearby. Partly because difficulty was experienced in gaining employer consent to their staff being interviewed, but more because there was

merit in spreading the sample over a wide urban area, and in interviewing a sample of industrial workers who did not all work for the same employer, as was the case with other samples, the Durban sample, which will later be referred to as sample No 5, consisted of industrial workers who lived in or near the following areas of greater Durban and who were employed by a wide variety of employers:

<u>Area</u>	<u>No of workers</u>
Durban City	10
Chesterville	10
Mlazi	30
Kwa Mashu	25
Ntuzuma	10
Claremont	8
Lamontville	7
	<hr/>
Total	100
	<hr/>

All respondents in the sample were male, 62 percent being semi-skilled and 38 percent unskilled. Only 4 percent lived in single quarters. Of the remaining 96 percent, eleven percent commuted daily from homeland kraals around the city, and 85 percent lived in some kind of urban family situation. Most of the latter lived with their families in township married accommodation, some with their spouse in the servants' quarters of white-owned houses. It was clear that the primary focus of domestic life was in the urban area as only 31 percent visited their homeland villages as often as once per month, 37 percent less often, and 32 percent "never."

#### 5.3.4 Samples and Situations Summarised

From the facts given above it can be seen that the nature and composition of samples varied considerably, particularly in the degree of integration between their domestic and working circumstances. At one end of the range almost all workers at Sample No 7. from a border

industry lived in family circumstances in or close to their homeland, with their work lives separated from the domestic, but able to reconcile the two. At the opposite end of the spectrum settled urban workers in Durban similarly lived separate but reconcilable work and (family) domestic lives, but with their homeland roots and ties evidently weakening. In between these two were samples with various degrees of difficulty in reconciling work and domestic life, and where employers exercised varying measures of control over their off-duty hours and accommodation.

The composition of the study by sample is summarised in Table 5.1:

TABLE 5.1 SIZE AND NATURE OF SAMPLES

INDUSTRIAL SECTOR	TYPE	SAMPLE NO.	SIZE OF SAMPLE	SIZE OF WORKFORCE	SAMPLE AS PERCENTAGE
Timber	1	7	40	117	34
Processing	2	6	65	356	18
Plants:	3	4	100	302	33
Sub-Total	-	-	205	775	26
Forestry	4	1	124	257	48
Estates	4	2	61	251	24
	4	3	64	147	44
Sub-Total	-	-	249	655	38
Durban	5	5	100	-	-
Total	-	-	554	-	-

### 5.3.5 Managers and Supervisors

Earlier mention was made of the intention to involve managers and supervisors in the project during the field survey. Unfortunately, at some samples, a sufficient number of managers or supervisors were not available, particularly at samples 6 and 7 which coincidentally

were also the most remote and the most inconvenient for follow-up purposes. Managers were interviewed at these two samples but they have been excluded from the follow-up enquiries which will be referred to in Chapter 10. Each manager or supervisor, including two black labour officers, were asked to complete the schedule as they expected the average black worker to do, and on a confidential basis. The degree of supervisory proximity to the workforce concerned varied considerably. Some for example were in direct charge of the workers in the sample, others were on neighbouring estates but visited the sample area frequently or drew upon the services of some portion of its work force for specific tasks on their own estates. The managers concerned were either local men directly involved, or otherwise managers at company level whose contact with workers would be limited to chairing works council meetings occasionally and would otherwise (with some exceptions) be through an inter-mediary supervisor at local level.

DATE OF INTERVIEW \_\_\_\_\_

Questionnaire No

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CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES  
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

We are from the Centre for Applied Social Sciences which is part of the University of Natal in Durban.

From time to time we study what people think and feel about conditions at their work, and in South Africa generally. We are doing this again with you. We have asked permission from your company to interview you. We will also be interviewing people from other companies.

We are not going to ask your name and we are strangers to you, so you can tell us exactly what you think without any one knowing what you as a person has said.

Firstly we will ask you some questions of a personal nature such as your age, educational level, marital status and so on. This is so we can write about what older people and younger people, men and women say. We do not write what individuals say but only what groups of people say like better educated or less well educated. Then we will put to you a number of statements and will ask you to state whether you agree or disagree with the statements, and whether you agree or disagree strongly.

Remember that no-one can trace your answer back to you and you are asked to answer as thoughtfully and honestly as possible.

Information about how the group thinks will go to the University. We will not allow the company to know what any single individual says.

Professor L. Schlemmer  
Director

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use only

1. RESPONDENT IS:

Male	1
Female	2

4

2. WHERE WERE YOU BORN

White Farm	1
KwaZulu	2
Urban Black Township	3
Other	4

5

3. WHAT IS YOUR AGE:

Below 20 yrs	01
20 - 24 yrs	02
25 - 29 yrs	03
30 - 34 yrs	04
35 - 39 yrs	05
40 - 44 yrs	06
45 - 49 yrs	07
50 - 54 yrs	08
55 - 59 yrs	09
60 + yrs	10

6-7

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4. WHAT IS YOUR HOME LANGUAGE NOW:

Zulu	1
Xhosa	2
Swazi	3
Sotho	4
English	5
Other	6

Column

8

5 WERE YOUR PARENTS MEMBERS OF THE SAME LANGUAGE GROUP (e.g. BOTH ZULU SPEAKERS)

Yes, same language group	1
No, different language groups	2

9

6. CAN YOU READ IN YOUR OWN LANGUAGE:

Yes very well	1
Yes a little	2
No can not	3

10

7 WHAT STANDARD OF EDUCATION DID YOU COMPLETE:

No schooling	1
Sub A - B	2
Std. 1 - 3	3
Std. 4 - 5	4
Std. 6 - 7	5
Std. 8 - 9	6
Std. 10	7

11

8 ARE YOU PRESENTLY SINGLE OR MARRIED:

Single Divorced Widowed	1
Married Living together	2

12

9. HOW MANY PEOPLE DEPEND ON YOU ENTIRELY FOR THEIR LIVELIHOOD AND DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR HOUSEHOLD INCOME:

Number of people -----

13-14

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10. HOW MANY OTHER PEOPLE EXPECT REGULAR OR OCCASIONAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM YOU:

Number of people - - - - -

15-16

11. DID YOUR PARENTS REMAIN AS MAN AND WIFE DURING YOUR CHILDHOOD

Yes	1
No	2

17

12. DURING MOST OF YOUR CHILDHOOD DID YOUR FATHER TRAVEL AWAY FROM HOME TO WORK FOR LONG PERIODS:

Yes	1
No	2
Had no father	3

18

13. WHAT ACCOMMODATION DO YOU HAVE WHILE AT WORK:

Company single quarters	1
Company married quarters	2
Company kraals	3
Homeland area kraals	4
Township accommodation	5
Other	6

19.

14. HOW OFTEN DO YOU VISIT YOUR HOMELAND KRAAL:

Every week	1
Every month	2
Less often	3
Never	4

20

15. HOW MANY OF YOUR KNOWN CLOSE KIN GROUP THAT YOU KNOW WELL, WORK FOR THE COMPANY:

Number of people - - - - -

21

16. HOW MANY YEARS SERVICE DO YOU HAVE WITH THE COMPANY:

Number of years - - - - -

22

For office

17. WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION:

Drivers, machine operators, clerks, messengers, Factory workers grade B1 - B3, "Indunas" (junior supervisors)	O1
General labour	O2
Others, including factory workers grade A1 - A3	O3

24

18. DO YOU EXPECT TO BE STILL WORKING FOR THIS COMPANY IN 5 YEARS TIME:

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

25

19. WHAT WAGE OR SALARY DOES THE COMPANY PAY YOU NOW:

If per hour Rands/cents	If per day Rands/cents	If per week Rands	If per month Rands	
R0,25	R2	R11	0 - R50	O1
R0,26-R0,37	R2,01 - R3	R12 - R17	R51 -R75	O2
R0,38-R0,50	R3,01 - R4	R18 - R23	R76 -R100	O3
R0,51-R0,62	R4,01 - R5	R24 - R29	R101 -R125	O4
R0,63-R0,75	R5,01 - R6	R30 - R35	R126 -R150	O5
R0,76-R1,00	R6,01 - R8	R36 - R46	R151 -R200	O6
R1,01-R1,25	R8,01 - R10	R47 - R58	R201 -R250	O7
R1,26-R1,50	R10,01 -R12	R59 - R69	R251 -R300	O8
R1,51-R1,75	R12,01 -R14	R70 - R81	R301- R350	O9
R1,76-R2,00	R14,01 -R16	R82 - R93	R351 -R400	10
R2,01-R2,50	R16,01 -R20	R94 - R115	R401 -R500	11
R2,51-R3,00	R20,01 -R24	R116 -R139	R501 -R600	12
R3,01-R3,50	R24,01 - R28	R140 -R162	R601 -R700	13
R3,50+	R28,01 +	R163+	R701 +	14

26-27

20.

WHAT WAGE DO YOU THINK YOU SHOULD GET TO BUY THINGS YOU MUST HAVE FOR YOUR FAMILY:

If per hour Rands/cents	If per day Rands/cents	If per week Rands	If per month Rands	
RO,25	R2	R11	R50	01
RO,26-RO,37	R2,01 - R3	R12 - R17	R51 -R75	02
RO,38-RO,50	R3,01 - R4	R18 - R23	R76 -R100	03
RO,51-RO,62	R4,01 - R5	R24 - R29	R101 -R125	04
RO,63-RO,75	R5,01 - R6	R30 - R35	R126 -R150	05
RO,76-R1,00	R6,01 - R8	R36 - R46	R151 -R200	06
R1,01-R1,25	R8,01 - R10	R47 - R58	R201 -R250	07
R1,26-R1,50	R10,01 -R12	R59 - R69	R251 -R300	08
R1,51-R1,75	R12,01 -R14	R70 - R81	R301- R350	09
R1,76-R2,00	R14,01 -R16	R82 - R93	R351 -R400	10
R2,01-R2,50	R16,01 -R20	R94 - R115	R401 -R500	11
R2,51-R3,00	R20,01 -R24	R116 -R139	R501 -R600	12
R3,01-R3,50	R24,01 - R28	R140 -R162	R601 -R700	13
R3,50+	R28,01 +	R163+	R701 +	14

28-29

21.

WHAT WAGE DO YOU THINK YOU NEED TO BE ABLE TO SAVE SOME MONEY:

If per hour Rands/cents	If per day Rands/cents	If per week Rands	If per month Rands	
RO,25	R2	R11	R50	01
RO,26-RO,37	R2,01 - R3	R12 - R17	R51 -R75	02
RO,38-RO,50	R3,01 - R4	R18 - R23	R76 -R100	03
RO,51-RO,62	R4,01 - R5	R24 - R29	R101 -R125	04
RO,63-RO,75	R5,01 - R6	R30 - R35	R126 -R150	05
RO,76-R1,00	R6,01 - R8	R36 - R46	R151 -R200	06
R1,01-R1,25	R8,01 - R10	R47 - R58	R201 -R250	07
R1,26-R1,50	R10,01 -R12	R59 - R69	R251 -R300	08
R1,51-R1,75	R12,01 -R14	R70 - R81	R301- R350	09
R1,76-R2,00	R14,01 -R16	R82 - R93	R351 -R400	10
R2,01-R2,50	R16,01 -R20	R94 - R115	R401 -R500	11
R2,51-R3,00	R20,01 -R24	R116 -R139	R501 -R600	12
R3,01-R3,50	R24,01 - R28	R140 -R162	R601 -R700	13
R3,50+	R28,01 +	R163+	R701 +	14

30-31

Office use  
only

22.

WHAT WAGE DO YOU THINK YOU NEED TO BE ABLE TO BUY THE THINGS YOU WOULD ENJOY HAVING:

If per hour Rands/cents	If per day Rands/cents	If per week Rands	If per month Rands	
R0,25	R2	R11	R50	01
R0,26-R0,37	R2,01 - R3	R12 - R17	R51 -R75	02
R0,38-R0,50	R3,01 - R4	R18 - R23	R76 -R100	03
R0,51-R0,62	R4,01 - R5	R24 - R29	R101 -R125	04
R0,63-R0,75	R5,01 - R6	R30 - R35	R126 -R150	05
R0,76-R1,00	R6,01 - R8	R36 - R46	R151 -R200	06
R1,01-R1,25	R8,01 - R10	R47 - R58	R201 -R250	07
R1,26-R1,50	R10,01 -R12	R59 - R69	R251 -R300	08
R1,51-R1,75	R12,01 -R14	R70 - R81	R301- R350	09
R1,76-R2,00	R14,01 -R16	R82 - R93	R351 -R400	10
R2,01-R2,50	R16,01 -R20	R94 - R115	R401 -R500	11
R2,51-R3,00	R20,01 -R24	R116 -R139	R501 -R600	12
R3,01-R3,50	R24,01 - R28	R140 -R162	R601 -R700	13
R3,50+	R28,01 +	R163+	R701 +	14

32-33

23

WHAT WAGE DO YOU HOPE TO EARN FIVE YEARS FROM NOW:

If per hour Rands/cents	If per day Rands/cents	If per week Rands	If per month Rands	
R0,25	R2	R11	R50	01
R0,26-R0,37	R2,01 - R3	R12 - R17	R51 -R75	02
R0,38-R0,50	R3,01 - R4	R18 - R23	R76 -R100	03
R0,51-R0,62	R4,01 - R5	R24 - R29	R101 -R125	04
R0,63-R0,75	R5,01 - R6	R30 - R35	R126 -R150	05
R0,76-R1,00	R6,01 - R8	R36 - R46	R151 -R200	06
R1,01-R1,25	R8,01 - R10	R47 - R58	R201 -R250	07
R1,26-R1,50	R10,01 -R12	R59 - R69	R251 -R300	08
R1,51-R1,75	R12,01 -R14	R70 - R81	R301- R350	09
R1,76-R2,00	R14,01 -R16	R82 - R93	R351 -R400	10
R2,01-R2,50	R16,01 -R20	R94 - R115	R401 -R500	11
R2,51-R3,00	R20,01 -R24	R116 -R139	R501 -R600	12
R3,01-R3,50	R24,01 - R28	R140 -R162	R601 -R700	13
R3,50+	R28,01 +	R163+	R701 +	14

34-35

For office  
use only

24. HOW MANY LIVESTOCK DO YOU PERSONALLY OWN AT HOME:

25.	24 Cattle	25 Goats & Sheep	26 Other
26.	1 - 2	1 - 2	1 - 2
	3 - 5	3 - 5	3 - 5
	6 - 10	6 - 10	6 - 10
	11 - 20	11 - 20	11 - 20
	21 +	21 +	21 +

Cattle

36

Goats

37

Other

38

27. DO YOU PERSONALLY HAVE LAND FOR PLOUGHING AT HOME:

Yes	1
No	2

39

ITEM	TEST STATEMENT	MARK WITH AN "X"						COLUMN
		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DON'T KNOW	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	REFUSE	
28	I wish to remain in this Company's employment as long as possible	1	2	3	4	5		40
29	I take a close interest in the affairs of our liaison committee (or trade union)	5	4	3	2	1		41
30	I would encourage my friends at home to work for this company if I heard there were vacancies	1	2	3	4	5		42
31	I am pleased that this interview is private because I would not like the Company to know what I am saying	5	4	3	2	1		43
32	The main reason why the Company has disciplinary rules is that it wishes to see workers fairly treated by supervisors.	1	2	3	4	5		44
33	The longer I stay with this Company the more I have begun to feel "at home" here.	1	2	3	4	5		45
34	Because the Company owns this property it has the right to make all the rules for the people who work here.	1	2	3	4	5		46
35	Trade Unions are the best way of representing workers to management.	5	4	3	2	1		47
36	Workers here know that if they have trouble with management then workers in other companies will help them as much as they can.	5	4	3	2	1		48
37	A worker with family responsibilities cannot be seen to argue with the Company.	1	2	3	4	5		49
38	Most White supervisors are strict but fair. Blacks do not make better supervisors than Whites.	1	2	3	4	5		50
39	Complaints by workers are normally satisfactorily dealt with by the Company.	1	2	3	4	5		51
40	Workers are usually ready to help each other and therefore most of us get on well together.	1	2	3	4	5		52
41	Workers who are able to read newspapers are important sources of news and advice for those who cannot read.	5	4	3	2	1		53
42	The advice of skilled and educated people such as nurses, teachers and lorry drivers is more important in most matters than that of clan or family elders, or supervisors who are uneducated.	5	4	3	2	1		54
43	The most interesting programmes on radio and television are those ones which deal with events in other black-ruled countries	5	4	3	2	1		55
44	If there was serious trouble at work, such as strikes or riots, it would be wisest to return home and come back to work later when the trouble is over.	1	2	3	4	5		56
45	I have seen that nearly all the workers are agreed about those matters which displease them in the way they are treated by the Company	5	4	3	2	1		57

ITEM	TEST STATEMENT	MARK WITH AN "X"						COLUMN
		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DON'T KNOW	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	REFUSE	
46	If the laws of the government allowed it I would go to some other part of the country to seek a better job.	5	4	3	2	1		58
47	It is more important to teach children the modern ways of doing things than to teach them our fore-fathers' customs.	5	4	3	2	1		59
48	Many of the Whites in the Company treat Blacks very badly.	5	4	3	2	1		60
49	If I was offered a better paid job in Johannesburg I would take it immediately.	5	4	3	2	1		61
50	Workers could look forward to a much better future if the Company was owned and managed by Blacks.	5	4	3	2	1		62
51	The Company tries to get as much work as possible from Black workers for as little pay as possible.	5	4	3	2	1		63
52	I believe the Company is telling the truth when it says that it cares about us workers.	1	2	3	4	5		64
53	If a person is a Christian he should have nothing whatever to do with our ancestral religious beliefs.	5	4	3	2	1		65
54	Life is totally unpleasant for a person who works for this Company.	5	4	3	2	1		66
55	Children should always be reminded that Zulus are a strong people and that they should be brave enough to take what is theirs.	5	4	3	2	1		67
56	If workers protested strongly the Company would be certain to pay more attention to them.	5	4	3	2	1		68
57	Generally I am satisfied with the way this Company looks after its workers.	1	2	3	4	5		69
58	If laws are unfair to Blacks they should disobey them when they get the chance to do so.	5	4	3	2	1		70
59	Radio and television programmes provide important entertainment. Most people here have favourite programmes which they listen to every week.	5	4	3	2	1		71
60	Management of this Company should be removed and replaced by people elected by the workers.	5	4	3	2	1		72
61	If I was paid well I would prefer to work underground on the gold mines than to stay here on my present wages.	5	4	3	2	1		73
62	Worker leaders are too quick to agree to what the Company says - they should argue more forcibly.	5	4	3	2	1		74
63	I understand the Company better, and feel happier, when it does not keep on changing the way things are done at work.	1	2	3	4	5		75
64	Workers should forget all about Zulu laws and customs because they slow down progress.	5	4	3	2	1		76
65	I generally earn enough money to feed my wife and children adequately.	1	2	3	4	5		77

ITEM	TEST STATEMENT	MARK WITH AN "X"						
		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DON'T KNOW	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	REFUSE	COLUMN
66	Nkatha can do much more for the Blacks in this country than the A.N.C	1	2	3	4	5		78
67	If workers had enough land at home they would not come to work for the Company.	5	4	3	2	1		79
68	To save money for one's old age is a waste of time. It is better to let the future take care of itself.	1	2	3	4	5		CARD 2 4
69	If a worker argues with the majority of his fellows they should force him to co-operate and not waste too much time talking.	5	4	3	2	1		5
70	Nowadays I am more hopeful of a better life in the future than I was five years ago.	1	2	3	4	5		6
71	If there was a black government in this country it should take over all the shops and factories and run them itself.	5	4	3	2	1		7
72	Management treats workers well and therefore can expect them to co-operate fully at work.	1	2	3	4	5		8
73	Whites in this Company are paid too much money for too little work.	5	4	3	2	1		9
74	Working hard to earn more money is a more important aim in life than being accepted by one's friends and relaxing with them.	5	4	3	2	1		10
75	Workers who are polite to their superiors and who are well mannered never make good leaders.	5	4	3	2	1		11
76	The A.N.C. cannot help Blacks to achieve a better life in South Africa.	1	2	3	4	5		12
77	Workers with a similar job to mine are paid better by other employers	5	4	3	2	1		13
78	Workers cannot continue as they are. They will soon have to stand together everywhere to challenge the government, and their employers.	5	4	3	2	1		14
79	People who steal things when they are hungry or poor should not be punished.	5	4	3	2	1		15
80	One can understand that most workers will only work hard when their supervisor is watching.	5	4	3	2	1		16
81	If everyone at work were to respect our Zulu customs and good manners it would help to make life happier.	1	2	3	4	5		17
82	The number of hours of work required by the Company each day is not unreasonable	1	2	3	4	5		18
83	In recent years the government has been treating Blacks in a much better way.	1	2	3	4	5		19
84	Relations at home who expect assistance from my wages are a great problem to me.	5	4	3	2	1		20
85	It is better to live a quiet life and get on with one's work rather than enter disputes with the Company	1	2	3	4	5		21
86	If I do a good job of work I like my Supervisor to tell me so.	5	4	3	2	1		22

ITEM	TEST STATEMENT	MARK WITH AN "X"						COLUMN
		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DON'T KNOW	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	REFUSE	
87	Most people who do my type of work only do so because they have no chance of getting a better job.	5	4	3	2	1		23
88	Length of service should be more important to the company when it sets wages than job knowledge or standard of performance	1	2	3	4	5		24
89	The Labour Officer/Personnel Officer tries very hard to help workers in the Company.	1	2	3	4	5		25
90	On most days I carry out my tasks at work quite cheerfully	1	2	3	4	5		26
91	There are always many unemployed people who can replace me in this company.	1	2	3	4	5		27
92	I am always hoping to be sent on a training course to be taught new work skills.	5	4	3	2	1		28
93	If some of the workers who do not like the Company were to hear some of my answers today I am afraid that they would assault me severely.	5	4	3	2	1		29
94	The Company keeps workers well informed about matters of concern to them.	1	2	3	4	5		30
95	If I work hard the Company will one day reward me with better pay, or promotion.	1	2	3	4	5		31
96	Considering my employment generally I am proud to work for the Company.	1	2	3	4	5		32
97	If workers protested violently against the Company, the Police would immediately assist the Company.	1	2	3	4	5		33
98	Workers should think very carefully before making trouble with the Company. It is not good to make trouble easily.	1	2	3	4	5		34
99	Most people with my level of education cannot hope to earn more than I do.	1	2	3	4	5		35
100	Social life off-duty is much better here than in - - the town (if respondent works in country) - the country (if respondent works in town)	1	2	3	4	5		36
101	Workers who work hard for the Company should not be trusted by other workers.	5	4	3	2	1		37
102	Workers know that if they choose to work for any Company they must obey its rules.	1	2	3	4	5		38
103	Workers who have a dispute with their supervisor know that the Company will listen fairly to their complaint.	1	2	3	4	5		39
104	One day I believe that I shall be able to become what I would like to become in the Company	1	2	3	4	5		40

- Identifying Themes of Response6.1 FACTOR ANALYSIS — PRELIMINARIES6.1.1 Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

The facility used for the analysis of data gathered in the field study was the two volume SPSS - "Statistical Package for the Social Sciences" (Nie et al., 1975, and Hull et al., 1979). The package has a comprehensive analytical capacity, and an extract from its text shows clearly how suitable it is for the analysis of data in a study of this nature (Nie et al., 1975. p.2):

"whether the intent of the researcher is to construct broad-guage or middle-range social theory or simply to describe social reality, or as in most actual research endeavours, to do a little bit of each, the intellectual process of inductive social research ideally takes the following form:

1. The researcher begins with a set of ideas concerning the operation of certain aspects of social reality. This involves the isolation of variables at the conceptual level and the formation of some general notions concerning their interrelationships and causal effects upon each other.
2. An empirical data base is generated (or located from existing data files), containing indicators of the conceptual variables in which the researcher is interested.
3. The researcher then formulates more concrete hypotheses concerning what pattern of interrelationships should be found in the empirical indicators if the original ideas about the operation of social reality were correct.
4. The data are then analysed using one or more of a variety of statistical techniques in order to determine whether the expected pattern of relationships can actually be discerned in the data.

Most often it is then discovered that at best the actual patterns in the data only partially reflect the original conceptions. There then begins an iterative process in which original conceptions are altered in the light of the empirical findings and further analysis is performed to test these ideas. The data suggests new ideas, which in turn, suggest new analyses. This iterative process is continued in the hope that the researcher will be able to reach an understanding of interrelationships and cause and effect as they are reflected in the patterns of the data."

A variety of the package's principal sub-programmes were used for specific analytical purposes and, more routinely, its facilities for the presentation of data in frequency distributions, cross-tabulations and scattergrams. The main sub-programmes used, and their functions, are noted briefly below:

<u>SPSS Sub-Programme</u>	<u>Function</u>
RELIABILITY	Reliability testing
FACTOR	Factor identification and analysis
CROSSTABS	Tabular data
MANOVA	Multi-variate analysis of data
NEW REGRESSION	Stepwise regression
PEARSON CORR	Correlation of variables

The application of these programmes is described at various stages in the following chapters. This chapter will be concerned initially with the processes of factor analysis of the responses to the test statements, and of reliability testing of these variables as its precursor. Later it examines factor associations.

Factor analysis was seen to be the logical priority and central feature of the analytical process. Firstly the process would identify the groups of subjective variables on which workers tended to respond more or less consistently. These could be characterised according to whatever common theme or themes they might have, and compared with the expectations provoked by the earlier theoretical discussion and models. Secondly, once identified, the factors would provide

a form of reduced data which can be tested for variations associated with the personal or biographical variables and in producing profiles characteristic of the separate samples. A necessary preliminary to data analysis is the process of reliability testing, more fully discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

#### 6.1.2 Reliability Testing of Data

To eliminate variables showing unreliability of variance and which would therefore be less accurate components of the factors subsequently identified, all attitudinal variables (items 28 - 104 in the enquiry schedule), for all 554 cases in the study, were subjected to testing by RELIABILITY Option 1, Statistic 9, in SPSS Update 7 - 9 (1979. p.261)

This facility provides the following information against each listed variable:

a) "Scale Mean, if Item Deleted"

This exhibits against each item listed the mean value which the scale scores of the remaining items would have if that particular item were to be deleted.

b) "Scale Variance if Item Deleted"

Similarly this shows the variance the scale scores would have if each particular item were deleted.

c) Corrected Item Total Correlation"

For each item the correlation between that item's score and the scale scores computed from the other items in the set is shown.

d) "Alpha if Item Deleted"

Cronbach's Alpha reliability coefficient is computed from the other items in the scale for each item.

An Alpha coefficient of reliability is also computed for the set of variables as a whole, the coefficient being on the scale 0 - 1, where 0 represents zero reliability with variance attributed solely to error, and 1 represents perfect reliability. It was decided that unreliable variables should be deleted until an Alpha coefficient better than 0,8 was achieved. The first coefficient computed for all items on the scale was 0,77149. Twenty four items, for which low item total correlations of less than 0,11000 were computed, were then discarded and the reliability test re-applied, giving a coefficient for the remaining 53 items of 0,81157.

Item numbers thus eliminated were 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 55, 59, 64, 66, 68, 76, 78, 81, 86, 91, 101, 102 (these may be referred to in the enquiry schedule Chapter 5, Annexure 5 A) Respondents' responses to some of the items eliminated indicated a marked consensus of expressed opinion, almost a unanimity in some cases. They will be examined separately later for the interest they may hold in themselves. Variables not eliminated, were the remainder of items 28 - 104, not listed above, which were retained for purposes of factor analysis.

### 6.1.3 The Number of Factors for Extraction - Preliminary Criteria

The data available for factor analysis, after reliability testing, was therefore based on 53 variables against each of which 554 observations (this being the number of respondents) had been obtained. This represents a very satisfactory ratio of more than ten times the number of observations to the number of variables for analysis.

On the question of sample size in factor analysis Hair et al. (1979. p.219) remark that:

"Regarding the sample size question, the researcher generally would not factor analyze a sample of less than 50 observations, and preferably the sample size should be 100 or larger. As a general rule there should be four or five times as many observations as there are variables to be analyzed. This ratio is

somewhat conservative, and in many instances the researcher is forced to factor analyze a set of variables when only a ratio of twice the observations to the number of variables is available. When dealing with smaller sample sizes and a lower ratio the analyst should cautiously interpret any findings."

By these criteria the present data base is clearly more than adequate for meaningful factor analysis.

A full factor analysis of a set of variables finally accounts for all the variance encountered in a set of variables, so that with 53 variables 53 factors may be indicated. In an exercise of this nature however the concern is with the principal factors which account for the greatest percentage of the total variance, and which are in themselves intelligible. Hair et al. (ibid. pp. 230 - 234) provide several criteria which assist in the selection of the correct number of factors to be specified for optimum results in factor analysis and of which the following were utilised:

- the latent root criterion;
- the percentage of variance criterion;
- the "scree" test criterion.

The PAL factoring facility of SPSS sub-programme FACTOR (Nie et al., 1975. p.479) provided a "principal component matrix", reproduced here as Table 6.1, which enabled consideration of the first two criteria mentioned. As intimated above the first column enumerates the 53 factors necessary to account for the total variance found with 53 variables. The second column exhibits the eigenvalues which "represent the amount of total variance accounted for by the factor" (Nie et al., 1975. p.479).

The eigenvalue is described by Hair et al. (ibid. p.217) as "the column sum of squares for a factor; also referred to as the latent root. It represents the amount of variance accounted for by a factor." By the latent root criteria only those components would be considered which have a latent root or eigenvalue in excess of 1,0. Nie. et al. (ibid. p.479) state "This criteria ensures that only components accounting for at least the amount of the total variance of a single variable will be treated as significant."

Column 2 of Table 6.1 shows that 17 factors were indicated as having eigenvalues greater than 1,0. The third and fourth columns show that together these factors account for 59,7 percent of total variance. However, eigenvalues drop sharply, as does the cumulative percentage of variance accounted for, so that the first five factors account for 30,8 percent of variance, whilst only 28 percent is accounted for by the other twelve factors. By the percentage of variance criterion referred to by Hair et al, the indication is that proportionately a larger amount of total variance is accounted for by the first five factors than by much larger groups of factors subsequently. This is an indication that they are more likely to be productive of interpretable factors.

Hair et al (ibid. p.224) distinguish between the "common variance" contributing to the variance accounted for by a factor, and the "unique variance". Common variance is the variance in a variable that is shared with all other variables in the analysis. Unique variance is derived from variance associated with only a specific variable, or unreliability or error arising from the data gathering process. They note that "while all factors contain at least some unique variance, the proportion of unique variance in later factors is substantially higher than in earlier factors. The scree tail test is an approach used to identify the optimum number of factors which can be extracted before the amount of unique variance begins to dominate the common variance structure." (ibid. p.232).

The scree tail test is applied in Figure 6.1. Factor numbers are plotted on the horizontal axis of the graph and eigenvalues on the vertical axis, this information being extracted from Table 6.1. The advice of Hair et al. is that "the point at which the curve first begins to straighten out is considered to be the maximum number of factors to extract." From Figure 6.1 it can be seen that this point is reached with Factor 5.

With the guidance provided by these criteria the decision was taken to proceed to the next stage of factor analysis, that of factor rotation.

TABLE 6.1 SHOWING FACTORS WITH EIGENVALUES PROVIDED WITH SPSS PA 1  
PRINCIPAL COMPONENT MATRIX

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>EIGENVALUE</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF VARIANCE</u>	<u>CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF VARIANCE</u>
1	7.41401	14.0	14.0
2	2.87071	5.4	19.4
3	2.16137	4.1	23.5
4	2.11874	4.0	27.5
5	1.77439	3.3	30.8
6	1.68082	3.2	34.0
7	1.55807	2.9	36.9
8	1.47711	2.8	39.7
9	1.39242	2.6	42.4
10	1.34046	2.5	44.9
11	1.28496	2.4	47.3
12	1.18825	2.2	49.5
13	1.15151	2.2	51.7
14	1.13507	2.1	53.9
15	1.04675	2.0	55.8
16	1.03238	1.9	57.8
17	1.00098	1.9	59.7
18	.94365	1.8	61.5
19	.92810	1.8	63.2
20	.88623	1.7	64.9
21	.87026	1.6	66.5
22	.85041	1.6	68.1
23	.80880	1.5	69.7
24	.78377	1.5	71.1
25	.75756	1.4	72.6
26	.75493	1.4	74.0
27	.72408	1.4	75.4
28	.71769	1.4	76.7
29	.70215	1.3	78.0
30	.67329	1.3	79.3
31	.66231	1.2	80.5
32	.65512	1.2	81.8
33	.62390	1.2	83.0
34	.61904	1.2	84.1
35	.57818	1.1	85.2
36	.56868	1.1	86.3
37	.55360	1.0	87.3
38	.55213	1.0	88.4
39	.53630	1.0	89.4
40	.52704	1.0	90.4
41	.50092	.9	91.3
42	.47727	.9	92.2
43	.46907	.9	93.1
44	.44867	.8	94.0
45	.43206	.8	94.8
46	.42800	.8	95.6
47	.38905	.7	96.3
48	.37239	.7	97.0
49	.36454	.7	97.7
50	.34732	.7	98.4
51	.33019	.6	99.0
52	.28805	.5	99.5
53	.24727	.5	100.0

FIGURE 6.1

EIGENVALUE PLOT FOR SCREE TEST CRITERION DERIVED FROM TABLE 6.1

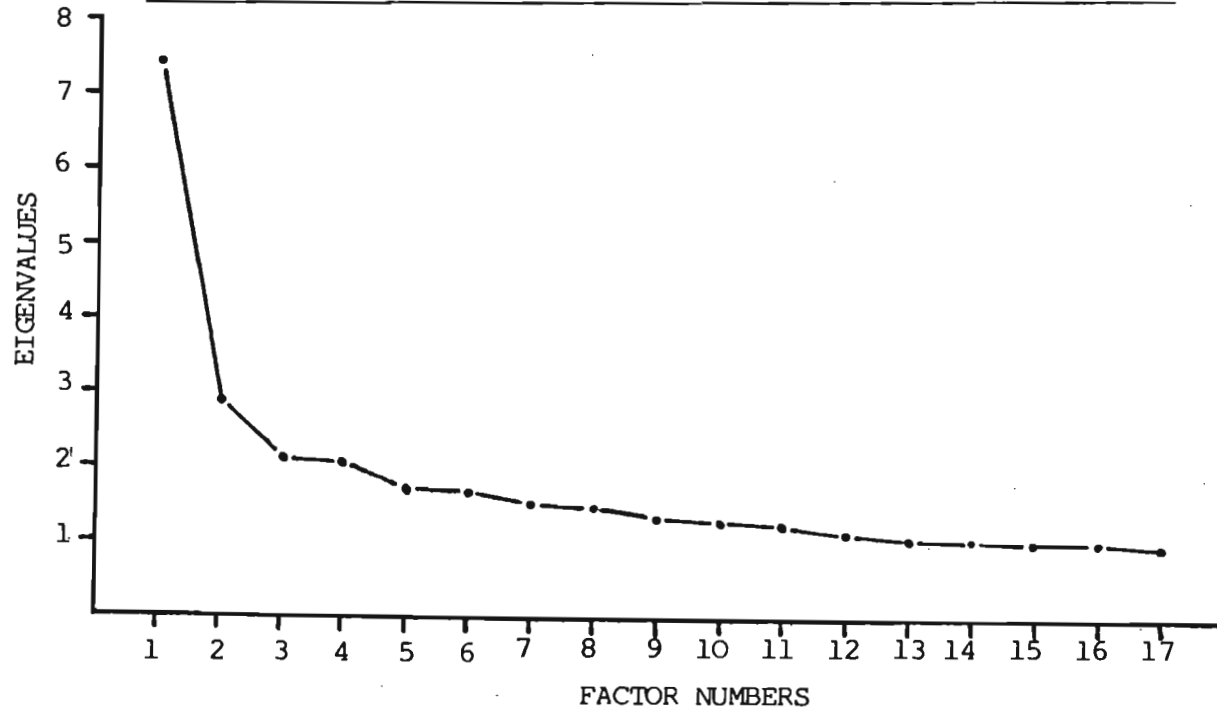


FIGURE 6.1

## 6.2 IDENTIFYING PRINCIPAL FACTORS

### 6.2.1 Factor Rotation

Hair et al (ibid. p.225) distinguish two principal stages involved in arriving at a final factor solution. In the first, which was the subject of the foregoing section, the initial unrotated factor matrix assists in determining the number of factors to be extracted. There are limits however to the adequacy of factors derived from the unrotated matrix. The limitation arises from the facts that "the first factor may be viewed as the single best summary of linear relationships exhibited in the data. The second factor is defined as the second best linear combination of the variables subject to the constraint that it is orthogonal to the first factor. To be orthogonal to the first factor, the second one must be derived from the proportion of the variance remaining after the first factor has been extracted. Thus, the second factor may be defined as the linear combination of variables that accounts for the most residual variance after the effect of the first factor is removed from the data. Subsequent factors are defined similarly until all the variance in the data is exhausted." (ibid. p.226). They go on to advise that the rotation of factors is generally preferable, factor rotation being defined as "the process of manipulating or adjusting the factor axes in a clockwise direction to achieve a simpler and theoretically more meaningful factor solution." Factor rotation allows the variance from earlier factors to be re-distributed in later factors rather than progressively isolating variance to the successive factors.

The selection of the option to employ a rotated factor solution leads then to a further option. The option is between the use of orthogonal or oblique rotation. The difference between these forms of rotation is apparent in the definitions provided by Hair et al. for the factor solutions derived from these processes (ibid. p.217):

"Orthogonal Factor Solutions. A factor solution in which the factors are extracted so that the factor axes are maintained at 90 degrees. Thus, each factor is independent or orthogonal from all other factors. The correlation between factors is arbitrarily determined to be zero."

"Oblique Factor Solutions. A factor solution computed so that the extracted factors are correlated. Rather than arbitrarily constraining the factor solution so the factors are orthogonally independent to each other, the analysis is conducted to express the actual relationship between the factors which may or may not be orthogonal."

On choosing between these methods the authors advise "when the objective is to utilize the factor results in some kind of subsequent statistical analysis, then the analyst would always select an orthogonal rotation procedure..... However, if the analyst is simply interested in obtaining theoretically meaningful constructs or dimensions, then the oblique factor rotation is more desirable because it is theoretically and empirically more realistic." It is clear from the nature and intent of this study as it has been developed in preceding chapters that of the two options defined by Hair et al. the latter must be the most attractive. Nevertheless comparison of the solutions derived from both options is a feature of the succession of experimental rotations actually tested and described below - and for which facility was provided by the SPSS factoring method "Principal Factoring with Iteration - PA2" (Nie et al., 1975. p.480).

### 6.2.2 Factor Solutions

The factoring facility referred to offers both orthogonal and oblique rotational analysis. A succession of experimental analyses were then employed to identify the most coherent and realistic factors, accounting for the greatest percentage of total variance. At each stage both orthogonal and oblique rotations were compared, and the number of factors included was controlled. The largest number of factors included was five, this being based on the conclusions indicated by the selection criteria referred to in section 6.1.3. Solutions involving various numbers of factors are discussed below.

#### a) Five-Factor Solutions

An analysis was attempted, specifying a maximum of five factors in the rotation, but this was rejected for a number of reasons.

- factors 3, 4 and 5 included variables not easily identifiable with a central coherent theme;
- the number of variables included in these factors, whether in the orthogonal or oblique rotation, were either very limited in number or else exhibited factor loadings not as high as those found in subsequent rotations with fewer factors specified;
- factor loadings for factor 2 variables were likewise not as high as those subsequently obtained in rotations with fewer factors specified;
- factors 3, 4 and 5 accounted for only 11,4 percent of variance between them, compared with 19,4 percent for factors 1 and 2.

Consequently it was decided to employ rotations specifying fewer factors and also, if the results were encouraging, to attempt further improvement by eliminating more variables if they consistently exhibited particularly low loadings.

b) Two and Three Factor Solutions

Comparisons are made below between two factor and three factor solutions, from orthogonal and oblique rotations respectively. Only variables with factor loadings greater than 0,3500 were taken into account for interpretive purposes.

Variables included in a two factor orthogonal solution provided less intelligible factor explanations than a three factor solution, and the distribution of factor loadings was marginally better as shown below.

TABLE 6.2 VARIABLE FACTOR LOADINGS: 2 AND 3  
FACTOR ORTHOGONAL ROTATIONS

Factor Loadings for included variables	No of significant variables in the factors	
	2 Factor orthogonal Solution	3 Factor orthogonal Solution
, 6000 +	2	1
, 5000 - ,5999	7	10
, 4000 - 4,999	8	7
, 3500 - ,3999	7	8
TOTAL	24	26

A similar result was obtained from comparing oblique solutions, as is evident from Table 6.3 below:

TABLE 6.3 VARIABLE FACTOR LOADINGS 2 AND 3  
FACTOR OBLIQUE ROTATIONS

Factor Loadings for included variables	No of significant variables in the factors	
	2 Factor oblique Solution	3 Factor oblique Solution
0,6000 +	4	3
0,5000 - 0,5999	6	10
0,4000 - 0,4999	11	12
0,3500 - 0,3999	10	10
TOTAL	31	35

The foregoing indicated clearly that a three factor solution accounted for more variance than a two factor solution, and that the oblique rotation accounted for more than the orthogonal rotation in each case. These indications were supported by the fact that the coherence of the factors identified improved from the two factor orthogonal solution as the least coherent, to the three factor oblique solution as the most coherent.

At this point of the analysis a further twelve variables were discarded. These had failed to show a factor loading of more than 0,2500 on any of the three factors shown in previous rotations. The discarded variables were item numbers 37, 53, 74, 79, 82, 87, 88, 92, 93, 97, 99 and 103 in the enquiry schedule. The 41 variables now retained for purposes of final rotation with three factors specified were as follows:

28, 30, 33, 38, 39, 41, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 77, 80, 83, 84, 85, 89, 90, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 104. The elimination of the twelve variables

referred to above improved the percentage of variance accounted for by the first three factors from the (cumulative) total of 23,5 percent in Table 6.1, to 28,8 . The percentage variance now accounted for individually by the first three factors given in the varimax determinant of correlation matrix was 17,1 ,6,6 and 5,1 respectively, compared with 14,0 ,5,4 and 4,1 in Table 6.1

An important additional consideration in the final decision whether to select the orthogonal or oblique solution was the plot of rotated factors available with the SPSS orthogonal rotation. Scatterplots reflecting the correlations between Factors 1 and 2, and 1 and 3, and 2 and 3 are reproduced in figures 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4.

SPSS (1975. p.486) advises that "the user should be attentive to the following three aspects:

- 1) the relative distance of a variable from the two axes,
- 2) the direction of a variable in relation to the axes  
(it may indicate either a positive or a negative loading),  
and finally
- 3) the clustering of variables and their relative position to each other.

In this way, the user can acquire some information on the degree of actual correlation between the factors." Where the clustering of groups of variables seems to indicate a degree of correlation a line may be drawn through the middle of each clustering to the origin, the authors go on to advise, the angle between the resulting axes being indicative of an orthogonal or oblique relationship (right-angled or oblique angled respectively).

Figure 6.2 clearly shows the oblique relationship between factors 1 and 2. Variables are spread between the positive horizontal and vertical radials. (Only those variables identified by the orthogonal rotation and which have loadings higher than ,3500 are distinguished from the remainder in the scatterplot).

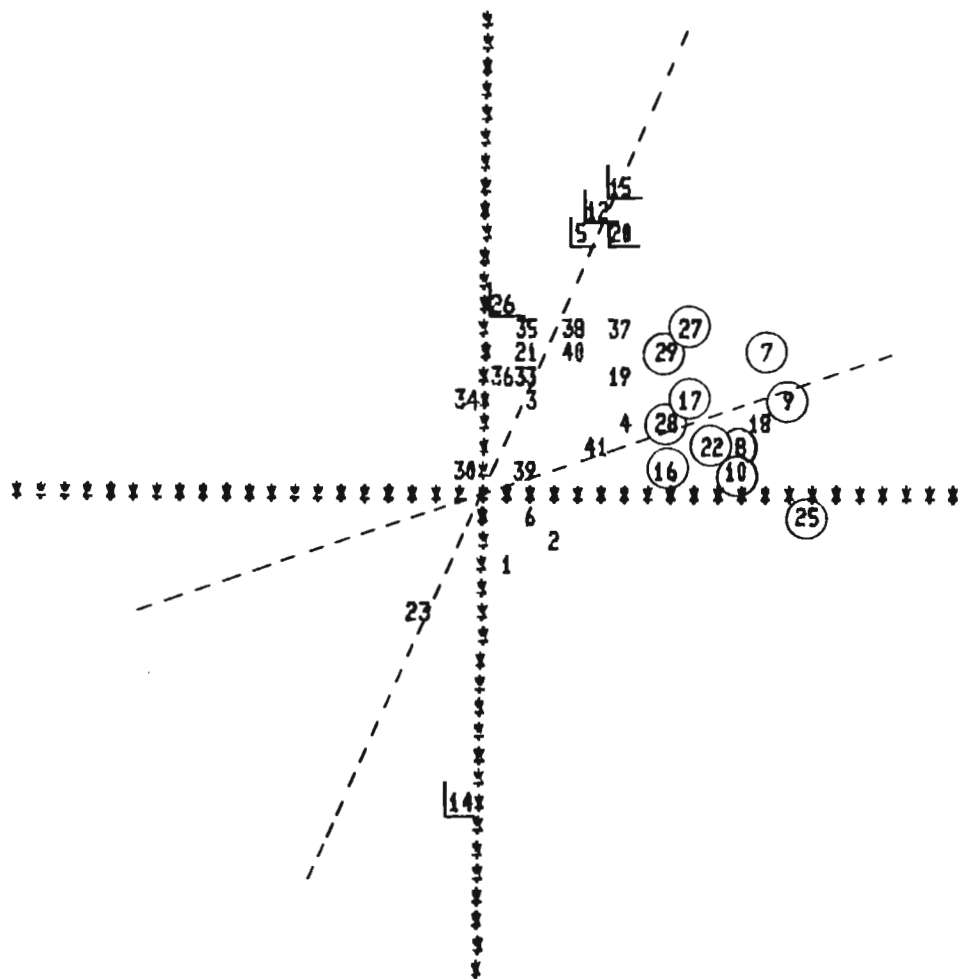
It will be noted that Factor 1 variables tend to be further from the origin than Factor 2 variables, showing heavier loadings.

Key:

HORIZONTAL FACTOR ①      VERTICAL FACTOR ②

FIGURE 6.2

ROTATED FACTOR PLOT:  
ORTHOGONAL FACTORS 1 AND 2



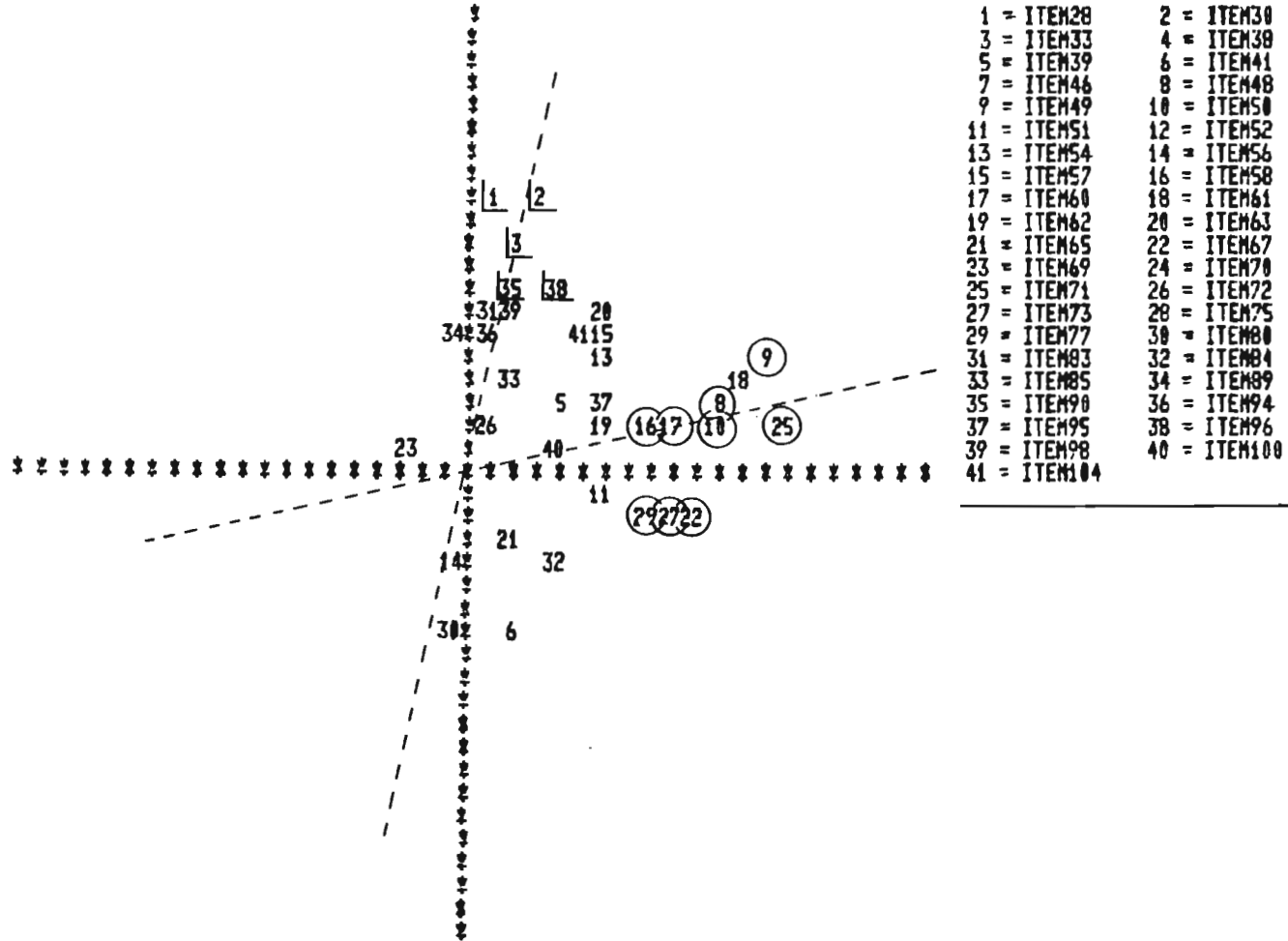
- |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1 = ITEM28   | 2 = ITEM30   |
| 3 = ITEM33   | 4 = ITEM38   |
| 5 = ITEM39   | 6 = ITEM41   |
| 7 = ITEM46   | 8 = ITEM48   |
| 9 = ITEM49   | 10 = ITEM50  |
| 11 = ITEM51  | 12 = ITEM52  |
| 13 = ITEM54  | 14 = ITEM56  |
| 15 = ITEM57  | 16 = ITEM58  |
| 17 = ITEM60  | 18 = ITEM61  |
| 19 = ITEM62  | 20 = ITEM63  |
| 21 = ITEM65  | 22 = ITEM67  |
| 23 = ITEM69  | 24 = ITEM70  |
| 25 = ITEM71  | 26 = ITEM72  |
| 27 = ITEM73  | 28 = ITEM75  |
| 29 = ITEM77  | 30 = ITEM80  |
| 31 = ITEM83  | 32 = ITEM84  |
| 33 = ITEM85  | 34 = ITEM89  |
| 35 = ITEM90  | 36 = ITEM94  |
| 37 = ITEM95  | 38 = ITEM96  |
| 39 = ITEM98  | 40 = ITEM100 |
| 41 = ITEM104 |              |

Key:

HORIZONTAL FACTOR (1) VERTICAL FACTOR (3)

FIGURE 6.3

ROTATED FACTOR PLOT:  
ORTHOGONAL FACTORS 1 AND 3

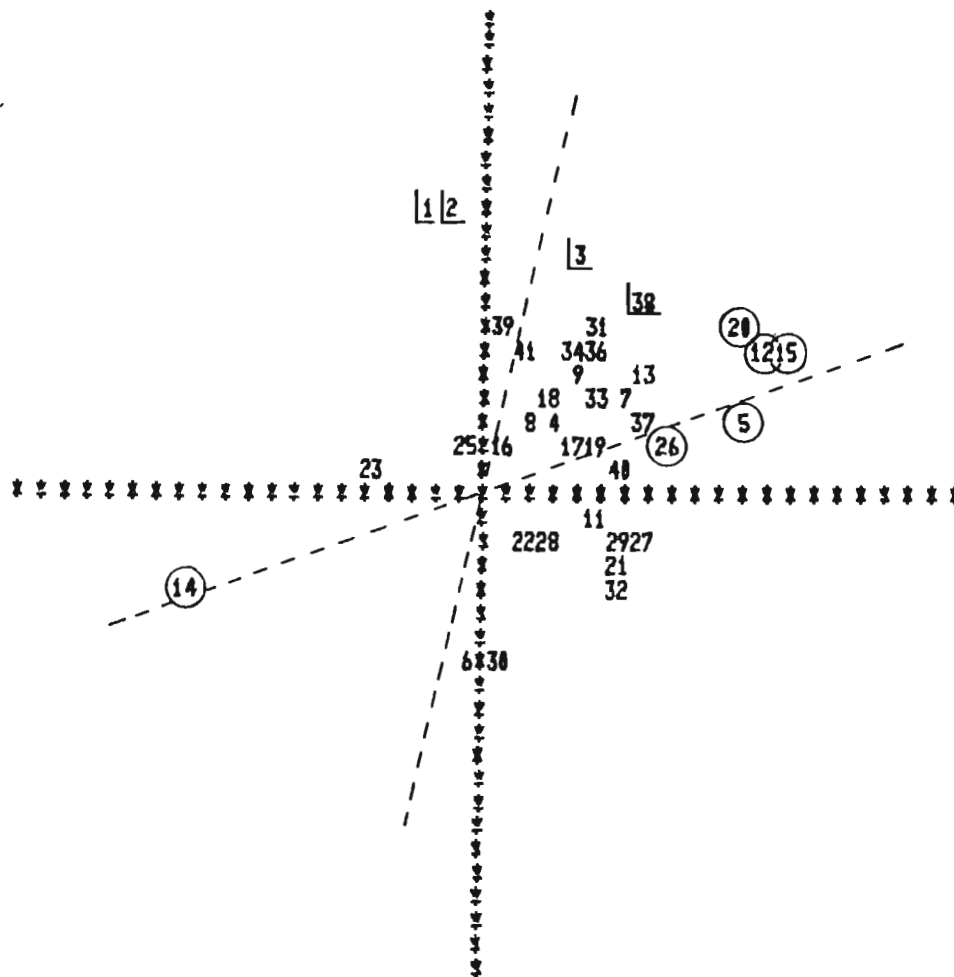


Key:

HORIZONTAL FACTOR (2)      VERTICAL FACTOR (3)

FIGURE 6.4

ROTATED FACTOR PLOT:  
ORTHOGONAL FACTORS 2 AND 3



- |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1 = ITEM28   | 2 = ITEM38   |
| 3 = ITEM33   | 4 = ITEM38   |
| 5 = ITEM39   | 6 = ITEM41   |
| 7 = ITEM46   | 8 = ITEM48   |
| 9 = ITEM49   | 10 = ITEM50  |
| 11 = ITEM51  | 12 = ITEM52  |
| 13 = ITEM54  | 14 = ITEM56  |
| 15 = ITEM57  | 16 = ITEM58  |
| 17 = ITEM60  | 18 = ITEM61  |
| 19 = ITEM62  | 20 = ITEM63  |
| 21 = ITEM65  | 22 = ITEM67  |
| 23 = ITEM69  | 24 = ITEM70  |
| 25 = ITEM71  | 26 = ITEM72  |
| 27 = ITEM73  | 28 = ITEM75  |
| 29 = ITEM77  | 30 = ITEM80  |
| 31 = ITEM83  | 32 = ITEM84  |
| 33 = ITEM85  | 34 = ITEM89  |
| 35 = ITEM90  | 36 = ITEM94  |
| 37 = ITEM95  | 38 = ITEM96  |
| 39 = ITEM98  | 40 = ITEM100 |
| 41 = ITEM104 |              |

Figure 6.3 shows that there is little correlation between Factor 1 and Factor 3 which are virtually independent of each other and clustered more closely to the horizontal and vertical axes respectively. Again Factor 1 variables are generally situated markedly further from the origin than Factor 3 variables.

Figure 6.4 shows the oblique nature of the correlation between Factors 2 and 3. Factor 2 variables are now clustered further from the origins than Factor 3 variables

c) The Three Factor Oblique Solution

The advantages of finally selecting the oblique three factor solution against the orthogonal three factor solution are apparent from Table 6.4 below.

TABLE 6.4 VARIABLE FACTOR LOADINGS:REVISED 3 FACTOR  
ORTHOGONAL AND OBLIQUE ROTATIONS

Factor Loadings for included variables	Number of significant variables in the factors	
	Orthogonal Solution	Oblique Solution
0,6000 +	5	8
0,5000 - 0,5999	7	5
0,4000 - 0,4999	4	10
0,3500 - 0,3999	7	11
TOTAL	23	34

Before passing on to a description of the factors, and their interpretation, two points are noted:

(i) Factor Label Transpositions

A transposition of the main variables in factors 2 and 3 occurred between the orthogonal and oblique solutions. This could effect comparisons of factor descriptions and labels used from hereon with those used in discussion prior to

this point, for example when comparing oblique factor descriptions with the orthogonal rotation scatterplots in figures 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4. The factor numbers it should be noted were transposed as follows:

<u>Orthogonal Rotation Factor Number</u>	<u>Oblique Rotation Factor Number</u>
Factor 1	Factor 1
Factor 2	Factor 3
Factor 3	Factor 2

From this point onwards, reference to factor numbers refers to those resulting from the oblique rotation

(ii) Oblique Factor Correlation Matrix

Provided with the oblique rotation analysis was a factor correlation matrix- Table 6.5. The co-variance of factors, or of the sets of variables extracted to represent them, will be referred to as appropriate in forthcoming sections and chapters.

TABLE 6.5 OBLIQUE FACTOR CORRELATION MATRIX

Oblique Factors	1	2	3
1	1,00000	-0,09104	- 0,42277
2	-0,09104	1,00000	0,19574
3	-0,42277	0,19574	1,00000

It will be seen from Table 6.5 that:

- the correlation between factors 1 and 3 is highest;
- factor 2 is almost independent of factor 1, and correlates almost negligibly with factor 3;
- factor 1 correlates negatively with factors 2 and 3; which fact will need to be recalled in later interpretations of factor relationships with other variables.

### 6.3 FACTOR DESCRIPTIONS

#### 6.3.1 Presentation of Factor Information

Section 6.3 and its subsections are allotted to a listing of the main variables accounting for variance in each factor (i.e. those variables for which a factor loading greater than 0,3500 was computed), and to the labelling of the factors. In these sections the variables contributing to factor variance are presented in order of their factor loading value. In order to clarify the Likert scale direction, and thus assist in comprehension of the attitudinal consistencies, the score direction is indicated in parenthesis after each test statement listed for each factor. In these indications SA represents Strongly Agree, and SDA represents Strongly Disagree. Percentage distribution of responses to the test statements relating to the variables are also given in the Tables 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8 after each factor description. The factors are interpreted and labelled in the context of the hypothetical base of the enquiry.

#### 6.3.2 Elements and Character of Factor 1

The main variables of Factor 1, which had loadings greater than ,35000, are listed below and their characterisation and labelling then discussed.

<u>FACTOR 1</u>	<u>TEST STATEMENTS IN ENQUIRY SCHEDULE</u>	<u>FACTOR LOADING</u>
(Schedule Item No)		
71	If there was a Black Government in this country it should take over all the shops and factories and run them itself. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	0,66099
49	If I was offered a better paid job in Johannesburg, I would take it immediately. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	0,64980
46	If the laws of the government allowed it I would go to some other part of the country to seek a better job. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	0,64976

<u>FACTOR 1.</u> (Schedule Item No)	<u>TEST STATEMENT IN ENQUIRY SCHEDULE</u>	<u>FACTOR LOADING</u>
61	If I was paid well I would prefer to work underground on the gold mines than to stay here on my present wages. (SA = 5, SDA = 1).	0,61354
50	Workers could look forward to a much better future if the Company was owned and managed by Blacks. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	0,53476
48	Many of the Whites in the Company treat Blacks very badly. (SA = 5, SDA = 1).	0,52048
67	If workers had enough land at home they would not come to work for the Company (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	0,46322
73	Whites in this Company are paid too much for too little work. (SA = 5, SDA = 1).	0,45951
60	Management of this Company should be removed and replaced by people elected by the workers (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	0,45829
77	Workers with a similar job to mine are paid better by other employers (SA = 5, SDA = 1).	0,42313
63	I understand the Company better, and feel happier, when it does not keep on changing the way things are done at work. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	0,41749
57	Generally I am satisfied with the way this Company looks after its workers. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	0,41339
58	If laws are unfair to Blacks they should disobey them when they get the chance to do so (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	0,39720

<u>FACTOR 1</u>	<u>TEST STATEMENT IN ENQUIRY SCHEDULE</u>	<u>FACTOR LOADING</u>
75	Workers who are polite to their superiors and who are well mannered never make good leaders. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	0,37038
52	I believe the Company is telling the truth when it says that it cares about us workers. (SA = 1, SDA = 5).	0,36848
95	If I work hard the Company will reward me with better pay or promotion. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	0,35731
54	Life is totally unpleasant for a person who works for this Company. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	0,35422

The above variables are a mixture of what in the hypothetical model and enquiry schedule were included as Persistence-Change or Order-Disorder test statements. Clearly however all the twelve items with a factor loading higher than 0,4000 relate to matters of fundamental change in their basic life circumstances, elements relating to job mobility, socio-economic change and in-company change being important considerations. The remaining variables with weaker loadings are arguably related to the same consideration and of these the last three variables 52, 95 and 54 will appear also in Factor 3 with higher loadings.

Consideration of the nature of the test statements which have clustered in this factor identifies it at the high scoring pole as an essentially thrusting one; seeking, critical, ambitious, adventurous, impatient of the status quo. They could certainly be considered as primarily and collectively indicative of orientation not only to change but also to goal attainment, or of the degree of alienation from the current industrial, socio-economic, or corporate system.

Compared with the contrasting considerations of Cohen's models of society (Section 2.2.3) the expressed sense of the test statement

variables clustered in Factor 1 are not in the least expressive of Cohen's Model A, the consensus-integration model (section 2.2.3). Their sense is on the other hand totally compatible with the listed characteristics of the coercion-conflict model, Cohen's Model B. Similarly the sentiments of which the test statements are expressive are readily identifiable in terms of Parson's functional paradigm with the goal attainment function. They are not, on the other hand, easily identified with Parson's integration or pattern maintenance functions.

In terms of Jubber's conception of the South African compliance structure as a coercive/remunerative one (section 4.2.4), the variables of the factor could be seen as indicative of the degree of compliance with, or resistance to that structure. Comparison with Etzioni's classifications of employee commitment (section 4.4.2) helps to identify the factor as one with a high calculative content.

In terms of Gurr's theories (section 2.4.3) the sense of the variables apparently expressed in the factor is indicative of a sense of relative deprivation in relationship to other employers, other race groups, other systems of order, or other opportunities.

Finally, in terms of the model devised in Figure 3.3 the factor is expressive of the determination of the actor's goals generated in the context of the homeland social system, and limited by the constraints of the national social system and the employment contract relationship.

In short the terminology of the variables in the factor is expressive of a change-conflict model of society, and not an integration model. Attitudes to change from the status quo, and interests in alternatives, provide the dominant themes.

From hereon Factor 1 will be referred to as the 'Change' factor

The percentage distribution of responses to the test statements which the above variables reflect appear in Table 6.6. which follows:

TABLE 6.6 RESPONSES TO SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES IN FACTOR 1  
N = 554 (WHOLE STUDY)

SCHEDULE ITEM/VARIABLE	PERCENTAGE RESPONSE * (See Footnote)				
	SA	A	N	DA	SDA
71	13	21	6	30	30
49	22	32	2	22	22
46	28	31	3	21	17
61	15	20	3	25	37
50	10	16	8	34	22
48	16	26	3	40	15
67	19	27	1	38	15
73	50	24	13	10	3
60	12	23	6	34	25
77	42	33	11	12	2
63	11	31	3	38	17
57	10	39	1	34	16
58	13	29	4	41	13
75	6	29	5	45	15
52	9	38	2	36	15
95	8	30	17	30	15
54	9	29	2	47	13

\* SA - Strongly Agree, A - Agree, N - Neutral, DA - Disagree, SDA - Strongly Disagree.

### 6.3.3 Elements and Character of Factor 2

Only five variables of factor 2 have loadings with a negative or positive value greater than 0,35000. These are noted below.

The collective theme of the variables includes the following perceptions:

- (a) awareness of, and response to environmental pressure and the necessity to retain employment (item 28);
- (b) a consciousness of the similar needs of fellow members of their domestic communities (item 30);

- (c) a process of adjustment to circumstance and personal reconciliation (items 33, 90, 96).

<u>VARIABLE</u> (Schedule Item No)	<u>TEST STATEMENT IN ENQUIRY SCHEDULE</u>	<u>FACTOR LOADING</u>
30	I would encourage my friends at home to work for this Company if I heard there were vacancies (SA = 1, SDA = 5).	-0,57641
28	I wish to remain in this Company's employment as long as possible. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,55404
33	The longer I stay with this Company the more I have begun to feel "at home" here (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,49441
90	On most days I carry out my tasks at work quite cheerfully. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,38151
96	Considering my employment generally I am proud to work for the Company. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,36734

Mann (1973. p.29) discussed Kornhauser's statements. " ..... men in the routine types of work come, over the years, to accept and make the most of their situation"; and "most workers .....accept their work life without distress and even in most cases with a kind of mild, passive, somewhat fatalistic contentment." Mann felt that 'acceptance' might be a more appropriate term than 'contentment'. Both words would characterise Factor 2 equally well, but neither entirely adequately. Submission or obedience to environmental pressures in recognition of their imperative nature is compatible with the adaptive function of Parsonian theory, and the influence of inertia found in the Flowers and Hughes studies, referred to in Chapter 2. It is also a reflection of the decision process outline in Figure 3.4 at level 6, where in any disagreement with his employment conditions the employee must decide either to acquiesce to or accept the situation, or otherwise to separate from it. In the latter case he may decide either to remain in the employment sector, and recommence the cycle; or to leave it, abandon

his goals and return to the homeland. In the latter case again he is brought up sharply against the realities of environmental pressure which forced him into working in the first place, and these were discussed in Chapter 3 - The South African Labour Environment. Mann's discussion referred to above, on workers' fatalistic acceptance of their lowly station, extended to the conclusion (ibid. p.30) that "the compliance of the working class with the authority structure of liberal democracy rested largely on 'pragmatic acceptance' of its lowly position in society." However the model in figure 3.3 shows that Factor 2 is the product of a pressure that cannot be ignored and which has relatively few outlets, even more so in South African industry than elsewhere where greater freedom of movement and residence is possible.

The factor is therefore believed to be founded in a compound of perceived environmental and physiological pressures, which are emphasised by practical limitations upon the options for satisfying them. These pressures, and the degree to which workers have adapted to them, add up to a powerful factor for inertia which must greatly inhibit the freedom of workers to leave or change employment.

The percentage distribution of responses to the main variables of Factor 2, which are given in Table 4.9 below, show a very high level of agreement with items 28 and 30, rather less with the remaining items. Agreement with statements apparently favourable to the employment relationship are therefore markedly more emphatic in this factor than in factor 1 (or in factor 3 discussed below). These apparent inconsistencies suggest that the considerations underlying the factor have the compelling nature suspected. The orthogonal nature of the factor's relationship with the other factors further supports its conception as an independent, over-riding factor, more practical than attitudinal.

In labelling the factor, Mann's term "acceptance" would fit only the adjustment element of the factor. Kornhauser's "contentment" would be misleading, except in a specially understood sense. Flowers' and Hughes' "inertia" has more elements than are contained in this factor. None of these terms are suitable.

The essence of this factor is in the concept of an employment bond which arises and persists largely because of environmental pressure and in spite of dissatisfactions within the employment environment.

The choice of the word "adherence" is believed to provide a very suitable label for the factor. It is congruent with a perception of workers as 'adherents' or followers in a socio-economic context in a sense succeeding that in which serfs in former times were adherents or followers of feudal lords. It is consistent with the use of the word 'adhesion' in physics as "the force that holds together the unlike molecules of substances whose surfaces are in contact (Webster, 1978. p 23), or in botany "the union of parts or organs normally separate." (ibid). More colloquially it expresses the concepts of "sticking with" or being "stuck in" a job, and of an adhesive bond strengthened by pressure. It is consistent with the notion of a point of contact and adherence between two social systems - the homeland and corporate systems.

The factor will hereafter be referred to as the 'Adherence' factor.

The distribution of responses to the main factor variables in respect of the whole study, is given below in Table 6.7.

TABLE 6.7. RESPONSES TO SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES IN FACTOR 2  
N = 554 (WHOLE STUDY)

SCHEDULE ITEM/ VARIABLE	PERCENTAGE RESPONSES * (see footnote)				
	SA	A	N	DA	SDA
30	43	44	1	8	4
28	52	40	2	5	1
33	33	44	1	16	6
90	16	52	-	27	5
96	13	50	2	27	8

\* SA - Strongly Agree A - Agree N Neutral

DA - Disagree SDA - Strongly Disagree

6.3.4 The Elements and Character of Factor 3

The main variables of Factor 3, with loadings greater than ,3500 or less than - 0,35000, are listed and discussed in this section.

<u>FACTOR 3</u> (Schedule Item No)	<u>TEST STATEMENT IN ENQUIRY SCHEDULE</u>	<u>FACTOR LOADING</u>
57	Generally I am satisfied with the way this Company looks after its workers. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,71882
52	I believe the Company is telling the truth when it says that it cares about us workers. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,67348
56	If workers protested strongly the Company would be certain to pay more attention to them. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)  ( <u>Note</u> : This item was perhaps scored in the wrong direction. It had been intended to measure orientation to vociferous protest, but was clearly interpreted as an item assessing the efficacy of verbal protest, and the company's receptiveness to expressed protest. The factor loading therefore bears a positive value in contrast to the negative loading values for other variables).	+ 0,62479
63	I understand the Company, and feel happier when it does not keep on changing the way things are done at work. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,60832
39	Complaints by workers are normally satisfactorily dealt with by the Company. (SA = 1, SDA = 5).	- 0,55070
90	On most days I carry out my tasks at work quite cheerfully. (SA = 1, SDA = 5).	- 0,42332

FACTOR 3 (Schedule Item No)	<u>TEST STATEMENT IN ENQUIRY SCHEDULE</u>	<u>FACTOR LOADING</u>
96	Considering my employment generally I am proud to work for the Company. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,41966
46	If the laws of the government allowed it I would go to some other part of the country and seek a better job. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	- 0,40400
54	Life is totally unpleasant for a person who works for this Company. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	- 0,39676
95	If I work hard the Company will one day reward me with better pay, or promotion. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,39665
72	Management treats workers well and therefore can expect them to co-operate fully at work. (SA = 1, SDA = 5)	- 0,37214
73	Whites in this Company are paid too much for too little work. (SA = 5, SDA = 1)	- 0,36302

A study of the foregoing variables shows that they are all concerned with the employment relationship, unlike the change factor variables which ranged over a wider collection of issues. They are also mensurative of a two-way process of exchange and communication between worker and employer, a gauging of the existing employment relationship.

Taken in their positive (low scoring) sense the test statements are each identifiable with the sense of Cohen's Model A (integration model) of society quoted in section 2.2,3. Read in their opposite, or high scoring sense the test statements indicate an absence of integration, or a perceived malintegration. In the latter sense however the variables are not as expressive of Cohen's conflict Model B as is

factor 1, the change factor in the analysis. Factors 1 and 3 therefore do not represent opposite ends of the same continuum, rather they are symptomatic of each other as their correlation implies.

In terms of Gurr's hypothesis in section 2.2.4, Chapter 2, the factor variables could be seen as relevant to the "intensity and scope of normative justifications for political violence among members of a collectivity"-in this case as relevant to the normative justification of industrial disturbances or unrest among members of the workforce.

In terms of Etzioni's compliance structures outlined later in the same section the factor variables, at their positive pole, indicate an evaluation of relationships on a high moral and a medium to low calculative basis. This would be indicative of a strong underlying value basis of assessment. The variables are also relevant to Fox's assessments of management-worker relationships in terms of low and high trust, and authority based on legitimacy as opposed to power based on sanction and coercion.

The variables of the factor concern matters which are indispensable to the integration function in a Parsonian sense - the requirement that the corporate social system integrate the roles of actors in the system towards the achievement of collective goals necessary for its continued survival or adaptation. They are matters relevant to the internal ends of achieving the required degree of functional co-operation.

From another perspective the variables might be read as a series of value statements expressive of the degree of integration between worker and company values, and contributing to employee inertia (low mobility) in the sense used by Flowers and Hughes (1973. p.50):

"An employee's inertia is strengthened or weakened by the degree of compatibility between his own work ethic and the values for which the company stands. The employee's ethic derives from his own values and the actual conditions he encounters on the job. The company's values derive from societal norms, formal decisions by the board of directors, and the policies and procedures of the managing group. A widening gap between these two vantages weakens inertia; a narrowing gap strengthens it."

The foregoing considerations have influenced the decision to label the third factor as the 'Integration' factor as it will now be referred to.

Table 6.8 now shows the distribution of responses to the test statements or variables of the integration factor:

' TABLE 6.8 RESPONSES TO SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES IN FACTOR 3  
N 554 (WHOLE STUDY)

SCHEDULE ITEM/ VARIABLE	PERCENTAGE RESPONSES * (see footnote)				
	SA	A	N	DA	SDA
57	10	39	1	34	16
52	9	38	2	36	15
56	9	50	7	26	8
63	11	31	3	38	17
39	10	38	3	31	18
90	16	52	-	27	5
96	13	50	2	27	8
46	28	31	3	21	17
54	10	28	2	47	13
95	8	30	17	30	15
72	23	61	2	13	1
73	3	10	13	24	50

\* SA - Strongly Agree    A - Agree    N - Neutral or Don't Know  
DA - Disagree    SDA - Strongly Disagree.

### 6.3.5 Analysis and Hypothesis

The process of factor analysis outlined in this chapter has been rewarding to the progress of the study for it has identified three major themes, or sets of variables, in response to which workers exhibited an underlying consistency of orientation. Furthermore these themes or factors are compatible with major theoretical conclusions which contributed to the composition of the enquiry schedule. The fact that these have emerged in clearly identifiable

form from a welter of questions, put to workers in irregular order, and deliberately jumbled score directions, in many different circumstances and locations is a confirmation of a valid hypothetical base.

Factor 1 has accounted for a desire for personal change and mobility, closely intermingled with a desire for change in the relationship between positive and negative dominance groups. It is concerned with the barriers of stratification and includes recognition of its racial element.

Factor 2 has accounted for recognition of survival and environmental pressures, their compelling nature being underlined firstly by the independence of the factor from the others, and secondly by the overwhelming majority of the responses acknowledging a need for employment.

Factor 3 is composed of variables indicative of system integration in relation to the company by which the workers are employed.

These three factors are each a social dynamic underlying the nature of the worker's relationship to employment. In subsequent sections certain scores, referred to as "factor variable scores," will be derived from respondents' mean raw scores, on the main factor variables listed above. These derived variables will, in later chapters, become the main ones used in analysis.

Before proceeding to that stage, however, some prior indication is sought, in the following sections, of the samples in which factor trends of special significance may be anticipated, of the inter-relationship between factor variable scores and the various predictor variables that were incorporated in the schedule.

The SPSS sub-programmes which will be referred to are the sub-programme NEW REGRESSION for indications of the significance of the predictor variables, and sub-programme MANOVA for indications of factor emphasis characteristic of the various samples.

## 6.4 FACTOR VARIANCE AND PREDICTOR VARIABLES

### 6.4.1 Coding Modifications

Having established the nature of the attitudinal factors important to the study the next objective was to establish their relationship as criterion variables to the variables in the biographical section of the enquiry schedule as predictor variables. Apart from the value in themselves of the general inferences that might be revealed, this step will later assist in analysis of the importance of the factors at each sample or workplace.

Initial regression models indicated some rationalisation of the original coding of independent variables in the enquiry schedules and some re-coding was undertaken and different regression models tested. The main items recoded as new variables were:

#### (a) Land and Cattle Ownership

Items 24 (Cattle Ownership) and 27 (Ploughing Land) were combined as a single variable relevant to the respondent's access to means of subsistence other than income from employment. The values of the new variable CATLAND are shown below. Reference may be made to the enquiry schedule - Annexure 5A, Chapter 5.

Cattle: (Item 24)		Nil	1 - 10 head	11 head +
Land: (Item 27)	Yes	4	5	6
	No	1	2	3

#### (b) Marital Status and Accommodation whilst at work

Items 8 (Marital Status) and 13 (Accommodation whilst at work) were combined into a single variable RESMAR coded in accordance with what was assessed to be an increasing (four-point) scale of domesticity or social naturalness:

Accommodation Type:		Single Quarters	Company Married Quarters, Kraals on Company Property, Townships	Homeland Kraals
Marital Status	S	2	3	4
	M	1	3	4

(c) Income Variables : Items 19 - 23

Income variables featured frequently in regression models. It was reasoned that absolute increases in the values given in response to the items dealing with income aspirations, i.e. nos. 20 - 23, would automatically increase from a base provided by present income given in item 19. The wage aspirations of a semi-skilled worker on relatively high pay, would in probability be higher than the wage aspirations, in absolute terms, of an unskilled worker on relatively low pay. In terms of the inferred effect upon workers' attitudes expressed in the factor variables, their responses would be more meaningful if expressed in terms relative to the base provided by present income, as given in variable item 19 "What wage or salary does the company pay you now?" Items 20 - 23 were therefore expressed as ratios to item 19 in the new variables below.

Original VariableNew Variable

20	What wage do you think you <u>should</u> get to buy things you <u>must</u> have for your family.	RATMUST (Item 20/ Item 19)
21	What wage do you think you need to be able to save some money.	RATSAVE (Item 21/ Item 19)
22	What wage do you think you need to be able to buy the things you would enjoy having.	RATJOY (Item 22/ Item 19)
23	What wage do you hope to earn five years from now.	RATHOPE (Item 23/ Item 19)

These variables would express income aspirations relative to existing income and be indicative of aspirational deprivation when linked to variations in factor scores.

d) Exclusion of Variables

Of the initial 27 biographical variables in the enquiry schedule it was decided to exclude the following as being unlikely to show significance in regression testing:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Subject</u>
2	Place of birth
4	Language (90 percent of respondents spoke Zulu)
5	Parents' language group
6	Literacy (education level dealt with in item 7 would cover this)
10	Partial dependants (Full dependants in item 9 would provide indications).
11	Parents' marital stability.
15	Number of kin-group with the same employer.
18	Expectation of working with the Company in five years time.
25 }	Small stock ownership.
26 }	

The remaining 17 variables were retained for the subsequent separate regression tests against each of the Factors 1, 2 and 3 as dependant variables, either in their original form, or in the modified versions described in a), b) and c) above. They will be listed below.

6.4.2 Regression Testing: The entry of variables

The SPSS sub-programme NEW REGRESSION (Hull et al. 1979. p.94) isolates variables in a set which provide the best predictions or regression equations against the specified variables, in this case Factors 1, 2 and 3 considered separately, and represented by the respondent's factor scores. Composite factor scores were computed by SPSS sub-programme FACTOR as an adjunct to the oblique rotation.

With the stepwise option, variables are entered into the regression equation one at a time in the order of their capacity to explain the greatest amount of variance in the dependant variable, in conjunction with the first variable entered. Variables were included in the regression if their Beta weights were significantly different from zero, at P less than or equal to ,05. Unless otherwise specified in the results given below, the variables listed were:

<u>ITEM LABEL</u>	<u>VARIABLE</u>	
1	Sex	
3	Age	
7	Standard of Education	
9	Number of Dependants	
12	Father's labour migration	
14	Frequency of visits to homeland village	
16	Years of Service	
17	Occupational level	
19	Present wage	
RATMUST	Item 20/Item 19	
RATSAVE	Item 21/Item 19	
RATJOY	Item 22/Item 19	
RATHOPE	Item 23/Item 19	
CATTLAND	Item 24 and Item 27	
RESMAR	Item 8 and Item 13	
NFAC 1	Factor 1 (The Change factor)	} as dependant variables in successive re- gressions.
NFAC 2	Factor 2 (The Adherence factor)	
NFAC 3	Factor 3 (The Integration factor)	

#### 6.4.3 Regression Testing: Factor 1 (The Change Factor)

The variables and the Beta weights listed in the final step of the regression equation for each factor, subject to the specifications expressed above, are provided in Tables 6.9, 6.10 and 6.11 in this and following sections. These are accompanied by a rationalisation of the associations indicated.

TABLE 6.9 SIGNIFICANT PREDICTOR VARIABLES OF FACTOR 1

VARIABLE	BETA WEIGHT
ITEM 1 (Sex)	-,27935
RATSAVE (Item 21/Item 19)	,30690
RATHOPE (Item 23/Item 19)	-,17757
ITEM 3 (Age)	-,14519
RESMAR (Items 8, 13)	-,12112
ITEM 12 (Father's migrancy)	,08723

Multiple r was computed as ,37755 and r squared as ,14255 accounting for 14,3 percent of the amount of variance in Factor 1 accounted for by the listed variables. F was computed as 15,1560 , significance of F as ,0000, P remained within the 0,5 limit, and df = 6.

As the significance of the variable is indicated by the Beta weight, each will be discussed below in order of the magnitude of their Beta weight.

a) RATSAVE. Beta Weight ,30690

RATSAVE is the ratio of the wage respondents said they needed to be able to save some money, to the wage they actually earn now. The positive value of the Beta weight indicates covariance between the factor score and the value of RATSAVE. The greater the gap between a person's present wage, and what he perceives he needs in order to save, the more he is inclined to Change as expressed by Factor 1. The association seems logical in view of apparent economic inferences in the Factor 1 variables.

b) Item 1. Sex. Beta weight -,27935

Sex of respondent was encoded Male 1 Female 2. The negative Beta weight shows a decreasing factor score as the predictor variable code increases, therefore a lower Change orientation is associated with women.

It is probable that some of the change options which are expressed by Factor 1 variables are more impractical in the case of women than in the case of men. If this is recognised by respondents personally, and it is probably re-inforced by social mores effecting the role of women, aspirations of change are no doubt modified.

c) RATHOPE. Beta Weight -,17757

RATHOPE is the ratio of the wage respondents said they hoped to earn in five years to the wage they actually earn now. The negative value sign indicates that the greater the wage respondents hope to earn, compared to present earnings, then the less change oriented they are in terms of Factor 1 variables.

d) Item 3. Age. Beta Weight -,14519

As age was encoded in ascending categories the equation infers that as age increases inclination towards the Change expressed by Factor 1 variables decreases. This is logical for the reasons that the young tend to be more independent in their personal circumstances, to be living in single quarters whilst at work, to be earning less money, and to have had less time to adjust. The old, conversely, have more family and social responsibilities and affiliations, are more likely to have already achieved what they are capable of, and as time advances their options for personal action to change their circumstances diminish.

e) RESMAR. Beta Weight -,12112

RESMAR was encoded so that low values indicated the least domesticated or least socially natural and secure state, e.g. married or single people living in single quarters, and the higher values more domesticated, socially natural and secure circumstances such as were presumably found in homeland kraals where people would live with their families as part of a community, and with relative security of tenure. The negative

value of the Beta weight shows an inverse relationship between the dependant and predictor variables, therefore the more domesticated, natural and secure a person's social circumstances the less is the probability of inclination to change in terms of Factor 1, or the less its intensity.

f) Item 12. Migrant History of Father. Beta Weight ,08723

The responses to Item 12, 'During most of your childhood did your father travel away from home to work for long periods?' were encoded for the purposes of the regression test as :

Yes, or had no father	- 1
No.	- 2

The positive Beta weight implies a higher change orientation among people whose fathers were not absent at work for much of their childhood. Reasons for this would be hard to discern but in view of the apparently higher change orientation of men generally, presumably the presence at home of a father during the acculturation of a child could have some effect. The reverse would be true of the child of a migrant worker or fatherless child where maternal influence would be strongest and disapproval of the actual disadvantages of labour migrancy more likely to be expressed. Subsequent distributions show an even more marked reserve between the responses of people who had no father and those whose father was migrant. This unavailability apparently has an effect on self-confidence, assertiveness, or goal orientation of the child.

6.4.4 Regression Testing : Factor 2 (The Adherence Factor)

The variables listed in the final step of the equation for Factor 2 were set out as follows, with their Beta weights:

TABLE 6.10 SIGNIFICANT PREDICTOR VARIABLES OF FACTOR 2

VARIABLE	BETA WEIGHTS
RATMUST (Item 20/Item 19)	- ,23625
RATHOPE (Item 23/Item 19)	,19574
ITEM 17 (Occupation/skill)	- ,17629
ITEM 14 (Home Visits)	- ,16294
ITEM 1 (Sex)	,16085
ITEM 16 (Years Service)	,15817
ITEM 7 (Education)	- ,15609

With the Factor 2 regression  $r$  was ,40087, and  $r$  squared,16070. Therefore 16 percent of the variance in Factor 2 was accounted for by the variables included in the equation listed above.  $F$  was computed as 14,93446 with significance ,0000 ( $df = 7$ ).  $P$  remained at LT ,05 as in the Factor 1 regression.

a) RATMUST. Beta Weight - ,23625

The negative Beta weight in predicting Factor 2 is indicative of a higher score on the response scale as the gap between actual wages and those felt necessary widens. This in turn implies decreasing adherence to the company, partly, presumably, because the necessities of life appear less realisable.

b) RATHOPE. Beta Weight ,19574

The positive Beta weight implies greater adherence as the gap between actual wage and the one hoped for or expected widens. More 'optimism' is associated with a lower score on the variables associated with the factor, and therefore increased adherence based on an assumption of possible progress toward goal objectives.

c) Item 17: Occupational Skill Level. Beta Weight - ,17629

Lower-skilled occupations have a higher code. The negative Beta weight therefore implies more adherence associated with higher occupational levels, which is of course associated in turn with higher income levels. This is logical in view of a) higher associated wage levels b) relatively few alternative employment opportunities.

d) Item 14: Frequency of Homeland Visits. Beta Weight - ,16294

Frequency of homeland visits is coded in a descending order. A higher frequency of visits home is therefore associated with more adherence, and also, logically, with stronger local ties.

e) Item 1: Sex. Beta Weight ,16085

It is supposed that women have stronger domestic ties, this being re-inforced by the acculturation of girls and their personal adjustment to the traditional expectations of women which discourage work in places far from home. This no doubt contributes to a preference for employment near to home where continued frequent contact with family is possible. Such considerations undoubtedly apply to almost all the samples of the study, except for those where no women were included in the sample.

(Of the 105 women included in the study 104 agreed with the adherence factor test statement in item 28 of the enquiry schedule "I wish to remain in this company's employment as long as possible". Of the 449 men, 403 agreed with the statement. Such differences will, of course, be more fully referred to).

f) Item 16: Years of Service : Beta Weight ,15817

Increasing years of service, in Factor 2, with a positive Beta weight, indicates increasing personal adherence in terms of the factor variables. It is logical that longer service brings increasing adjustment to the company, increasing wages in many cases, more solid social relationships, shrinking alternative options and departing youth.

g) Item 7: Educational Level. Beta Weight  $-.15609$ 

Increasing education infers a lower level of adherence in terms of the factor variables. Education is associated with youth and wider options and the association is logical.

6.4.5 Regression Testing: Factor 3 (The Integration Factor)

As with Factors 2 and 3, the listed variables and their Beta weights in the final step of the regression are set out below.

TABLE 6.11 SIGNIFICANT PREDICTOR VARIABLES OF FACTOR 3

VARIABLE	BETA WEIGHT
Item 1 (Sex)	,17727
RATSAVE (Item 21/Item 19)	-,17152
RESMAR (Item 8,13)	,15402
Item 3 (Age)	,12924
Item 9 (Dependants)	-,12876
Item 14 (Home Visits)	-,09340

In this equation, with P still retained within the 0,5 level, r was computed as ,31478 and r squared as ,09909. F was computed as 12,05410 - significant P and df = 6. The variables from the equation, listed above, are referred to in the following paragraphs in the descending order of their Beta weights. \*

a) Item 1 : Sex Beta Weight ,17727

The positive Beta weight, associated with a code which increases from male = 1 to female = 2 in Factor 3 shows higher factor scores, but lower Likert scores, and therefore a higher degree of integration with the company experienced by female workers.

\* Corrections: r = ,32714 r sq. = ,10702 F = 10,92565  
P = ,0000 df = 6

b) RATSAVE : Beta Weight  $-17152$ 

The negative Beta weight value in Factor 3 associated a decreasing (more negative) factor score with a widening gap between income and the income necessary to save. This infers a poorer integration where goal attainment seems less possible.

c) RESMAR: Beta Weight  $,15402$ 

The positive Beta weight in Factor 3 relates an increasing factor score with improvements in the degree of domesticity and social naturalness. In other words a more natural and domesticated social environment is associated with an improved sense of integration in the Company.

d) Item 3: Age. Beta Weight  $,12924$ 

The positive Beta weight likewise is indicative of a positive relationship between factor score and age. Older workers therefore would tend to have a more positive perception on average of their integration with the company.

e) Item 9: No of Dependants. Beta Weight  $-,12876$ 

The negative Beta weight in Factor 3, with the number of dependants coded in ascending values shows that workers with higher numbers of dependants are more likely to view the integration relationship with the employer as less equitable. Logically attributable to the increased economic and psychological pressure upon the breadwinner, who consequently needs more reward, some such association would be expected.

f) Item 14: Frequency of Visits to Homeland Kraal: Beta weight  $-,09340$ 

The Beta weight is negative and the frequency of visits is scored in descending order. This associated a high frequency of visits to an improved perception of the exchange relationship with the Company. This would not contradict logic in that the worker is enabled to live a more natural life and preserve his or her family and homeland ties. Greater frequency of visits home indicates a flexibility in employment practice, better role reconciliation for the worker, and presumably there is some recuperative value in these visits also.

#### 6.4.6 Initial Regression Summary

The percentage of variance accounted for by the regression equations and the predictor variables found to be significant is not high, but they provide important indications of variance that might be expected. These will be more closely examined by reference to the factor variable score variations associated with them, and with reference to the social, geographic, and economic context, or environment, peculiar to each sample. It may be found, for example, that in some samples the coding values assigned to predictor variables might have different significance to that expressed elsewhere. Stronger, or contrary associations may be found therefore from sample to sample for a particular variable, and different combinations of the variables, and their influence, will characterise each sample.

In the meantime Table 6.12 provides a preliminary indication of the predictor variable characteristics likely to be associated with high Likert scores on the main factor variables.

TABLE 6.12 FACTOR SIGNIFICANCE OF PREDICTOR VARIABLES AND FACTOR VARIABLE SCORE TENDENCY

ITEM LABEL	VARIABLE	FACTOR SIGNIFICANCE	HIGH SCORE CHARACTERISTIC
		(Factors)	
1	Sex	1, 2, 3	Male
3	Age	1, 3	Young
7	Education	2	Educated
9	No of dependents	3	More dependents
12	Father migrant	1	Non-migrant father
14	Home visit frequency	2, 3	Less frequent
16	Years of service	2	Shorter service
17	Skill level	2	Unskilled
RESMAR	Items 8 and 13	1,3	Low social naturalness
RATMUST	Item 20/Item 19	2	High ratio
RATSAVE	Item 21/Item 19	1,3	High ratio
RATHOPE	Item 23/Item 19	1,2	Low ratio

## 6.5 FACTOR VARIANCE BY SAMPLE

### 6.5.1 Multi-variate Analysis of Variance

The SPSS sub-programme MANOVA (Hull et al., 1979.p.32) was used to gain prior indication of factor variance that might be expected with each sample. The sub-programme assumes an arbitrary universal mean of zero, against which the variance of each factor as a variable was assessed for each sample, enabling recognition of abnormal factor score variance or emphasis. In support of these assessments multi-variate tests of significance (Pillai's, Hotelling's Wilks', Roy's) are provided to establish the significance of the specified variable (the sample in this instance) as a general factor in the variance of the tested variables (in this case factors 1, 2 and 3), and the T-test to indicate the significance of the (sample) deviation from the universal mean. The former established a high degree of significance in the variation of the factors according to sample, with significance of F being less than 0,0005 in each test.

### 6.5.2 Exceptional Variance by Sample

Table 6.13 shows factor deviation from the zero mean for each factor and for each sample. Where the T-test indicated particularly significant factor deviance from the mean, the sample mean concerned has been underlined in the table. This was the case in the following:

- factor 1 with samples 4 and 7;
- factor 2 with samples 2, 3, 5 and 6;
- factor 3 with samples 1, 4, 6 and 7.

It will be noted that the "Low" and "High" columns for the factor 1 means appear in reverse order in the factor 2 and 3 columns. This of course is necessary because of the negative correlations of factors 2 and 3, with factor 1, and the sense of the factor labels. Sample peculiarities will be more fully discussed later, but the foregoing provides a guide to the analysis.

TABLE 6.13

FACTOR DEVIATION FROM ZERO ARBITRARY MEAN BY SAMPLE

SAMPLE	FACTOR 1 (CHANGE)		FACTOR 2 (ADHERENCE)		FACTOR 3 (INTEGRATION)	
	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW
1. Forestry		+ ,00997	+ ,15652			- , <u>10622</u>
2. Forestry	- ,20800		+ , <u>33434</u>		+ ,21515	
3. Forestry		+ ,06002	+ , <u>27459</u>		+ ,12295	
4. Processing		+ , <u>29218</u>	+ ,09641			- , <u>35788</u>
5. Durban	- ,15731			- , <u>58978</u>	+ ,21346	
6. Processing		+ ,12120		- , <u>19589</u>		- , <u>17416</u>
7. Processing	- , <u>34388</u>		+ ,11735		+ , <u>44852</u>	

TABLE 6.13

## 6.6 FACTOR SCORES AND DERIVED SCORES

### 6.6.1 Factor Scores

Composite factor scores for each individual, relative to each factor are computed by SPSS sub-programme FACTOR. Hair et al., (ibid. pp.246-7) explain the concept of the factor score in this manner:

"Factor scores are composite measures for each factor representing each subject. The original raw data measurements and the factor analytic results are utilised to compute factor scores for each individual. Conceptually speaking, the factor score represents the degree to which each individual scores high on the group of items that load high on a factor. Thus an individual who scores high on the several variables that have heavy loadings for a factor surely will obtain a high factor score on that factor. The factor score therefore, shows that an individual possesses a particular characteristic represented by the factor to a high degree."

As the foregoing indicates the factor scores of individuals are indicative of their general disposition to the characteristic represented by the factor. The precise nature of that factor, when the contribution of all the variables contributing to variation are taken into account, is difficult to grasp. It is easier for practical purposes to grasp the essence of the variables which load high on the relevant factor, and to relate these to the response scale options put to respondents, and average raw scores derived therefrom.

### 6.6.2 Factor Variable Scores\*

Chapter 6 identified the three factors, 1, 2 and 3 labelled respectively as factors of change, adherence, and integration relating to the worker's position in industry. The labels by which it was decided to characterise the factors were derived from the collective sense of variables which loaded highly against each factor, with loadings in excess of 0,3500. The labels in turn represent concepts, and the essence of each concept is perceived as a major dynamic of workers' attitudes towards their working life environment. It is convenient from this point forward to set aside the variables which played a weaker role in accounting for total factor variance, and to concentrate upon those which were listed in section 6.3 as the principal factor variables. For these variables composite scores were therefore

\* In Chapter Nine these are re-named "social dynamic scores"

computed, these being the mean raw scores of each respondent according to responses scored on the Likert scale

Pearson's correlation between the factor variable scores and the original factor scores was high as the following values show:

Factor 1 - Chanscore	$r = 0,9628$	$P = ,000$
Factor 2 - Adscore	$r = 0,8375$	$P = ,000$
Factor 3 - Intscore	$r = 0,9412$	$P = ,000$

The Adscore correlation is less satisfactory than the other two, but still strong, and it would seem valid to use it as representative of the conceptual essence of the factor. (Some experimentation was carried out by including further variables, in addition to the five listed in section 6.3.3. However correlations thus obtained were not an improvement on that noted above).

The scores referred to above will, from this point onwards, be used to represent the three factors identified.

### 6.6.3 Labelling the Factor Variable Scores

Factor variable scores have been labelled in a manner which reflects their origin in the three main factors identified, i.e.:

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Factor Label</u>	<u>Factor Variable Score</u>
1	Change	Chanscore
2	Adherence	Adscore
3	Integration	Intscore

In interpreting the meaning of the scores it has to be remembered that the Likert Scale was originally applied to hypothetical persistence-change and order-disorder continua (section 5.2.4). Therefore:

<u>High Chanscore</u>	reflects high change orientation;
<u>Low Chanscore</u>	reflects low change, or persistence orientation;
<u>High Adscore</u>	reflects low adherence orientation;
<u>Low Adscore</u>	reflects high adherence orientation;
<u>High Intscore</u>	reflects low, or negative integration, or malintegration
<u>Low Intscore</u>	reflects high, or positive, integration

#### 6.6.4 Correlation Between Factor Variable Scores

Elimination of the weaker factor variables resulted in much stronger correlation than that previously noted between the factor scores.

The correlation values were as follows (N = 554), with significance P expressed in parenthesis:

	1	2	3
	<u>CHAN</u>	<u>AD</u>	<u>INT</u>
<u>CHAN</u>	1,0000 (,000)	,3629 (,000)	,7891 (,000)
<u>AD</u>		1,0000 (,000)	,5640 (,000)
<u>INT</u>			1,0000 (,000)

The correlation between Chanscore and Intscore was found to remain high in any sample or selection of respondents. The correlation of Adscores and the other scores varied significantly at different localities. These facts will be referred to when appropriate.

#### 6.6.5 The Distribution of Factor Variable Scores

At this point it is appropriate to indicate the general nature of the distribution of factor scores and this is provided in Table 6.14. In the table, score distributions are given for each factor variable score, and for each sample and sector. Score means and medians are indicated, and distribution by percentage of respondents is shown between four score categories which are subdivisions of the Likert scale.

These subdivisions are

- GT 1,0 to LE 2,5
- GT 2,5 to LE 3,0
- GT 3,0 to LE 3,5
- GT 3,5 to LE 5,0

This table will be referred to as required in the text of succeeding chapters.

TABLE 6.14. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE AND SECTOR RESPONDENTS BY MEAN SCORE RANGE

SAMPLE	SCORE	SAMPLE RANGE OF MEAN SCORES	MEAN	MEDIAN	RESPONDENT DISTRIBUTION BY SCORE RANGE (%)			
					1,0- 2,5	2,6 - 3,0	3,1 - 3,5	3,6 - 5,0
1 (N = 124)	CHAN	1,6 - 4,8	3,0387	3,0929	29	19	32	20
	ADH	1,0 - 4,4	2,1242	2,0143	75	18	4	3
	INT	1,6 - 5,0	3,0460	3,0500	28	22	21	29
2 (N = 61)	CHAN	1,6 - 4,6	2,8443	2,8125	33	26	28	13
	ADH	1,2 - 3,4	1,9213	1,8706	74	16	10	0
	INT	1,4 - 4,3	2,8016	2,9000	41	18	25	16
3 (N = 64)	CHAN	1,8 - 4,6	3,0109	2,9214	33	22	15	30
	ADH	1,0 - 4,2	2,1594	2,0143	70	19	5	6
	INT	1,3 - 4,8	2,9219	2,8500	38	20	12	30
4 (N = 100)	CHAN	1,7 - 4,6	3,2540	3,2100	19	23	21	37
	ADH	1,2 - 4,2	2,1820	2,0571	71	19	4	6
	INT	1,8 - 4,3	3,2600	3,3333	16	20	25	39
5 (N = 100)	CHAN	1,8 - 4,2	2,9080	2,9250	31	28	25	16
	ADH	1,0 - 4,4	2,3460	2,0200	64	15	6	14
	INT	1,4 - 4,4	2,8660	2,8100	41	16	25	18
6 (N = 65)	CHAN	1,4 - 4,8	3,1477	3,2400	25	15	28	32
	ADH	1,2 - 4,4	2,3569	2,2750	58	28	6	8
	INT	1,6 - 4,4	3,1431	3,2000	26	22	12	40
7 (N = 40)	CHAN	1,6 - 4,2	2,6825	2,5167	53	10	25	12
	ADH	1,2 - 3,4	2,0150	1,9000	85	13	2	0
	INT	1,6 - 4,0	2,6150	2,5500	50	25	15	10
WHOLE STUDY (N = 554)	CHAN	1,4 - 4,8	3,0164	3,0250	30	21	25	24
	ADH	1,0 - 4,4	2,1758	2,0053	72	18	5	5
	INT	1,3 - 5,0	2,9912	2,9955	32	20	21	27
FORESTRY (1+2+3) (N = 249)	CHAN	1,6 - 4,8	2,9839	2,9472	31	21	27	21
	ADH	1,0 - 4,4	2,0835	1,9576	77	17	3	3
	INT	1,3 - 5,0	2,9542	2,9625	34	20	20	26
PROCESSING (4+6+7) (N = 205)	CHAN	1,4 - 4,8	3,1088	3,1450	27	18	24	31
	ADH	1,2 - 4,1	2,2049	2,0536	70	20	5	5
	INT	1,6 - 4,4	3,0971	3,1563	26	21	19	34

## 6.7 NON-FACTOR VARIABLES

### 6.7.1 Value-based Responses

The processes of reliability testing and factor analysis led to the exclusion of certain variables. However, it cannot be assumed that responses to them was necessarily "unreliable" in the ordinary sense of the word. Unreliability can arise from an ambiguity of the question or statement put to the respondent, or its misinterpretation by the respondent - in these cases unreliability of response must be accepted as such. Statistical unreliability is bound to arise, however, where responses do not fit the thematic responses highlighted by factor analysis, and the hypothetical scoring system. In other words there may be certain test statements attracting a high level of affirmation (or opposition, depending upon the turn of phrase), even amongst those with extreme views on the factor themes. These test statements may be expressive or indicative of value, or 'pattern-maintenance' issues. It would, of course, be erroneous to accept the expressed responses entirely at face value but perhaps just as mistaken to dismiss them as irrelevant.

Some of these issues are referred to in the sections which follow.

### 6.7.2 Legitimacy of Company Discipline

Workers in industry come to their jobs in industry from another social system which has its own accepted system of rules and standards of behaviour and order. It would be reasonable to suppose it natural for most workers to anticipate a change of rules when they enter employment, and to accept them if they are reasonably fair. The following test statements, and the high percentage of affirmative responses which were apparent in all samples, show this to be the case:

#### TEST STATEMENT

#### AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES (%)

32 The main reason why the Company has disciplinary rules is that it wishes to see workers fairly treated by supervisors

TEST STATEMENTAFFIRMATIVE  
RESPONSES (%)

34 Because the company owns this property it has the right to make all the rules for the people who work here

67

102. Workers know that if they choose to work for any company they must obey its rules

95

The first two statements suggest reasons for legitimisation of rules which may have been the reason for lesser support than that given to the third more general statement. Generally they suggest acknowledgment of authority based on legitimacy rather than power based on coercion.

6.7.3 Group Solidarity

Two test statements, which appeared to be indicative of a sense of solidarity, which underlies the divisions of opinion on factor themes, are given:

TEST STATEMENTAFFIRMATIVE  
RESPONSES (%)

40. Workers are usually ready to help each other and therefore most of us get on well together

89

55 Children should always be reminded that Zulus are a strong people and that they should be brave enough to take what is theirs

85

6.7.4 Traditionalism vs Industrialism

In a process of change from a tribal, traditional society to one which is part of the industrialised world the degree to which members of society are oriented to one or the other is important. Responses to the following test statements show that while there is respect for traditional values the pressures of adaptation to the modern world are very strong.

TEST STATEMENTAFFIRMATIVE  
RESPONSES (%)

41. Workers who are able to read newspapers are important sources of news and advice for those who cannot read	88
42. The advice of skilled and educated people such as nurses, teachers and lorry drivers is more important in most matters than that of clan or family elders, or supervisors who are uneducated	82
47. It is more important to teach children the modern way of doing things than to teach them our forefathers' customs	88
74. Working hard to earn more money is a more important aim in life than being accepted by one's friends and relaxing with them.	95
81. If everyone at work were to respect our Zulu customs and good manners it would help to make life happier	88

The responses to the foregoing indicate clearly that Zulu workers are firmly in the mainstream of earning their living and formulating their ambitions in the context of an industrial economy. Although different values might order their conduct in the traditional setting and on more traditional issues they are no longer dominated by the values of the past.

#### 6.7.5 Reciprocity of Obligation

One test statement can be interpreted as indicative of a recognition that the employment contract is based on reciprocal obligation, i.e. that of the employer to treat workers well and of workers to cooperate in return. Whether in fact either worker or employer live up to this perception of a moral obligation is another matter, but an expectation is expressed.

TEST STATEMENTAFFIRMATIVE  
RESPONSES (%)

72. Management treats workers well and therefore  
can expect them to cooperate fully at work

84

6.7.6 Conclusion : Non-factor Variables

The foregoing responses have been shown in the full knowledge that their reliability cannot be assessed as being on the same level as responses to the factor theme statements. In some cases it can be seen in the wisdom of hindsight that the way the statements are phrased is ambiguous. Nevertheless they attracted, apparently, a high level of support so that they were issues upon which there is common sentiment.

These results have also been indicated because the responses will have occasioned interest on the part of the reader. The same may be true of other test statements, but on these the responses were less decided in direction, and a limit has to be drawn somewhere.

Because of some uncertainty in the validity of the responses given above it is not proposed to refer further to them in later analysis, except with qualification.

6.8 ORDER OF FURTHER ANALYSIS

Following from the primary analysis of data, the identification of factors, their conceptual interpretation, and the initial indications of variational association, the analytical task remaining is the explanation and demonstration of their implications in three contexts. The contexts concerned are:

- (i) the personal behavioural context. What types of attitudes and behaviours are implied from workers' sentiments, responses and scores on the various attitudinal themes?
- (ii) the biographical context. How are the types of attitude and behaviour likely to be modified or accentuated according to the biographical variables thought to be significant.

- (iii) the environmental context. How might immediate or universal geographic, economic, or other environmental considerations modify the intensity, the interaction, and the validity of the factors as social dynamics in the industrial life of society.

These three contexts cannot be dealt with in isolation since they are inextricably intertwined, and explanation is sometimes unavoidably repetitious. They cannot be dealt with simultaneously, since explanation becomes very involved, even incomprehensible, and central principles become obscured. They will therefore be treated progressively, and in the above order.

Of principal interest must be the attitudes and behaviour of workers. These will accordingly be examined in the following chapter - Chapter Seven. The variables and conditions which may be associated with factor variance, and thus of workers' attitudes and behaviour will be the subject of succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER SEVENSOCIAL DYNAMICS OF WORKER ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR- Factor Themes and a Worker Typology7.1 ATTITUDINAL CATEGORIES AND EXPECTED CHARACTERISTICS7.1.1 A Factor Theme Typology

The identification of factor themes enables the postulation of an attitudinal typology based on the orientation of workers on each theme. This was initially undertaken in an hypothetical sense in section 4.3.3. of Chapter 4 where eight worker categories were hypothesised from the combinations of attitudes possible on the themes of change, and order (or system) orientation and responses to environmental pressures. The three factors subsequently identified by factor analysis likewise permit eight separate orientational categories, if a two-way, mid-scale split is made on each factor axis. However, the nature of distribution of the adherence factor variable score (Table 6.14) shows that its application is almost universal, whereas that on the change and integration factor variable scores is more varied. As a result, distribution between categories derived from these two scores will show greater variation, and the main emphasis in constructing a typology will be upon one derived from vectors formed by the intersection of scales which register responses on the two factor variable scores Chanscore and Intscore. The significance of the adherence factor will not be forgotten however in the general evaluation. Although common to all workers the pressures it represents vary more according to general circumstance than to personal circumstance and attitude.

In constructing a typology from the factor themes the following steps were taken:

- (i) the classificatory typology based on hypothetical factors was reviewed and revised where necessary;
- (ii) the revised typology was subjected to review and discussion with two groups of supervisors and one group of senior, or "senior-middle" managers acquainted with the work forces in question, and also with a group of labour, or personnel

specialists in the industrial or academic fields.

- (iii) comparisons were made with the results of recent research work in the United States concerning employee responses to job dissatisfaction, which came to notice only after the factor analysis for this dissertation was complete (some of it being published only after that time)
- (iv) responses to test statements indicative of the characteristics expected were separated according to the divisions of the typology. Generally these indicate clear support for expectations, as will be seen.

The basic construction of the two and the three factor typologies are shown diagrammatically in Figures 7.1 and 7.2

FIGURE 7.1 A TWO-FACTOR ATTITUDINAL TYPOLOGY

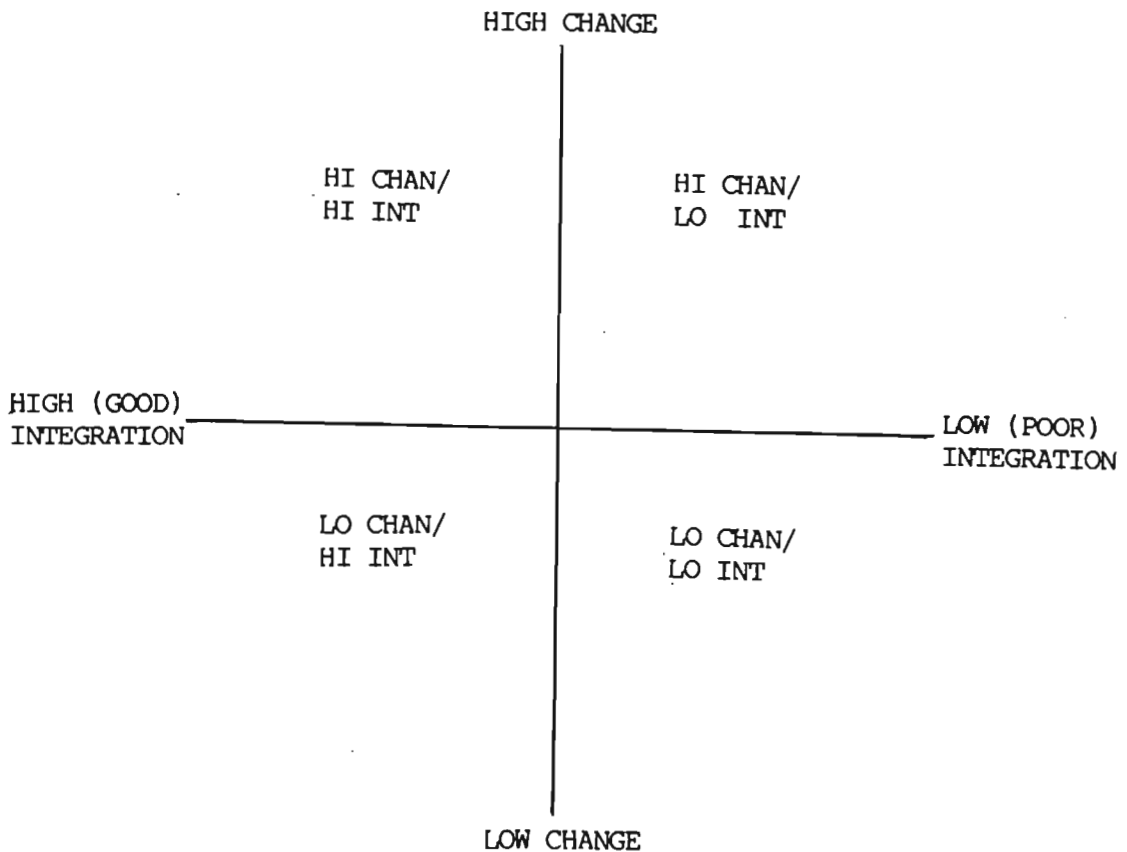
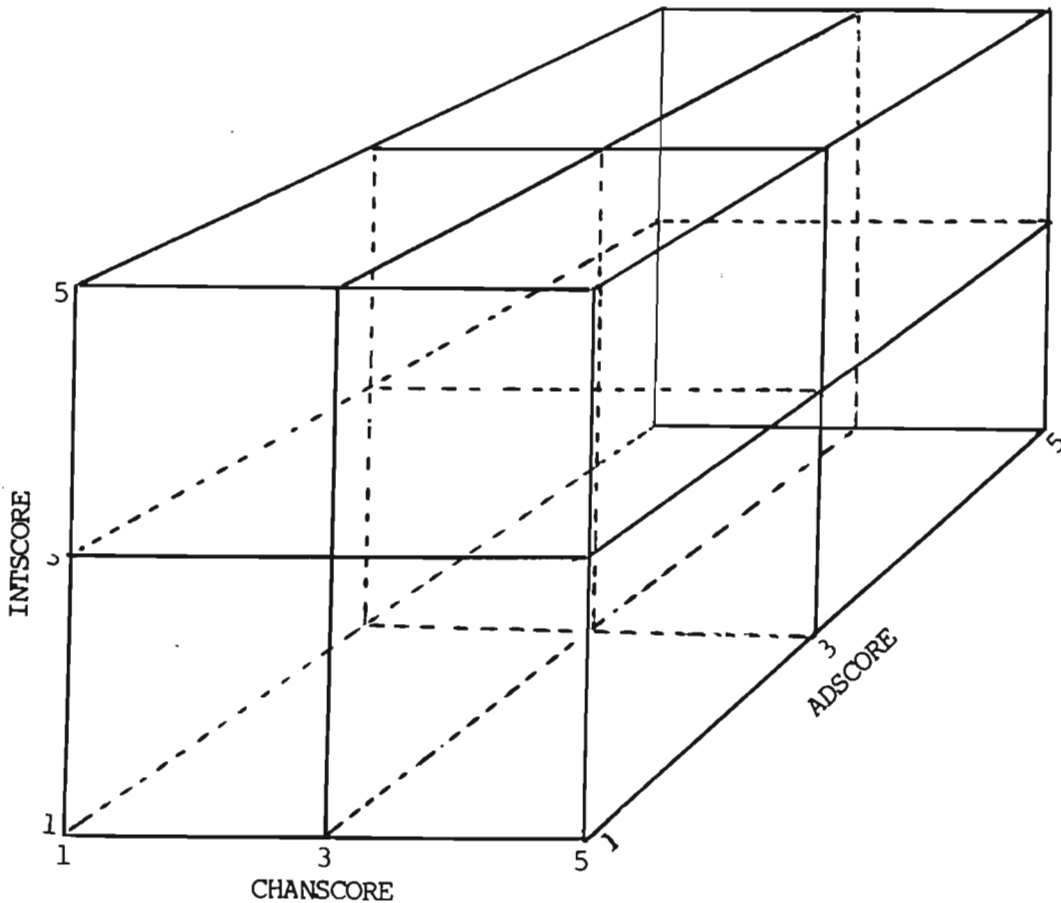


Figure 7.1 resembles the figure in section 4.3.3 but with the horizontal axis reversed, and with labelling now derived from actual rather than hypothetical factors, and from abbreviations of the factor variable scores - Chanscore and Intscore. The typological splits occur at the mid-point of each factor variable score axis - i.e. at the point where the score equates to 3 on the 1 to 5 Likert scale. Since low integration (i.e. poor integration) is indicated by a high raw score it is indicated at right of the horizontal axis, and good, or high integration at the low score pole at left. This model yields four principal types. If each type is subjected to further sub-division, according to adherence factor orientation, the model becomes the three-dimensional one portrayed in Figure 7.2

FIGURE 7.2 A THREE-FACTOR ATTITUDINAL TYPOLOGY



Both models are simplistic in that they make no allowance for graduation of the scores other than the mid-scale splits referred to. Because of this, "types" will be identified with the extremes of factor orientation, i.e. high or low, and the behavioural implications drawn from these extremes.

The four types and sub-types inferred by the factors are then as follows:

<u>Two-factor type</u>	<u>Third factor sub-type</u>	<u>Type-numeric Label</u>
Low Change/ High Integration	High Adherence	1 (a)
	Low Adherence	1 (b)
High Change/ High Integration	High Adherence	2 (a)
	Low Adherence	2 (b)
High Change/ Low Integration	High Adherence	3 (a)
	Low Adherence	3 (b)
Low Change/ Low Integration	High Adherence	4 (a)
	Low Adherence	4 (b)

The attitudinal and behavioural expectations which might be attached to each category may be drawn from the elements distinguished for each factor in Chapter 6, section 6.3, which were, in brief:

<u>Factor Numeric</u>	<u>Factor Label</u>	<u>Factor Elements</u>
1	Change	Job change, or alternatives Socio-economic change, or alternatives In-company change
2	Adherence	Environmental pressure Adjustment Work reconciliation
3	Integration	Quality of exchange Effectiveness of communication Job satisfaction.

The framework which the above suggests is a very abbreviated one, and reference should be made to the other observations made in section 6.3 on the nature of the factors, and to the nature of the test statements which, as individual items, contributed strongly to factor variance.

With the foregoing in mind the following characteristics may be asserted from the poles of each factor, and employee types will be a compound of these.

Change Orientation Characteristics (Factor 1)

<u>Consideration or Characteristic</u>	<u>Employee Orientation</u>	
	<u>Low Change</u>	<u>High Change</u>
Interest in job alternatives	Low	High
Relative goal state	Satisfied	Not satisfied
Job stability	Settled	Unsettled
Attitude to socio-economic system and hierarchy	Positive	Critical
View of race relations	Good	Poor

Integration Factor Characteristics (Factor 3)

<u>Consideration or Characteristic</u>	<u>Employee Orientation</u>	
	<u>Low Integration</u>	<u>High Integration</u>
Perceived treatment by company	Dissatisfied	Satisfied
Perception of trust and reciprocity of relationship	Negative	Positive
Belief in efficacy of communication, and company sensitivity	Negative	Positive
Satisfaction with work, working life and employer	Dissatisfied	Satisfied

Adherence Factor Orientations (Factor 2)

<u>Consideration or Characteristic</u>	<u>Employee Orientations</u>	
	<u>Low Adherence</u>	<u>High Adherence</u>
Retention of job as primary option in need for employment	Inessential	Essential
Personal adjustment and identification with company	Maladjusted	Adjusted
Work task reconciliation	Unreconciled	Reconciled

With the primary characteristics thus extracted from the actual content of factor variables discussion can turn to their combination in different types or categories, and possible further characteristics considered.

### 7.1.2 Employee Categories and Sub-categories

#### (a) Employee Category 1 (a) : SETTLED - Adherent

All factor variable scores are less than, or equal to 3,0 on the Likert Scale; i.e.

Low Change	Chanscore = LE 3,0
High Integration	Intscore = LE 3,0
High Adherence	Adscore = LE 3,0

On all scores the average of responses has favoured the employment bond, and the employment relationship within it. To the employee the job appears to have satisfied, or be capable of satisfying, to an acceptable or tolerable degree, both immediate and longer term needs. The employee has no serious quarrel with the company, or the general economic system of which it is an integral part. Day to day race relations and relations with the company are generally acceptable. The employee has found it possible to adjust to working circumstances and in general finds them satisfactory.

These conclusions seem fairly safe since they are founded in employees' actual responses to test statements. There are other possible characteristics which may be ascribed to workers of this category by conjecture - certain of these may apply to some employees but not to others. For the most part these were speculatively referred to in section 4.3.3, derived from the models in Chapter 3 and the employment bond hypotheses in Chapter 4 - there is no particular reason to consider these as no longer applicable. They remain in principle as probable characteristics, but may be added to. In brief, adjectival terms workers in this category could be expected to be:

conservative	rule-observant
unambitious	compliant
trusting	co-operative
loyal	defensive of status quo
settled	committed
passive	productive

In summary such employees want to stay, are reasonably satisfied with their existing job option, and, in terms of the adherence factor, have to stay with their present employer. It is apparent that their existing job provides means of satisfying their personal goals to a degree which they find acceptable or tolerable so that there is goal compatibility between worker and company. Their lives and hopes become integrated with the continuing existence and operations of the company. The earlier used label "integrated" (section 4.3.5) remains appropriate in a sociological sense but in the employment context it is believed that the term "settled" would be more descriptive in common parlance.

In labelling the sub-category consideration was given to retention of the terms "captive" and "mobile." However the factor determining this freedom to move or otherwise has been named the adherence factor and the terms "adherent" and "mobile" will now be used. With these considerations the appropriate label for this particular sub-category is SETTLED-Adherent

(b) Employment Category 1 (b) : SETTLED -Mobile

Factor variable scores are less than or equal to 3,0 on the Likert Scale, except for the Adherence score, i.e.

Low Change	Chanscore = LE 3,0
High Integration	Intscore = LE 3,0
Low Adherence	Adscore = GT 3,0

The change and integration scores would favour the employment relationship, but weaker adherence removes the more compelling aspects of the employment bond. It would appear to be exceptional for a worker with a low change orientation and a high sense of integration with the company to be non-adherent. It could perhaps be associated with circumstances where the worker could see equally good alternatives to be fairly easily accessible.

In summary such an employee would want to stay, likes the current job situation, but feels able to move satisfactorily if necessary.

The label SETTLED - Mobile is now introduced as the most descriptive of workers with these factor orientations despite the elements of apparent contradiction in the component terms.

(c) Employment Category 2 (a) : AMBITIOUS - Adherent

This type of employee has the following response pattern:

High Change	Chanscore = GT 3,0
High Integration	Intscore = LE 3,0
High Adherence	Adscore = LE 3,0

This employee sees a need for change in some or all of the aspects integral to the change factor meaning, but is to some extent tied to his present employment by personal ties, environmental pressure, and an acceptable relationship. He is interested in alternative positions and alternative ways of achieving goals, if necessary through change of system - and yet he experiences strong pressures to stay where he is and believes, in the event, that his company is one that can be dealt with constructively. Since goal-orientation is implied by his score on the change factor variables he is likely to be ambitious and to attempt to achieve his goals in the first place through his existing job option. Such workers are therefore likely to be insistent on changes for the better, vocalising and negotiating upon these issues from which all workers might benefit also. In this role he may emerge as an effective leader in the company context. If continually frustrated and wrongly managed, however, he might develop higher change orientation and a lesser regard for the company. The prognosis for this employee, if frustrated, is alienation from the company, or if vindicated, successful progress in the company. The characteristics previously or now suggested as potentially identifiable with this category of worker include:

progressive	rule-questioning
ambitious	vocal
optimistic	negotiative
opportunistic	compromising
striving	innovative
active	

Clearly the employee is not "settled." At the same time the label "unsettled" used in section 4.3.5 no longer appears appropriate, as this implies a category opposite in nature to the 'settled' category whilst a compelling and positive, though active, link to the company is retained. The label for the major category will from this point on be Ambitious. This sub-category is therefore labelled AMBITIOUS-Adherent

(d) Employment Category 2 (b): AMBITIOUS-Mobile

This type of employee has the following pattern of responses in terms of the factor variable scores:

High Change	Chanscore = GT 3,0
High Integration	Intscore = LE 3,0
Low Adherence	Adscore = GT 3,0

This pattern suggests an employee who wants change and progress, and because various ties or pressures are perceived as weak, the possibility of achieving change by job change is open. Whilst enjoying a reasonable relationship with the company the employee is unlikely to feel sufficiently motivated to strive to effect changes when they can be secured by moving at what is indicated as being an acceptable cost in terms of disruption. Until such an employee finds other employment, or develops commitments that are restrictive, the tendency to mobility may usually outweigh the stabilising, integrative considerations which he would share with the ambitious-adherent employee.

The label AMBITIOUS - Mobile is now adopted as preferable to that suggested in section 4.3.5. The components of the term imply a category of which membership will tend to be somewhat fleeting - and it will be seen that this is so in Section 7.2 below.

(e) Employment Category 3 (a) : UNCOMMITTED - Captive

The score pattern applying to this category of employee is the following:

Low Change	Chanscore = LE 3,0
Low Integration	Intscore = GT 3,0
High Adherence	Adscore = LE 3,0

This suggests change and adherence orientations favourable to maintenance of the employment bond, but not favourable to a good employment relationship. Such an employee may be unable to envisage the changes integral to the change factor, or be unable to face them, or find his ties and obligations too restrictive. However the worker is dissatisfied with the relationship with the employer in terms of the integration factor, and, also in terms of some of the factor variables, sees little possibility of resolving the matter, no point or promise in trying to do much about it, or to communicate his dissatisfaction.

The expected characteristics of the employee in relation to the employer, as implied by factor orientations and reasonable extensions of them, would include the descriptives:

apathetic	rule-evasive
insecure	uncommunicative
pessimistic	untrusting
uncommitted	unmotivated
passive	

Such employees would generally tend to be motivated principally by the survival imperative, with their focus of interests divorced from the work situation. Their lack of real commitment to their present employer probably extends to a lack of real interest in, or commitment to, any employment at all beyond the fact that it is an unavoidable necessity.

The major category label "uncommitted" remains valid in terms of both the factor themes and reasonable supposition; the sub-category in terms of factor 2 being adherent. i.e. UNCOMMITTED-Adherent.

(f) Employment Category 3 (b) : UNCOMMITTED-Mobile

Factor variable scores for this type of employee would be as follows:

Low Change	Chanscore	= LE 3,0
Low Integration	Intscore	= GT 3,0
Low Adherence	Adscore	= GT 3,0

This combination of scores would seem to be an unlikely one, since lack of either ties or commitment would lead generally to separation. In addition to the characteristics expected for the uncommitted-adherent worker, noted above, this category might be expected to drift in and out of employment, and between jobs, as circumstances produced more attractive local alternatives, or until the worker finally developed commitment to the present, or another employment situation.

The label UNCOMMITTED - Mobile remains appropriate

(g) Employment Category 4 (a) : ALIENATED - Adherent

This category of worker has shown high score orientation in terms of the change and integration factors, but remains low scoring on the adherence factor variables, i.e.:

High Change	Chanscore	= GT 3,0
Low Integration	Intscore	= GT 3,0
High Adherence	Adscore	= LE 3,0

Workers showing this pattern of response are indicating that in most respects their employment situation is a source of dissatisfaction. It does not, in their eyes, hold the promise of providing for the satisfaction of their goals. The apparent solution to this problem would be in a change of employment; a change of economic system and the present social and economic hierarchy would be perceived as further facilitators to achievement of their goals. It would seem that they hold the present system as inadequate in this regard. These perceptions are accentuated by a poor view of the value to them of their reciprocal relationship with the company, a belief that it is insensitive to their needs, and that attempted communication is unlikely to produce results. The nature of working life, and of work itself, is not acceptable, and race relations are perceived as poor in their present environment.

Normally an employee with such feelings about his situation could be expected to move on, but the adherence score shows that despite general, even extreme, dissatisfaction the employee feels that to stay is unavoidable. He has even arrived at some compromise with his predicament. The latter considerations maintain an employment bond within which relations between employee and employer are almost certainly unhappy, and potentially troublesome.

The characteristic attitudes or behaviours that might be expected from these employees in their employment relationship could include the following therefore:

radical	rule-challenging
frustrated	defiant
sceptical	calculative
disaffected	active (rather than passive)
unsettled	critical of status quo
uncommitted	demotivated

Such adjectives appear censorious. However they are used in relation to the effect of the factor orientations upon the **quality** of the particular employment bond and relationships. In many cases such attitudes or behaviour might be the product of circumstances and the frustration of positive, functional drives. Certainly their negative intimations will be heightened by frustration. However, the fact remains that the potential for such attitudes and behaviour is indicated by the factor themes. In terms of those themes, and in the context of their present employment, such workers could clearly be considered as alienated from their employment situation. In all likelihood they would leave were it not for what they perceive as compelling reasons for adherence which keep them as "blocked turnovers." The label ALIENATED - Adherent is therefore a fitting one.

(h) Employment Category 4 (b): ALIENATED - Mobile

This category of employee is high scoring on all factor variable scores, i.e.

High Change	Chanscore = GT 3,0
Low Integration	Intscore = GT 3,0
Low Adherence	Adscore = GT 3,0

Clearly employees with this score pattern want to leave the company for a variety of reasons, are restrained from doing so only for so long as it takes to find an alternative, and have failed, or are disinclined to make, the adjustment necessary in remaining where they are. They are the category most likely to separate. Until they are able to do so their behaviour pattern potential is similar to that of the alienated-adherent, with frustration tempered by the expectation which is functional to the cohesion of the company system, that they will avail themselves of any suitable opportunity to depart. In an economy or social system which encourages free movement of labour this category is likely to be more numerous and more mobile than in a slower moving environment. Such mobility would be beneficial to the host company by allowing the exit of the dissatisfied, who are otherwise compelled to stay, accumulate in number, and re-inforce the alienated-adherent element. Mobility would be in the employees' interests in allowing them increased opportunity for finding more satisfactory alternatives, where eventually they may become committed, settled and happy in a new employment situation. The label considered appropriate for this sub-category is ALIENATED-Mobile.

## 7.2 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EMPLOYEE CATEGORY

### 7.2.1 A Three-Factor Distribution

It is intended in subsequent sections to pursue the question of worker attitudes, and anticipated behaviour associated with those attitudes, by comparisons with other recent work, and by comparing responses to the survey test statements according to the employment bond types referred to in the foregoing. This will be more vivid however, if an indication is given of the distribution of respondents according to these categories. This distribution is first indicated in Table 7.1 which includes all the categories and sub-categories derived from respondents' scores on the three factors.

The worker category labels, and score orientations are identical with those used above.

TABLE 7.1 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EMPLOYMENT BOND CATEGORY

EMPLOYMENT BOND CATEGORY		RESPONDENTS	
REF	CATEGORY LABEL	%	N =
1 (a)	SETTLED - Adherent	40	222
1 (b)	SETTLED - Mobile	1	5
2 (a)	AMBITIOUS - Adherent	11	62
2 (b)	AMBITIOUS - Mobile	-	-
3 (a)	UNCOMMITTED - Adherent	9	49
3 (b)	UNCOMMITTED - Mobile	1	6
4 (a)	ALIENATED - Adherent	30	164
4 (b)	ALIENATED - Mobile	8	46
TOTAL		100	554

This simple table provokes observations of some importance.

- Only 52 percent of respondents (categories 1 (a), 1 (b) and 2 (a) ) have, on balance, a positive view of their employment relationship, and 48 percent have predominantly negative views;
- Of all respondents 90 percent are 'captive' in the sense of the adherence factor, which has both negative and positive implications for the nature of the employment relationship. Where these restraints apply to the 39 percent in the uncommitted and alienated categories (3 (a) and 4 (a) ) the implications for their happiness and productivity in employment, and for the quality of industrial relations are serious.
- Of the 49 percent of respondents who are change-oriented (categories 2 (a), 4 (a) and 4 (b) ) only those in category 4 (b) have ties weakened sufficiently to indicate impending separation.

This leaves 41 percent whose orientation to change can only be exercised within the organisation, including 30 percent (category 4 (a) ) with a negative perception of their relationship with the company.

The disadvantage of the table, and indeed the score categories, previously noted, is that they make no allowance for score variation other than whether the score is greater or lesser than the mid-scale score. The dichotomous nature of the categories is not softened by any perception of the actual distribution of individual respondents. Alternatives, if three factor scales are further subdivided, involve a proliferation of categories, leading more readily to confusion than to clarification. In the interests of improving comprehension of the distribution of respondents according to the major categories it is proposed to temporarily set aside the adherence factor score. High adherence pressure is almost universal in three of the four major categories. Of the 57 mobile workers shown in Table 7.1 80 percent are in the alienated categories 4 (a) and 4 (b), and only 20 percent (11 workers) in the remaining three. A further consideration is that the adherence factor is perceived as a social dynamic which has the principal effect of representing the balance between the external pressures upon employees to find and keep employment on the one hand, and the factors internal to the employment situation which may lead to dissatisfaction, alienation, and interest in alternatives. Whilst it is also indicative of adjustment to these pressures, and conditions within the company the principle dynamics operating, or latent, within the working community are those expressed by the change factors and the integration factor. The interaction of these two factors should correctly reflect the expressed or latent state of internal relationships between worker and employer, while the adherence factor and localised environmental pressures regulate escape (or exit), and freedom of expression of voice. Some effects of this will be seen at a later stage.

#### 7.2.2 A Two-factor Distribution

It is now possible to advance the attitudinal typology in Figure 7.1 to an "employee category typology" which depicts categories of employee by factor orientation as discussed in section 7.1.

This employee category typology is given in Figure 7.2

FIGURE 7.2 A TWO-FACTOR EMPLOYEE CATEGORY TYPOLOGY BY FACTOR ORIENTATION

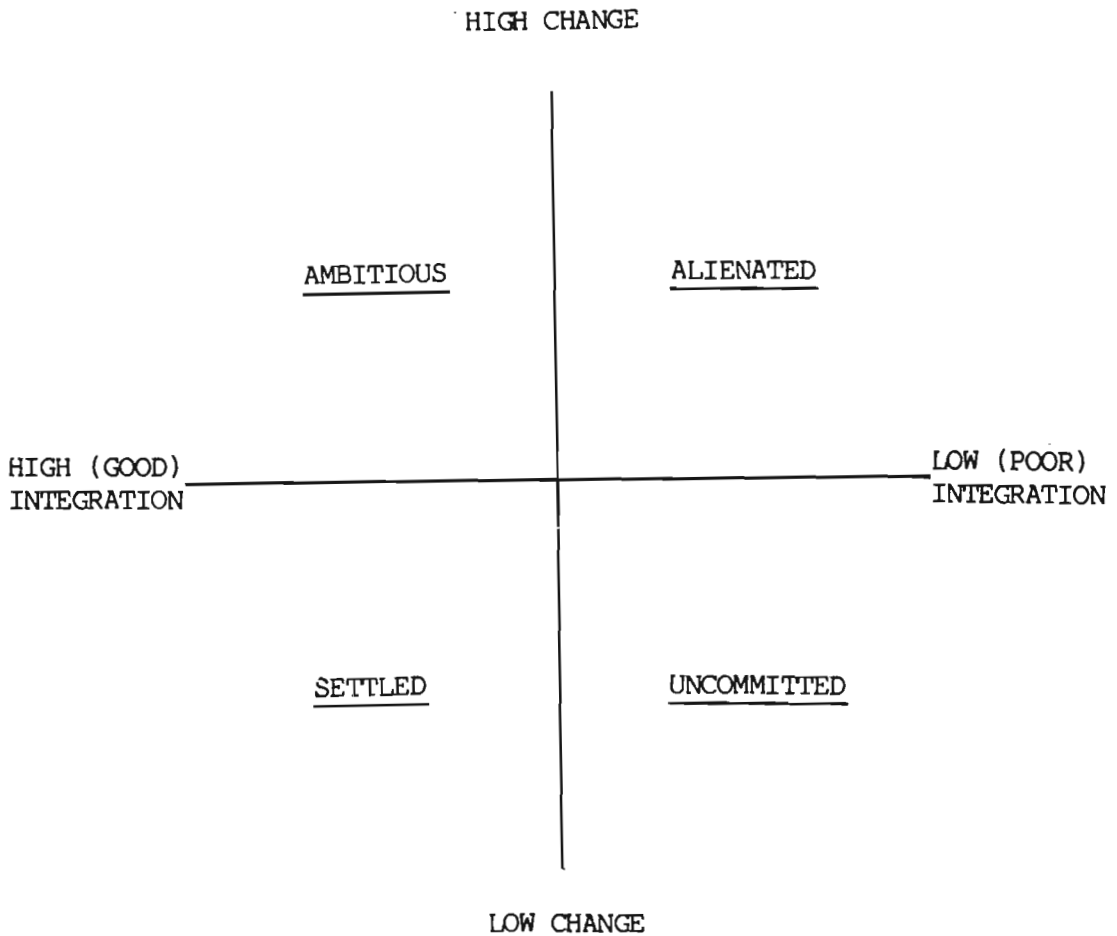


Figure 7.2 provides an introduction to what is a very clear method of presenting response distributions in a form simultaneously recording orientation on two factor variable scores, in this case the change and integration scores. This method is the scattergram of score co-ordinates. This facility is provided by the SPSS sub-programme SCATTERGRAM (Nie et al., 1975. p. 297), and the scattergram of all respondents' score co-ordinates on the two scores Chanscore and Intscore (Change and Integration) is given in Figure 7.3



Some points should be noted in interpreting the scattergram, and comparison should also be made with Figures 7.1 and 7.2

- (a) the vertical axis in Figure 7.3 displays the Chanscore scale from low to high change orientation.
- (b) the horizontal axis displays the Intscore scale from high integration (low raw score on the variables) to low integration (high raw score).
- (c) integer scale values are indicated along each axis, the Likert Scale scores having been multiplied by ten. For example the calibration 38.40 is equivalent to a Likert Scale mean score of 3,84 on the factor test statements.
- (d) the sub-programme's Option 7 - automatic scaling - has reduced the scale ranges to the minimum necessary to accommodate the actual range in the sample represented.
- (e) superimposed on the computer's scattergram are vertical and horizontal lines which distinguish scores above and from those less than or equal to the neutral Likert scale score of 3,0.
- (f) also superimposed are intensity margins to distinguish scores in the ranges on each scale which were:
  - GT 20,00 to LE 40,00 (outer margin)
  - GT 25,00 to LE 35,00 (inner margin)

The inner scale corresponds with the score ranges used in the tables which are used later in discussing score variance and distributions.

- (g) the superimposed divisions referred to in (e) above result in four quadrants, or vectors, representing each of the four major categories which are, clockwise from bottom left, Settled, Unsettled, Alienated, and Uncommitted.
- (h) the intensity margins referred to in (f) divide each quadrant into three intensity sectors. These are not labelled as such but, when necessary, will be referred to from the neutral centre outwards as 1, 2 and 3 - e.g. Settled 3 refers to the lowest scoring sector at bottom left in the "Settled" quadrant.
- (i) the score co-ordinates for each respondent on the two scores are indicated by an asterisk, or, where more than one respondent share the same co-ordinates, the appropriate figure is given, e.g. 2,3 or 6 as the case may be.

- (j) information given to the right of the scattergram includes the scattergram label, the sample reference number, and the sample size. Also provided are Pearson's  $r$ ,  $r$  squared, and the significance of  $r$  ( $P$ ) computed with the scattergram.

The scattergram proves to be a more effective instrument than the table. Score ranges and extremes are easily seen. The symmetric, correlated nature of the distribution, and the balance or imbalance between opposite categories, are immediately apparent, and will form a ready basis for comparison with the individual samples and sectors later shown. Section 7.5 will consider further implications.

### 7.3 COMPARISONS WITH THE RUSBULT AND FARRELL MODEL OF RESPONSES TO EMPLOYEE DISSATISFACTION

#### 7.3.1 Hirschman's Responses to Dissatisfaction: Exit, Voice, Loyalty

Interesting recent research into responses to employee dissatisfaction which indicates much that is very relevant to this dissertation, stems from Hirschman's work on "responses to decline in firms, organisations, and states" by customers, members, and citizens respectively - (Hirschman, 1970). The basic options which Hirschman saw as available to persons dissatisfied with the organisation with which they were dealing, in one of these roles, he labelled as exit, voice and loyalty. By these terms, in short, he meant the options to leave, or sever connection with the organisation (exit), to complain or vocalise protest (voice), or to patiently and optimistically await improvement whilst excusing the shortcomings of the organisation (loyalty). As Hirschman points out (ibid, p.37) "the decision whether to exit will often be taken in the light of the prospects for the effective use of voice . If customers are sufficiently convinced that voice will be effective then they may well postpone exit. .... Once you have exited, you have lost the opportunity to use voice, but not vice versa; in some situations exit will therefore be a reaction of last resort after voice has failed". Thus he argues, (ibid. p.34) "whoever does not exit is a candidate for voice and voice depends, like exit, on the quality elasticity of demand. But the direction of the

relationship is turned around: with a given potential for articulation, the actual level of voice feeds on inelastic demand, or on the lack of opportunity for exit. In this view, the role of voice would increase as the opportunities for exit decline, up to the point where, with exit wholly unavailable, voice must carry the entire burden of alerting management to its failings."

If this reasoning is valid then employees in this study, and South African industry generally, having severely limited "exit" options, should have a high tendency to "voice." Hirschman (ibid. p.30) defines voice as "any attempt at all to change, rather than to escape from, an objectionable state of affairs, whether through individual or collective petition to the management directly in charge, through appeal to a higher authority with the intention of forcing a change in management, or through various types of actions and protests, including those that are meant to mobilise public opinion."

He takes issue with the argument that the "captive" consumer (or voter), (or, in this study, the employee) who has "nowhere else to go" is the "epitome of powerlessness." Because the exit of such a person is blocked he "will be maximally motivated to bring all sorts of potential influence into play so as to keep the firm or the party from doing things that are highly obnoxious to him" (ibid. p.70). Countering this on the other hand, in organisations from which exit is difficult, is the consideration that "provision is generally made in these organisations for expelling or excommunicating the individual member in certain circumstances. Expulsion can be interpreted as an instrument - one of many - which "management" uses in these organisations to restrict resort to voice by members; a higher authority can then in turn restrict the powers of management by prohibiting expulsion,..." (ibid., p.76). This latter process is very evident in industrial relations practice where managers may seek to fire workers who vocalise criticisms, but they are restrained by company or group policies which lay down disciplinary procedures, and by the risks of union reaction, or of legal sanction.

Hirschman then introduced the concept of loyalty as the second alternative to exit and asks whether loyalty also stimulates voice.

Ultimately Hirschman believed that loyalty rested upon the "expectation that someone will act or something will happen to improve matters," even by those individuals without personal influence. But for some individuals - " a member with a considerable attachment to a product or organisation will often search for ways to make himself influential, especially when the organisation moves in what he believes is the wrong direction;.. (ibid. p.77).

### 7.3.2 Farrell's Development of the Model : Exit, Voice, Loyalty and Neglect (EVLN)

Farrell (1983, p.597) regarded Hirschman's as seminal work in recognition of the range of options or possible responses to job dissatisfaction. From a review of Hirschman's concepts, and more recent research findings, Farrell introduced a fourth response to job dissatisfaction- "lax and disregarding behaviour", which he termed neglect, thus postulating a response model based on exit, voice, loyalty and neglect (EVLN).

Farrell used a panel of seven expert subjects to categorise twelve selected behavioural responses to job dissatisfaction. Six of the seven judges, using their own judgment, were individually asked to categorise the behaviour into four groups. The manner in which they did so was consistent with the EVLN model. This was followed by the involvement of a subject group of 185 graduate part-time business students for similarity comparisons of the same twelve job behaviours. A second similar subject group (N= 31) rated the response options on six attribute scales suggested by various previous works - i.e. active/passive, masculine/feminine, constructive/destructive, direct/indirect, rational/non-rational, unilateral/bilateral. Farrell found that variance in these assessments of the twelve behaviours in the model was best explained firstly on the active/passive scale, and secondly on the constructive/destructive scale. Exit and voice behaviours were seen as active responses on the active/passive scale, and loyalty and neglect as passive responses. On the constructive/destructive scale voice was identified as the most constructive response to job dissatisfaction. Exit, neglect and loyalty were seen as destructive rather than constructive although loyalty was seen as "more nearly constructive" than were exit and neglect.

Farrell concluded (ibid., pp 605 - 6):

"This study finds that a diverse group of behavioral responses to job dissatisfaction can be subsumed by four more abstract theoretical categories. These categories are tentatively labelled exit, voice, loyalty and neglect (EVLN). These four response models are described by two conceptual dimensions - active/passive and constructive/destructive. Taken as a group, these findings indicate that job dissatisfaction responses are diverse and complex, but that the potential for abstract integrated theory exists. These preliminary findings suggest that the EVLN model should be a useful typology for building predictive theories.... Future research should focus on the individual, organisational, and environmental determinants of each of the EVLN clusters."

### 7.3.3 Determinants of EVLN Patterns: The Rusbult and Farrell Model

Rusbult and Farrell subsequently engaged in developing a model derived from Hirschman's work, already described, and Rusbult's "investment model of the determinants of satisfaction and commitment." Rusbult and Lowery (1985) outlined their general theory of responses to job dissatisfaction, and applied the model to a 50 percent random sample from the huge American "Federal Employee Attitude Survey, 1979" in which 13862 survey responses were obtained. The model employed the typology of responses to job dissatisfaction shown in Figure 7.4 which appears as Figure 1 in Rusbult and Lowery's paper (ibid., p.83).

The following were seen as behaviours characteristic of each response category (ibid., p.82):

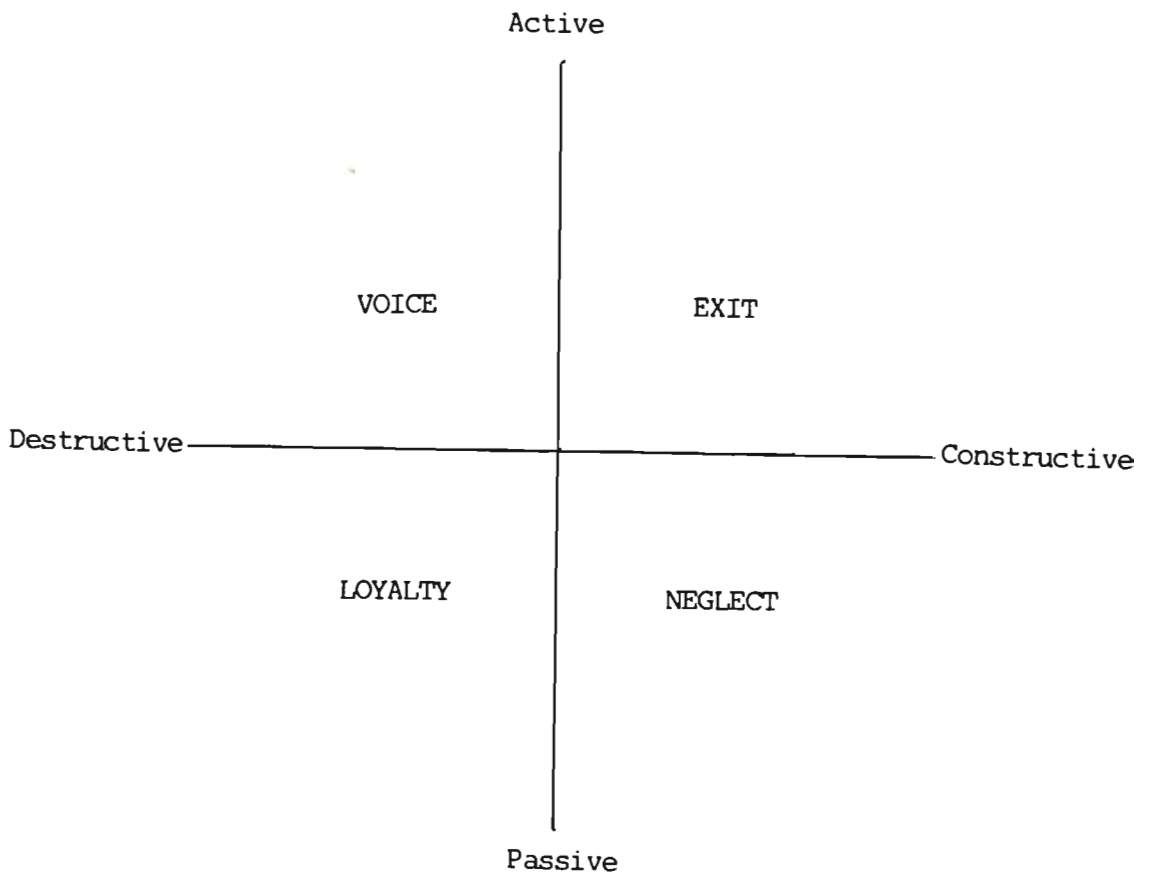
Exit - turnover, transfer, looking for a new position, thinking about quitting,

Voice - suggesting improvements, discussing problems with one's employer, believing strongly in the efficacy of one's own actions, whistle blowing, seeking help from an outside agency, some forms of union activity.

Loyalty - consistent public and private support of the employing agency, advocating the firm in the face of external criticism, trusting the organisation and its employees to "do the right thing," bolstering the organization's reputation.

Neglect - chronic absenteeism or lateness, developing negative attitudes about work, reduced effort, increased error rate, obstructionism."

FIGURE 7.4 RUSBULT AND FARRELL TYPOLOGY OF RESPONSES



Farrell's earlier concern about the negative or destructive associations with loyalty are rationalised by Rusbult and Lowery by the hypothesis that loyalty and neglect in their more

extreme form of total passivity may be behaviourally indistinguishable. In most cases, however, loyalty and neglect are distinguishable - "The loyalist, while passively avoiding the problem at hand, will quietly continue at his or her job, performing work tasks, supporting the employing agency, and promoting the organization's goals despite dissatisfying conditions. In contrast the neglectful employee, while passively avoiding the problem at hand, will destructively block (or fail to promote) the organization's goals through reduced effort, cynicism regarding the organization, or chronic absenteeism or lateness." (ibid., p.83).

The authors note Rusbult and Farrell's (unpublished) argument that three basic variables should effect the likelihood that an employee will engage in exit, voice, loyalty or neglect behaviours:

- constructive behaviour should be more likely where an employee was satisfied by his job prior to the emergence of problems;
- greater investment by the employee should encourage constructive response to dissatisfaction. (Investment can be intrinsic-e.g. years of service, non-portable training, or extrinsic-e.g.house, family, friends);
- persons with superior alternatives should be more likely to enact active responses to dissatisfaction

From these considerations three basic hypotheses were outlined (ibid., p.85):

- " (1) Higher levels of current job satisfaction will be associated with greater tendencies toward voice and loyalty and lesser tendencies toward exit and neglect.
- (2) Greater investment in one's job will be associated with greater tendencies toward voice and loyalty and lesser tendencies toward exit and neglect;
- (3) Higher quality job alternatives will be associated with greater tendencies toward exit and voice and lesser tendencies toward loyalty and neglect."

To test these hypotheses Rusbult and Farrell "constructed measures of all relevant variables - satisfaction, investment size and alternative quality and generalised tendencies toward exit, voice, loyalty and neglect." Since there are close parallels between their construct and that developed in this dissertation, which will be drawn upon as support for the validity of the latter, it is necessary to examine the principal components of their constructed variables. Where possible, and for most variables, measurement was on the five-point Likert Scale and selected from the questions asked in the Federal government survey.

#### (Job) Satisfaction

Items utilised included "In general, I like working here," "In general I am satisfied with my job" and "All in all, I am satisfied with the work on my present job."

There are clear parallels here, in word and spirit, with the variables found in factor 3, the integration factor.

#### Investment Size

Investment measures were derived from both biographical information concerning time on the job, and familiarity with the agency and supervisor, and from responses to test statements concerning "important characteristics uniquely associated with the job" (e.g. security, opportunity for public service, identification with work group, and familiarity with job tasks).

There are clear parallels here, in word and spirit, with the variables found in factor 2, the adherence factor, listed in section 6.3.3. This suggests that adherence is initiated by external factors and consolidated by personal adjustments - which become personal "investment."

#### Alternative Quality

The authors noted that no survey items could be employed as direct measures of alternative quality. Demographic information was

therefore used to construct an indirect index of alternatives - with score increasing with characteristics which previous research had linked to increasing quality of alternatives and incidence of job mobility. It was noted that, on a median split, the "good alternatives" group experienced greater geographic mobility and inter-agency mobility than the "poor alternatives" group.

No demographic measure of the alternatives open to respondents was provided for in designing the survey instrument in Chapter 5 but the variables of factor 1, the change factor, are centrally concerned with respondents' interest in job (and system) alternatives.

The Rusbult-Farrell variable therefore centres on an expected ability to move, the factor 1 variable on interest in moving.

Major underlying concepts in their study, which also have similarities to those utilised in this dissertation are -

- the concept of measuring dissatisfaction on a passive-active scale, which is closely comparable to the use of a low-high change scale. Similarly the use of a constructive-destructive scale is closely comparable to the use of the high-low "order" hypothetical scale used in the design of the research instrument and the high-low integration scale later derived from factor analysis.
- the concepts of Rusbult and Farrell's predictors of the behavioural patterns of exit, voice, loyalty and neglect, which were job satisfaction, job investment and job alternative quality, have strong similarities to the integration, adherence and change factors of this dissertation.

The measures of exit, voice, loyalty and neglect were selected by Rusbult and Lowery from test statements included in the Federal government survey where these appeared to be suitably indicative of inclination to such behaviours. The survey responses were subjected to a variety of analytical techniques, the results of which generally supported the model. They note in their concluding discussion:

"The present study was designed to evaluate the ability of the Rusbult and Farrell (in preparation) model of responses to job dissatisfaction to describe and predict generalised responses to dissatisfaction among public sector employees. Overall, their theory fares quite well. The four categories of response - exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect - are significantly influenced by variations in level of job satisfaction, the degree to which the individual has invested resources in his or her job, and quality of alternative employment opportunities. Tendencies toward the exit response are stronger among persons who report low job satisfaction, have invested few resources in their jobs, and possess more attractive alternatives. Voice-like tendencies are greater to the degree that employees are satisfied with their jobs, have invested much in their jobs, and possess high quality alternatives. Loyalist behaviours are greater under conditions of high job satisfaction, high investment size, and good alternatives. And finally, neglectful tendencies are greatest among persons with low job satisfaction, few investments in their jobs, and poor quality alternatives.

The study reveals one surprising finding -

- loyalist behaviour was shown to be encouraged by good rather than poor alternatives, a finding that we cannot account for within the context of the present model." (ibid., pp. 96 - 7)

To comment upon the last point first:

- it seems very likely that the apparent anomaly could be partially accounted for by the actual greater geographic and inter-agency mobility of the high alternatives group which Rusbult and Lowery noted (ibid; p.87).

Potential for mobility would contribute to actual mobility. Actual mobility amongst federal employees in the study would have also occurred amongst those with less potential for mobility but a higher wish for mobility or interest in alternatives. Actual, or "acted-out" interest in alternatives, must lead in most macro-employment situations to a

more rapid self-sorting of personnel from unsatisfactory jobs to satisfactory jobs - or from situations where they are less inclined to loyalty to ones in which they are more inclined to loyalty, and in which their prior interest in alternatives would logically diminish. If still dissatisfied, however, alternatives would remain a more practical option than for those with low quality options. Thus higher exit responses may be expected of dissatisfied employees with good alternatives, and higher loyalty responses from satisfied employees in the same category. This emphasises the functional aspects of employee turnover and freedom of restriction upon mobility- it provides a clearing mechanism which alleviates the retention and accumulation of dissatisfied employees in unwelcome work situations.

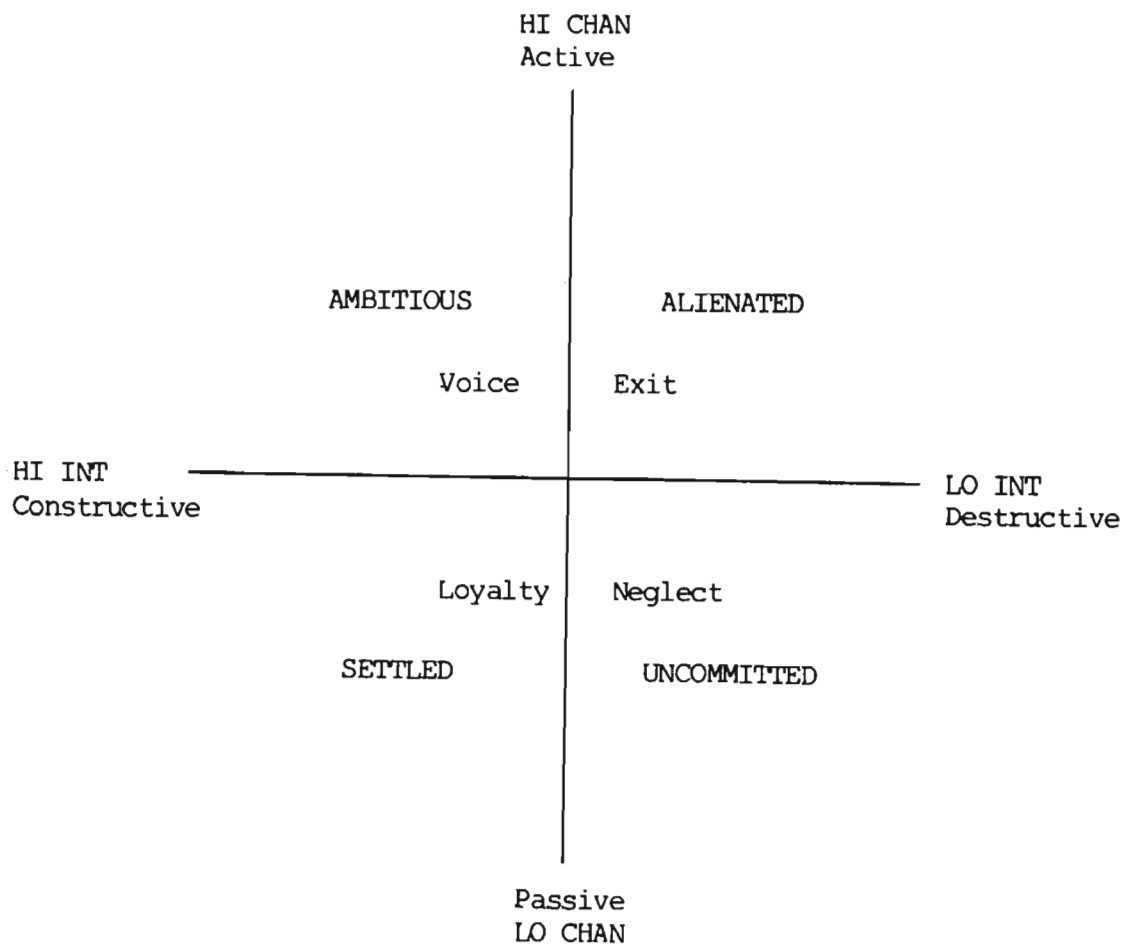
#### 7.3.4 Model Typologies and Parallels

In view of the similarities between the predictors of behaviour developed by Rusbult and Farrell, and the factors detected in this study, their conclusions noted above (subject to modification in the light of the comment made on the association between loyalty and alternatives) could be interpreted in terms of behavioural expectations as follows:

<u>Behavioural Expectation</u>	<u>Factor Orientation</u>	<u>Employee Category</u>
Exit	Low Integration Low Adherence High Change	Alienated (mobile)
Voice	High Integration High Adherence High Change	Ambitious (adherent)
Loyalty	High Integration High Adherence Low Change (interest)	Settled (adherent)
Neglect	Low Integration Low Adherence Low Change	Uncommitted (mobile)

The parallel between the EVLN investment variable and the adherence dynamic have been noted above. However, for the reasons noted in section 7.2.1, i.e. its near universality and its predominantly extrinsic nature the effects of the factor can be examined later. For the purpose of comparisons between the two schema as far as intrinsic dynamics are concerned it is useful to draw up a common typology which equates the EVLN passive-active scale with the change dynamic scale, and the constructive-destructive scale with the integration dynamic scale. In Figure 7.5 the EVLN typology of responses to job dissatisfaction, shown previously in Figure 7.4, is adapted by reversal of the horizontal axis, and is superimposed upon the social dynamics typology of Figure 7.2.

FIGURE 7.5 COMBINATION OF EVLN AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS TYPOLOGIES



From Figure 7.5 it is expected that employee responses will link the two models in the following manner:

<u>Employee Category</u>	<u>EVLN Pattern</u>
Alienated	Exit
Ambitious	Voice
Settled	Loyalty
Uncommitted	Neglect

#### 7.4 RESPONSE PATTERNS ASSOCIABLE WITH EMPLOYMENT BOND CATEGORIES

##### 7.4.1 Introduction

The nature of the employment bond categories, and speculation about their behavioural characteristics, is found in the dynamics in the nature of the factor variables integral to the measurement scales. It is axiomatic that in most cases the distribution of scores, or single variables of the factors, will vary according to category. Response scores from alienated workers will necessarily be higher on both the change axis and integration axis (where a low score represents good integration and a high score poor integration) than those of settled workers. It is somewhat tautological therefore to present score differences between categories on variables that have contributed largely to the basis of categorisation. However, in part satisfaction of the need to characterise employee categories in a more realistic manner a number of test statements, and the distribution of responses thereto, are employed as examples of the attitudes or behavioural inclinations of each major category (i.e. settled, unsettled, alienated, and uncommitted). These will be found to be in general accord with the expectations raised by both EVLN and employment bond models. Test statements which as variables were eliminated on the basis of relative unreliability on the overall scale, as referred to in section 6.1.2, are generally avoided, but in certain cases these have been utilised with appropriate comment where they are relevant to the specific issues which have now been raised.

In each example the test statement from the enquiry schedule is quoted in full and the distribution of responses by category is given with comment.

Only after some hesitation was it decided to indicate in the results below the full range of responses from Strongly Agree through to Strongly Agree. The hesitation arises from the conflict between clarity, and the detail which is perhaps justified in an academic work. Both are of interest but if both are presented the text becomes lengthy. It is suggested that the reader will be assisted if, as each range of responses is given, he should note in a four-quadrant sketch form the percentages of respondents who strongly agreed or agreed with the test statement in question. For example the responses to test statements item 52, noted first in section 7.4.2, can be sketched on a notepad as follows:

Item 52 - Percentages of responses, by employees category, strongly agreeing or agreeing with the test statement "I believe the Company is telling the truth when it says it cares about us workers."

<u>AMBITIONOUS</u>	<u>ALIENATED</u>
71%	12%
81%	20%
<u>SETTLED</u>	<u>UNCOMMITTED</u>

Taken as an indication of the degree of trust and loyalty felt clearly the categories at the left are much more positive, whilst of those on the right only low percentages have agreed. This "pairing of categories" is perceived on most issues, but whether the split is left-right (constructive-destructive), or top-bottom (active-passive) depends on the nature of the issue. Examined in this way the results begin to indicate fairly clear characteristics and "alliances" between categories.

The responses to the following variables are selected where the sense of the test statement may be regarded as expressive of the expected pattern. Naturally the reverse response in each case may at the same time give indications confirming (or otherwise) the pattern expected from other categories.

Distributions are according to the percentage of respondents in each category and their response given on the Likert Scale options, indicating agreement or otherwise with the test statement. Category headings are abbreviated so that:

SET	=	Settled
AMB	=	Ambitious
UNC	=	Uncommitted
AL	=	Alienated

#### 7.4.2 Statements Associable with Settled Category Workers

Settled workers are generally expected to exhibit the characteristics referred to in Section 7.1.2 (a).

Item 52 " I believe the Company is telling the truth when it says it cares about us workers."

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	16	11	4	2
Agree	65	60	16	10
Don't Know	1	3	0	2
Disagree	17	23	62	54
Strongly Disagree	1	3	18	32
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Agreement with the test statement is assertive of trust by the worker for the company, a willingness to defend it. It lends credibility and legitimacy to the organisation.

A clear majority of Settled or Ambitious category workers agree with the statement which is a passive but constructive or integrative response for the employment bond and relationship. Similar

majorities of the Uncommitted and Alienated category respondents hold the opposite view which is passive, destructive and disintegrative to the employment bond.

These responses are in accordance with expectations of the factor orientations and "loyalty" of the EVLN model.

Item 57 : "Generally I am satisfied with the way this company looks after its workers"

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%)</u> <u>by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	19	13	0	1
Agree	67	55	18	11
Don't Know	1	0	0	2
Disagree	12	22	67	52
Strongly Disagree	1	10	15	34
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Agreement with the test statement is assertive of a general satisfaction with treatment by the company. It accords well with the characteristics expected of the Settled category noted in paragraph 7.1.2 (a).

Response distribution shows that Settled category workers agree with the statement by an overwhelming majority. Next strongest agreement comes from the Ambitious category of whom, however, 32% are indicating signs that they are not generally satisfied. Both Uncommitted and Alienated category workers show a heavy preponderance of disagreement, or general lack of satisfaction. Agreement is a passive-integrative indication and disagreement an active disintegrative one.

The pattern of distribution between categories is consistent with expectations of both the social dynamics model and the EVLN model.

Item 70 : "Nowadays I am more hopeful of a better life in the future than I was five years ago."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	20	16	9	12
Agree	59	53	49	42
Don't Know	3	3	4	3
Disagree	10	18	29	30
Strongly Disagree	8	10	9	13
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Agreement with the test statement indicates perception of progress having been made in providing for a better life, of perceived progress from former goal states relative to objectives, or of optimism about the potential of the employment contract to provide future progress towards goal achievement.

It is expressive of behaviour of the 'loyalty' pattern in the EVLN, optimistic- integrative in its expression, consolidating the employment bond where workers agree with it. It is to be expected that a greater number of Settled and Ambitious category workers should agree with it than of the Uncommitted and Alienated categories and that the greatest difference should be between the Settled and the Alienated categories.

Item 96: " Considering my employment generally I am proud to work for the Company."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	21	19	4	4
Agree	65	66	38	32
Don't Know	1	2	4	3
Disagree	12	11	51	42
Strongly Disagree	1	2	4	19
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Agreement with the test statement is indicative of loyalty and defensiveness of the status quo, and is positive for the consolidation of the employment bond.

Whilst a fair percentage of workers classified as Uncommitted or Alienated are able to agree with the statement the majority disagree. Of Settled and Ambitious category workers however only 13 percent in each case disagree with the statement.

The distributions are compatible with the expectations that could be raised by the models.

Responses to the statements in the foregoing, which are suggestive of trust, job satisfaction, optimism, identification with the company and (in a word) loyalty are associable primarily with the Settled category of workers, and secondly with the Ambitious category of workers. In regard to the Settled category the association is therefore with both low change orientation (i.e. low interest in alternatives), and high integration with the company. Responses of the Ambitious category show that loyalty or good relations can be retained in spite of the active interest in alternatives known to be a characteristic of these workers - they are able to support passive-constructive suggestions, although marginally less than the settled category. Opposite responses, as might be expected, were given by workers in the Uncommitted and Alienated categories.

These patterns are compatible with the factor orientation model, the EVLN model, and the decision processes indicated at levels 6,7 and 8, Figure 3.3 in Chapter 3.

#### 7.4.3 Statements Associable with Ambitious Category Workers

Employees in the Ambitious category are expected to be both actively interested in alternatives in terms of their factor orientation whilst retaining positive attitudes to their present employment situation. Their interest in change and the fact that they are expected to show active - constructive patterns of behaviour in terms of Farrell's typology suggests support for "voice" in the various forms suggested by Hirschman and the factor variables. The responses to the following

variables are therefore of particular interest.

Item 39 : "Complaints by workers are normally satisfactorily dealt with by the Company."

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	15	13	2	5
Agree	57	55	20	16
Don't Know	4	3	0	4
Disagree	20	19	55	40
Strongly Disagree	4	10	24	35
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

The pattern of responses above is similar to that seen for the test statement seen above which were primarily associated (in terms of agreement with the statement) with Settled category workers. Ambitious workers here clearly believe fairly firmly in the efficacy of complaint, almost as much as do the Settled category workers - however some of them show disagreement, even strong disagreement with the suggestion. The majority of Uncommitted and Alienated workers on the other hand do not support the effectiveness of complaint. The result is compatible with expectations.

Item 56: "If workers protested strongly the company would be certain to pay more attention to them"

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	16	11	0	3
Agree	66	71	16	37
Don't Know	6	6	13	6
Disagree	10	10	62	40
Strongly Disagree	2	2	9	14
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	55	62	210

Agreement with this test statement is again indicative of support for the efficacy of "voice." Again the Settled and Ambitious workers show similar distributions of response supporting the suggestion. Again the majority of Uncommitted and Alienated workers oppose its efficacy. However the suggestion has an active note to it which appears to draw stronger support from the Alienated than the Uncommitted of whom only 16 percent agree at all with the statements.

The distribution is compatible with the models but does not show a clear lead by the Ambitious category. N.B. particular note was made in section 6.3.4, when listing factor 3 variables, of the (then) unexpected nature of the response.

Item 62: "Worker leaders are too quick to agree to what the company says - they should argue more forcibly."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	8	16	13	19
Agree	31	34	34	50
Don't Know	8	8	11	6
Disagree	42	31	38	21
Strongly Disagree	11	11	4	4
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	55	62	210

Compared to item 56 agreement with this statement shows support for a more aggressive, confrontational, and less compromising stance. It represents a shift from passive to active, and from "constructive" to "destructive" patterns. In view of this the lessening of support by the Settled and Ambitious categories, and the quickenning of interest by Uncommitted and (particularly) Alienated workers is expected. (Uncommitted workers here show fair support for aggressive action by others (i.e. such as "worker leaders").

Item 75: "Workers who are polite to their superiors, and who are well mannered, never make good leaders."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employer Category			
	SET	AMB	UNC	AL
Strongly Agree	3	16	2	7
Agree	18	39	18	40
Don't Know	5	5	4	5
Disagree	52	34	54	38
Strongly Disagree	22	6	22	10
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	55	62	210

This test statement suggests a willingness to assume a high personal profile, and a leadership role, in dealing with superiors. The statement in item 62 suggested that someone else - worker leaders - would do the arguing. Here the Settled category workers show a more retiring passive reaction than that shown towards item 62. The Ambitious category, however, are more forward. The Uncommitted, like the Settled, favour a lower profile. The Alienated category workers, on average, are less forward than the Ambitious - turning perhaps towards exit rather than voice.

Once again the pattern of response supports the models discussed earlier and the expectations that would arise therefrom.

Item 60 : "Management of this company should be removed, and replaced by people elected by the workers."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	SET	AMB	UNC	AL
Strongly Agree	4	13	0	24
Agree	13	42	24	29
Don't Know	5	6	0	7
Disagree	37	21	42	31
Strongly Disagree	41	18	34	9
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Agreement with this test statement has a socialistic flavour, and swings towards concurrence with the more extreme forms of "voice " expressed in Hirschman's definition quoted in section 7.3.1 - "any attempt at all to change, rather than escape from, an objectionable state of affairs...." True to expectation the Settled and Uncommitted categories do not, in majority, favour such an active suggestion. True to Hirschman's contention "whoever does not exit is a candidate for voice and voice depends, like exit, on the quality elasticity of demand." - the Alienated category, many unable to exit, support the more extreme forms of voice. The ultimate in the efficacy of voice, apart from the dictation of terms oneself, is the election of one's own representatives as managers. Thus the statement is well supported by the Ambitious and the result is generally consistent with expectation.

Item 50 : "Workers could look forward to a much better future if the company was owned and managed by blacks."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	2	21	6	18
Agree	9	37	7	20
Don't Know	5	7	0	11
Disagree	37	24	40	32
Strongly Disagree	47	11	47	19
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Compared to the sense of item 60 this statement invites the prospect of black ownership and management without the qualifying prospect of a necessity for election to such positions - perhaps more reward for personal ability and ambition than popular support. The Settled and Uncommitted are reserved about the suggestion. Here again the "Ambitious" part company from the "Settled" - 58 percent favour the suggestion, perhaps, with a thought for their own prospects in such a change of control. Support by the Alienated category shrinks,

however, quite markedly from that given to the more popular sentiment of item 60. General levels of support are cautious.

Item 71 : "If there was a black government in this country it should take over all the shops and factories and run them itself."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	3	26	0	24
Agree	9	45	13	29
Don't Know	7	3	2	6
Disagree	35	16	47	24
Strongly Disagree	46	10	38	17
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

The sense of the test statement raises a more definite suggestion of total black control of government, commerce and industry: It tends to be both black totalitarian and socialist in its suggestion, but a shade more the former than the latter. Perhaps for this reason the Ambitious category favour it more strongly than the Alienated - it "opens the field" to personal ambition.

Hirschman's wide definition of "voice" would include this variable as an indicator of its more extreme form. It has been most strongly supported by the group from whom this was, in theory, most expected.

The next two test statements move away from voice, in its variety of manifestations, to other indicators of "ambition" - attitudes to work and reward expectation.

Item 90 : " On most days I carry out my tasks at work quite cheerfully."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	23	19	5	10
Agree	63	76	38	37
Don't Know	0	0	0	1
Disagree	13	3	53	43
Strongly Disagree	1	2	4	9
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

It is understandable how this variable loaded significantly on both the adherence factor and the integration factor. It can indicate both adjustment to circumstance and job satisfaction at their most positive. As 95 percent of Ambitious category workers support the statement it must be assumed they benefit from both considerations, and that Settled category workers are not far behind. Among the Uncommitted and Alienated categories it is suspected that those who agree with the statement do so more from motives of adjustment or resignation, and less from motives of job satisfaction. Without both motives operating their support is weakened.

The variable must be indicative of attitudes to work itself which must influence the vigour and enthusiasm applied, and therefore productivity.

It is not credible that individuals who "strongly disagree" with the statement, and mean it, would apply themselves to their work with sustained vigour. This would indicate a very positive approach to work tasks by the Ambitious category which in turn reinforces the choice of category label.

Item 95 : " If I work hard the company will one day reward me with better pay or promotion."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	13	11	4	2
Agree	42	47	24	14
Don't Know	20	10	29	14
Disagree	18	26	27	44
Strongly Disagree	7	6	16	26
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

The statement tests faith in the efficacy of hard work with the current employer in closing the gap between present and aspired-to positions in relation to goals.

The support from the Settled and Ambitious categories is consistent with their support for the previous statement - in item 90. They work cheerfully and believe it pays dividends, although support for the second statement is less strong than for the first. Their approach is a constructive one. The majority of the Uncommitted either oppose the suggestion or cannot "commit" themselves upon it. The Alienated clearly see little promise in their situation for the most part - little incentive to work hard. Their alternatives are exit, which may be blocked, turn-off, or perhaps action against their employer.

The responses to the foregoing variables strongly support the characteristics listed in 7.1.2 (c) as being expected for the Ambitious category. They clearly provide potential for strong leadership capable of relating effectively with the settled and alienated workers as well as management. Receptive to positive aspects of the system within which they work their ambition, confidence, and vigour leads them to be alive to the possibilities of alternatives. Clearly any employer would benefit by re-inforcing their positive, active inclinations and take considerable risks in the long term by frustrating them.

#### 7.4.4 Statements Associable with - Uncommitted Category Workers

The primary characteristics which have been listed as associable with this employee category have been apathy, passivity and rule avoidance. They are expected to have similarities with alienated workers in their low sense of integration or commitment to the company, yet have something in common with settled workers in being inactive or disinclined toward change and active attainment of alternatives.

Some of these characteristics have already been demonstrated from responses to the variables already referred to. Unfortunately there were few test statements in the schedule that were primarily or plainly identified with this pattern. However those which follow are certainly relevant. Three variables, items 29, 32 and 34 are included which were excluded from factor analysis (see section 6.1.3) in order to heighten the overall reliability of the initial set of variables. It is considered that in part this was necessary because these variables detracted slightly from the development of the emerging factor themes and in part because possible ambiguity in the test statements could have reduced consistency of response. Also the research instrument and its scoring system did not fully anticipate the similarities of response that might be demonstrated between one category and another on certain issues, and with yet a third category on other issues.

Yet another consideration is the general level of readiness to concur with suggestions which support the need for some system of discipline - even by the more change oriented. In this regard their scores on these variables would tend to be at variance with those in response to variables in other categories. It is of interest to recall at this point, that in response to the test statement, item 102, "workers know that if they choose to work for any company they must obey its rules" of all workers in the survey 45 percent expressed strong agreement and 50 percent expressed agreement. Obviously normative controls are deeply ingrained in the great majority of social beings. This must have some restraining effect upon any tendencies to indiscipline which were earlier anticipated.

Nevertheless there is a similarity of distribution in responses to all these items, and a consistency with expectations which is of interest. Cronbach's alpha reliability co-efficient in respect of the three items was computed as ,77411 ,77204 and ,77153 respectively in the overall reliability scale prior to factor analysis.

Item 29 : "I take a close interest in the affairs of our liaison committee (or trade union)"

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	22	21	27	25
Agree	56	63	47	54
Don't Know	3	10	2	3
Disagree	16	6	20	14
Strongly Disagree	3	0	4	3
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

The sense of the test statement could be interpreted as interest in the use of voice - and of course motivations for doing so could be constructive and participatory or destructive and totally critical.

Probably for this reason it has attracted support from all quarters. The Uncommitted category however have the largest percentage who disagree, the Ambitious the largest percentage supporting it. The trends are not as strong as has been seen on previous variables but again they support expectations.

Reference was made in section 6.7.2 to the two following statements as expressive of values, thus basically acknowledged by all categories of employee, although responses do vary.

Item 32 : "The main reason why the company has disciplinary rules is that it wishes to see workers fairly treated by supervisors"

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	17	21	15	13
Agree	56	63	42	56
Don't Know	10	6	5	9
Disagree	15	10	31	19
Strongly Disagree	2	0	7	3
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Agreement with the statement by workers lends legitimacy to the exercise of disciplinary authority by the employer. It draws fairly strong support even from the Alienated category. Once again the Uncommitted category have the largest percentage who cannot agree with the statement and from whom less recognition of a normative justification for discipline will be forthcoming and less commitment to rule observance.

Item 34 : " Because the company owns this property it has the right to make all the rules for the people who work here"

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	20	21	13	18
Agree	51	61	42	45
Don't Know	1	0	0	1
Disagree	21	11	36	28
Strongly Disagree	7	7	9	8
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

This statement suggests another basis for the legitimacy of the company's disciplinary authority - the right of ownership. It draws less support than the legitimacy granted on grounds of the fair treatment of workers. Nevertheless the order of distribution between categories remains similar to that for item 32 - the Ambitious again support it the most strongly whilst the Uncommitted have the most opposing it. (These items were referred to on pages 204 - 204).

These responses by the Uncommitted support the expectation of rule-evasiveness, preferring the passive escape from restrictions.

Item 72 : " Management treats workers well and therefore can expect them to co-operate fully at work"

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	29	35	11	15
Agree	66	58	44	60
Don't Know	1	3	0	3
Disagree	4	2	45	20
Strongly Disagree	0	2	0	2
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Agreement with this statement expresses recognition of reciprocal obligations between worker and employer. It receives least support from the Uncommitted category, showing yet another negative attitude to the employment relationship. Once again this contrasts most with the "opposite" group - the Ambitious Category. Possibly the capacity of the Uncommitted, or a significant proportion of them, to ignore such obligations undermines any motivation towards the exit oriented behaviour expected of the Alienated who appear to be subject to such inner moral persuasion but find it uncomfortable in their present situation. It is considered correct to interpret response as being to a conditional and reciprocal situation rather than to simple statement of fact about management's treatment of workers.

Item 82 : " The number of hours of work required by the company each day is not unreasonable"

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	12	11	14	11
Agree	45	42	22	26
Don't Know	1	0	2	0
Disagree	27	20	33	37
Strongly Disagree	15	27	29	26
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

The statement tests the degree to which workers would find their day too long (and presumably wearisome or tedious). Response must have been influenced by local conditions as well as personal inclinations. Nevertheless the orientations expected are present with the Uncommitted and Alienated workers being least motivated.

Item 83 : " In recent years the government has been treating blacks in a much better way."

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	10	11	2	4
Agree	50	45	33	40
Don't Know	7	5	2	6
Disagree	22	29	43	30
Strongly Disagree	11	10	20	20
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Support for the test statement would be indicative of interest in public affairs outside the work environment and a willingness

to be cheered by any positive developments - of optimism. The Uncommitted category have prominently the largest percentage responding negatively.

In addition to the variables referred to above comment was made previously on negative responses of the Uncommitted category indicating low trust levels, low job satisfaction, poor identification with the company, scepticism on the use of voice, preference for a low profile, pessimism and unhappiness at work. To these have been added lower acknowledgment of obligation, and of the legitimacy of company authority, and greater work load dissatisfaction.

The responses given are compatible with the characteristics expected to appear more strongly amongst uncommitted employees. They would support a likelihood that Rusbult and Lowery's perceptions of neglect as a behaviour-"chronic absenteeism or lateness, developing negative attitudes about work, reduced effort, increased error rate, obstructionism"-would apply to this category of worker.

#### 7.4.5. Statements Associable with Alienated Category Workers

The principal features expected of responses to test statements by employees of this group include low job satisfaction, high interest in alternatives (exit orientation), and negative attitudes toward the employer and employment relationship to the greatest extent of all employee categories. It will be recalled that in Table 7.1 the Alienated category included the largest proportion of "mobile" or "low adherence" workers. The responses of alienated workers to the variables already cited have generally been opposite to those of settled workers. On an inactive-active scale they are closer to the ambitious category, and on an integrative-disintegrative scale they tend to show responses more similar to the uncommitted workers. These tendencies continue to appear in their response to the other variables now given as examples.

Item 28 : " I wish to remain in this company's employment as long as possible"

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	51	52	60	51
Agree	43	45	33	36
Don't Know	2	1	7	2
Disagree	2	2	0	10
Strongly Disagree	2	0	0	1
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Reference to this variable first is made because it was a principle variable of the adherence factor, and because the high and general level of agreement contrasts strongly with responses on variables referred to later which offer job alternatives. It has to be remembered as a strong imperative behind almost all workers responses, and for those with high change orientations the necessity to remain in unfavoured employment must be productive of frustration.

Item 46 " If the laws of the government allowed it I would go to some other part of the country to seek a better job."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	10	35	18	49
Agree	16	55	27	41
Don't Know	5	0	2	2
Disagree	35	3	35	7
Strongly Disagree	34	7	18	1
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Agreement with the test statement is clearly indicative of interest in alternatives. On this issue the alienated workers clearly have the strongest interest but they are closely followed by the Ambitious. The closeness of response would be consistent with Hirschman's conception of the inter-relationship of exit and voice behaviours. The Settled and Uncommitted workers show a less active, lower level of agreement with the statement.

Particularly notable is the strong contrast of response by all categories on this item compared with item 28. It is particularly indicative of the extent to which awareness of legal restraints may restrain job mobility on the part of those who are not settled or committed to their present employment.

Item 61 : " If I was paid well I would prefer to work underground on the gold mines than to stay here on my present wages"

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	SET	AMB	UNC	AL
Strongly Agree	2	35	2	26
Agree	9	31	9	33
Don't Know	3	5	2	4
Disagree	30	18	34	18
Strongly Disagree	56	11	53	19
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

The sense of this variable differs from item 46 by its more direct reference to financial gain, omission of reference to legal constraint and the prospect of hazardous and unfamiliar employment. Support by the Ambitious and Alienated has fallen compared to that for item 46 though by less with the Ambitious category who appear less deterred by the difficulties or more attracted by the rewards.

Interest by the Uncommitted has fallen away in comparison to their response to the other variable.

It is now becoming clear that the Ambitious are capable simultaneously of strong loyalty, voice and exit reactions depending upon the issue. They appear to be hard-working opportunists.

Item 67 " If workers had enough land at home they would not come to work for the company."

Response Option	Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	12	31	9	27
Agree	17	43	11	35
Don't Know	2	0	0	1
Disagree	47	18	55	31
Strongly Disagree	22	8	25	6
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

This test statement offers a quite different direction of exit to the alternatives noted before - one of exit from the employed sector. The statement is silent on the question of the rewards of working one's own land but the hardships will be fairly realistically known to all respondents from their close acquaintance with the homelands.

It still finds strongest and similar support from the Ambitious and the Alienated categories and in that order. Settled and Uncommitted workers remain as little interested in the alternative offered, the former, possibly, because of relative contentment where they are and the latter, perhaps, being deterred by the prospective hardships.

Item 54 " Life is totally unpleasant for a person who works  
for this company."

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	4	6	0	18
Agree	10	26	40	47
Don't Know	2	5	3	1
Disagree	65	52	53	26
Strongly Disagree	19	11	4	8
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

The statement is expressive of a sentiment which would be a strong motive for exit. The response of the Ambitious category shows that it is not their principle motive for the considerable interest in alternatives that they have expressed. It is a powerful motive for the Alienated, also interested in exit but largely unable to give effect to it, and for the Uncommitted whose interest in alternatives was seen to be generally low.

The exit motives of the Ambitious seem founded on self-improvement, those of the Alienated on unhappiness with present circumstances.

Item 48 : " Many of the whites in the company treat blacks very badly"

<u>Response Option</u>	<u>Response Distribution (%) by Employee Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Strongly Agree	3	29	0	30
Agree	18	31	20	34
Don't Know	5	8	2	1
Disagree	50	27	65	26
Strongly Disagree	24	5	13	9
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	227	62	55	210

Racial tension and racial sources of discontent in employment and reasons for exit are sought for by this variable. The distribution is somewhat unexpected since the Ambitious exhibit agreement with the statement in similar degree to the Alienated - despite earlier seen belief in the efficacy of voice and dealings with the company - which is principally through whites. The most probable explanation is that inter-racial contacts occasioned by the use of voice particularly, and active rather than passive contact generally, leads to more conflict than passive avoidance or compliance behaviours which raise fewer occasions for controversy. This could imply that "forward" blacks get on less well with employers, their demeanour being seen as challenging.

#### 7.4.6 Paired Response Patterns

A feature of the responses by employee categories to the test statements which have been quoted as examples is that, in most cases, employee categories can be "paired." In some instances the Settled and Ambitious categories exhibit comparable distributions, while those of the Alienated and Uncommitted categories are different but similar between themselves. In other examples the pairing is that of Settled category with Uncommitted, and Ambitious with Alienated.

Of course this is an inevitable feature of a typology based on two-factor axes, but further clarification does not go amiss when the employee categories are of central importance. The response pattern differences are either along the vertical "change" axis or along the horizontal "integration" axis. The examples which were used can be grouped as follows:

##### a) Settled and Uncommitted Category Responses in Contrast to Ambitious and Alienated Responses

On the following statements and issues Settled and Uncommitted Category responses were similar to each other, and contrasted with those of Ambitious and Alienated category workers, whose responses were also similar with each other.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Issue</u>
62, 75	Forceful employment of "voice"
60, 50, 71	Change of socio-economic system
46, 61, 67	Interest in alternatives, or exit
48	Race relations at work.

These issues are mainly change or goal-attainment issues, with the split in response being about active or passive responses.

(b) Settled and Ambitious Category responses in contrast to Alienated and Uncommitted Responses

On these statements the Settled and Ambitious workers were similar to each other and contrasted with those of Alienated and Uncommitted workers.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Issue</u>
52	Trust of employer
57	General satisfaction at work
70, 83	Optimism
96	Loyalty, esprit de corps
39, 56	Efficacy of moderate voice
90, 95, 82	Attitudes to work
32, 34	Attitudes to discipline
72	Reciprocal obligation
54	Quality of life

These are issues central to integration of the worker into the company. Attitudes are either constructive or destructive to the relationship in the present form. Whether an attitude which is constructive to that present form of relationship is necessarily functional to its long term survival is a quite different question - it could be functional or dysfunctional, depending on circumstance and the perspective of evaluation. The continuum is identifiable with the Farrell constructive-destructive axis, but perhaps better named integrative-disintegrative, at the opposite poles.

7.4.7 Alienated - Adherent and Alienated-Mobile Responses

Part 7.4 of this chapter would not be complete without some reference to evidence of adherence factor influence in the score

patterns of the alienated category. It was demonstrated in Table 7.1 that only one percent of settled and uncommitted workers scored higher than 3,0 on the Likert Scale for the Adherence score, and none at all of the ambitious workers. These do not provide sufficient numbers for adequate differentiation between sub-categories.

Amongst alienated workers, however, adherent workers numbered 164 (.78 percent) and non-adherent workers 46 (or 22 percent).

Their responses to the test statements of factor 2 differed greatly as did their averages for the adherence score:

Alienated - adherent	Adscore	=	2,09
- mobile	Adscore	=	3,83

A comparison was then made between the two sub-categories in respect of their responses to the test statements grouped in section 7.3.6 above. These can be summarised as follows:

Alienated-mobile respondents were more alienated than alienated-adherent workers in that they were:

- less supportive of voice, whether moderate or forceful
- more interested in exit alternatives
- more strongly critical of treatment by whites
- less optimistic (markedly)
- less proud of association with the company (emphatically)
- less cheerful at work (emphatically)
- less ready to legitimise company discipline

Considering the contrasts already noted between alienated workers as a whole, and their work-mates in other categories, these indications of alienated-mobile workers show that they have reached very negative levels in their employment bond, and that it is plainly in the interests of themselves and their employers that they leave. Any impediment to exit can only be damaging to both parties - and, nation-wide, to general prosperity. Another point worth noting in relation to the EVLN model is the fall-off in interest in voice. Average scores on a combination of items

62 and 75 showed an Alienated-adherent score of 3,34 and an Alienated-mobile score of 3,02. The difference was particularly marked with item 75 concerning politeness of dealings with supervisors as a leadership quality - 52 percent of alienated adherent workers felt that "workers who are polite to their superiors never make good leaders," but only 28 percent of alienated-mobile workers. This is further evidence of Hirschman's observations earlier quoted i.e. that the actual level of voice feeds on inelastic demand, or on the lack of opportunity for exit. Alienated workers who are "bottled up" in their jobs, with little prospect of exit turn their attention inwards upon the employment relationship.

## 7.5 SOCIAL DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL ACTION

### 7.5.1 Worker Categories: Interaction and Impetus

The responses to the statements cited have, with considerable lack of ambiguity, supported the general characteristics expected of four main types of employee. These types of category have resulted from the decision making process which in Figure 3.4, level 5, requires the worker to react to the circumstances created by the employment contract in one, or perhaps more, of several ways:

- a) maintain support for the system
- b) acquiesce to the system
- c) work for change through the system
- d) work for change against the system
- e) leave the system.

The distributions of answers and scores have been constructed from the results of the decisions of 554 separate workers answering questions or statements put to them in private and anonymous circumstances. The results of the study have, in the main, been strongly consistent with those of the Rusbult and Lowery study of responses by American civil servants on the other side of the globe. A more different group from them, than the unskilled

and semi-skilled Zulu workers in South Africa interviewed in the field work of this study, would be hard to find - so that the similarity of results is indicative of universally valid principles in an employment situation.

The total effect of individual workers' attitudes, about issues on which they have been unconsciously consistent (i.e. the factor themes), must be an important measure of the normative climate amongst the group concerned and one which must play an important part in determining the intensity of desire for group action. Employee categories, and their characteristics, and their respective proportions within a work group, must contribute to the scope and nature of normative justification for group or industrial action. The nature of their interaction and influence upon each other needs consideration, and this is assisted by further reference to the scattergram in Figure 7.3 and the characteristics of the distribution :-

- a) Score correlation is very strong with r value at ,78910 and r squared at ,62268. Interest in change, or in job and system alternatives, and the perceptions of workers of their company, or job satisfaction are highly interdependent to the extent that variance on one accounts for 62 percent of variance on the other. This emphasises the extent to which unrest or dissatisfaction in workforces centres about the relationship with and treatment by the employer. This relationship inevitably will be the focus of any dispute between workers and employer, and between employees who differ about the manner of dealing with employers.
- b) Distribution density is very close which is to be expected from the inclusion of all respondents in a highly correlated schema. In the separate samples the distribution is more sparse. However, even with those, it will be later seen that almost all respondents are placed in close proximity in an attitudinal sense to other workers of similar mind - no man is an island! Between such workers there are potential bonds of common hopes and belief, friendships, family and other

ties which provide the networks of rapid social communication. And between interest groups there may be common goals, from which spring pressure groups, pushing outwards their spheres of influence gradually encompassing, if the common motivation is strong enough, the members of society peripheral to their group, mobilising or stabilising them in a common cause.

- c) The balance of distribution is very even. The distribution is very balanced between the following opposed pairs of categories:

Settled (41%) - Alienated (38%)

Ambitious (11%) - Uncommitted (10%)

Settled and Ambitious (52%) - Alienated and Uncommitted (48%)

Settled and Uncommitted (51%) - Ambitious and Alienated (49%)

Were the scattergram one representing a single group it would appear to be one in general equilibrium without impetus in any particular direction. A different, less balanced distribution in any particular sample might suggest a developed or developing impetus with an overall normative pattern with a degree of majority support. Such a situation could perhaps be less easily swayed from its direction of impetus than one in equilibrium.

In altering the balance or impetus of social action towards a different course the nature and role of the four major employee categories will differ.

Settled workers are generally satisfied with their present situation in relation to their own goal objectives, and relative to the satisfaction felt by other workers. It cannot however be assumed that they would not support, actively or passively, any popular measure which promised to improve their situation at an acceptable level of risk and effort, i.e. where there is both normative and utilitarian justification for some suggested change or social action. Nevertheless it seems that the settled workers will be the least likely source of action initiatives, particularly where these are confrontational to, or destructive of the relationship between workers and employers. In addition, having achieved a state of

relative satisfaction themselves, attempts to influence or persuade other workers to their way of thinking, will lack urgency.

Uncommitted workers by their nature are unlikely also to initiate social action, but where such action is directed against the company it is likely to have their passive support.

Alienated workers, with the exit option severely curtailed, will turn their desire for change inward, and, being relatively dissatisfied with the company, they will feel less restraint than other groups arising from a desire to optimise relations with the company. Where the state of (relative) satisfaction of settled workers may be a chronic one, unproductive of social action initiatives, so that of dissatisfaction of alienated workers is equally chronic and will be a constant source of initiatives. Such a condition is conducive to organisation and to offensive, (rather than defensive) action, aimed at securing wider support. The condition of settled workers by contrast is not conducive to organisation, other than the formal work structure, and is conducive to defensive, ad hoc action aimed at securing a quiet life.

Ambitious workers will be a further source of initiatives for social action or change but the form of their opposition to the company will tend to have functional connotations. A look at the scatter-gram shows how well placed they are (attitudinally) between extremes to motivate settled, conservative members of the work community, and to moderate the excesses of the more radical. They must inevitably provide a chain of communication between the alienated and the settled workers. Should either of those groups move their stance too far from the ambitious group they will tend to lose whatever influence they may be able to exert over the opposite category. The uncommitted workers are unlikely to subvert this role, or to respond very actively to any instigation to do so since they will generally seek passive, trouble-free roles.

Ambitious workers are uniquely placed to provide effective social leadership that can motivate change, moderate excess, and retain credibility with the majority of workers and with the company.

They run the risks attached to high profile roles. They may be accused of being "sell-outs" by the alienated extremes for defending the efficacy of dealing with management. They may be seen as "agitators" by management and the ultra-conservative workers for motivating settled workers, and vocalising complaints that may originate with the alienated.

In the long run the influence of the ambitious workers, as progressive if vocal worker leaders, will be judged by their fellows in the light of their achievements. So too, of course, runs the fate of moderate or progressive leaders in politics.

#### 7.5.2 Worker Categories: Conflict and Consensus

The review of worker categories and their role in processes of change and conflict prompts a brief return to Cohen's model of society in section 2.2.3 - his models A and B.

Were it possible to view the categories of worker in the Figure 7.3 scattergram as separate and distinct communities then Model A would apply quite neatly to the "settled community" - well integrated and in consensus with their situation and each other. Model B would apply with equal propriety to the "alienated community" oriented to conflict and coercion. Linking the two are the ambitious and uncommitted "communities" in alliance with one or other of the Model A or B patterns as circumstances change.

As Cohen remarked "no one could surely suggest that societies usually have only the characteristics listed under A or only those listed under B." And nor have they. They have, as he maintained, the characteristics of each model, and its opposite, in tension with each other.

The personal and environmental variables that contribute to these characteristics are the subject of the next two chapters.

## 7.6 POSTSCRIPT: FURTHER CORROBORATION OF THE MODEL

### 7.6.1 Three Related Social Dynamics Models

One week before the date for submission of this dissertation, as the closing sections of the final chapter were being concluded, reading on another study was discovered, which, with the EVLN and social dynamics models just described, provided a third source of corroboration for the underlying social dynamics. The third study (chronologically the first of the three) was by Sayles (Sayles, 1958) based on observations of 300 work groups in thirty plants in a variety of industries in Michigan, U.S.A., during the period 1951 - 1955. The independence of the EVLN studies and the Sayles' research is indicated by the almost complete absence of common references in their indices. The independence of this social dynamics model from either has already been indicated. The conclusions of the Sayles research are too clear and too similar to the conclusions reached previously in this chapter to be the product of coincidence or of specious argument. The three studies independently support the operation within work groups of an active, change oriented dynamic and an integration dynamic. The present (social dynamics) study develops more fully a third adherence, or environmental pressure dynamic. The three studies were developed from different data bases assembled or consolidated in very different environments - U.S. industry (Sayles); U.S. federal service (EVLN); South African forestry, timber processing and general industry (social dynamics).

Because of the late discovery of this study little reference is made to it until the final chapter, but its themes will be recognised and it belongs at this point in this thesis.

### 7.6.2 Sayles' Four Work Group Types

From observations of behaviour and discussion of work group characteristics with managers, supervisors and employees the Sayles study found four varieties of work group which "differed from another very substantially, particularly in the way they dealt with any problems they faced" (ibid. p.8). The groups were labelled according to their dominant characteristics - Apathetic, Erratic, Strategic, and Conservative -

the labels being " a convenience, a shorthand method of referring to a set of distinguishing characteristics." The distinguishing characteristics and relevant observations need now to be briefly related to the other models :

(a) Apathetic Groups

Apathetic groups tended to share the following characteristics in that they were:

- least likely to develop grievances or engage in concerted action to pressurise union or management;
- disinclined to challenge decisions or attempt to gain something "extra" for themselves;
- not ranked high for consistent productivity and "cooperativeness";
- not trouble-free but only superficially so (there was evidence of worker discontent but often it was not focused in terms of specific demands or grievances );
- less prone to engage in union activities;
- real leadership was dispersed and group cohesion and teamwork poor.

These characteristics are identifiable with those of the Uncommitted category - section 7.1.2 (e)

(b) Erratic Groups

Erratic groups were generally found to be:

- "erratic" in that there seemed to be no relationship between the seriousness of their grievances and the intensity of protest (petty grievances often become nearly insoluble because of rash strikes and demonstrations, but deep-seated grievances could exist for a long time with no apparent reaction);
- associated with a behavioural pattern "analogous to that described by psychologists as being characteristic of frustration in the individual.- - - Emotional reaction

to some deep frustration has blinded them to their failure to adjust their reactions to circumstances." (ibid. p.13).

- groups which had sometimes stubbornly behaved in ways best designed to defeat their own objectives;
- evaluated by management as "very dangerous;"
- disposed to ready inflammability. These groups tended to occupy union leadership positions in the early phases of unionisation when emphasis was an ability to rally immediate, aggressive support. Later, when more mature negotiative skills were required they tended to be replaced;
- inclined to support internal leadership tending to be autocratic;
- insistent on negotiating in unruly groups, everyone talking at once;
- inclined to high turnover rates where this was commented upon.

These characteristics are associable with those of the Alienated category of worker described in 7.1.2 (g).

(c) Strategic Groups

These groups had very distinctive features in that they:

- consistently and persistently secured success in gaining election to union office;
- never tired of objecting to unfavourable management decisions;
- demanded constant attention to their problems;
- used an amount and kind of pressure which was shrewdly calculated, and geared to their needs;
- exhibited a consistency which was seen as a virtue by management and union;
- ranked above Apathetic and Erratic groups in general performance and cooperation;

- showed high cohesion with highly active and influential leaders who specialised in functions such as dealing with management or the union, maintaining internal unity or taking the lead in voicing dissatisfaction;
- were capable of shrewd and sustained resistance to management changes which are not mutually acceptable;
- bellicose but productive (highly active in asserting and securing new rights - a "power" in the union and plant);
- consistently concentrated upon high self-interest activity, using the whole range of collective bargaining tactics to obtain benefits for themselves;

These characteristics are identifiable with those of the Ambitious workers of the social dynamics model described in section 7.1.2 (c)

(d) Conservative Groups

These groups were described by Sayles in these characteristic terms:

- stable, predictable, less likely to indulge in union affairs, favourably viewed by management, moderately cohesive;
- often possessing critical, or scarce skills;
- confident in the strength of their position they are patient in the negotiation of demands, using restrained pressure;
- likely to be criticised by other workers for being slow to support group action;
- tended to cycles of passivity interspersed with activity to secure specific objectives.

These characteristics are associable with those of Settled workers described in section 7.1.2 (a).

7.6.3 Compatibility of the Models

Sayles noted an Apathetic-Erratic axis and a Conservative-Strategic axis along which behavioural patterns could shift in the short run. These both appear to concern the single Passive-Active axis of the EVLN model, or the Low-High Change axis of the social dynamics model.

He also referred to longer term Strategic-Apathetic shifts in response to the "loss of a critical factor in plant position or unity." This represents a move from active to passive on the change axis, and from constructive to destructive on the integration axis of the social dynamics models.

(Sayles also discussed the association of work group types with various internal environmental characteristics of the workplace and its organisational form. This study does not have the data to comment upon this aspect but will develop other associations with the dynamics in the two chapters which follow).

The basic categories of the models are so similar as to support the following comparison of worker type and characteristic:

<u>Social Dynamics Worker Categories</u>	<u>EVLN Behaviour Patterns</u>	<u>Sayles' Work Group Categories</u>
SETTLED	LOYAL	CONSERVATIVE
AMBITIOUS	VOCAL	STRATEGIC
ALIENATED	EXIT-ORIENTED	ERRATIC
UNCOMMITTED	NEGLECT-ORIENTED	APATHETIC

The validity of the common characteristics of the three models is underlined by their independence. It is emphasised that the social dynamics factors were identified from the factor analysis process by December 1984 - before the publication in 1985 of Rusbult and Lowery's article. Sayles' study came to attention only when investigating Fox's critique of the human relations school which is taken up in Chapter 11 of this dissertation.

CHAPTER EIGHT VARIANCE IN THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF LABOUR RELATIONS,  
AND THE PREDICTOR VARIABLES

- Predictors of Worker Orientation and Category

8.1 PREDICTION OBJECTIVES

Chapter Seven was principally concerned with a typology of workers, and their implied behaviour, derived from the combination of their orientations on the change, integration and adherence factors. Those categories and behaviours appear to be very significant to productivity in industry, to industrial relations, worker happiness, and, in the wider sense, politically. A respondent's scores on individual factors determine his or her position on the scattergram, indicate whether the worker is settled, ambitious, alienated, uncommitted, and either adherent or mobile. Therefore the question of variation of factor scores and the associations of such variance are important to the prediction of well-being or malaise, balance or imbalance in industrial situations, and to the search for corrective mechanisms or policies. Initial indications of potentially important predictors were provided by the regression testing of predictor variables against the factors as variables described in Chapter Six, part 6.4, and summarised in Tables 6.9 to 6.12.

In the tables used in this chapter score ranges are used for each of the factor variable scores Chanscore, Adscore and Intscore. The score ranges are derived from the Likert scale and shown as 1,0 - 2,5, 2,6-3,0, 3,1-3,5, and 3,6-5,0. The percentage of respondents scoring within each range is shown for each predictor category, for example for males and then females.

There is a dilemma in whether to examine predictors factor by factor, i.e. those which are associated with variance in each factor in turn, or whether to consider the total effect of each predictor upon any or all factors. The latter course has been decided upon. It is more realistic to examine the total effect of a particular characteristic, activity, or circumstance, than to confine this to one factor at a time. Associations between variables are often complex and indirect. Their evaluation and explanation is therefore often difficult and involved. The order in which predictor variables will be referred to is that of Table 6.12.

Another dilemma is whether at this stage to extend the inferences of the predictor variables from the overall trends found into the individual samples, or to postpone this until the next chapter, where each sample will be discussed. It was decided that, as the primary purpose of this chapter is to establish the main principles of predictive value data derived from individual samples should only be cited where it furthered that objective. Notable variance, or exceptions to the general trends peculiar to a particular sample, will be referred to later with the characterisation of that sample as a whole.

## 8.2 SCORE VARIANCE BY SEX OF RESPONDENT (ITEM 1)

### 8.2.1 Sex of Respondent (Item 1) : Introduction

The sex of respondents was recorded on the survey schedule as Item 1, with males coded as 1, females as 2. Table 6.12 indicated that, overall, men tended to be higher scoring on all factor themes, and that sex of respondent was a predictor of variance on all three factor themes.

### 8.2.2 Change Factor Variance by Item 1

The Beta weight computed and shown in Table 6.9 for sex as a significant predictor variable for factor 1 was  $-.27935$ . Subsequent Pearson's correlation of the two variables (item 1 and Chanscore) gave an  $r$  value of  $-.1781$  with significance as  $P = .000$ . This is sufficient to show a fairly significant difference in score distribution as Table 8.1 reveals.

TABLE 8.1 CHANGE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 1

SEX	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Male	449	26	22	26	26
Female	105	43	20	23	14
Total	554	30	21	25	24

Examination of responses by males and females showed that females were more conservative, lower scoring, in response to almost all the main test statements of the change factor. Practical and social restraints upon the practical mobility of women could be expected to result in an acceptance that many job alternatives are inaccessible to them, and in their adjustment to that fact. In practice the trend was found in all elements of the factor. In general therefore it may be asserted that women are more passive and settled in their aspirations than men, according to their responses in the survey.

### 8.2.3 Adherence Factor Variance by Item 1

Table 6.10 shows that the Beta weight computed for sex as a significant predictor for the adherence factor was,16085. Pearson's correlation between the two variables was not computed as significant. However some differences are detectable in the distribution provided in Table 8.2.

TABLE 8.2 ADHERENCE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 1

SEX	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0 - 2,5	2,6 - 3,0	3,1 - 3,5	3,6 - 5,0
Male	449	70	18	5	7
Female	105	80	17	2	1
Total	554	72	18	5	5

From the table it can be seen that fully 97 percent of the female respondents could be categorised as 'adherent', i.e. with an Adscore equal to or less than 3,0.

Closer examination of the individual adherence factor variables shows that differences between male and female responses were to be found with items 28 and 30. In response to the former ("I wish to remain in this company's employment as long as possible") 99 percent of women responded in the affirmative compared to 90 percent of men. In response to

item 30 ("I would encourage my friends at home to work for this company if I heard there were vacancies") 95 percent of women expressed agreement compared to 85 percent of men.

Such distributions are consistent with an assumption that women's freedom of movement is greatly restricted by their social role and social ties, that employment is valued greatly nevertheless, and that employment within reasonable distance of their homes, as was the case with all samples which included women, is even more highly prized.

#### 8.2.4 Integration Factor Variance by Item 1

The Beta weight of ,17727 for sex of respondent was the highest in Table 6.11. Pearson's correlation of item 1 and Intscore computed r value as - ,1275 and P = ,001. Although this is a relatively weak association it is sufficient for differences in score distribution to be apparent as Table 8.3 shows.

TABLE 8.3 INTEGRATION SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 1

Sex	N =	Score Distribution (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Male	449	30	20	21	29
Female	105	42	18	18	22
Total	554	32	20	21	27

The table shows 60 percent of females as scoring below 3,0 on the Likert scale, compared to 50 percent of men, thus showing closer integration with their employing organisation, or greater satisfaction with their job.

A perusal of responses to the individual variables included in the integration score generally showed those of women to be consistently

more favourable to the employment relationship with no exceptions worthy of note.

#### 8.2.5 The Significance of Item 1 as a Predictor of Employee Category

The foregoing indicators and distributions have shown that women were lower scoring on all three factors. They therefore tend to be less change oriented, more adherent, and better integrated. Inevitably therefore a greater percentage of females will be categorised as settled and a lesser percentage as alienated when compared with males. The distributions can be compared in Figures 8.1 and 8.2 which are scattergrams showing the score co-ordinates of males and females respectively. These show that the effect of lower scoring on both axes has resulted in the following position.

<u>Predictor Category</u>	<u>Employment Category (%)</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
<u>Males</u>	38	12	10	40
<u>Females</u>	52	8	11	29

A closer examination of the distribution shows too, that of 52 percent of women in the Settled category, 27 percent are in the most conservative sector compared to only 11 percent of male respondents.

Women were included in the research survey in three of the five industrial situations - forestry industry, small town industry and border industry. It is not possible to say to what extent their comparative conservatism is due to their feminine personality, to social conditioning, to a priority placed on employment reasonably close to the home, or to lower expectations and responsibilities as bread-winners. What is apparent however is the fact of their comparative conservatism overall (and there were localised departures from this), and the logical implication that as members of worker communities, and of society, they are likely to have a settling, conservative influence, perhaps more concerned with present security than the chance of future gains.

HIGH INTEGRATION

INTSCORE

LOW INTEGRATION

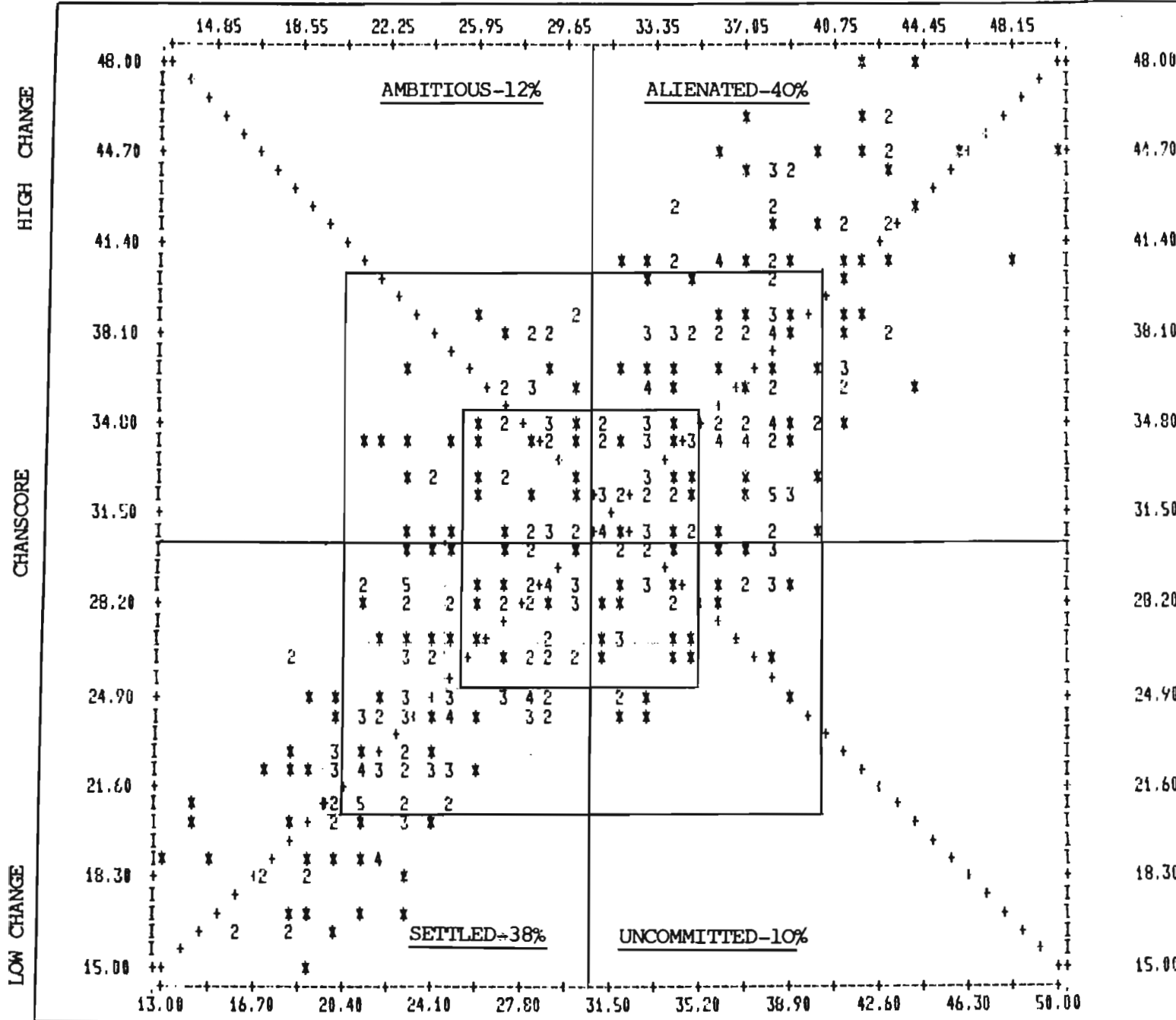


FIGURE 8.1

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

All Males

N = 449

Intensity Margins

Scores

Outer GT 20  
LE 40

Inner GT 25  
LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,78595

r squared = ,61772

Sign. P = ,00000

FIGURE 8.1

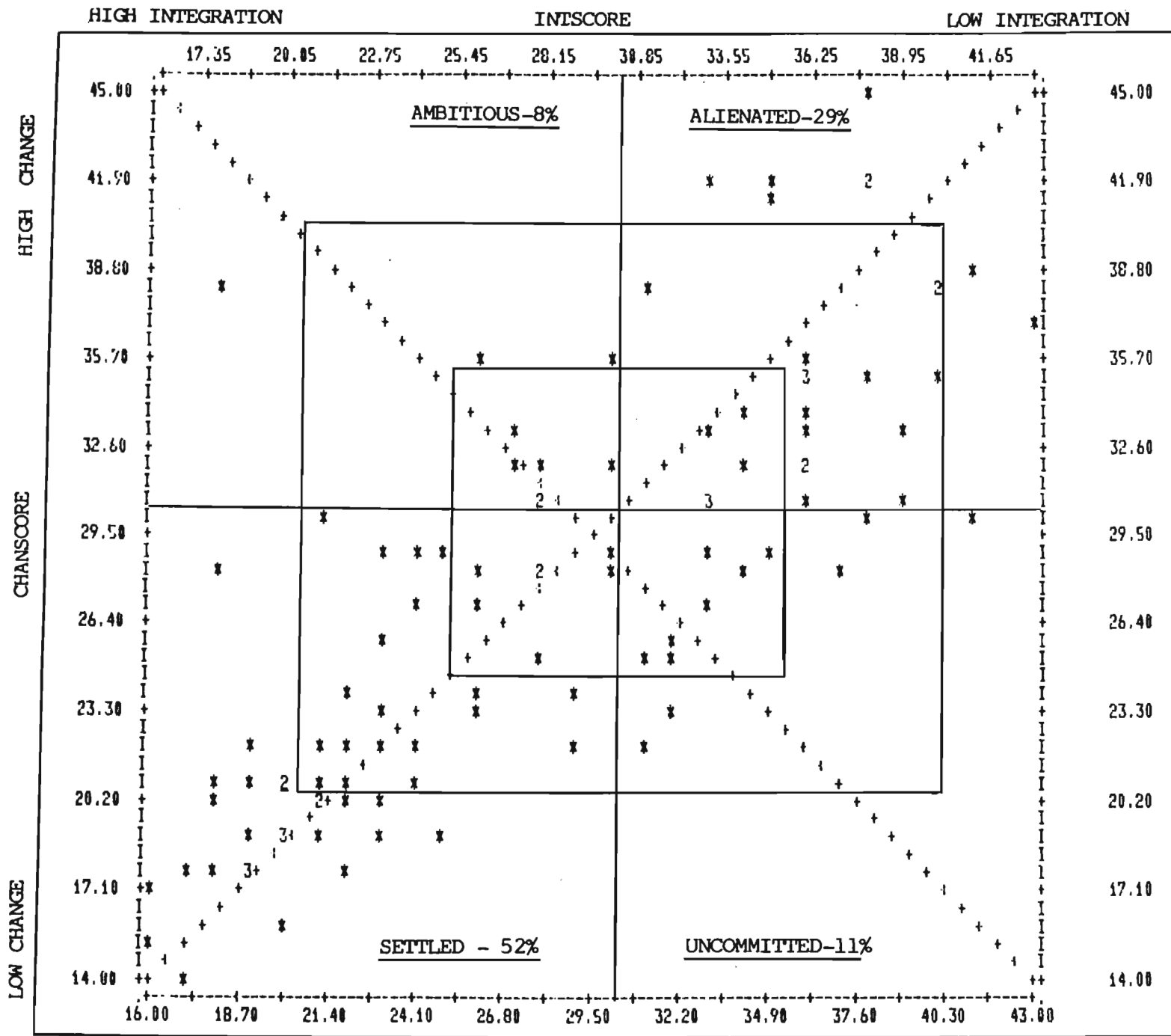


FIGURE 8.2

MEAN SCORES:  
CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:  
All Females  
N = 105

Intensity Margins

	Scores
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,78241  
r squared = ,61217  
Sign. P = ,00000

FIGURE 8.2

### 8.3 SCORE VARIANCE BY AGE OF RESPONDENT (ITEM 3)

#### 8.3.1 Age of Respondent (Item 3): Introduction

The recording of age was undertaken in item 3 of the survey schedule, and coded in five year brackets. Table 6.12 noted age as a significant predictor of factors 1 and 3 indicating lower change orientation and greater integration as age advanced. As one of the variables contributing to factor 2 (adherence) variance, age was not calculated to be as significant as the other variables listed in Table 6.10. However, subsequent Pearson's correlation with the factor variable score (Adscore) showed some significance and this will be referred to.

A particular feature of age as a predictor variable is the very frequent inclination of laymen to attribute to it almost all variations of temperament. Youth is equated with impatience, impetuosity and hostility and advanced years with wisdom, patience and amiability. Although this common perception is likely to have some basis in fact it is a superficial one and overlooks the fact that age generally correlates fairly significantly with many other variables, e.g. literacy, education, marital status, number of dependants, occupational level, wage level, and home ownership. It is probably not age that is a significant variable but the advances made, or success achieved, in meeting lifetime goals and responsibility with a margin to spare, which equates to a perceptibly improving quality of life. An older worker who has met with little success in goal achievement, whose goals now appear almost unattainable as old age and its insecurities inexorably draw near, is unlikely to be a contented, job-satisfied employee or citizen.

#### 8.3.2 Change Factor Variance by Item 3

The Beta weight recorded in Table 6.9 for age as a significant predictor of change factor variance was  $-.14519$ . Subsequent correlation of age with the change factor variable score Chanscore indicated r value at  $-.0932$  ( $P = .014$ ), which shows a very weak relationship overall.

This is reflected in the distribution of Table 8.4 where it can be seen that there is relatively little difference between age groups, except in comparison of the oldest and youngest categories given - but in that comparison the contrast is significant.

TABLE 8.4 CHANGE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 3

AGE GROUP	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Under 25	133	23	23	29	25
25 - 34	163	28	17	30	25
35 - 44	123	28	22	27	23
Over 44	135	40	24	15	21
Total	554	30	21	25	24

The highest (inverse) correlation between the variables (age and Chanscore) was noted in the Durban sample ( $r = -,2550$   $P = ,005$ ), which sample also showed the highest correlation between age and income ( $r = ,2554$   $P = ,005$ ). The Durban environment also offered a greater range of opportunity both visible and actual than other environments, thus quicker goal attainment and greater differentiation by age.

The inferences drawn are that, overall, as age advances, the gap is narrowed between goal targets and goal achievement, lessening the attractiveness of alternatives.

### 8.3.3 Adherence Score Variance by Item 3

It was noted above that age was not included as one of the more significant variables in Table 6.10 for the prediction of the adherence score of respondents. However it is not divorced from some of those other variables listed, and it becomes pertinent to follow up the clue offered by the valid Pearson's correlation of age and adherence

score ( $r = -.1913$   $P = .000$ ). Further information is therefore provided in Table 8.5.

TABLE 8.5 ADHERENCE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 3

AGE GROUP	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Under 25	133	59	27	5	9
25 - 34	163	69	17	6	8
35 - 44	123	76	15	4	5
Over 44	135	84	12	2	2
Total	554	72	18	5	5

The distribution shows steadily, but not dramatically, increasing adherence with advancing age. This is interpreted not as a direct function of age but as a function of the social and occupational investments made over a period of years.

#### 8.3.4 Integration Score Variance by Item 3

Table 6.11 records a Beta weight of ,12924 for age as a predictor of the integration factor score, indicating increased integration with increasing age. Pearson's correlation of age and Intscore was computed at  $-.1361$   $P = .001$ . The association between them is weak but because of popular misconceptions linking age to contentment that fact is perhaps worth recording.

A distribution table does show a definite contrast when comparing the oldest (over 44) with the youngest category (under 25), but if integration of employees into the work environment were to depend on advancing age it would clearly be a very slow process if judged from Table 8.6.

TABLE 8.6 INTEGRATION SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 3

AGE GROUP	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Under 25	133	28	19	19	34
25 - 34	163	30	20	21	29
35 - 44	123	28	27	16	29
Over 44	135	42	16	24	18
Total	554	32	20	21	17

### 8.3.5 The Significance of Item 3 as a Predictor of Employee Category

The nature of the evidence linking age to score variance is weak with all factors. Its hidden significance is perhaps the ration of time it has allotted for other assets such as skill or education to be exploited by the employee according to the opportunities that are offered by his environment. It is unlikely that age per se produces any settling psychological effect. A young person who is progressing will almost certainly be a better integrated employee than the older person who has not progressed and has a diminished remaining span in which to do so.

## 8.4 SCORE VARIANCE BY EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT (ITEM 7)

### 8.4.1 Adherence Factor Variance by Item 7

Regression testing indicated that level of education was statistically significant in relation to adherence factor score variance, although the Beta weight of  $-.15609$  was the lowest for the significant variables in Table 6.10. Pearson's correlation with Adscore, the score derived from the five most heavily loading factor variables, was not significant above the  $.05$  level, however, and Table 8.7 shows only a gradual shift towards less adherence as education increases.

TABLE 8.7 ADHERENCE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 7

EDUCATION LEVEL	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Nil	179	74	20	4	2
To Std 3	205	74	16	4	6
To Std 5	76	71	12	5	12
Over Std 5	94	65	20	5	10
Total	554	72	18	5	5

Rising educational level was inversely associated with unskilled employment ( $r = - ,3847$   $P = ,000$ ), with greater age ( $r = - ,2680$   $P = ,000$ ), and with longer service ( $r = - ,1988$   $P = ,000$ ). These correlations suggest a tendency for better educated workers to attain more skilled jobs, at a younger age, and after less service.

Education would tend to improve the worker's potential for mobility, explaining the tendency to lesser adherence (indicated by higher scores) in the table - they feel more free to move. At the same time this freedom would lead more rapidly, through successive job changes, to situations which in fact suit the worker, and in which adherence based on positive job attractions (intrinsic or extrinsic) would be greater. Thus higher education would be associated with both low and high adherence and direct linear correlation would tend to be weak.

#### 8.4.2 The Significance of Item 7 as a Predictor of Employee Category

Education level was not shown to be predictive of either change or integration score and therefore was not directly associated with any particular category in the employment bond typology. However, there remains the contradiction apparent from the preceding section and in Rusbult and Lowery's observation that "loyalist behaviour was shown to be encouraged by good rather than poor alternatives" (section 7.3.3).

Better educated employees would be change and exit oriented at early career stages, and later persistence and loyalty oriented as they found what suited them.

### 8.5 SCORE VARIANCE BY NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS

The Beta weight for Item 9, number of dependents, in the results of the regression equation given in Table 6.11 was the second lowest at  $-.12876$ . In addition, all the variables noted as significant in the table, accounted for under 10 percent of integration factor variance. No strong association could be expected, nor was any found in score distribution. Also no valid Pearson's correlation between the variables Intscore and Item 9 was computed, and further investigation was not undertaken therefore.

### 8.6 SCORE VARIANCE ACCORDING TO MIGRANCY HISTORY OF FATHER (ITEM 12)

#### 8.6.1 Change Factor Variance by Item 12

Table 6.9 showed that the Beta weight for Item 12 in the regression equation for the change factor was comparatively low at  $.08723$ . Pearson's correlation between Item 12 and Chanscore was weak ( $r = .0844$   $P = .024$ ). This was perhaps adversely affected by a temporary re-code of item 12 so that the responses "Had no father", and "Yes (Father was a migrant)" were both coded 1, and "No (Father was not migrant)" were coded as 2. The responses shown in Table 8.8 show a very marked difference between those whose response was "Had no father", and the rest. The differences between the other two categories were less marked.

TABLE 8.8 CHANGE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 12

FATHER'S MIGRANCY	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
No Father	66	39	32	15	14
Migrant Father	257	25	23	29	23
Non-Migrant Father	231	21	28	24	27
Total	554	30	21	25	24

The low scoring character of respondents who "had no father", i.e. whose father was not known, or was not alive during their childhood (77 percent being males), is indicative of the effect during socialisation of relatively exclusive parental control by the mother. It appears to support the conclusions expressed in section 8.2.5 that "women in society are likely to have a settling, conservative influence, perhaps more concerned with present security than the chance of future gains." This is consistent with the findings of Moriarty and Toussieng (1976. p.4), who noted in their study of adolescent coping styles that, of the adolescent category which they labelled "obedient traditionalist", one hundred percent had controlling or distant (i.e. emotionally distant) mothers, and eighty six percent had fathers who were physically or emotionally unavailable. Not only emotional but also economic support would be considerably weakened. Such conservatism, in imbalance, probably reflects caution rather than satisfaction with current circumstance. The conservative, submissive female input to socialisation has not been balanced by a father's more assertive, goal-oriented input and economic support.

This rather extreme trend is not so evident in the table when comparison is made between those whose fathers were migrant, and those whose were not (and here it must be realised that a more meaningful comparison would need a much closer examination of length and timing of the father's absence during childhood and adolescence). However it will be noted that in the low score ranges 1,0 - 2,5 and 2,6 - 3,0 those with migrant fathers have a higher percentage of low scores than those with non-migrant fathers. The same pattern is apparent in the two higher score categories 3,1 - 3,5 and 3,6 - 5,0. The consistency of these trends with those noted for respondents "without fathers" would lead to the conclusion that long periods of migrancy would lead to an imbalance of maternal over paternal contributions to child socialisation.

This result is unlikely to be personally or socially functional. It might hold superficial appeal to those wedded to die-hard support for a continuation of the migrant labour system, but this would ignore the settling effect upon the migrant worker of mingling with, and living with women in the natural human environment - the home.

The strongest correlation of this variable with other predictor variables was that with current wage. Again the correlation was subject to the temporary recoding noted above. The correlation value was  $r = ,1809$  ( $P = ,000$ ) indicating that workers who had been brought up in a home with a father present tended to be more successful economically, better able to achieve their goals. This may not be a strong correlation, but it is statistically very reliable and, if viewed against the massive scales of South African labour migration, the impact on the total productivity and work ethos of the successive generations must have been, and must be in the future, reckoned in billions of rands of lost earnings and consequent expenditure in the market place.

#### 8.6.2 The Significance of Item 12 as a Predictor of Employee Category

It is considered that the results have been indicative of contrasting maternal and paternal roles in socialisation, with the former being persistence and security oriented, and the latter change, alternative, and goal-oriented. This would influence the child's orientation as a worker on the passive-active, or low change-high change axis resulting in less than full realisation of potential.

It is also considered that closer measurement of the variable responses would have shown the variable to be more significant, and more conclusively so.

### 8.7 SCORE VARIANCE BY FREQUENCY OF HOMELAND VISITS (ITEM 14)

#### 8.7.1 Frequency of Homeland Visits (Item 14): Introduction

Schedule item 14 enquired how frequently the respondent visited the "homeland kraal" (or village) and responses were coded 1 to 4 in descending order of frequency; i.e. every week (or more often), every month (or more often), less often (than once per month), and never. Table 6.12 recorded that less frequency in visits to workers' traditional homes was associated with higher adherence scores (less adherence), and higher scores also on the integration scale (less integration).

8.7.2 Adherence Factor Variance by Item 14

Table 6.10 indicated item 14 as a significant predictor variable for the adherence factor with a Beta weight of  $-.16294$ . It might be expected from the general nature of observation so far that frequent visits to the traditional home environment would be indicative of increased social ties, which in turn would provide greater inertia and reasons for retaining employment within reach of these ties.

Overall correlation between Item 14 and Adscore was very weak ( $r = .0973$ ,  $P = .011$ ) and the distribution in Table 8.9 shows less differentiation than expected.

TABLE 8.9 ADHERENCE SCORE VARIANCE BY ITEM 14

FREQUENCY: HOMELAND VISITS	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Weekly +	202	77	15	4	4
Monthly	244	71	20	3	6
Less	69	70	16	3	11
Never	39	62	21	10	7
Total	554	72	18	5	5

The differences in distribution between the first two categories are small, but difference between both categories and the two categories "less" and "never" become more definite. It is significant that the last two categories included high percentages of Durban respondents- 54 percent of the "less"(visits than once per month) category, and 82 percent of the "never" category. That sample (Durban) exhibited less, if still strong, job adherence - both overall and within the last two response categories of item 14. This offers the suggestion that the nature of the environment is the stronger determinant of job adherence. Where jobs can be changed with less disruption of social ties, as in a metropolitan, industrial area, then less adherence to

one job is necessary. Greater freedom from social ties, combined with more visible alternatives, must result in more interest in other possibilities and readiness for change. A higher correlation was therefore found in the Durban sample between the Change score (Chanscore), and -Item 14 ( $r = ,3629$   $P = ,000$ ), than either the forestry sector ( $r = ,0323$   $P = ,306$ ), or processing sector ( $r = ,1163$   $P = ,048$ ).

### 8.7.3 Integration Factor Variance by Item 14

Table 6.11 indicated Item 14, with a Beta weight of  $-,09340$ , as the weakest of the predictor variables significant to the integration factor. Correlation with Intscore was not valid at the  $,05$  level, although as Table 8.10 shows, some significant difference is noted between those visiting their homes monthly, compared with those visiting weekly, the latter tending to be lower scoring.

TABLE 8.10 INTEGRATION SCORE VARIANCE BY ITEM 14

FREQUENCY HOMELAND VISITS	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Weekly +	202	36	24	19	21
Monthly	244	30	16	19	35
Less	69	36	19	23	22
Never	39	23	26	31	20
Total	554	32	20	21	27

The variable was not significant amongst rural workers who almost all worked not far from their traditional homes, and who could, relatively, and within expected restraints, visit home frequently if they so wished.

But the evidence indicates that urban workers, who live some distance from their social roots, experience greater difficulties in integration

with their employment situation. The call of social ties is frustrated principally by the demands of work, and the difficulties of finding free time, money and transport. It is not illogical that in the conflict of interests about matters important to workers the employment situation, and the demands or restriction of employment, should be held responsible in part for the frustration of private pursuits. From another point of view, more frequent breaks from normal working routine, and a brief return to traditional social life, would have recuperative advantages to workers, which would be beneficial to their tolerance of employment stress and of their employing organisations, and would reduce role conflict.

Such would appear to explain the significance of the correlation between the variables in the two urban samples:

Sample 5	Durban	$r = ,2609$	$P = ,004$
Sample 6	Small town	$r = ,2606$	$P = ,018$

There are, of course, differences between the social characteristics of relatively settled metropolitan workers housed with their immediate families, but retaining links with traditional homes, and those situated in a small town whose links with the homeland are more immediate and less adjusted to urban life. Differences of distribution are therefore significant as Table 8.11 shows, despite the similarities of correlation.

TABLE 8.11 INTEGRATION SCORE VARIANCE BY ITEM 14: SAMPLES 5 AND 6

FREQUENCY HOMELAND VISITS	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
<u>5 Durban</u>					
Weekly +	2	-	100	-	-
Monthly	29	62	7	14	17
Less	37	46	8	27	19
Never	32	19	28	34	19
Total	100	41	16	25	18

(Contd)

TABLE '8.11 (Contd)

FREQUENCY HOMELAND VISITS	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
<u>6 Small Town</u>					
Weekly +	23	44	26	13	17
Monthly	35	17	14	12	57
Less	5	20	60	20	
Never	2	-	-	-	100
Total	65	26	22	12	40

Durban workers who are able to visit rural homes monthly are generally positive about their employment. As visits become less frequent so they become less positive. In the small town, where workers are less urbanised and rural links stronger, a similar progression is seen but those who visit weekly are the most positive whereas monthly visits appear to occasion strain, being too infrequent.

#### 8.7.4 The Significance of Item 14 as a Predictor of Employee Category

The predictor was found to be important on two main counts:

- (a) Settled urban workers in the metropolitan area were found to be less adherent, as contact with traditional homes weakened, probably because job changes would be less likely to occasion social or family upheaval. Similarly they became more interested in change or job alternatives as traditional ties weakened.
- (b) Frequency of visits to traditional homes were most valued by those for whom it was most difficult i.e. urban workers, and amongst them in turn it was most valued by those whose links were more immediate, and whose families were less urbanised if not at all. The "value" attached to visit frequency appeared to be measured by the degree of difficulty this occasioned for integration into the work situation.

The more general conclusions that are suggested by these findings are

that large conurbations present to workers wider opportunity, which is a stimulant to interest in change and improvement i.e. to active responses. Also life in circumstances where access to home and family are rendered difficult and infrequent has adverse effect upon the integration of the employee into employment. The opposite circumstances will therefore promote integrative, constructive responses.

Family links have a settling effect, and freedom of opportunity a stimulative effect. The greatest advantage to society and national productivity is clearly to be gained from freedom of mobility and opportunity with family, promoting the growth of settled and ambitious elements of the national work force. Lack of freedom of mobility and separation of worker and family promote the growth of alienated and uncommitted elements with adverse effect upon national prosperity.

## 8.8 SCORE VARIANCE BY YEARS OF SERVICE (ITEM 16)

### 8.8.1 Adherence Factor Variance by Item 16

The regression analysis described in Chapter 6 indicated years of service as being a valid predictor variable in respect of factor 2, the adherence factor, only. Table 6.10 recorded a Beta weight of ,15817. Subsequent Pearson's correlation of the variable with the three factor variable scores indicated a valid inverse correlation with Adscore only, where  $r = -.1959$  ( $P = ,000$ ), indicating greater adherence (i.e. lower raw score) with increasing years of service. This is consistent with the understanding of the adherence factor as one relevant to personal adjustment as well as response to environmental pressure.

Adherence score distributions for the whole study according to years of service - are now given in Table 8.12.

TABLE 8.12 ADHERENCE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 16

YEARS OF SERVICE	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
0 - 5	269	63	22	6	9
6 - 10	120	71	19	4	6
11 - 20	105	88	7	3	2
21 +	60	88	10	0	2
TOTAL	554	72	18	5	5

The distributions in the table show markedly higher adherence by workers as years of service mount. This would be explained by the growth of local ties, increased investment in, and adaptation to the current job, declining availability of better personal alternatives, and, of course, the departure for pastures new of those workers who have not felt strong adherence pressures or attractions, leaving behind them, in increased proportion, those who have.

#### 8.8.2 The Significance of Item 16 as a Predictor of Employee Category

Since the variable was associated with adherence score variance its significance would lie in the differentiation of adherent from mobile workers - the sub-categories within each of the four major categories which are determined by the other two factors. The variable's inverse correlation with the adherence score became stronger as the environment offered a greater range of suggestion for job alternatives as the following shows:

Sample or Sector <u>Environment</u>	Correlation values:	
	<u>Years of Service with Adscore</u>	
5 Metropolitan	r = -,3582	P = ,000
6 Small town	r = -,3419	P = ,003
Forestry Combined	r = -,1600	P = ,006
4 Rural processor	no significant values	
7 Border processor	no significant values.	

Urban workers live in an environment of more numerous, more evident, and more proximate opportunities for job mobility. Such constant and visible reminders of alternative options would promote their optimal, and more rapid, exploitation - workers are less likely to stay in jobs they dislike if there are better actual alternatives. Those with long service are then more likely, as the labour market offers more choice, to be there because they like it. Again the observation of Rusbult and Lowery is noted - "loyalist behaviour was shown to be encouraged by good rather than poor alternatives" (see section 7.3.3). The visible or apparent range of options is likely to be largest in the metropolitan area, and so is the range of actual options. A small town suggests many options but the actual options are limited by the relatively embryonic stage of industrial growth. In forestry a worker may change his job with relative ease, but probably only for another very similar. Finally, workers in an insular rural processing plant, or homeland border processing plant, will have few visible or promising alternatives, and, even if these are evident, relocation would entail great social disruption for the worker. This would appear to explain the order of the above degrees of inverse correlation between the variables, at least in part.

Thus length of service is not a primary determinant of the worker's attitudes towards alternatives and towards the current employer, and could not indicate employee category, except in an unlikely situation where the labour market and the worker both are free of all constraints. Where labour mobility is free of constraint long service is likely to reflect worker contentment with his employment situation to some degree. Where it is not free long service is likely to be the result of reduced options, and to be indicative of an accumulation of otherwise exit-oriented workers.

The relevance of the variable to individual orientation, or to work group composition tends to shift according to the nature of the environmental considerations determining freedom of labour mobility. This accords with its perceived association with the adherence factor, which is environmentally derived.

8.9 SCORE VARIANCE BY OCCUPATIONAL SKILL LEVEL (ITEM 17)8.9.1 Adherence Factor Variance by Item 17

Table 6.10 showed that occupational skill level was one of the more significant predictor variables of factor 2, the adherence factor. The Beta weight computed was  $-.17629$ . Table 8.13 now shows the skill levels used for analytical purposes and adherence score distributions. For analytical purposes categories 2 and 3, in item 17 of the enquiry schedule were combined as one "unskilled" category .

TABLE 8.13 ADHERENCE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY ITEM 17

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL LEVEL	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Semi-skilled	185	81	12	3	4
Unskilled	369	68	20	5	7
TOTAL	554	72	18	5	5

In general terms it is to be expected that as workers secure better positions, of which there are fewer available, they will develop a greater tendency to remain in the security of their current employment. The number of attractive job alternatives decreases with every move upwards in occupational status; also any sense of deprivation, relative to fellow workers, and relative to economic aspiration, must become generally less acute. Semi-skilled workers in fact did respond more affirmatively, overall, to the adherence score variables than did unskilled workers. Adherence does therefore appear to increase with success, although success in turn reduces options, combining the attractions of the current job, the processes of adjustment to it, and the pressures of environmental motives to a greater tendency to inertia. The unskilled, comparatively, suffer similar environmental pressures but have less cause for ad-

herence to their particular jobs. Their greater concern is in being employed, anywhere, whilst being ready to take more advantageous options should they arise - and, when they have little, most alternatives are advantageous other than that of unemployment.

As was suggested in the preceding section, which concerned length of service, an urban industrial environment is likely to provide opportunities for speedier realisation of potential than isolated rural employment. Stronger correlation can therefore be expected in urban areas between skill level and adherence score. The strongest correlation occurred in the Durban sample ( $r = ,4028$   $P = ,000$ ), and the second strongest in the small town sample ( $r = ,3492$   $P = ,002$ ).

#### 8.9.2 The Significance of Item 17 as a Predictor of Employee Category

Where the labour market is fluid the processes described above should lead to a situation where workers attain a position where they are less interested in alternatives and more satisfied with their present position. Skill level should then show a degree of correlation with change and integration not expected generally in more viscous labour environments. In fact significant correlation was found in the sample of Durban workers where correlation of skill level with Chan-score gave the value  $r = ,2278$   $P = ,011$ , and with Intscore where the value was  $r = ,2350$   $P = ,009$ . These values show greater change orientation and less integration on the part of unskilled workers in Durban. Similar correlation was not found in sample 6 where the small town industrial environment may stimulate awareness of apparent alternatives, whilst failing to offer any depth of real alternatives, thus inhibiting the processes of natural job selection. The more numerous the worker's options the more quickly he can achieve the greatest advantage from his skills, and the more observable will be the effect on his general satisfaction in terms of loyalist behaviour. Skills assist access to better alternatives.

A number of scattergrams are now employed to demonstrate the difference of distribution between employee categories, according to skill level, firstly for all workers in the study, and secondly for Durban

workers. Figure 8.3 shows the distribution of unskilled workers overall, Figure 8.4 that of semi-skilled workers. These will be compared with Figures 8.5 and 8.6 which give the same information in respect of Durban workers. From the scattergrams the following is extracted:

Whole Study

<u>Predictor Category</u>	<u>Employment Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
(N = 554)				
Unskilled	38	10	11	41
Semi-skilled	46	14	9	31

Durban

<u>Predictor Category</u>	<u>Employment Category</u>			
	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
(N = 100)				
Unskilled	37	2	11	50
Semi-skilled	58	10	8	24

Clearly skill level can be associated with differences of distribution, particularly when it is capitalised through freedom of movement. A comparison of the Durban sample against the overall sample shows that

- the percentage of ambitious unskilled workers is very low, indicating that they more readily find attractive alternatives in the metropolitan area;
- the percentage of alienated unskilled workers is notably higher than the overall figure but score extremes are much lower. This suggests more ready consideration of the exit option (because it is more practical for social and environmental reasons) and its earlier exercise before alienation reaches high levels;
- the percentage of settled semi-skilled workers is very high, suggesting that ambitions have been realised to a large extent.

The distributions for Durban compared to those for the whole study support the concept of the Durban metropolitan environment as one which is relatively fluid for urbanised workers, one in which they can move with relative freedom until they find what they are seeking. At unskilled level the worker is not as adherent for pressing environmental or for social reasons. At semi-skilled level the worker may become adherent because of positive regard for an employer that has been sought and found of the worker's own (relatively) free will. These arguments, if correct, are supported by the correlations noted between skill level and the adherence score. The indications are that freedom of job choice does, as would be expected, have a beneficial effect upon labour relations.



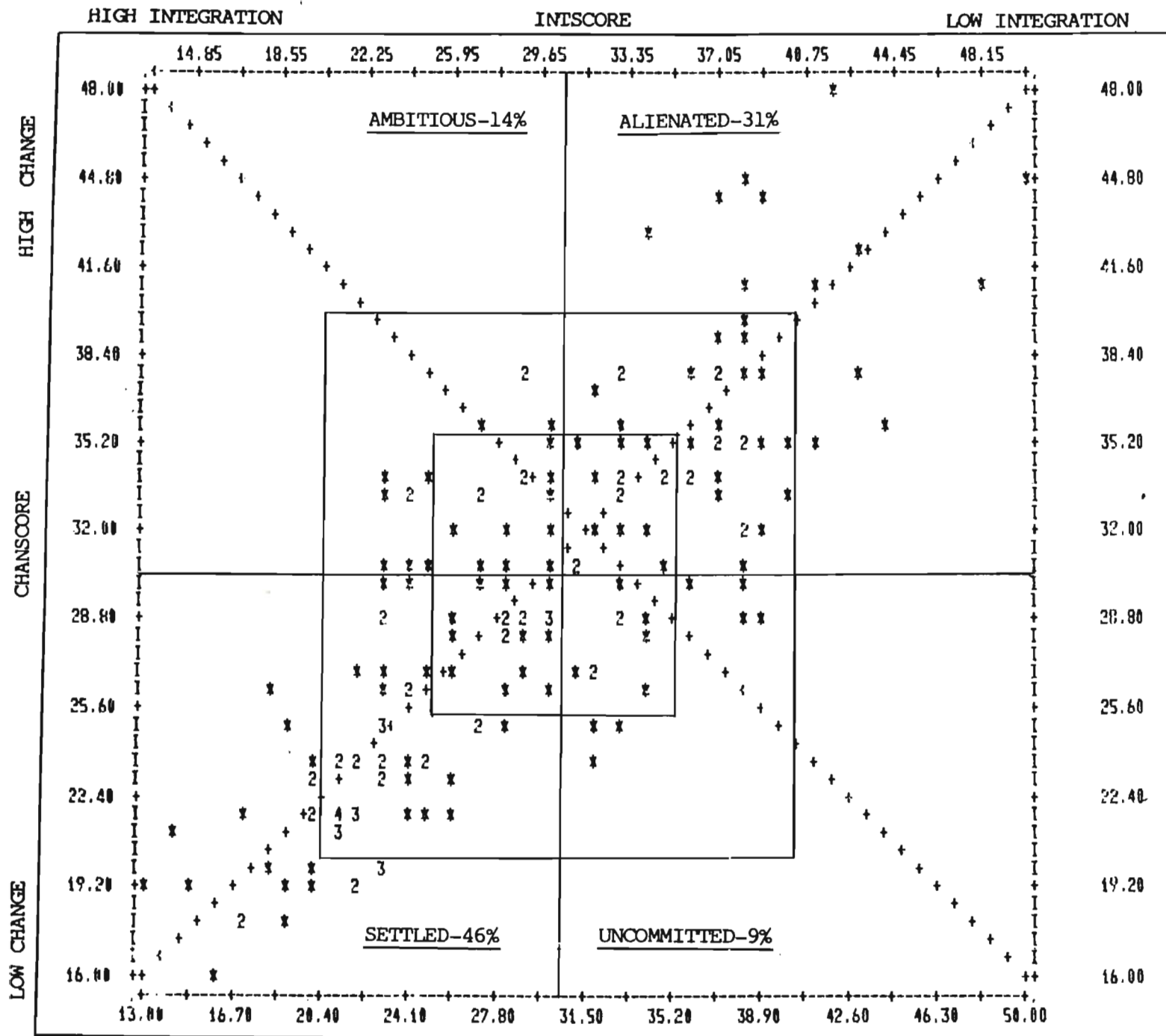


FIGURE 8.4

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

All semi-skilled

N = 185

Intensity Margins

Scores

Outer GT 20  
LE 40

Inner GT 25  
LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,80493

r squared = ,64792

Sign. P = ,00000

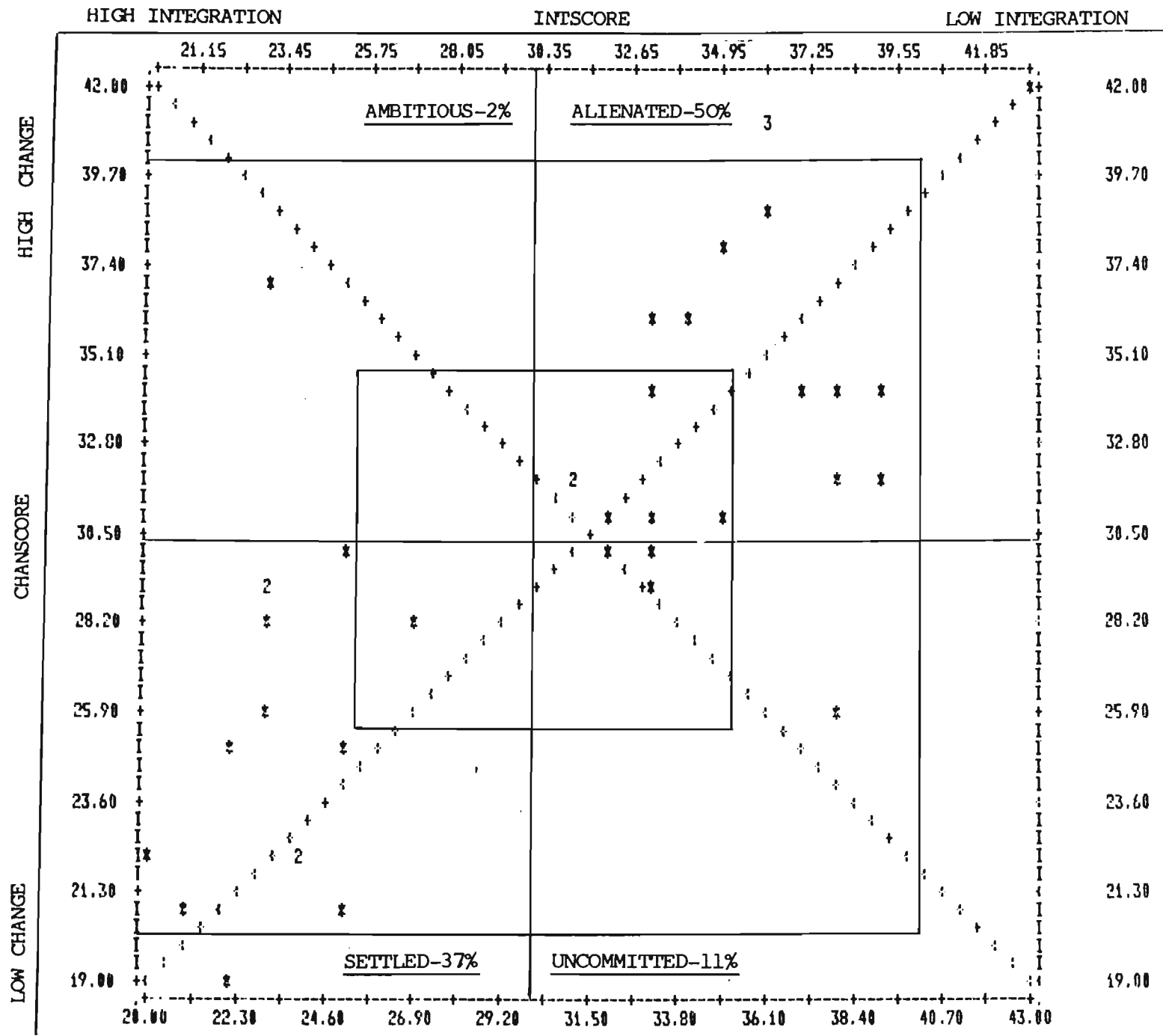


FIGURE 8.5

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

5 : Unskilled  
N = 38

Intensity Margins

	Scores
Outer	GT 20
	LE 40
Inner	GT 25
	LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,72456  
 r squared = ,52499  
 Sign. P = ,00000

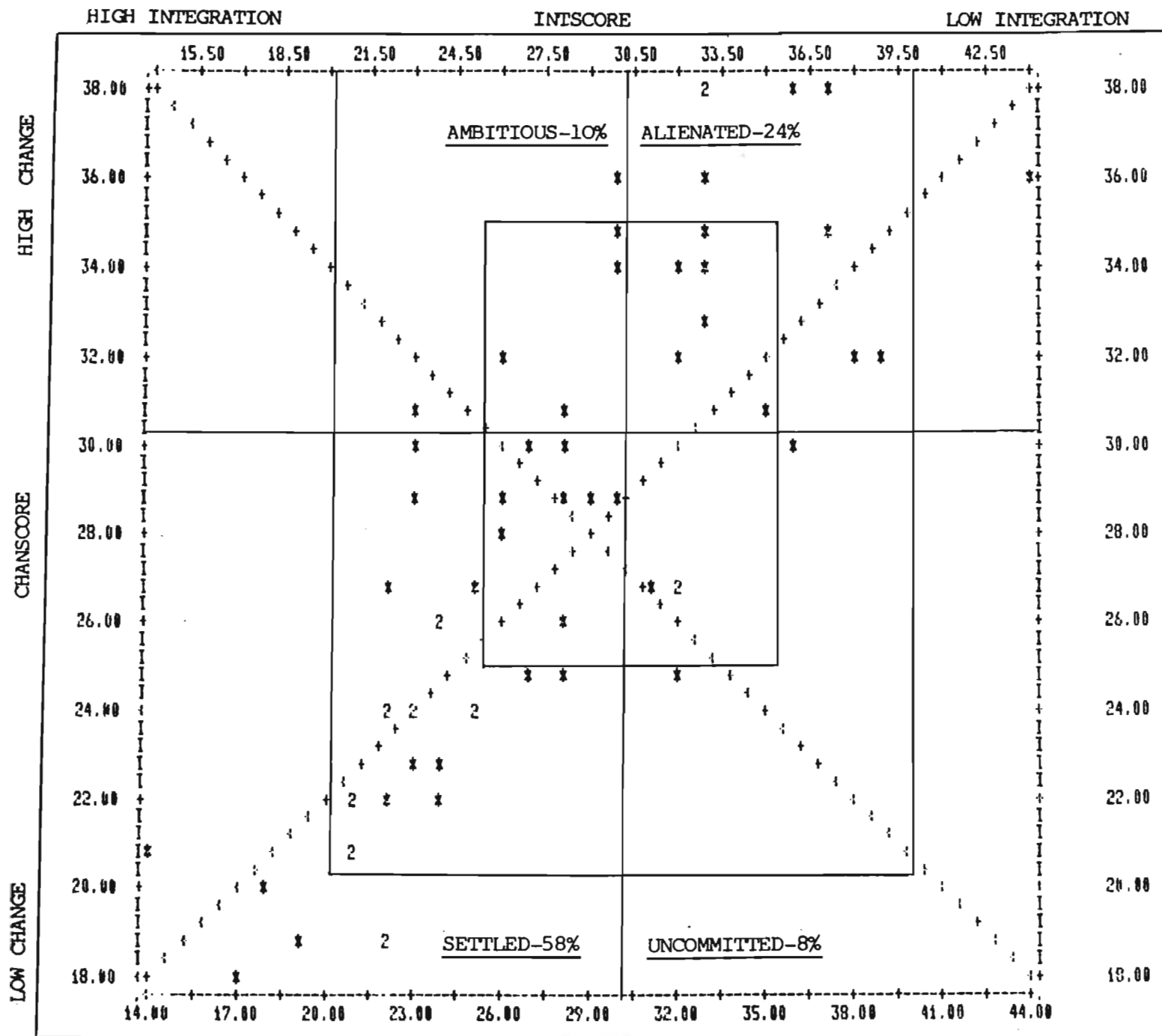


FIGURE 8.6

MEAN SCORES:  
CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:  
5: Semi-skilled  
N = 62

Intensity Margins

	Scores
Outer	GT 20 LE 40
Inner	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,80275  
r squared = ,64441  
Sign. P = ,00000

They support the current call for greater freedom of lateral and vertical labour mobility which has been most recently advocated in South Africa in the general thrust of the Project Free Enterprise Final Report published by the Unisa School of Business Leadership (1986).

## 8.10 SCORE VARIANCE ACCORDING TO RESIDENTIAL AND MARITAL STATUS (VARIABLE RESMAR)

### 8.10.1 Residential and Marital Status (RESMAR) : Introduction

In section 6.4.1 (b) it was noted that items 8 and 13 in the enquiry schedule, referring to marital status and place of residence whilst at work, were re-coded to provide a combined scale (RESMAR) for residential and marital status. In the regression analysis this new variable was indicated as a significant predictor of the change and integration factors, with Beta weights of  $-.12112$  and  $.15402$  in Tables 6.9 and 6.11 respectively. Pearson's correlations between RESMAR and the factor variable scores were as follows:

RESMAR, and - Chanscore	$r = -.1498$ $P = .000$
- Adscore	not significant
- Intscore	$r = -.1794$ $P = .000$

Examination of score variance in different samples showed that the full significance of the variable could be masked by local sample peculiarities, and the manner of the variable's coding in relation to these circumstances. More specifically:

- a) On forestry estates generally there were no clear correlations between the variable RESMAR and the scores for which it was expected to be significant. This is partly explained by a more natural off-duty social life where males and females, singles and married, are free to mingle and converse with people of their choice, from their own estate or from others nearby, to talk about interests in common other than those arising from the day's work. Also seasonal workers with short term objectives do not worry unduly about short term discomforts.

- b) Respondents in sample 4, which was the isolated rural industry sample, were almost all resident in single quarters. Only four percent lived outside the factory single quarters. Therefore no reliable differentiation could be made within the sample according to the RESMAR scale.
- c) With sample 5 (Durban) precisely the reverse was true, with only four percent of respondents in single accommodation. Of the 96 percent living in a family situation, 85 percent lived in town (RESMAR category 3), and 11 percent in homeland villages (RESMAR 4). In the Durban environment homeland villages could be more inconvenient and less desirable than a family home in town. This appears to be the underlying explanation of positive correlation between RESMAR and the three factor variable scores in this sample - i.e. persons living in homeland villages tended to score more highly than those living in township married accommodation, showing more change orientation, less adherence, and poorer employment integration.
- d) Respondents of sample 7, the border industry, were almost all (97 percent) living at home so that little differentiation and no valid correlation could be expected or was found between the variables in this sample.

These considerations disturb any smooth progression of orientation according to RESMAR category when examining trends across the whole study, or within any of the samples referred to individually above. It was then concluded that the most significant variation was to be found not on the RESMAR scale, but on a simplified scale which separated respondents according to whether they lived in single quarters (as either single or married persons), or in some kind of family situation (i.e. in company married quarters, in villages on white farms, or in neighbouring homeland areas). The important distinction appeared to be between persons living in an unnatural, single quarter environment, removed to a greater or lesser degree from natural social intercourse, and those who lived in a family environment. A simplified two category variable was therefore

constructed, and is now referred to as DOMSIT - for domestic situation. Correlation values than computed for the study overall (N = 554) were:

DOMSIT and Chanscore	$r = -,1910$	$P = ,000$
Adscore	$r = -,0976$	$P = ,011$
Intscore	$r = -,2221$	$P = ,000$

When the three processing plants were isolated as a group (N = 205) the corresponding correlation values were:

DOMSIT and : Chanscore	$r = -,2885$	$P = ,000$
Adscore	$r = -,1334$	$P = ,028$
Intscore	$r = -,3296$	$P = ,000$

It was also noted that the strongest correlations were computed when the two processing plants, samples 6 and 7, were combined. These two plants were run by one company, whilst the now omitted sample 4 plant was run by a separate employer. Methods of production were very similar but residential circumstances differed sharply between samples 6 and 7. Also, standards of food and accommodation for single people at the sample 6 plant were regarded as unsatisfactory by the personnel department staff concerned, and complaints had been made by workers. Standards at the sample 4 plant hostel were considered fairly good, however, and this may explain why stronger correlation was found when it was removed from the combination of samples under examination. The computed values then (N = 105) were:

DOMSIT and : Chanscore	$r = -,3662$	$P = ,000$
Adscore	$r = -,2599$	$P = ,004$
Intscore	$r = -,3551$	$P = ,000$

It certainly appears obvious that a natural consequence of workers living in hostel accommodation is that the quality of the accommodation itself will become a source of controversy between worker and employer. Causes for complaint about the employment relationship became evident for twenty-four hours of the day, and where unsatisfactory, will colour the total relationship.

In the following sub-sections some score distributions are provided contrasting the responses of people in single quarters and others. These provide comparisons both overall as a general picture, and for samples 6 and 7 representing the extreme.

Finally it was noted that the previously noted correlations in the Durban sample were absent with the new variable DOMSIT, as expected.

#### 8.10.2 Change Factor Variance by Domestic Situation

Reference has already been made to the values computed in regression analysis and correlation. These indicate an association which is then clearly observable in the score distributions for the whole study now given in Table 8.14.

TABLE 8.14 CHANGE SCORE VARIANCE BY DOMESTIC SITUATION (DOMSIT)

DOMESTIC SITUATION	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Single	267	24	10	24	39
Family	287	34	23	26	16
TOTAL	554	30	21	25	24

Perhaps the most significant difference in the distributions is in the highest score category, which includes only 16 percent of those in a family environment, compared to 39 percent of those living away from home. These trends become even more emphatic when distributions for samples 6 and 7 are extracted and examined as they are in Table 8.15. The conclusion that respondents' interest in change and alternative options in terms of factor 1 is much reduced by natural social living conditions, or stimulated by unnatural ones, is thus clearly supported.

TABLE 8.15 CHANGE SCORE VARIANCE BY DOMESTIC SITUATION (DOMSIT):  
SAMPLES 6 AND 7

DOMESTIC SITUATION	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Single	33	15	15	24	46
Family	72	42	18	25	15
TOTAL	105	33	17	25	22

### 8.10.3 Integration Factor Variance by Domestic Situation

Trends similar to those shown in the preceding section are revealed in the distributions for Intscore indicating worker integration with their company. Once again, in Table 8.16, there is a marked difference between the percentages of respondents at the score extremes according to their domestic situation. Again the trend is even more marked when figures are extracted in Table 8.17 for samples 6 and 7.

TABLE 8.16 INTEGRATION SCORE VARIANCE BY DOMESTIC SITUATION (DOMSIT)

DOMESTIC SITUATION	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Single	267	21	22	20	37
Family	287	42	19	21	18
TOTAL	554	32	20	21	27

TABLE 8.17 INTEGRATION SCORE VARIANCE BY DOMESTIC SITUATION (DOMSIT)  
SAMPLES 6 AND 7

DOMESTIC SITUATION	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
Single	33	12	27	12	49
Family	72	46	21	14	19
TOTAL	105	35	23	13	29

In each of the tables the scoring pattern for people in single accommodation is opposite in emphasis to that of workers in family accommodation; the former tend to be high scoring and the latter low scoring, with high percentages found at the opposite score extremes in each case.

A central conclusion must be that the integration of work and family life is a pre-condition of high priority in the worker's own integration into his or her employment. The disjunction of two essential aspects of life cannot be expected to produce stability and moderation.

#### 8.10.4 The Significance of Domestic Situation as a Predictor of Employee Category

The domestic situation of workers, and the distortions that have been placed upon it, has been shown to be very significant in its association with scores on both the factor axes determining the categorisation of workers into the four main categories. The result of this is seen in figures 8.7 and 8.8 for single and family accommodated workers respectively. For ease of reference the distribution of respondents between categories is shown below:

<u>Domestic Situation</u>	N =	<u>Employment Category (%)</u>			
		<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Single	267	33	10	12	45
Family	287	49	12	8	31

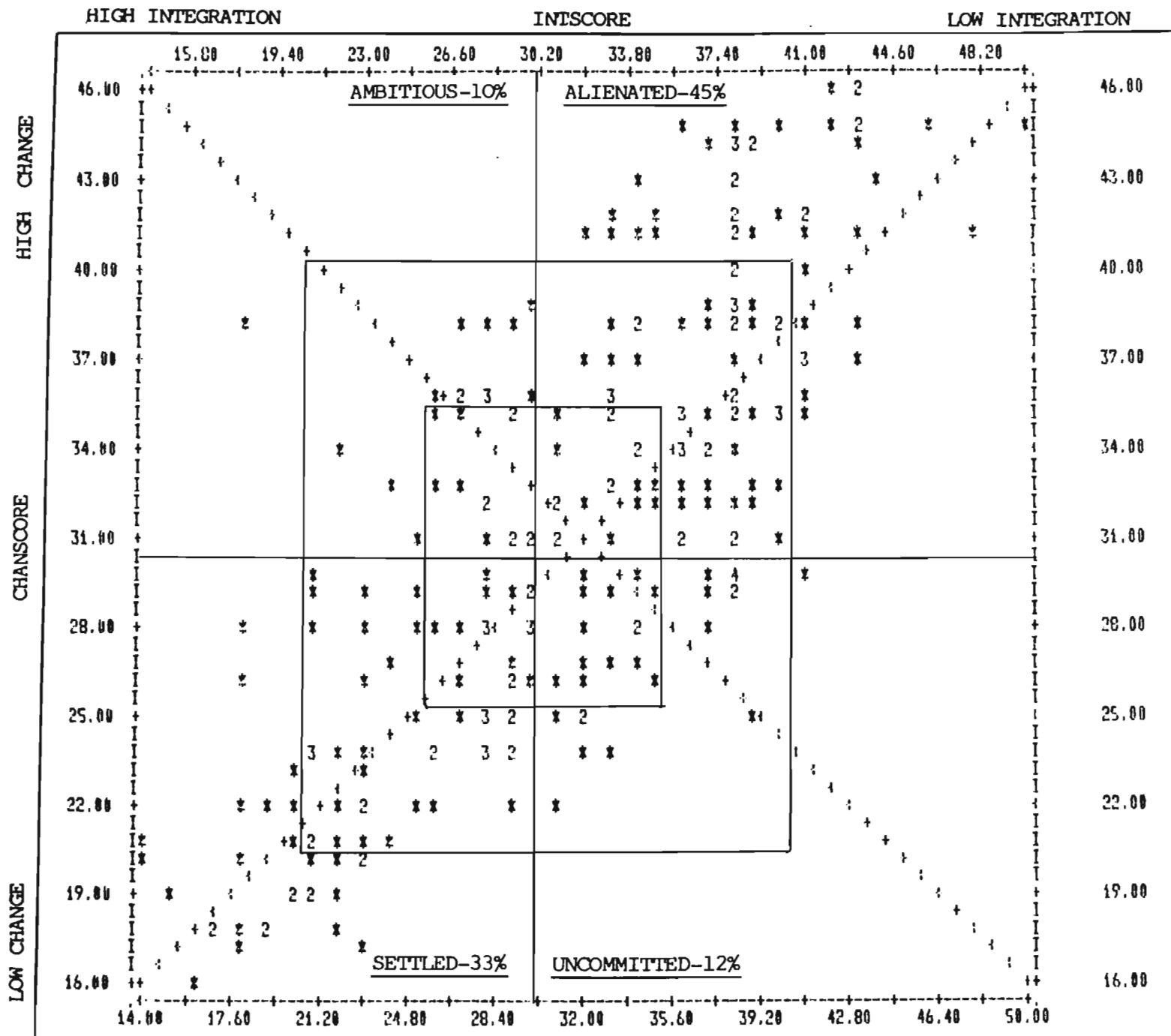


FIGURE 8.7

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

All Single Situation

N = 267

Intensity Margins

	Scores
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,79481

r squared = ,63172

Sign. P = ,00000

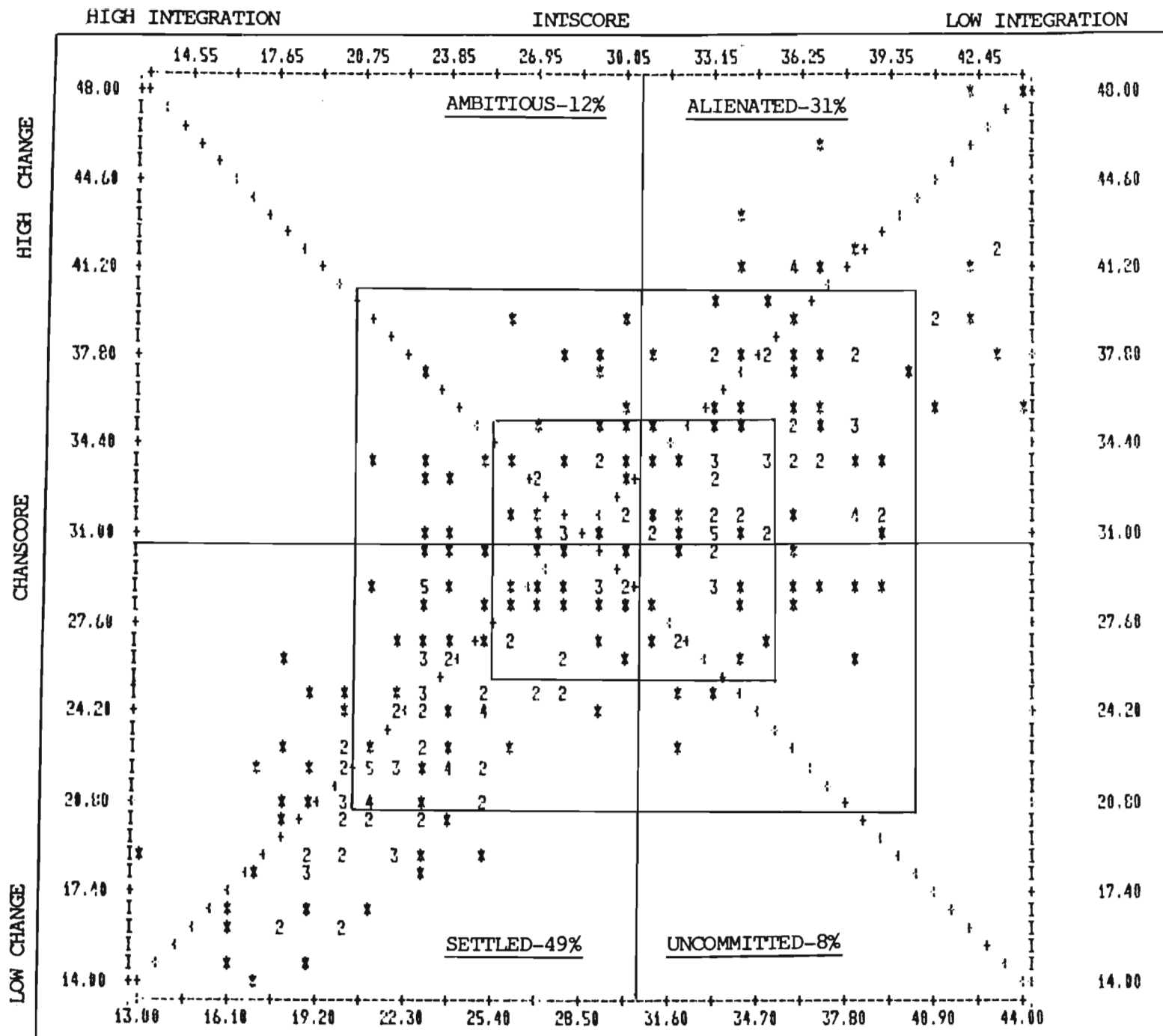


FIGURE 8.8

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

All Family Situation

N = 287

Intensity Margins

<u>Scores</u>	
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,76671

r squared = ,58784

Sign. P = ,00000

The difference in distribution speaks for itself. It is even more marked when samples 6 and 7 are isolated as indicated below, in brief (and in more detail in figures 8.9 and 8.10):

<u>Domestic Situation</u>	N = <u>105</u>	Employment Category (%)			
		<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Single	33	24	15	6	55
Family	72	54	12	3	31

Clearly the division of workers by residential or domestic situation is an important variable for prediction of worker category- although where the situation is ameliorated by conditions conducive to social mingling, as on the forestry estates studied, far less significant differentiation is found. In amplifying the reasons for this reference is needed to the more significant correlations between the variable DOMSIT and other biographical variables. The following r values, where r exceeds ,2000 are noted in reference to the whole study:

<u>Nature of Variable</u>	<u>Direction of Measurement</u>	<u>Correlation with DOMSIT</u>	<u>Significance P =</u>
DOMSIT	Single-Family	r = 1,0000	,000
Age	Young-old	r = ,2149	,000
Education	Low-High	r = ,2552	,000
Marital state	Single-married	r = ,2523	,000
Frequency of visits home	Often-seldom	r = ,2174	,000
Skill level	Higher-lower	r = -,2846	,000
Current wage	Low-High	r = ,4161	,000
Stated relative income aspiration	Low-high:		
	RATMUST	r = -,2470	,000
	RATSAVE	r = -,2941	,000
	RATJOY	r = -,3194	,000

The correlations above suggest that workers who live in family accommodation of some sort are more likely to be:

- (a) Older: Age as a variable in itself however was not found in section 8.3.5 to be a particularly significant predictor.

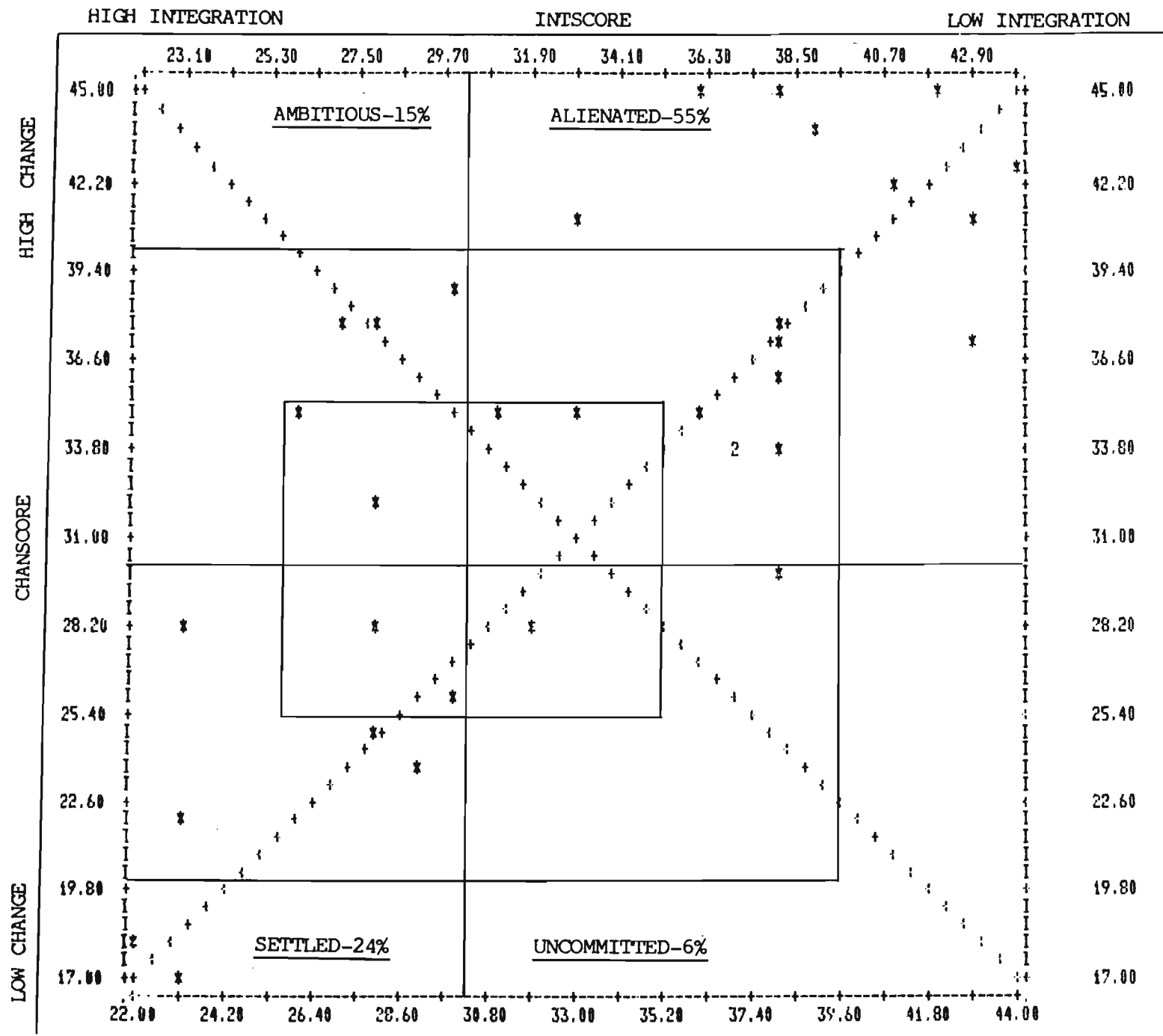


FIGURE 8.9

MEAN SCORES:  
CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

Samples 6 and 7  
Single Situation  
N = 33

Intensity Margins

	Scores
Outer	GT 20
	LE 40
Inner	GT 25
	LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons  $r = ,72561$   
 $r$  squared =  $,52651$   
 Sign. P =  $,00000$

FIGURE 8.9

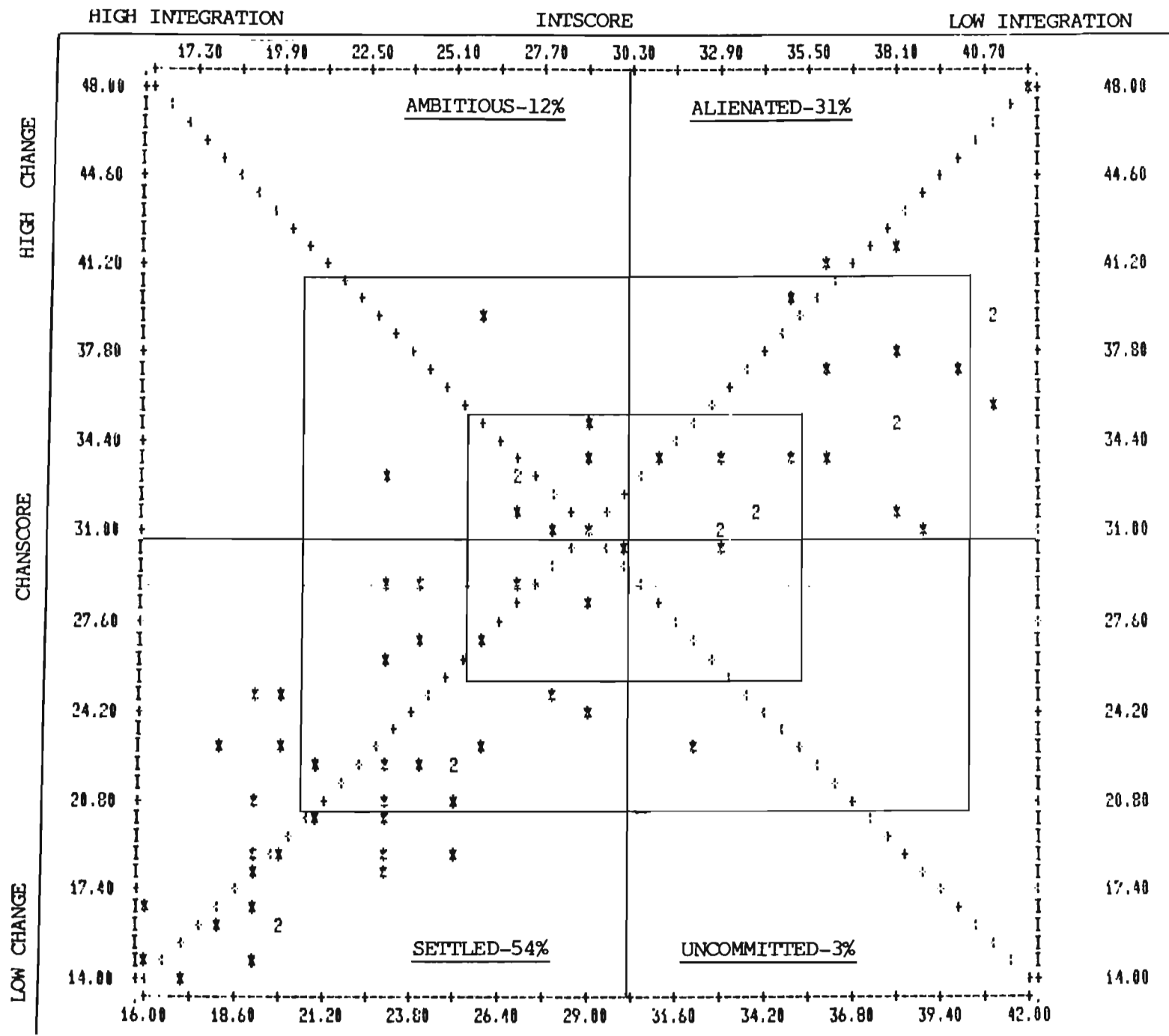


FIGURE 8.10

MEAN SCORES:  
CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:  
Samples 6 and 7  
Family Situation  
N = 72

Intensity Margins

	Scores
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,85061  
r squared = ,72354  
Sign. P = ,00000

FIGURE 8.10

The domestic situation seems to be the dominant variable.

- (b) better educated : Education itself was not found in section 8.4.2 to be a significant predictor of change and integration. There were indications linking it to success and adherence on the part of workers. Here success is perhaps measured by the achievement of a more desirable social environment and thus the domestic situation appears to be the more significant variable.
- (c) married: Obviously family accommodation has a fair proportion of married people as opposed to others included in the family as offspring, siblings etc. There was no evidence that the state of marriage itself was significant, as it can have few benefits where spouses are separated for example.
- (d) less frequent visitors to the homeland village: This is to be expected where people are normally living with a nuclear family on a day to day basis.
- (e) more skilled: Skill level was seen in section 8.9 to be significant to the adherence factor but not directly to the change and integration factors. Skill level appears to facilitate movement into a more desirable (i.e. family) domestic situation, and attainment of that goal in turn, and the benefits it brings, influences attitudes to change and integration, and the balance of attitudes within the work group as a whole.
- (f) better paid in an absolute sense and less conscious of relative disparities between actual income and that aspired to: Although actual income and the income aspirations expressed relative to it, are likely to be strongly correlated (close to ,6000 in all cases), there are other reasons why relative aspiration should decline when workers live in a family situation:

- there is more opportunity to rationalise economic problems between family members. This must result in better allocation of income, greater economies and less recrimination;

- living expenses are a shared burden between a greater number of contributors which would help to reduce the frequency and intensity of lean times;
- entertainment and social attractions are more likely to centre upon the home, with less income being drained away in other activities which may in themselves be socially destructive.

The considerations mentioned in (f) suggest several social advantages offered by family accommodation, and to these must be added the personal, physical discomfort that may be experienced by workers where hostel facilities are poorly administered, and which provide potential points for conflict between employee and employer in addition to those of the workplace.

The discontent associated with single quarter conditions can be attributed mainly to the relatively poor quality of life offered in terms of social and emotional support, physical comforts, economic inefficiencies and conflicting obligations. Employers will be blamed, sometimes with justification, and yet the burden upon employers of building and maintaining accommodation and ancillary services is immense and unproductive of company revenue. It is a burden imposed largely by political ideology and one which damages labour relations.

Any assertion that the greater alienation of workers in single quarters is due to the fact that they tend to be younger and less skilled and therefore less well paid (the correlation of income and skill level was  $r = - ,6402$   $P = ,000$ ) is easily evaluated by comparison of scattergrams and distributions for the following:

- a) semi-skilled workers in single quarters,
- b) unskilled workers in family accommodation.

If monetary and occupational success were more important than social satisfaction then group (a) should be more settled than group (b). These two groups were therefore isolated and appear in Figure 8.11 and 8.12 respectively. As may be seen the percentage distributions between categories are as follows:

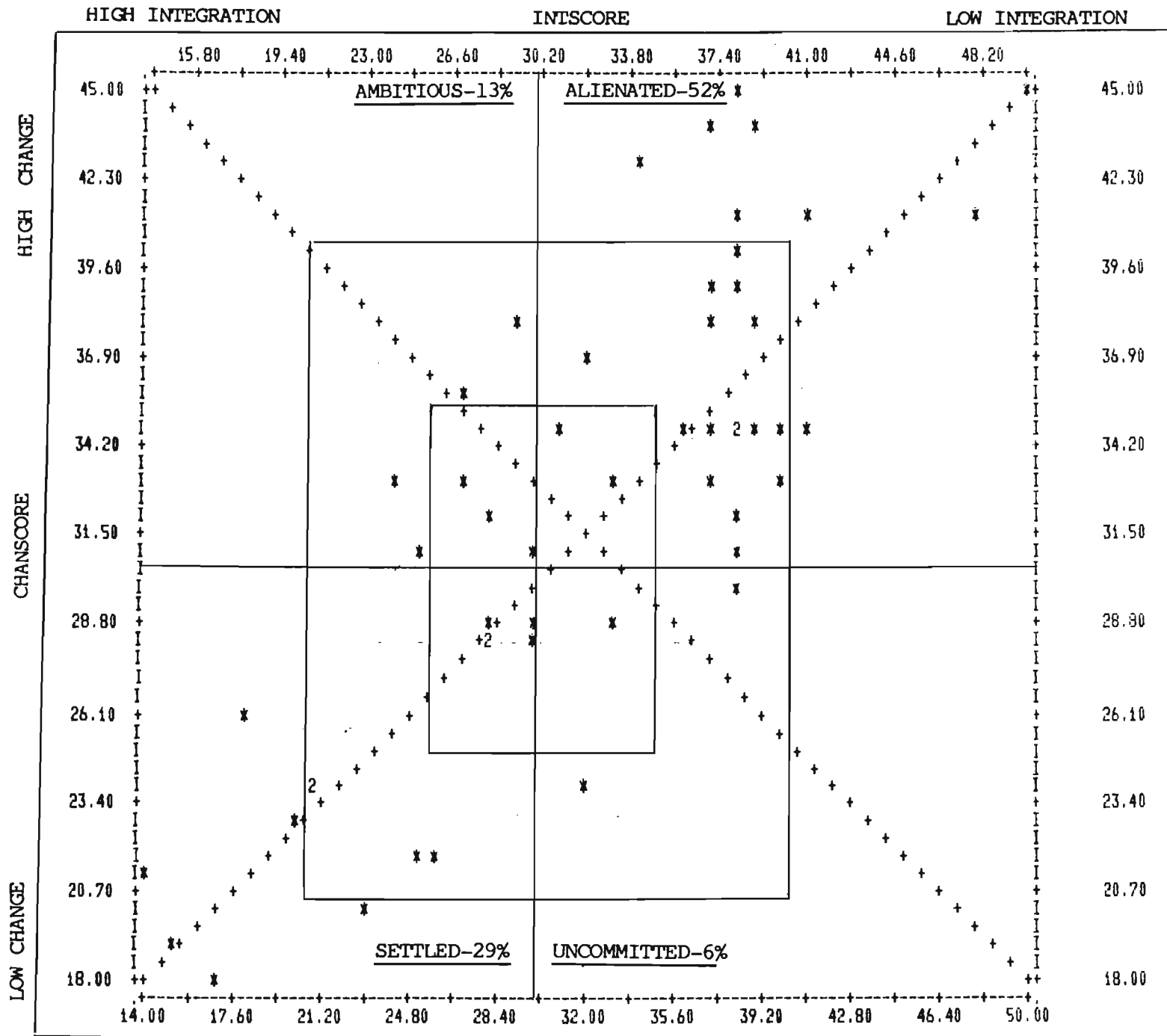


FIGURE 8.11

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

All semi-skilled  
in single quarters  
N = 52

Intensity Margins

	<u>Scores</u>
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,79472

r squared = ,63158

Sign. P = ,00000

FIGURE 8.11

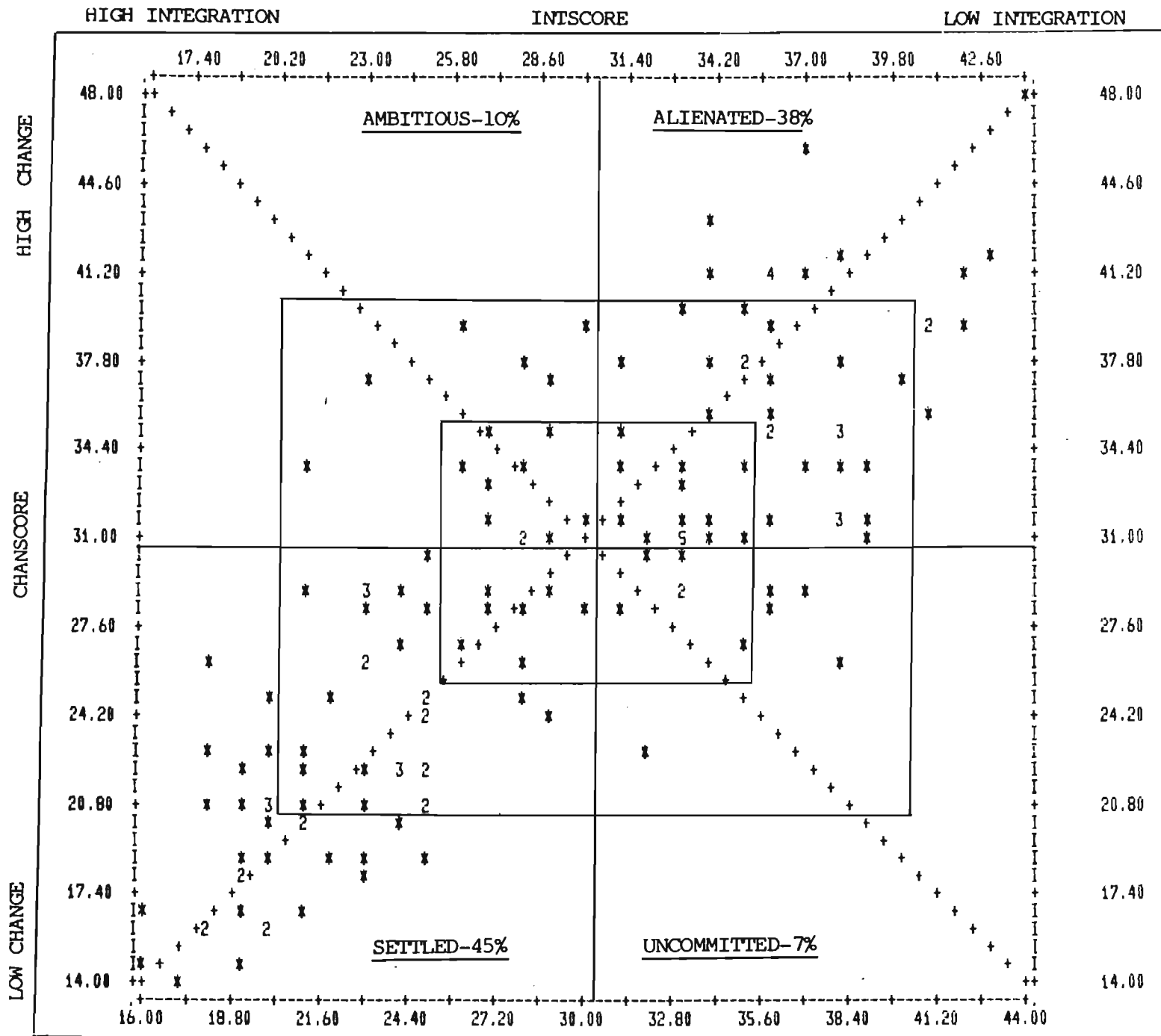


FIGURE 8.12

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

All unskilled in  
family situation  
N = 154

Intensity Margins

Scores

Outer GT 20  
LE 40

Inner GT 25  
LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,80306

r squared = ,64491

Sign. P = ,00000

FIGURE 8.12

<u>Group</u>	<u>N =</u>	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
(a) Semi-skilled/ single quarters	52	29	13	6	52
(b) Unskilled/ family	154	45	10	7	38

These distributions may be compared with those referred to in sections 8.9 and 8.10. They seem to leave little doubt that the single quarter environment, and of course the labour migration system, is a considerable influence in the alienation of workers from their employers and employment.

It is clear from the above that a natural social environment has a settling effect on workers both because it represents the satisfaction or achievement of a natural social goal, and because it creates conditions for greater social and economic security. The lack thereof on a massive scale throughout the country must have a massive cost in terms of socio-political stability, the quality of industrial relations, and the gross domestic product when translated in terms of the behavioural characteristics noted in the previous chapter.

## 8.11 SCORE VARIANCE ACCORDING TO INCOME AND RELATIVE ASPIRATIONS

### 8.11.1 Actual Income and Relative Aspiration: Introduction

The derivation of the relative income variables was described in paragraphs reference 6.4.1 (c) in Chapter 6. These were to assess respondents' various economic aspirations relative to actual income, and, as expected, regression analysis showed them to be the more significant. The position is reflected in each of the tables 6.9 to 6.12, Chapter 6.

Although actual income was not indicated as a significant variable further evidence was nevertheless sought in this area since a simplistic prima facie, and perhaps popular, expectation would be to the contrary. Respondents were fairly well distributed through the response scale of schedule item 19, and some differentiation of scoring on the three factors appeared likely. However a significantly lower scoring pattern was only discernible on all scores among the ten percent of respondents earning over R350.00 per month

(as at October 1984), equivalent to about R440 per month at current levels (October 1986). Below that level respondents in all wage categories showed a similar distribution of response.

Further reflection would then suggest that the real underlying significance of levels of actual income is concealed by a variety of intervening variables relating to the individual economic responsibilities of respondents in the study. This is no doubt so, but by itself does not explain why great discrepancies in the median levels of actual income in each, geographically separated, sample were accompanied by a remarkable similarity between samples in the ratio which income aspirations bore to real income. These are indicated in Table 8.18 (As a rough guide the addition of twenty five percent would give 1986 levels of income being received by respondents). This feature strongly suggests that wage aspirations tend to be formulated by workers, perhaps normally sub-consciously, not only in terms of a calculated need, but as a sum relative to current actual income, whatever the level of current income may be. Also, although the magnitude of the ratio of relative aspiration to real income declines as real income rises, it does so more slowly.

Consideration now turns to the question of associations found between the actual and relative income variables, and the three factor variable scores.

#### 8.11.2 Change Factor Variance by Income and Relative Aspiration

Table 6.9 indicated Beta weights of ,30690 and - ,17757 for the variables RATSAVE and RATHOPE respectively as predictors of orientation to change or alternatives. This indicates that the more a worker feels his income to be inadequate to accumulate savings, and the less he sees hope of achieving those levels in his present job, the more he becomes interested in alternatives. This of course is quite rational. However, the values subsequently computed for correlation between the real income variable (item 19) and the change score, were not strong, or were not significant, in relation to the study overall as the following values show:

TABLE 8.18 MEDIAN INCOME ASPIRATION RELATIVE TO ACTUAL INCOME BY SAMPLE AND SECTOR

SAMPLE AND SECTOR	N =	MEDIAN ACTUAL INCOME - 1984		MEDIAN RELATIVE INCOME ASPIRATION			
		ITEM 19 CODE	WAGE BRACKET (RPM)	RATMUST	RATSAVE	RATJOY	RATHOPE
1. Forestry Estate	124	2,7	R 76 - 100	1,5	2,0	2,5	1,5
2. " "	61	3,6	R101 - 125	1,5	2,0	2,4	1,5
3. " "	64	2,2	R 76 - 100	1,6	2,3	2,7	1,5
4. Processor (Rural Industry)	100	5,5	R151 - 200	1,3	1,5	1,7	1,2
5. Durban (Metropolitan)	100	8,3	R301 - 350	1,3	1,4	1,5	1,6
6. Processor (Small town)	65	4,1	R126 - 150	1,5	1,8	2,0	1,3
7. Processor (Border Industry)	40	5,3	R151 - 200	1,3	1,5	1,7	1,3
Forestry Sector	249	2,7	R 76 - 100	1,5	2,0	2,5	1,5
Processing Sector	205	5,3	R151 - 200	1,4	1,6	1,8	1,3
All Samples	554	5,0	R126 - 150	1,4	1,6	2,1	1,5

Chanscore and : RATSAVE  $r = ,1716$   $P = ,000$   
 RATHOPE  $r = ,0212$   $P = ,310$   
 Item 19  $r = ,0725$   $P = ,044$

Workers apparently tend to form their savings aspirations in a relative sense within the familiar context of their own industry's wage levels. This was supported by the stronger correlations computed between the change score and RATSAVE within each sector:

Forestry  $r = ,2142$   $P = ,000$   
 Processing  $r = ,2059$   $P = ,002$   
 Durban  $r = ,2904$   $P = ,002$

This also indicates that the attraction of alternatives lies, in part, in the prospects of finding a superior position permitting the generation of sufficient income to enable a surplus to be saved. This attraction may eventually overcome adherence to the present job - which is based more on immediate needs than future savings needs. It will be seen in section 8.11.3 that adherence score is correlated with RATMUST which is concerned with present imperative needs relative to actual wage.

Change Score distribution according to the magnitude of the variable RATSAVE is provided in Table 8.19. The contents of the table indicate that, when the income assessed as necessary to enable savings is greater than 1,5 times present income level, then interest in change and in job alternatives is associated with it. Stronger trends would be seen within distinct sectors.

TABLE 8.19 CHANGE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY RELATIVE INCOME VARIABLE RATSAVE

RATSAVE CATEGORY	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
GT 0 - LT 1,5	183	35	24	29	12
GE 1,5 - LT 2,5	259	30	18	23	29
GE 2,5- LT 3,5	85	21	26	25	28
GT 3,5	27	19	11	33	37
All	554	30	21	25	24

Generally it may be concluded that the ability to save is an important objective for workers. Their estimation of the income level at which this becomes possible is gauged in a sense which is relative to their present income, and to the standards of their employment milieu. Present actual income has little predictive value of change orientation except in its relationship to the economic goals or aspirations of workers.

### 8.11.3 Adherence Factor Variance by Income and Relative Aspiration

Table 6.10 indicated two of the relative income variables as the more significant predictors of adherence factor score with Beta weights of - ,23625 and ,19574 for RATMUST and RATHOPE respectively. The more deficient that wages are thought to be in satisfying imperative needs the less adherent the worker will be. The greater the wage that the worker hopes he will actually attain (or the more optimistic he is) the more adherent he will be.

Subsequent correlation of Adscore with these variables, and the real income variable (item 19), gives the following values:

Adscore and RATMUST	r = ,2176	P = ,000
RATHOPE	r = ,0810	P = ,029
Item 19	r = -,1472	P = ,000

As was observed with the variable RATSAVE in association with the change factor, stronger correlations were noted between RATMUST and the variables associated with it when isolated to the various industrial sectors within the study.

Sector	<u>Correlation of Adscore with:</u>		
	<u>RATMUST</u>	<u>RATHOPE</u>	<u>WAGE (Item 19)</u>
Forestry	r = ,3249	,1298	- ,2801
	P = ,000	,021	,000
Processing	r = ,2945	n/s	- ,2165
	P = ,000		,001
Durban	r = ,2644	,2138	- ,3542
	P = ,004	,016	,000

These correlations indicate that as real wage increases so workers become more adherent to their job, since clearly their chances of better alternatives progressively reduce and they value its retention more highly. The greater the freedom of movement offered by the environment the more wage levels will provide the measure of advantage and the less other considerations will intervene. Hence stronger correlation between wage and adherence with Durban workers is noted above. Similarly as wage becomes progressively inadequate in relation to the wage the worker feels he must have (RATMUST) the less adherent the worker becomes.

Table 8.20 shows the result of the relationship of adherence to the RATMUST variable upon distribution. The differences are not great and this emphasises the powerful nature of restraints felt by workers against leaving their jobs. Even when wages appear inadequate to basic needs more attractive alternatives are difficult to find.

TABLE 8.20 ADHERENCE SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY RELATIVE INCOME VARIABLE RATMUST

RATMUST CATEGORY	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
GT 0 - LT 1,5	296	77	18	3	2
GE 1,5 - LT 2,5	227	68	25	4	3
GE 2,5 - LT 3,5	22	68	18	9	5
GE 3,5	9	33	45	0	22
All	554	72	18	5	5

Of the 258 workers who felt that their imperative need was for a wage in excess of 1,5 times the present wage (the second, third and fourth categories above) only a very small minority of 21 workers expressed themselves as mobile (i.e. scored in excess of 3,0 on the adherence scale).

It was seen previously, however, in Table 8.19, that 49 percent of all workers had expressed positive interest in alternatives.

Environmental pressure therefore, combined with a lack of real alternatives, leads to the retention of many workers who express and no doubt feel, real dissatisfaction about the adequacy of their remuneration in providing for their most imperative needs. Even allowance for the exaggeration of response to the enquiry schedule on wage issues must leave very many in such a predicament.

The association of these variables with the adherence score supports the characteristics which have been attributed to the adherence factor.

#### 8.11.4. Integration Factor Variance by Income and Relative Aspiration

Table 6.11 linked poorer integration, or poorer satisfaction with the present job, with a widening gap between actual income and the income needed to save - expressed by the variable RATSAVE.

Pearson's correlations of Intscore with RATSAVE and with actual income (item 19) were as follows:

Intscore and RATSAVE	$r = ,1867$	$P = ,000$
Item 19	$r = - ,0844$	$P = ,024$

The only improvement found in the correlation within the various industrial sectors was that for RATSAVE amongst forestry sector respondents ( $r = ,2606$   $P = ,000$ ). The relatively weak or insignificant correlation in the timber processing and metropolitan sectors tends to suggest that variation of opinion on the integration score is in terms of judgements made by workers in terms of the individual variables which are component to the factor, and which may be influenced by other predictor variables. Judgements on the factor theme are made less upon any economic aspects and more on those of trust, sincerity, concern and communication.

At the lower income levels found in the forestry sector, increased anxiety about future needs is more likely to impinge upon the assessment of employment relationships. Since the most significant differentiation is to be expected within this sector score distributions in Table 8.21 concern forestry estate respondents only.

TABLE 8.21 INTEGRATION SCORE DISTRIBUTION VARIANCE BY RELATIVE INCOME VARIABLE RATSAVE : FORESTRY SECTOR

RATSAVE CATEGORY (Item 21 ÷ Item 19)	N =	SCORE DISTRIBUTION (%)			
		1,0-2,5	2,6-3,0	3,1-3,5	3,6-5,0
GT 0 - LT 1,5	58	43	19	19	19
GE 1,5 - LT 2,5	90	43	20	16	21
GE 2,5 - LT 3,5	75	21	21	27	31
GE 3,5	26	15	23	16	46
All	249	34	20	20	26

The expected trend is observable in the table, becoming particularly distinct between the extremes of the RATSAVE variable categories. But at higher extremes the number of respondents is relatively small, and of those the absolute number with an integration score exceeding 3,0 is minimal compared to the total number of forestry estate respondents.

The distribution supports the suggestion that variation on the integration factor is primarily a function of the quality of human relations and social integration in industry as expressed by the factor variables, rather than one of income.

#### 8.11.5. The Significance of Income and Relative Aspiration as Predictors of Employee Category

The foregoing has indicated the unreliability of wage level as a predictor of employee category; of integration or alienation therefore. Its significance is in its perceived sufficiency to meet present and future needs in the context of local conditions, and personal aspiration and assessment. In a national sense, therefore, workers would judge their quality of life and income relative to the levels current in the sector and industry in which they are employed. It is those standards which tend to shape their assessments of what they should earn in their jobs or might earn elsewhere.

It was seen that the assessed sufficiency of present wage relative to imperative needs (represented by the variable RATMUST) is linked to job adherence, but that only at the higher levels of inadequacy are the pressures supporting job adherence weakened. This reflects the critical lack of opportunity for workers in an over-supplied job market and must result in the long term retention of those workers who are dissatisfied both with their remuneration and other aspects of their job. Similarly however it is only at higher levels of inadequacy that the quality of employee integration suffers noticeably. Conditions of recession and repressed labour mobility must be a chronic source of labour discontent, lower productivity, reduced revenue, and eventually higher wage demands through the accumulation of dissatisfied workers. The flow of labour is as important to an economy or an organisation as the supply of money although the effects are less immediately felt. When it is restricted by conditions pertaining in the national environment which may have been deliberately or otherwise imposed, it is firstly the worker, and secondly private enterprise, that suffers the repercussions. Cumulatively and collectively these repercussions detract from the capacity of the total national environment to provide for the needs of its citizens, and polarised forms of competition between interest groups must tend to develop and become self-supporting. Capitalism or private enterprise in its evident forms then appears inadequate to the needs of workers, and receptiveness to interest in alternative systems must rise.

Summarising the relevance of income to the factor orientation of workers, it may be said that (i) longer term savings aspirations are associated with interest in alternatives (ii) immediate needs are associated with adherence, and (iii) only at lower levels does income level appear to adversely effect the worker's view of the employer in terms of the integration factor<sup>\*</sup>. Overall it appears that wage levels may lead to an increase in turnover but are not necessarily the basis for judging work relationships. Inadequate wages may thus provoke an active response but their effect upon the relations between worker and employer is less certain or less direct.

A final and later attempt was made to create an income variable which would take account of local and personal economic pressures.

\* but see sections 9.3.1 (d) and 9.3.3 (d).

Information was obtained from Professor Johan Potgieter of the Institute of Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth concerning household subsistence levels (HSL) established for the last quarter of 1984 in areas close to those where the research samples were situated. The Institute carries out surveys on a wide and regular basis for a variety of firms seeking to comply with various codes of employment practice. Its methods are therefore subject to regular and critical scrutiny. Its results for major centres are regularly published in the Race Relations Survey of the South African Institute of Race Relations. With the advice of Professor Potgieter the HSL for each area was adjusted by extrapolation from the size of family found in his surveys, to the mean size of family in each sample given by respondents in response to item 9 in the enquiry schedule - "how many people depend on you entirely for their livelihood and do not contribute to your household income?" This established a new variable which would represent the average monthly income theoretically required by the average worker in each sample relative to local and current economic conditions. Allowance was made for remuneration in the form of rations given to workers and the shortfall against the subsistence requirement established was coded CASHSL. In turn CASHSL was used in creating a new variable for each worker coded FAMINC. This provided a measure relating personal wage to subsistence cash requirements and size of (declared) family:

$$\text{FAMINC} = \frac{\text{ITEM 19 (wage interval)} \times 1000}{\text{CASHSL} \times \text{ITEM 9 (no of dependants)}}$$

FAMINC was then correlated with factor variable scores overall and for each sample. Whilst valid correlations were indicated in places the new variable proved to be no more important as a predictor than other income variables, and generally less so. It is possible that the measurement of income by wage intervals rather than by an absolute wage has detracted from effectiveness of item 19 as a variable, but there seems no sufficient reason to emphasise any such deficiency. A significant role for wages in the prediction of employee category cannot be established to a greater extent than that already expressed.

8.12 PREDICTABILITY IN THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF LABOUR RELATIONS

The foregoing account of the analysis of the prediction of variance in the social dynamics of labour relations has shown that variance arises from a complex interaction of social, economic, environmental and personal influences that cannot be simplistically linked to the more obvious popular stereotypes - although the latter may have some factual origin. These influences have included the following :

a) the compatibility between work and social life

The evidence advanced above indicates that the maintenance of family life, or at least a social life involving reasonably normal proportions of both sexes, is a very significant factor in the integration of individuals into their working lives. The lack thereof, and difficulties of role reconciliation, lead to markedly increased levels of worker alienation, with negative consequences for work commitment. This in turn has adverse implications for the economic viability and stability of industries heavily reliant on migrant labour - including some, such as the mining industry, which are of major importance to the whole economy of South Africa.

In many instances organisations may be the victim of circumstances beyond their own control but they will themselves nevertheless have to bear the consequences. The effects might be ameliorated by the employment of a mixed sex workforce where the nature of the work makes this practical, and by housing, leave and recruitment policies which maximise the opportunities for workers to live a normal social life. In the national environment the initiative lies with the government to remove artificial restraints upon place of residence for workers and their families.

b) the fluidity of the job market

What might be termed the fluidity or, at its opposite, the viscosity of the flow of labour in the economy,

determines the degree of difficulty which workers face in achieving their goals or optimum job situation with the limited quota of investment assets available to each in terms of skills, education and time. Viscosity created by legal restraints, by economic recession (or by trade restrictions) must lead to reduced opportunities for workers, slower progress towards life goals, the enforced retention of many in situations which they find unpleasant, greater unhappiness, and greater polarisation between them and their employers. Whilst unable to lift the external environmental strictures upon labour flow that inhibit the release of industrial relations pressures within their organisations, employers can do much to facilitate and optimise vertical and lateral mobility within their own corporate and industrial systems. Good manpower planning, the eradication of artificial discriminatory barriers to progress, employee training, education and experiential development, and industry-wide co-operation on the voluntary transferability of pensions and other benefits, can contribute greatly to stimulate the flow of labour mobility and turnover in its most constructive form.

c) the quality of the employment relationship

Important determinants of worker category lie within the subject matter of the variables of the integration factor identified in Chapter 6 (paragraph 6.3.4). Workers' personal assessments of these issues are more likely to be a direct judgement of the internal situation in a company than the direct product of extraneous biographical or environmental factors. Internal considerations determine to a large degree whether they like their work situation or not, while external considerations determine whether they must continue to tolerate a situation even if they dislike it.

The areas on which the employer is judged includes the quality of trust and communication in the organisation, the fairness, sincerity and sensitivity it displays, its application and efficiency in preventive and corrective action

towards sources of discontent, and the reward and development of merit.

Such concerns include consideration of the basic tenets of the "human relations" approach, but the social dynamics interpretation as a whole takes a wider view, recognising the influence of environmental pressures upon the internal dynamics of labour relations.

Chapter Seven offered an explanation of the way in which individual, and ultimately collective, behaviour might be influenced in the work environment principally by the interaction of the internal dynamics of labour relations. In this chapter the manner in which workers might be influenced by more personal biographical characteristics has been examined, but the conclusion has been reached that they are of relatively little significance except within the context of a broader environment. The more conservative nature of women for example is shaped by social forces outside the workplace. The greater happiness of workers who live with their families is a product of natural socialisation processes, and the quality of the environment in which they live outside their working hours. The accumulation of workers despite dissatisfaction with their employment depends very much upon an external environment which determines the range and quality of alternatives open to them, and how readily they can take advantage of such opportunities.

The broad conclusions towards which the analysis is leading in terms of evidence adduced so far is that (i) the quality of labour relations is pre-determined to some extent by broad environmental conditions over which government has the greatest degree of control, and (ii) the optimisation of the labour relations potential thus presented may be greatly influenced by the organisational culture and internal environment over which management has the greatest degree of control.

CHAPTER NINE SAMPLE AND WORKFORCE PROFILES

## - Sample and Environmental Characteristics

9.1 INTRODUCTION TO SAMPLE ANALYSIS9.1.1 Change of Terminology

In Chapter Six the scores created from the main variables of each factor were referred to as 'factor variable scores' in section 6.6.2 (page 200) and then given the short labels Chanscore, Adscore, and Intscore to represent the three factors. Subsequent usage has identified them increasingly as factors having social significance, and the factors have been referred to increasingly as 'social dynamics.'

It now seems appropriate to change the term 'factor variable scores' so that, from this point on, they will be referred to as 'social dynamic scores.'

9.1.2 Order of Analysis

The previous chapter explained, as far as possible, the variables associated with the functioning of the social dynamics of labour relations as they were expressed in the factor themes identified in Chapter Six. The most significant personal variables were the sex of the respondent, the level of skill and its investment over a period of time, the circumstances of the respondents' social and domestic lives, and wage levels relative to various short and longer term aspirations. It was apparent that the most significant underlying variables were really those which are implicit in the terms of the factors used in the analysis, or matters which could be related to them. Such considerations included environmental conditions extraneous to work itself, such as the fluidity of the labour environment, the maintenance of social relationships, and the quality of relationships between worker and employer. Certain other variables had lower levels of significance which may be of importance if projected on a national scale, but these are unlikely to have general significance in micro-situations.

The difficulties and complexities of analysis in each micro-situation preclude the use of a rigidly uniform format, but to assist in com -

parisons between samples the following general order will be employed:

- (i) A scattergram of the respondents in each sample will show their distribution according to the social dynamics typology.
- (ii) Attention will be drawn to peculiarities of sample composition in terms of the most significant personal variables which are taken to be sex, skill level, and domestic situation. The inferences of this composition for the distributions according to the typology reflected in the scattergram will be outlined with the assistance of a suitable table. Consideration of deviances in the sample compositions is necessary in reaching conclusions concerning the general levels of integration or alienation.
- (iii) Correlations indicating whether wage levels and other income-derived variables are significant to the typology will be referred to.
- (iv) Internal or external environmental features which influence the sample characteristics will be considered.
- (v) Comment will be made on the suitability of sample scattergrams for purposes of comparison with the distributions of the study as a whole, and with those anticipated for the workforces from which the samples were selected.
- (vi) Summaries or comparisons within or of samples and industrial sectors will be made when appropriate, and in the case of the forestry sector, an examination of comparative productivity is undertaken in section 9.3.4.

### 9.1.3 Comparitive Sample Information

In following the analysis of samples some basis for comparison is required. Firstly, Table 9.1, on the next page, shows the distribution of respondents by sample and sector for the three personal variables of sex, skill level, and domestic situation. Secondly, Table 9.2, now provided, shows how all the respondents in the study were distributed according to the typology and according to the three personal variables mentioned above. These tables represent a "universal norm of distribution" against which sample deviations can be compared.

TABLE 9.1 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX, SKILL LEVEL, DOMESTIC SITUATION, SECTOR AND SAMPLE

INDUSTRIAL TYPE/SECTOR	SAMPLE NO.	N =	SEX		SKILL LEVEL		DOMESTIC SITUATION	
			Male	Female	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Single	Family
1. Border	7	40	65	35	68	32	3	97
2. Small-town	6	65	69	31	86	14	49	51
3. Rural	4	100	100	-	73	27	96	4
Timber Processing Sub-Total		205	83	17	76	24	63	37
4 Agricultural (Forestry)	1	124	73	27	70	30	56	44
	2	61	80	20	59	41	34	66
	3	64	61	39	81	19	67	33
Forestry Estates Sub-Total		249	71	29	70	30	54	46
5. Urban	5	100	100	-	38	62	4	96
TOTAL		554	81	19	67	33	48	52

TABLE 9.2 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EMPLOYEE CATEGORY, SEX, SKILL LEVEL AND DOMESTIC SITUATION: WHOLE STUDY

EMPLOYEE CATEGORY	% TOTAL (N = 554)	SEX		SKILL LEVEL		DOMESTIC SITUATION	
		M	F	Unsk.	Semi	Single	Family
SETTLED	41	38	52	38	46	33	49
AMBITIOUS	11	12	8	10	14	10	12
UNCOMMITTED	10	10	11	11	9	12	8
ALIENATED	38	40	29	41	31	45	31
SAMPLE MIX (%)	100	81	19	67	33	48	52

#### 9.1.4 A Comparative Scattergram of the Samples

In Chapter Eight reference was made to Table 6.12 in Chapter Six which had summarised factor associations with predictor variables. Similarly, in this Chapter, reference may be made to the summary which Table 6.13 (page 199) contributed as an indicator of the trends that might be expected in each sample.

A clearer impression of the comparison between the general levels of integration or alienation in the respective samples is provided by Figure 9.1. The figure uses the information given in Table 6.14 (page 203) regarding the mean social dynamic scores for each sample, and plots these as sample mean co-ordinates in scattergram form. These co-ordinates might be regarded as representing the existing point of "labour relations equilibrium" in each sample. Their linear form of progression across the scattergram or integrated, to sample 4 as the most alienated, is itself of interest.

#### 9.1.5 Types of Industrial Situation Recalled

The nature of the samples, sectors, and types of industrial situation

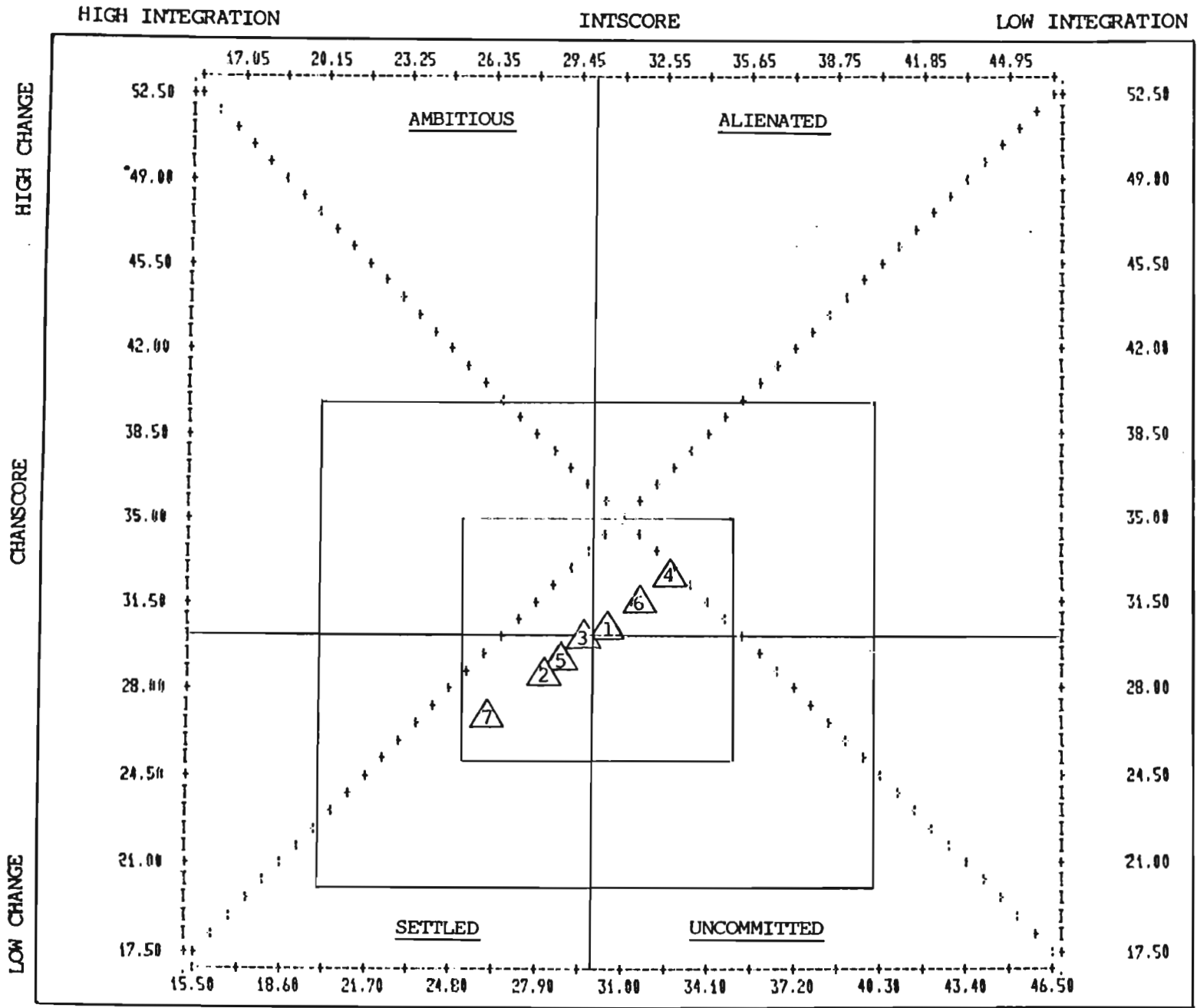


FIGURE 9.1

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

All sample means

N = 7

Intensity Margins:

	<u>Scores</u>
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

involved were introduced and described in Chapter Three (pages 79-81) and Chapter Five (pages 132 - 142) to which reference may again be necessary.

## 9.2 TIMBER PROCESSING PLANTS

### 9.2.1 Sample 7 : A Homeland Border Industry

#### a) Social Dynamics Profile of Sample 7

Prior indications from Table 6.13 were that, in terms of factor scores, a low change orientation, good integration, and strong adherence could be expected. The result of these tendencies are now summarised in the Sample 7 scattergram, Figure 9.2. The scattergram shows the predominantly settled or integrated character of the sample. Of all respondents 58 percent are shown in the settled quadrant, including 35 percent in the most conservative sector of the scattergram.

#### b) Relevance of Sample 7 Composition

In Table 9.1 it was seen that the sample included a greater proportion of females than the norm, and a much greater proportion of workers living in their family homes.

A correlation matrix for the sample showed no score correlation with the above two variables. Since 97 percent of respondents lived in family homes there was no differentiation, and there could be no correlation established therefore between social dynamics scores and domestic situation. Males were almost as settled as females, so that the greater proportion of females in the sample could not be said to have any significant influence on the distributions in the scattergram.

There was a significant correlation between skill level and adherence score ( $r = ,3133$   $P = ,025$ ) showing unskilled workers to be less adherent than semi-skilled workers. As a result there was a tendency towards continued service by semi-skilled workers at slightly higher levels of alienation than the unskilled. No correlation at all was found between wage or income variables and the three social dynamic scores.

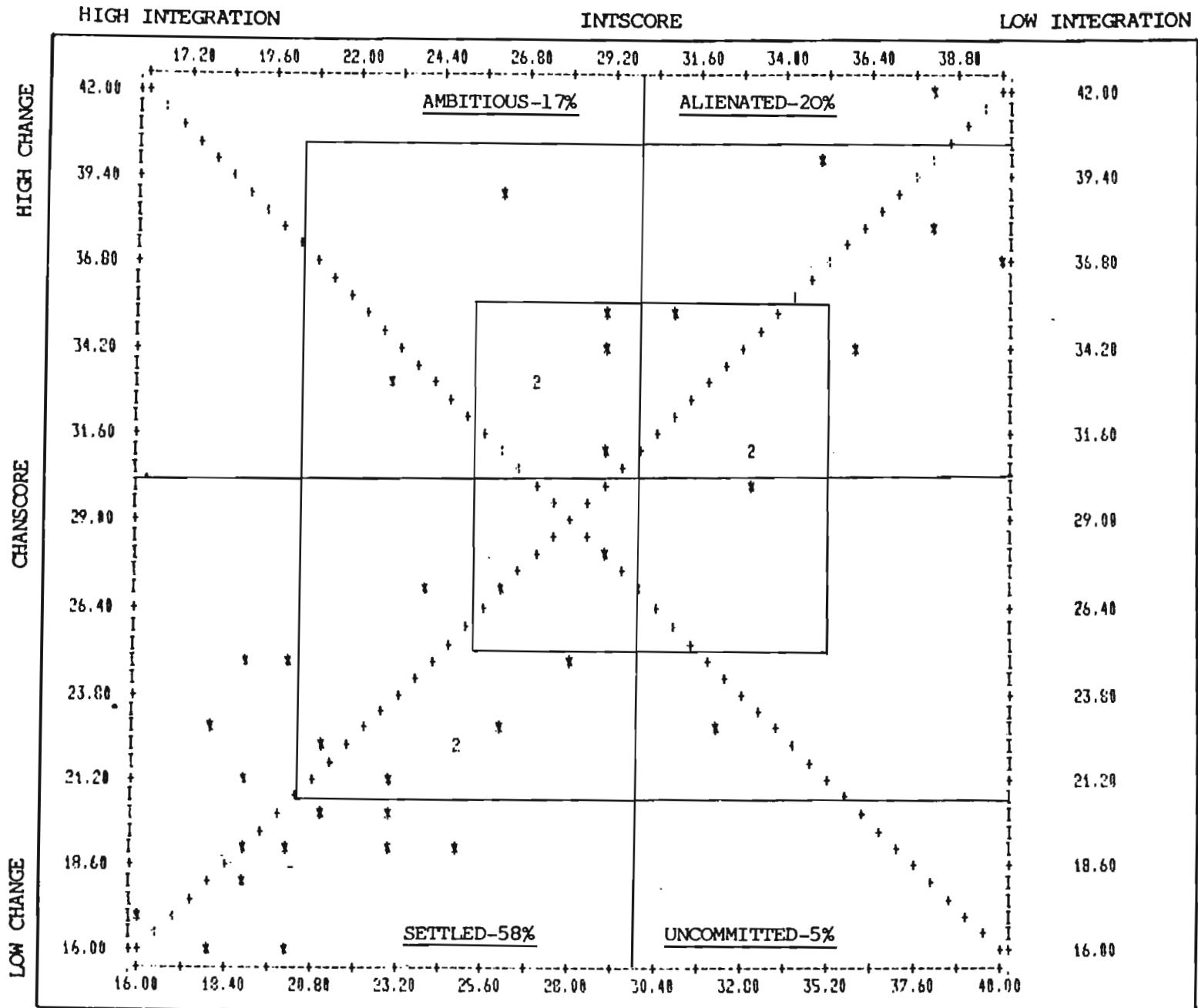


FIGURE 9.2

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

7: Timber Processing  
Border Industry  
N = 40

Intensity Margins:

	Scores
Outer	GT 20 LE 40
Inner	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = .79740  
 r squared = .63584  
 Sign. P = .00000

FIGURE 9.2

c) Environmental Considerations

There was nothing remarkable about the internal work environment of this plant that would explain its very conservative profile. The comment by the personnel manager was recorded on page 133 that industrial relations were "currently unproblematic, but not regarded as a model of how industrial relations matters should be handled. Correlation of the change and integration variables remained at the universally high levels found with all samples ( $r = ,79740$  in this instance,  $P = ,00000$ ).

The external economic environment offered very few alternatives apart from agricultural employment. Unskilled workers could therefore find local alternatives if pressed, but semi-skilled workers had very limited alternatives. These facts would help to explain the correlation of skill level and adherence noted above. Labour turnover was relatively low compared to most samples at 29 percent per annum, so that discontented workers were not cleared at any unusually high rate, and the average service period was 6,5 years.

In the absence of any other variables able to explain the unusually low levels of alienation in this sample, the only apparent and logical explanation is that the proximity of work and home have had a pronounced settling effect upon workers, and that the situation allows the role integration to which Parsons and Smelser referred:

"On the household side, ego must be left a margin of freedom from organizational involvement to adapt to certain household exigencies (and secondarily those of other roles). Conversely, household demands must be adjusted to allow fulfilment of occupational obligations. The problem is to strike a balance." (Parsons et al, 1956. p.115).

d) Projection of the Sample 7 Profile

Samples may differ in some marked degree from study norms of distribution in terms of the personal variables. This might suggest that the sample scattergrams cannot be compared, for example, to the

whole study scattergram on page 225 without some adjustment being made to allow for the differences in sample composition. In the case of Sample 7 the composition according to skill level was almost identical to that of the whole study. The composition according to sex was different but, since this was not a significant variable amongst sample respondents, no purpose is served by assuming any different composition for comparative purposes.

Since the major difference of composition was according to domestic situation, then it seems advisable to compare the sample scattergram (Figure 9.2) with that for all workers who lived in a family situation which appears in Figure 8.8 (page 310). In this comparison Sample 7 continues to appear a well integrated one. The only explanation that can be offered for this is that Sample 7 workers were so situated that they were able to reconcile their roles at work, not only with their immediate family life, but also with their roles as members of extended families and members of the wider society in the nearby homeland area.

In considering the sample in relation to the workforce which provided it, differences in distribution by sex were not significant in terms of score correlation, and differences in percentage distribution by skill level were minor. The sample is therefore considered representative of the general work force at the border industry plant.

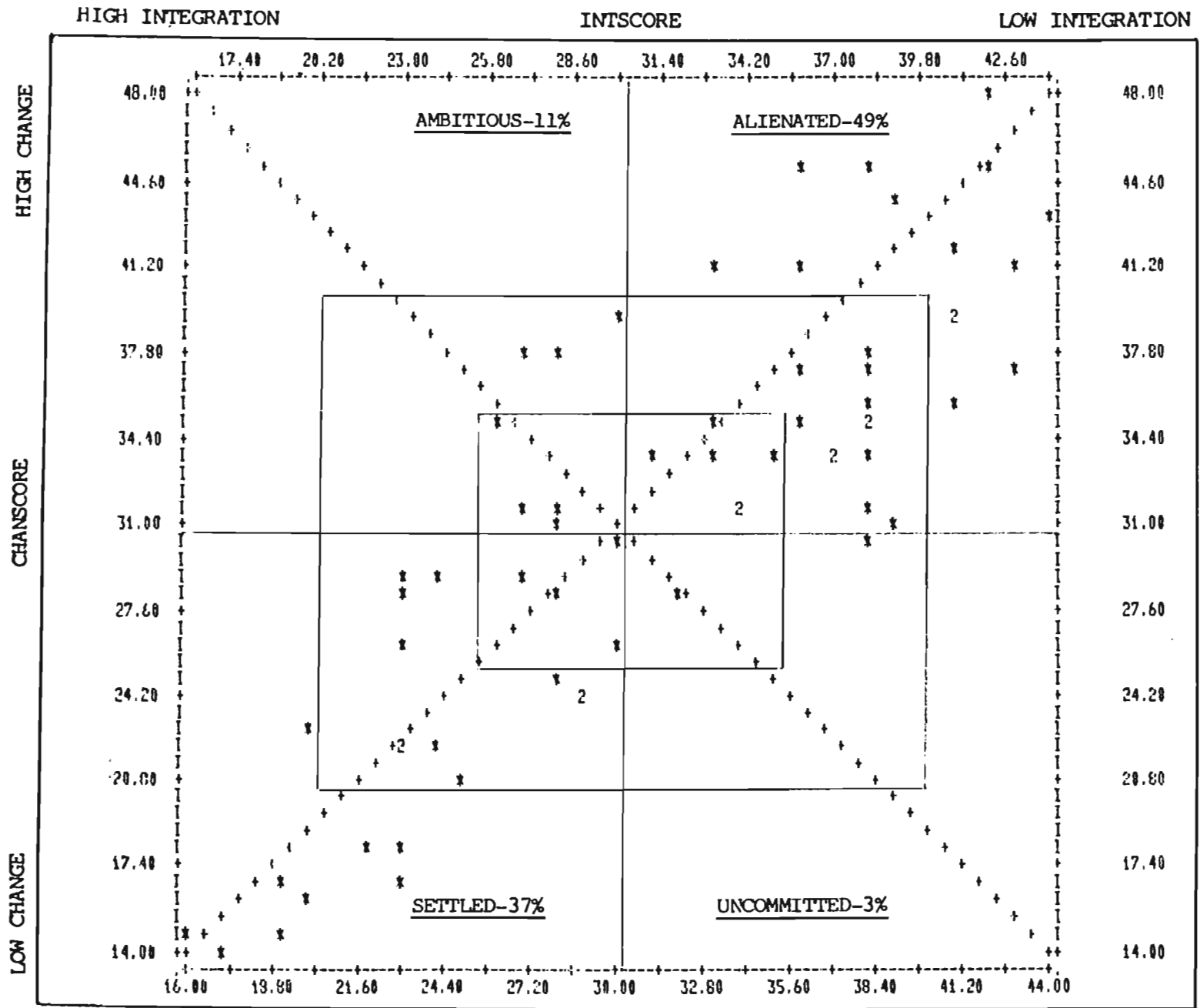
e) Conclusion: Sample 7

The conclusion is reached that the markedly low levels of alienation found are mainly attributable to the manner in which workers are able to integrate their roles as workers with those as members of families and society.

9.2.2 Sample 6 : A Small Town Industry

a) Social Dynamics Profile of Sample 6

Earlier indications in Table 6.13 (page 199) were that the sample would be characterised by high change orientation, poor integration and weak adherence. The result of this combination is indicated in the scattergram Figure 9.3. The sample has very different characteristics from those of Sample 7, with 49 percent of respondents categorised as alienated.



**FIGURE 9.3**

MEAN SCORES:  
 CHANSORE  
 AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:  
 6: Timber Processing  
 Small-town Industry  
 N = 65

Intensity Margins:

	Scores
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,83788  
 r squared = ,70204  
 Sign. P = ,00000

These include 22 percent in the highest area of alienation and some individual score co-ordinates at very high levels.

b) Relevance of Sample 6 Composition

The information given in Table 9.1 showed that the sample had a higher proportion of females than the study norm, and a higher proportion of unskilled workers. According to previous indications the first area of deviation would indicate that the sample should be more settled or less alienated than the total study sample, whilst the second would indicate higher levels of alienation. Distributions according to the domestic situation variable were very close to the study norms.

All three of these personal variables showed some significant correlation with one or other of the factor variable scores. Pearson's  $r$  is given in each case below (all values are significant above the ,05 level).

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>Social Dynamics Scores</u>	
		<u>Adherence</u>	<u>Integration</u>
Sex	- ,2828	- ,2672	- , 2440
Skill	n/s	,3472	n/s
Domestic Situation	- ,3166	n/s	- , 2607

These values intimate that men, and people living in single quarters, were both more change oriented and less well integrated than others, and that men and unskilled workers were less adherent.

The social dynamics typology which is reflected in the scattergram can be separated according to the variables noted above so that males can be compared with females, semi-skilled with unskilled, etc.

These comparative percentages according to category are now provided in Table 9.3 The table itself can be compared with the information in Table 9.2

TABLE 9.3 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EMPLOYEE CATEGORY, SEX, SKILL LEVEL AND DOMESTIC SITUATION  
SAMPLE 6 (SMALL TOWN)

EMPLOYEE CATEGORY	% TOTAL (N = 65)	SEX		SKILL LEVEL		DOMESTIC SITUATION	
		M	F	Unsk	Semi	Single	Family
SET	37	29	55	37	33	25	45
AMB	11	9	15	11	11	16	6
UNC	3	2	5	4	-	6	-
AL	49	60	25	48	56	53	49
SAMPLE MIX (%)	100	69	31	86	14	49	51

In such comparison it is noted that higher levels of alienation in the sample are found for all categories except female workers who are marginally more settled than the overall norm. An explanation of these characteristics is sought below.

c) Environmental Considerations

(i) Labour Relations

The internal labour relations climate at the plant is difficult to express more accurately than is done in the scattergram. However previous mention was made (page 134) of the facts that half of the respondents lived in "not very satisfactory" single accommodation provided by the company, that management style tended to be autocratic, and that consultative and disciplinary procedures were dealt with rather perfunctorily. Certainly such considerations would contribute to a labour relations situation that would be less than ideal, and to generally higher levels of alienation. Some twelve months after the study plant workers went on strike for a short time, following a period of evident

discontent. They shortly afterwards became unionised, and the personnel manager reports that improved work conditions and better labour relations have resulted.

(ii) Domestic and Social Pressures

Some conclusions may be drawn about the different nature of the pressures upon workers in a small town compared to those employed in a homeland border industry such as those in Sample 7.

The disadvantage for workers in single quarters need not be elaborated beyond what was said in Chapter Eight, paragraph 8.10.4 (f), pages 314 - 315, which applied, inter alia, to this sample.

Even workers living in a family situation, although better situated socially than single quarter residents, suffered certain disadvantages compared to their counterparts of Sample 7, in particular that of insecurity of domestic tenure. Of the workers in family accommodation of some sort, 18 percent were in company housing, 55 percent in villages or 'kraals' on farms owned by whites, and 27 percent in black townships. Costs, and other problems of housing maintenance, would have been a source of worry for many.

Both workers in the married accommodation referred to, and single quarter workers, would experience difficulties in reconciling their roles as workers in the urban area with their roles as members of society in their homeland areas. Reference to this problem generally, and in relation to this sample, was made at various points in the previous chapter. The ill effects of difficulties in role reconciliation appear to affect workers' readiness to integrate with the organisation by which they are employed (pages 290 - 292 above). The reliability of this conclusion and its effect was supported by the further correlation of access to land (item 27 in the enquiry schedule) with the respondent's change and integration scores ( $r = -.3200$ ,  $P = .000$  and  $r = -.2676$ ,  $P = .016$  respectively). Those with

rights to usage of communal land, which would be more usual in the homeland than in white-owned areas, would have to, and would want to maintain their claims by actual land usage - even if this amounted only to token ploughing. Work responsibilities would make this difficult, and vice versa.

(iii) Availability of Alternatives

The turnover rate during the previous twelve months of 58 per cent per annum, and a low average service period of 2,6 years showed that workers tended to be mobile. However the correlation of skill level and adherence score which was noted in paragraph (b) above, and the relatively high level of alienation amongst semi-skilled workers shown in Table 9.3, when compared to the overall norm stated in Table 9.2, indicates arrested mobility for semi-skilled workers.

A feature of smaller towns in South Africa, unless they are far away from homeland areas, is a generally over-supplied labour situation. Limited areas of industrial development are served with relatively unlimited supplies of labour from nearby farms and homelands. Most of these potential workseekers would hope for jobs reasonably near their homes so that demand would be high. Limited levels of development, operating in this labour supply environment would tend to encourage labour intensive rather than capital intensive methods.

In this situation there is logically a visibility of alternatives that provokes interest in change, but offers more actual opportunity for easily transferable low levels of skill, and few alternatives of semi-skilled level. The result would tend to be the greater adherence and accumulation of semi-skilled workers in situations that some may find unsatisfactory. The environment might remain inhibitory to the free movement of unskilled workers, but not to the same extent. Adherence can result in work group alienation by reducing readiness to resort to the exit option.

d) Wage levels and Relative Aspirations

Variations in actual wage level (item 19) correlated only with the adherence dynamic score ( $r = - ,3621$   $P = ,002$ ), so that the higher paid tended to be more adherent. Relative wage aspirations expressed in the variables RATMUST, RATSAVE and RATJOY correlated consistently with change, adherence and integration scores (r values ranging from ,2088 to ,4464 were computed). Firm reasons for this are not apparent but the desire for higher wages expressed could be the product of unsatisfactory labour relations at work, the pressures of unsatisfactory domestic and social circumstances, and awareness of alternatives.

e) Projection of the Sample 6 Profile

Calculations were undertaken in the knowledge of the distributions given in Table 9.3 to assess the validity of the sample scattergram in Figure 9.3 for purposes of comparison. If sample composition by sex, skill level etc. had been exactly the same as the study norms it is possible that this would have altered the sample results. The method of calculation is noted in Annexure 9A for information. The conclusion was, in this sample, that adjustments of the sex and skill composition of the sample to study norms would have indicated slightly higher levels of alienation in the sample to the extent of between 2 and 4 percent.

Similar adjustments of the sample against workforce composition indicated that the workforce would have been more integrated or settled than the sample by as much as 3 percent.

f) Other Indicators

Absenteeism rates at the Sample 6 and 7 plants were identical. Turnover at the Sample 6 plant was twice as high as that at the Sample 7 plant, but its value as an indicator is highly questionable. Injury rates were likewise twice as high at the Sample 6 plant which could result from stress. Productivity was lower at 2,00 tons of processed timber per manday compared to 2,54 tons at the Sample 7

plant - no technical or methodological reason could be offered for this disparity, although it remains possible that such may exist. The disparity would be compatible however with the behavioural expectations raised in Chapter Seven, which indicate that lower productivity would be expected where the total proportion of alienated and uncommitted workers is greater.

g) Conclusion: Sample 6

The conclusions reached in examining levels of alienation in this sample are that they were principally due to -

- (i) indifferent labour relations practices resulting in poor integration;
- (ii) difficult domestic circumstances in the form of discomfort in the company hostel and conflict between work and domestic roles;
- (iii) an economic environment offering the provocation of visible alternatives to which access is restrained by an immature stage of local industrial development and high levels of competition for jobs.

9.2.3 Sample 4 : A Rural Industry

a) Social Dynamics Profile of Sample 4

This processing plant is situated on its own in the midst of a white farming area. The indications of the MANOVA analysis summarised in Table 6.13 were that the sample was characterised in relation to study norms by a high change orientation, an adherence level near the overall mean, and by relatively poor integration.

The situation is depicted in the scattergram provided in Figure 9.4. Levels of alienation are high at 49 percent with an additional 15 percent in the uncommitted category. Thus the number of workers who are negatively oriented to their work situation totals 64 percent - nearly two thirds. In Figure 9.1 the sample was shown to exhibit

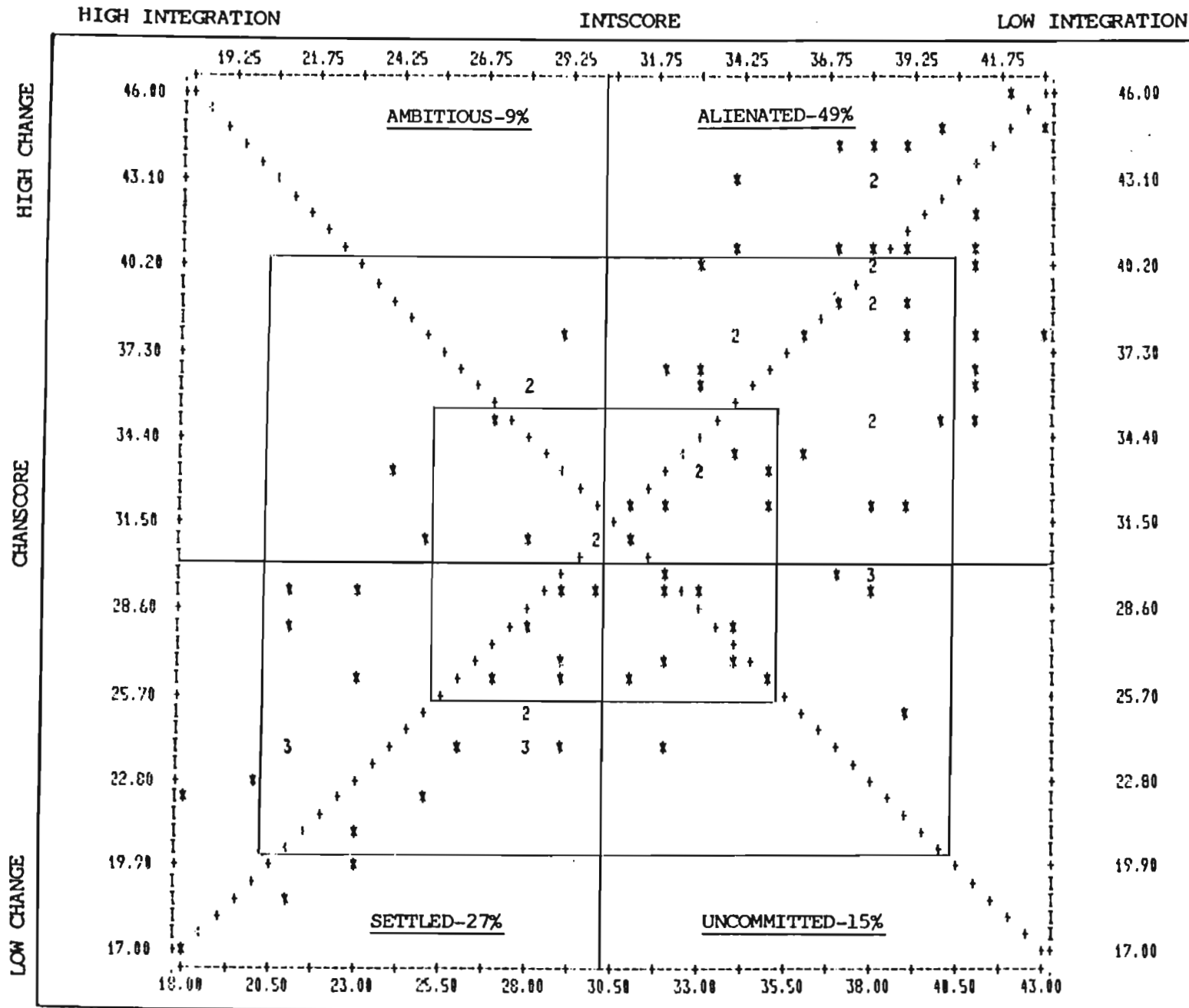


FIGURE 9.4

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

4: Timber Processing  
Rural Industry  
N = 100

Intensity Margins:

	<u>Scores</u>
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,73625

r squared = ,54206

Sign. P = ,00000

the highest average level of alienation of all the samples.

b) Relevance of Sample 4 Composition

The respondents in the sample differed from the overall norms by being all males, of whom 96 percent resided in company single quarters. The samples also included more unskilled workers than the norm by a margin of 6 percent. Wage levels, which are reflected in Table 8.18, on page 320, were the second highest in the study after the Durban sample. This might be expected to have some ameliorative effect in a relative sense.

No valid correlations between the predictor variables and the social dynamics scores were established, which indicated that differences of either skill or wage level had no significant effect upon the distribution of respondents in the scattergram. The variables reflecting relative income aspiration correlated only very weakly with the adherence score. The skill and wage related variables were not considered relevant to differentiation within the workforce.

No correlation of the social dynamic scores according to sex or domestic situation was possible due to the lack of differentiation within the sample, but the distinctive nature of the sample in this regard remains important, and will be referred to again.

c) Environmental Considerations

(i) Labour Relations

Certain aspects of the labour relations climate were not satisfactory. There were no overt or expressed signs of worker discontent but there were two features which, it was suspected, may have led to their suppression. There was an awareness of generally poor communication between blacks and whites at the plant, and at times, incidents of inter-racial tension between individuals. More recent discussions with factory management tend to indicate this as an on-going if low key problem at the plant. This suspicion was strengthened by the observation that

in the survey only 37 percent of respondents in the sample gave support to 'voice' in its 'active/constructive' form as expressed in item 56 of the schedule, compared to 55 percent of males overall. They gave stronger support than males overall to the more aggressive (active/destructive) form of voice expressed in item 62 to which 62 percent responded affirmatively compared to only 52 percent of males overall. (The significance of these variables was compared in Chapter Seven, pages 244 - 245).

There was also a weakness in the representative committee system, in that members were elected 'en bloc' rather than as representatives of wards. This was unusual in the company but had been supported as a tradition by staff and committee members. This failing placed impediments upon two-way communication between workers and committee, and therefore between workers and management. Later arrangements to change the system are being overtaken by events, since the majority of workers at the plant are now unionised, and negotiations on a recognition agreement with the union have commenced.

(ii) Domestic and Social Pressures

No evidence was found in the form of correlations between social dynamics scores and any other variables which might indicate an unusual conflict between work and social roles. Half of the respondents visited their homes at least weekly, and the other half once or more per month. In most cases this is a short journey but distances are too great to travel on a daily basis.

(iii) Availability of Alternatives

Turnover rate was low by the standards of the study and at 28 percent per annum was the same as that at the Sample 7 plant. Despite this a large proportion of the workforce is very static, and the average period of service in the sample was 9,9 years - considerably longer than the 2,6 years amongst Sample 6 workers, or even the 6,5 years of Sample 7 workers.

This stability is attributable to a number of interrelated considerations:

1. alternatives in industrial employment in the region are few and scattered with plenty of ready applicants for vacancies;
2. Alternatives further away would disrupt workers' domestic lives as they would be unable to visit home as often as they do presently.
3. Alternatives in local agriculture or forestry entail acceptance of much lower wages for most workers, particularly the unskilled.
4. The nature of plant operations is such that those who acquire skills find that they are not transferable.

Workers who might in more normal circumstances be interested in alternatives find that actual alternatives are not more attractive than the job they already have. Thus they tend to remain for lengthy periods of service, even though they find certain aspects of their employment objectionable. Levels of alienation thus rise more rapidly than turnover relieves the pressure.

#### d) Projection of the Sample 4 Profile

Because of the peculiarities of the sample no calculation could be made of the character it might have assumed if its composition were more like that of the whole study. Useful comparisons can be made between the sample scattergram in Figure 9.4 and certain others in the study:

- Figure 8.1 page 279, showed the typological distribution of all male respondents in the study. This is a much more integrated or settled profile than that for Sample 4. It is believed that the principal reasons for this have been partly explained above;
- Figure 8.7, page 309, showed the distribution for all respondents in single quarters, male and female. This distribution is much more similar to the Sample 4 profile, and it is possible that if the scattergram showed males in single quarters only the similarity could be closer.

Further useful comparisons can be made - firstly with the Sample 7 scattergram (Figure 9.2) where nearly all respondents lived at home, and where the distribution is quite opposite to that of Sample 4; secondly, with the Sample 5 scattergram in Figure 9.12. The latter scattergram has not yet been referred to but the respondents were also all males, but 96 percent lived in urban family homes and worked in a much more fluid job market. Resident Durban workers have a wider range of job alternatives, and can change jobs without necessarily having to change their place of residence or separate from their families. It will be noted that the Figure 9.12 scattergram also has an opposite character to that of Sample 4.

It is considered that the sample was representative of the total workforce from which respondents were selected since under 2 percent of workers were females, almost all workers live in the single quarter hostel, and although semi-skilled workers were over-represented in the sample, the variable was not found to be significant.

e) Conclusion: Sample 4

It is concluded that the levels of alienation reflected in the Sample 4 scattergram are primarily the result of the retention of a proportion of dissatisfied workers over a period of years, due to a lack of attractive or practical alternatives. Secondly they are the result of a faulty communications structure, and problematic race relations in the work place which are further referred to in Chapter Ten.

9.2.4 The Timber Processing Sector

The timber processing sector included samples of very different composition and from three distinctly different environments - the homeland border area, a small town, and a white farming area. The product and production processes at the Sample 6 and Sample 7 plants were the same but quite different to the Sample 4 plant. All that the three really had in common was that they could all be described as industrial plants in that they were establishments built on a fixed site for the large scale mechanised processing of timber products.

There is therefore some doubt about the validity of attempting to provide any kind of composite description of the sector as such. However it is of some, if qualified, interest, and broad comparisons are perhaps permissible between industry in the metropolitan areas, represented by the Durban sample (Sample 5), with its greater opportunities for lateral and vertical mobility, the agricultural or forestry sector, where there is greater lateral mobility and a different life-style, and these more isolated rural areas and small town industries.

For these reasons a combined scattergram for the three timber processing samples is provided in Figure 9.5

### 9.3 FORESTRY ESTATES

#### 9.3.1 Sample 1 : Forestry Estate 1

##### a) Social Dynamics Profile of Sample 1

Table 6.13 indicated that sample mean factor score deviations from the universal mean anticipated an orientation to change that was close to the mean, fairly high adherence, and poor integration.

The product of these tendencies is depicted in the sample scattergram Figure 9.6. With 39 percent of respondents in the alienated category the sample presents an initial impression of a more settled or integrated situation than the previous two processing plant samples. There are, however, a few individuals indicated at highly alienated extremes of score.

##### b) Relevance of Sample 1 Composition

The summary of the distribution of sample respondents in Table 9.1 showed that there was 8 percent more females in the sample than the overall norm, and also 8 percent more respondents living in single quarters. The composition of the sample by skill level showed only 3 percent more unskilled workers than the whole study sample.

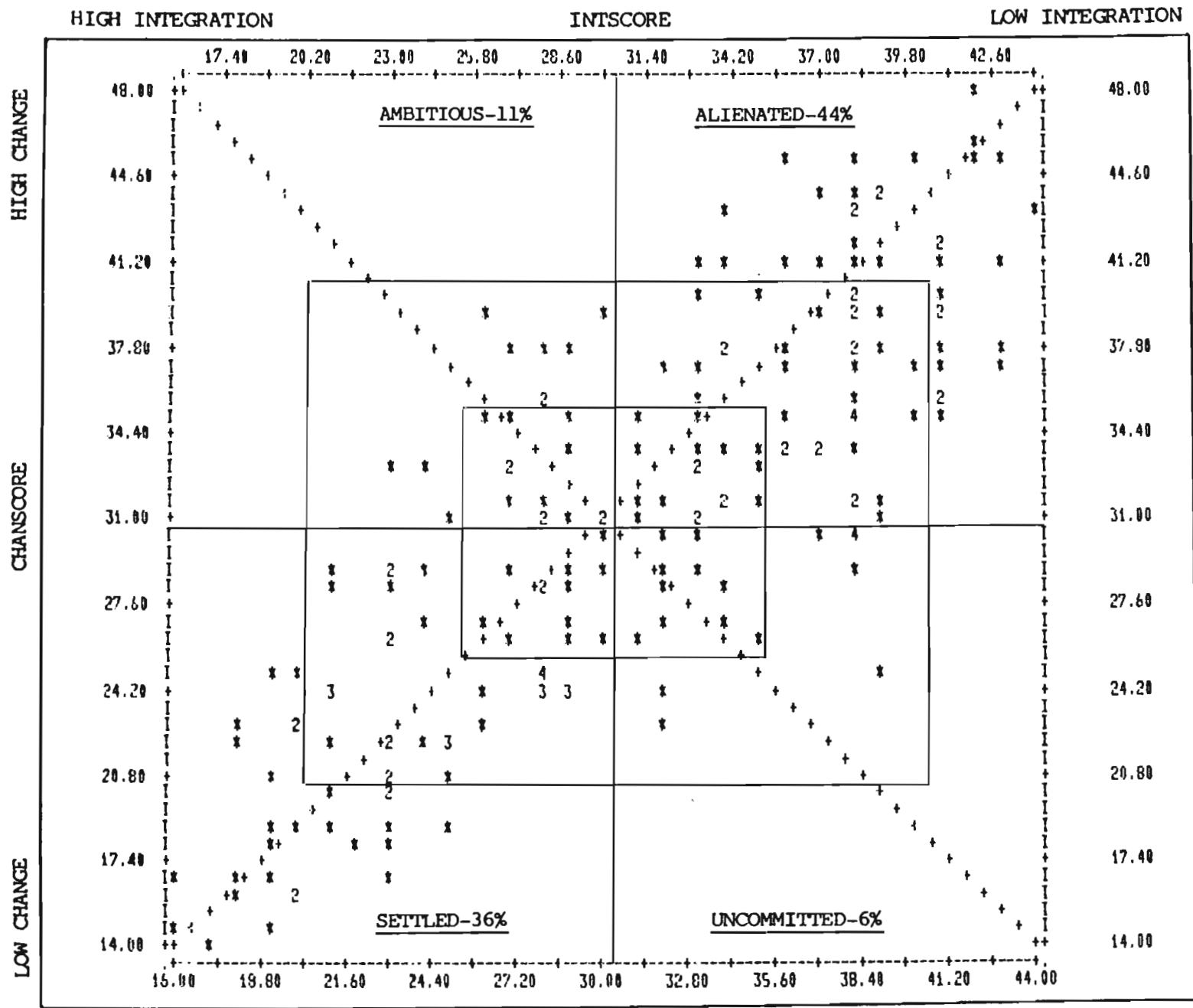


FIGURE 9.5

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

Timber Processing  
Samples 4, 6 and 7  
N = 205

Intensity Margins:

	<u>Scores</u>
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,80514  
r squared = ,64826  
Sign. P = ,00000



Theoretically the greater proportion of females would tend to produce a settling effect, countered to some extent by the greater proportion in single quarters.

Each of the three variables of sex, skill and domestic situation appeared to have significance for variance of the respondents' adherence and integration scores as the correlations given indicate. These are expressed in terms of Pearson's  $r$  with significance in each case being better than the ,05 level.

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Social Dynamic Scores</u>		
	<u>Change</u>	<u>Adherence</u>	<u>Integration</u>
Sex	n/s	,2237	n/3
Skill	n/s	,2720	,1706
Domestic Situation	n/s	-,1996	-,2242

These correlation values indicate that women, unskilled workers, and workers in single quarters tended to be less adherent than men, semi-skilled workers or those living with their families. Since 100 percent of the women in the sample were unskilled, and 82 percent (compared to 61 percent of women overall) lived in single quarters, it seemed likely that women in single quarters were particularly non-adherent in terms of the factor variables. The non-adherent trend for women was unusual, and a marked contrast to the position in Sample 6 for example where women were more adherent than men, indicated by a (negative) adherence correlation value  $r = -,2672$ .

There were two indications that a problem existed that was intrinsic to the company. Firstly, the correlation values above indicate poorest integration by unskilled workers, of whom 71 percent lived in single quarters, and even poorer integration by workers as a whole who lived in single quarters. Secondly, women in the sample, of whom it was noted that the great majority were both unskilled and living in single quarters, showed the same adherence as men in response to these variables of the factor (items 28 and 30) which may be read as responsive to external environmental pressures. However, they showed markedly

lower adjustment to their employment in response to the other variables in the adherence factor which were schedule items 33, 90 and 96. These tend to be indicative of response to internal environmental perceptions. Their response to schedule item 90 was particularly unfavourable, with only 41 percent of women agreeing that on most days they carried out their "work tasks quite cheerfully", compared to 86 percent of women at the other two forestry samples combined. Deviance from the norm was noted also in response to schedule item 8, when only 12 percent could agree that "the number of hours of work required by the company each day is not unreasonable", compared to 35 percent of women in other forestry samples. The probable source of these problems and responses is further referred to in paragraph (c) below.

The distribution of respondents between the four employee categories of the social dynamics typology according to sex, skill and domestic situation is given in Table 9.4. This provides information which may be compared with Table 9.2.

TABLE 9.4 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EMPLOYEE CATEGORY, SEX, SKILL LEVEL AND DOMESTIC SITUATION-SAMPLE 1 (FORESTRY)

EMPLOYEE CATEGORY	% TOTAL N = 124	SEX		SKILL LEVEL		DOMESTIC SITUATION	
		M	F	Unsk	Semi	Single	Family
SET	36	38	32	32	46	32	42
AMB	14	16	6	12	19	11	17
UNC	39	8	21	10	13	11	11
AL	11	38	41	46	22	46	30
SAMPLE MIX (%)	100	73	27	70	30	56	44

The most obvious deviance of the table distributions from those in Table 9.2 is the high percentage of women in the alienated and particularly

in the uncommitted categories. This supports the earlier indications of external pressures to remain in employment, but poor adjustment to that employment - a tendency to lack of commitment should be logically expected.

c) Environmental Considerations

(i) Labour Relations

Reference was made to a strike of some seriousness that occurred at this forestry estate during 1982 (page 138). Following the end of the strike renewed efforts were made to ensure that the employee liaison committee for the area could work more effectively. Under an energetic chairman from the company office who spared no effort to emphasise that freedom of expression should be exercised by committee members, and that no issue put forward for debate should be blocked, the volume and quality of discussion accelerated.

Management style at this estate was referred to (page 139) as "authoritarian." The term is not meant unkindly, for the managers and supervisors concerned have many stirring qualities, but although some show particular concern for the quality of labour relations in general, it is not given the same priority as it is at the other two forestry samples. Results of this are discussed fully in the next chapter but it is appropriate to state at this point that authoritarian styles which do not emphasise close involvement with workers tend to result in poor communication and poor understanding of workers' attitudes.

(ii) Domestic and Social Pressures

There was no evidence in the correlation matrix of social dynamics score correlations with items which indicated stress arising from a conflict of respondents' work and social obligations. This lack was a general feature of respondents from the forestry estates (for example see the comment beneath Table 8.10, page 290). Another visit and more critical attention was therefore paid to the single quarter conditions on

the estate in view of the trends recorded above. It was found that, although the single quarter buildings were regularly painted and kept in a clean and sanitary condition, a critical view reveals them as having rather antiquated ablution facilities, no electric light, no furniture other than beds and wire lockers, and a kitchen which is unable to meet the pressures upon it efficiently. The nett result is that an unnecessary amount of time is taken in preparing for work and obtaining breakfast and food for the field. This either uses up leisure time or working time, and either lengthens or renders less productive what is already a long and tiring working day. These problems had not been raised specifically by this estate in the liaison committee and the whole problem of worker discontent here deserves close attention. There can be little doubt however that the conditions pertaining must have a destructive effect upon morale and commitment.

It is believed that this example shows the enquiry instrument to be delicate enough to detect focal points of discontent, and to relate them to overall patterns found in the workforce. It also reinforces the validity of what can be discovered by conscientious enquiries of a more orthodox nature - personnel management requires that proper attention be paid to what Herzberg would have termed 'hygiene factors.'

(iii) Availability of Alternatives

Turnover rate at the estate was 28 percent per annum during the twelve months preceding the survey - coincidentally the same as that experienced with Samples 4 and 7, these being the lowest rates in the study. Average length of service was high overall at 11,8 years, with women averaging far less at 4,8 years. A detailed study was not carried out but the nature of economic activity in the area only offers agricultural or forestry employment on any significant scale, and in that environment mobility is easiest for unskilled workers if they should decide to leave - but the alternatives may not be attractive. The company pays well by local standards so that the labour officer reports sustained demand for employment with it - "they know they can't get better jobs anywhere else." The probable outcome

of pressures to remain in employment despite dissatisfaction is the lack of commitment referred to previously.

d) Wage Levels and Relative Aspirations

Mean wage levels for the sample were shown in Table 8.18 (page 320) to be the same as for the forestry sector as a whole.

The sample showed unusual levels of correlation between tendencies toward negative judgements in terms of the change, adherence and integration dynamics on the one hand, and wage levels and relative income aspirations on the other. These are given below, and they indicate an association of negative judgments with low wage levels.

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Social Dynamics Scores</u>		
	<u>Change</u>	<u>Adherence</u>	<u>Integration</u>
Wage	-,1525	-,3914	-,2142
RATMUST	,3122	,4576	,3762
RATSAVE	,2904	,4957	,3819

These values, which link lower wages and wider gaps between actual income and aspiration to higher social dynamics scores, could be interpreted to explain score variance, and thus integration or alienation, as a function of income or of aspirations relative to it. In view of the evidence adduced above, the known nature of the industry, and the lack of valid score and wage related correlations in other forestry samples, another interpretation is preferred. This interpretation is that dissatisfaction amongst respondents was caused by other intrinsic factors, but since it was most keenly felt by unskilled, mainly female workers employed in jobs paid at lower levels, a statistical association between income level and dissatisfaction was inevitable. This conclusion leads to possible moderation of conclusion (iii) on page 326 in that lower income level workers are not necessarily less well integrated than those at higher levels.

e) Projection of the Sample 1 Profile

Using the method referred to in Annexure 9A adjustments were made to the distributions of respondents in terms of the four categories of the

social dynamics on the assumption that sample composition by sex, skill, and domestic situation were the same as the study overall. This resulted in only negligible difference in the distribution shown in the scattergram.

However, according to the distributions given on page 140, women accounted for 54 percent of the workforce whilst providing only 27 percent of the sample. Women were therefore greatly under-represented. Projection of their integration-alienation patterns to the total workforce indicated that approximately 15 percent of the total could be classified as uncommitted and 40 percent as alienated. The total number of workers negatively inclined to their work situation would therefore account for approximately 55 percent of the total workforce which represents a proportion of some seriousness.

f) Conclusion: Sample 1

It is concluded that the levels of alienation detected in Sample 1 arise from unsatisfactory domestic arrangements in the company hostel, a less than desirable level of communication between workers and supervisors, which is to be further examined in Chapter Ten, and a lack of alternatives available to dissatisfied workers.

9.3.2 Sample 2 : Forestry Estate 2

a) Social Dynamics Profile of Sample 2

The MANOVA analysis summarised in Table 6.13 anticipated tendencies in the sample towards a low preference for change, high adherence and good integration. The result of these tendencies expressed through the main variables of the factors is represented by the scattergram in Figure 9.7

The differences from the preceding sample scattergram (Figure 9.6) are immediately apparent with 49 percent of respondents shown as settled. Together with the 10 percent in the ambitious category there is thus a total of 59 percent in the two employment positive categories.



b) Relevance of Sample 2 Composition

The distribution of respondents given in Table 9.1 indicates that the sample included 8 percent more semi-skilled workers and 14 percent more workers in family accommodation than the study distributions as a whole. The composition by sex of respondent shows only a one percent deviance.

The inclusion of an increased percentage of semi-skilled workers, and of those living with their families, would tend to have a settling effect on the sample when compared to the overall study, suggesting the possibility that the sample position plotted in Figure 9.1 may show it as too integrated. However, no correlation of any of the three social dynamics scores was found according to the sex or skill level of respondents, but there was a correlation indicating higher adherence by workers living with their families ( $r = -.2354$   $P = .034$ )

Differences in the distribution of workers between the four categories of the social dynamics typology are provided in Table 9.5 which may be compared with Table 9.2

TABLE 9.5 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EMPLOYEE CATEGORY, SEX, SKILL LEVEL AND DOMESTIC SITUATION: SAMPLE 2 (FORESTRY)

EMPLOYEE CATEGORY	% TOTAL N = 61	SEX		SKILL LEVEL		DOM SIT	
		M	F	Unsk	Semi.	Single	Family
SET	49	51	42	44	56	43	53
AMB	10	10	8	11	8	10	10
UNC	10	6	25	14	4	14	7
AL	31	33	25	31	32	33	30
SAMPLE MIX (%)	100	80	20	59	41	34	66

Comparison of the tables shows the sample respondents to be more settled in almost every predictor category except for female respondents. No clear indication was found of the reasons for this exception.

c) Environmental Considerations

(i) Labour Relations

The labour relations climate is considered to be good. Much of the credit for this is due to the energetic interest in workers' problems displayed by the district forestry officer. He places a high priority on two-way communication, is sensitive to workers' complaints and problems, and responds actively to them, expressing himself forcefully to company management where this is necessary.

(ii) Domestic and Social Pressures

There was no evidence of dissatisfaction associated with domestic ties or conditions at the estate or at home. The estate is well served in terms of domestic facilities - housing is good and a modern kitchen and dining room provide good and plentiful food. The dining room is large and doubles as a community centre. A good primary school caters for workers' children. There are therefore no real reasons for complaint about their domestic circumstances.

Of the unskilled workers in the sample 47 percent live in family accommodation. This means for many that they are dependants of better paid workers so that pooling of resources and social support offset tendencies to dissatisfaction that might otherwise exist amongst this category.

(iii) Availability of Alternatives

The estate is situated in a more active agricultural and forestry area than Sample 1, and in the district forestry officer's view alternatives are not too difficult to find even at wages which

are higher than usual in the sector. A number of large employers operate in the area, and this normally elevates general wage levels. This position is reflected in a turnover of 68 percent per annum which was high by standards in the study, and much higher than that at Forestry Estate 1.

The turnover includes many who come to the company repeatedly for short term employment. Nevertheless the rate of turnover allows opportunity for the dissatisfied to find alternatives so that those who remain do so for reasons of positive attraction to their employment. This appears to explain a median service period of 12,7 years, the longest in any sample.

d) Wage Levels and Relative Aspirations

The correlation of factor variable scores with income related variables was very limited as the following r values show (in all cases significance was better than the ,05 level):

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Social Dynamics Scores</u>		
	<u>Change</u>	<u>Adherence</u>	<u>Integration</u>
RATMUST	n/s	,2360	n/s
RATSAVE	,2422	,2963	n/s

These values indicate that as the gap widened between actual income, and that which was considered necessary to save, so interest in alternatives was aroused. This general trend was referred to in Chapter Eight (page 321), and the existence of interest in alternatives at the estates, expressed by the turnover rate, was noted in paragraph c (iii) above.

The association between adherence score and the two income variables indicates that workers who have a better base income, and who therefore tend to perceive lower relative disparities between actual income and aspirations, are more adherent. In paragraph (b) an association was noted indicating that workers in family accommodation were more adherent. Of semi-skilled workers 84 percent lived with their

families and they would also tend to earn higher levels of income. The 47 percent of unskilled workers in family accommodation would add to family incomes, so that generally a relatively secure situation would develop in accordance with the considerations referred to in paragraph 8.10.4 (f) (page 314 - 315).

Adherence in these circumstances arises from positive attitudes towards the employer, and not just from environmental compulsion to remain in employment. These positive attitudes were expressed in the responses given to schedule items 33, 90, and 96 which are the variables in the adherence factor which show the level of adjustment in workers' reactions to adherence pressures and ties. Thus 90 percent felt "more at home the longer they stayed," 85 percent felt "cheerful at work most days", and 70 percent were "proud to work for the company."

It is considered that adherence in this sample arises from positive reasons of association with the company which are not dependent directly upon wages but do involve consideration of social and economic security.

#### e) Projection of the Sample 2 Profile

Projections of the typological distribution provided in terms of Table 9.5 were undertaken on the hypothetical assumptions that sample distributions by sex, skill level and domestic situation were the same as those of the whole study. No indications were found that any of the typological distributions would have thus been altered by more than one percent. The sample profile provided by Figure 9.7 can therefore be fairly compared with Figure 7.3 on page 225, and the sample's mean co-ordinates plotted in Figure 9.1 do not need adjustment.

The same degree of uniformity was not found in considering the validity of the sample as representative of the workforce. Women provided 64 percent of the work force but only 20 percent of the sample and thus were greatly under-represented. If the typological distributions between males and females in Table 9.5 were projected to the whole workforce it appeared likely that 28 percent might be alienated and 18 percent uncommitted - a total of 46 percent in employment negative categories. This amounts to 9 percent less than was found in the similar projection

for Sample 1, which is the same margin by which the two scattergrams differ.

f) Conclusion: Sample 2

It is concluded that the higher levels of satisfaction in Sample 2 compared to Sample 1 are attributable to energetic, consultative management, and good quality housing and food. Lower levels of alienation are assisted by more numerous local alternatives and higher turnover.

It is concluded that the circumstances found support a proposition that a fluid external labour environment combined with good internal labour relations practices lead to the accumulation of workers who are satisfied in their employment, whereas the opposite conditions lead to the accumulation of alienated or uncommitted workers.

The fact that this estate and the Sample 4 processing plant are situated within five kilometres of each other strongly supports the very different conclusions drawn from each.

9.3.3 Sample 3: Forestry Estate 3

a) Social Dynamics Profile of Sample 3

Forestry estate 3 is under the control of the same district forestry officer as the previous estate, but is situated some fifteen kilometres away and has its own forestry supervisor in charge.

MANOVA analysis indications summarised in Table 6.13 were that Sample 3 showed an orientation towards change, particularly high adherence, and high integration. In Figure 9.1 it is plotted as the middle of the seven samples.

Figure 9.8 provides the scattergram of sample respondents according to the social dynamics typology. It is characterised by wide score extremes and has a polarised distribution with 19 percent in the most alienated area, and 25 percent in the most settled or integrated area.



b) Relevance of Sample 3 Composition

Table 9.1 indicated that compared to the overall norms the sample had a greater proportion of females, unskilled workers and workers in single quarters. The first and third deviances from the norm would suggest a more settled profile, and the second one a more alienated profile.

The only one of these three variables which appeared to be linked to score differentials was that of sex. Correlation showed females to be less change oriented ( $r = - ,3536$ ), more adherent ( $r = - ,2698$ ) and better integrated ( $r = - ,4660$ ). Differences of typological distribution according to the predictor variables used are provided in Table 9.6

TABLE 9.6 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EMPLOYEE CATEGORY, SEX, SKILL LEVEL AND DOMESTIC SITUATION: SAMPLE 3 (FORESTRY)

EMPLOYEE CATEGORY	% TOTAL N = 64	SEX		SKILL LEVEL		DOM SIT	
		M	F	Unsk	Semi	Single	Family
SET	44	26	72	46	33	47	38
AMB	14	18	8	13	17	9	24
UNC	11	18	0	12	8	7	19
AL	31	38	20	29	42	37	19
SAMPLE MIX (%)	100	61	39	81	19	67	33

The difference between the distribution of men and of women is very high indeed, with 80 percent of women in the two employment positive categories compared to 44 percent of men. Unusual percentages of unskilled respondents and those in single quarters are also in these two categories. Of respondents in single quarters 49 percent were females who also contributed 48 percent of the unskilled workers in the sample. The very settled nature of these women would also therefore greatly influence the typological distributions of unskilled workers, and of those in single

accommodation. The differences are great enough to suggest more detailed examination; and two further scattergrams are therefore provided in Figures 9.9 and 9.10 showing male and female respondents respectively.

Figure 9.9 shows males to be concentrated to the largest extent in the alienated category, and as having unusually large proportions in the ambitious and uncommitted categories. Another unusual feature is the relatively low score correlation given, i.e.  $r = ,69550$  which was the weakest correlation found in the study. It appears to indicate an extraneous contribution to change orientation.

In Figure 9.10 a particularly high score correlation indicates a close relationship between the level of integration and their assessment of their relationship with the company. The concentration of 60 percent of the women clustered at bottom left is unusual, particularly in contrast to the five respondents (20 percent) clustered at the opposite pole (top right). The reason for the nature of the various contrasts mentioned were not apparent from the data base and are sought below.

c) Environmental Considerations

(i) Labour Relations

The estate has not in recent years given evidence of any particular labour relations problems. As it falls under the same district forestry officer as Sample 2, workers receive similar attention to their complaints. Workers are represented on the same liaison committee as Sample 2 workers, so that their treatment on issues discussed is normally the same.

(ii) Domestic and Social Pressures

No evidence was apparent of strains in the work relationship derived from conflicting work and family responsibilities. There was evidence to the contrary in the fact that all scores inclined to fall according to the number of close relatives a respondent had working in the company (schedule item 15). The more close relatives there were the less change oriented ( $r = - ,3726$ ), the more adherent ( $r = - ,1672$ ), and the better integrated

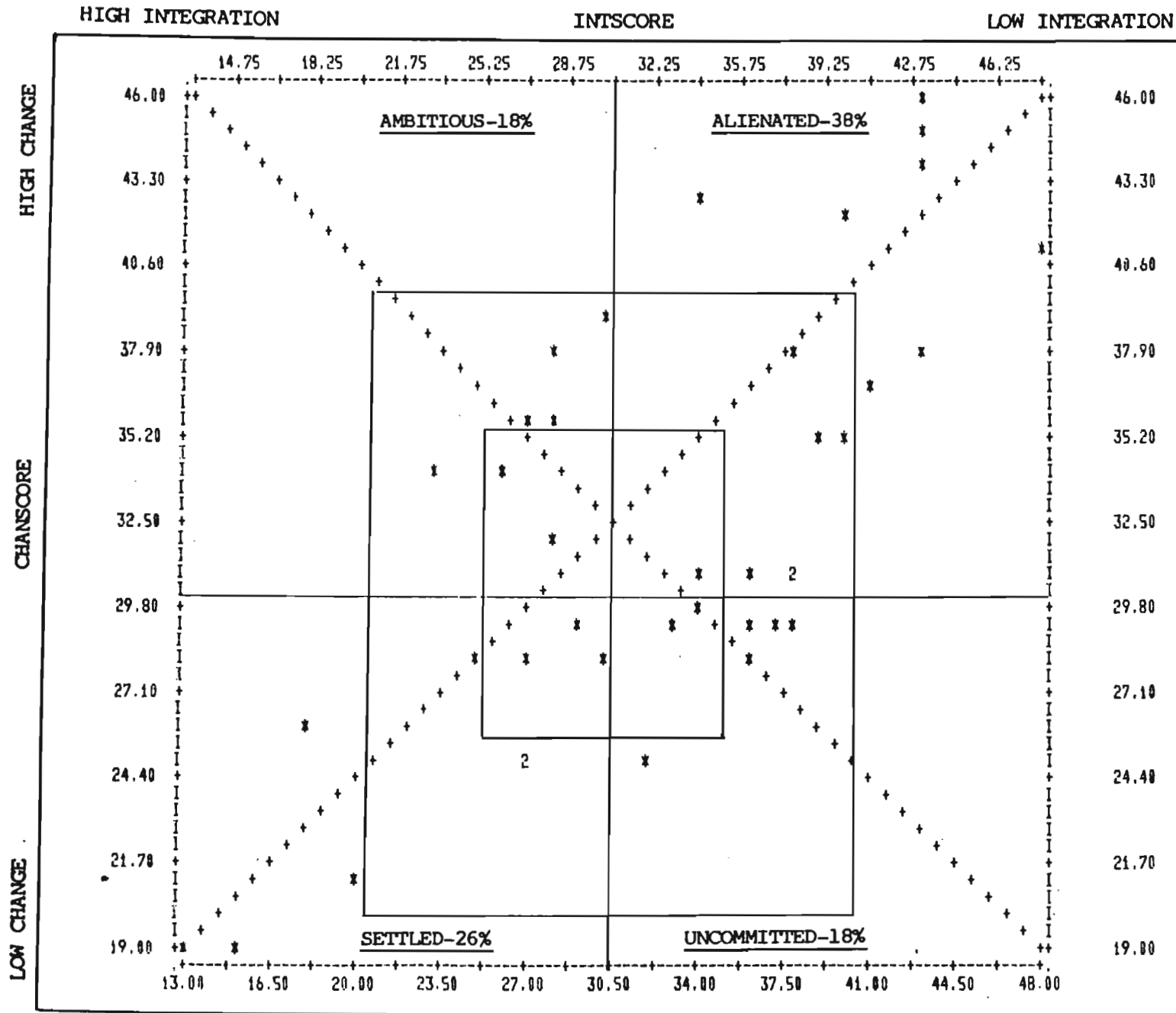


FIGURE 9.9

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

Forestry Estate 3  
Males Only  
N = 39

Intensity Margins:

	<u>Scores</u>
<u>Outer</u>	GT 20 LE 40
<u>Inner</u>	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,69550  
r squared = ,48372  
Sign. P = ,00000



( $r = - .2472$ ) they tended to be. This supports from another perspective the importance of maintaining social ties and satisfying work obligations at the same time.

Hostel conditions were not good. They have recently been improved by the provision of a kitchen, dining room and television set, but at the time of the survey workers cooked their own food in their rooms which was a considerable inconvenience. These conditions did not occasion outward discontent, but they were hardly reason for satisfaction either. But since men and women put up with the same disadvantages these were unlikely to explain the differences of integration and alienation. The explanation had to be found elsewhere.

(iii) Availability of Alternatives and Reasons for Employment

The district forestry officer on being approached with the problem offered information which appeared to largely explain the difference between the male and female distributions.

The workforce of Forestry Estate 3 is much less permanent than that of the other two estates discussed, particularly insofar as the women are concerned. For many years women have come to the estate from a nearby KwaZulu area, a relatively impoverished one, for brief, seasonal employment to supplement family income and to earn cash for specific objectives. With the exception of a few women who have no other means of support females stay only a few months during the height of the summer production season (October to April). In the sample 40 percent of women had been in service less than one year compared to 13 percent of men. This seasonal fluctuation accounts for a recorded annual turnover rate of 126 percent, which includes many women who leave and come back to the company repeatedly. Their needs, and those of the company, have become integrated over a long period of time, the company having owned the property for over fifty years, and an interdependent, seasonal relationship has developed. The company is a local resource to them as they are to it - an example of interdependence relevant to Allen's views

expressed in Chapter Three, page 85. In this instance the label "integrated" would be more appropriate for these employees than the term "settled." No explanation is apparent for the alienation of the five women in Figure 9.10, unless they are the five whom the data showed lacked any kinfolk working in the company. Their alienation and isolation suggests that they are candidates for exit, and they had not been long in the company.

The district forestry officer pointed out that the men worked for different reasons. Only in recent years, since the onset of the current recession, have men shown interest in employment on the estate. Most had worked in town previously and the district forestry officer felt few would stay if economic conditions improved. Clearly they are captive (but would-be mobile), workers and will remain interested in alternatives, irrespective of the quality of relations with the company. This appears to have relevance to the low correlation of scores found for males which was noted above. There must remain an element of speculation in the evaluation, but where the observations of an interested manager with local knowledge are not contradicted by statistical evidence, such speculation provides the best explanation available.

d) Wage Levels and Relative Aspiration

No noteworthy or valid correlation of income related variables was computed for the sample, which is perhaps to be expected in a sample of such disparate interest groups. No separate assessment was attempted by isolating these different groups. The sample as a whole was indicated in Table 8.18 as having the lowest average wage of all the samples. It is significant that the lowest paid section of this sample should include employees who are amongst the most integrated in the entire study. This supports the suggestion raised in Sample 1 that conclusion (iii) on page 326 might be moderated in that lower wage levels are not necessarily associated with poor integration.

e) Projection of the Sample 3 Profile

Adjustment of the sample's composition by sex, skill level or domestic situation to the same proportion as those of the whole study was

followed by projection of the typological distribution in Table 9.6. With a hypothetically greater proportion of males the total percentages in employment negative categories might have been raised by 7 percent. This would not have quite brought it to the levels for Sample 1 so that its position plotted in Figure 9.1 relative to other samples would remain in the same order.

Similar projections were made on the assumption that the typological distributions could be applied through the whole workforce. Sex of respondent was taken to be the major determinant and since 69 percent of the workforce were women, compared to only 39 percent of the sample, it was concluded that the workforce would be much more integrated than the sample and would assume a pattern similar to that of Sample 7 shown in Figure 9.2

f) Conclusion: Sample 3

It is concluded that Sample 3 included two groups of respondents, mainly represented by males and females, who had sought work for different reasons and in response to different economic pressures. The necessity for full time employment by males in the forestry sector, in which they did not normally work, provided the basis for their alienation. The seasonal employment of women to supplement their household income in what was for them a traditional occupation suited their purposes very well, and the result was integrative.

The parameters of integration and alienation levels were thus pre-conditioned to a significant extent by extraneous circumstances but had been managed to best advantage by a manager always concerned to see that workers received fair treatment.

9.3.4 The Forestry Sector

a) General Conclusions from the Samples

The evidence adduced in respect of the three forestry estate samples indicates that levels of integration or alienation are the product of both extrinsic and intrinsic factors. A 'viscous' labour market offering few alternatives leads to accumulation of alienated workers in the workforce despite dissatisfaction. Such a situation was

observed on Forestry Estate 1 where there was considerable evidence of negative attitudes towards work, particularly amongst women. A majority expressed themselves as not usually being cheerful when carrying out their tasks at work and even more found the hours of work too long. Feeling like that about their work certainly cannot have positive connotations for the effort they are likely to put into it - and understandably so. In fact it would be surprising to find that such employees did work hard on any consistent basis. It is assumed that generally these feelings were genuinely expressed because the responses to those schedule items were shown to be reliable and were grouped as factor variables. The more negative responses by alienated and uncommitted workers to the variables were given on pages 249 - 250, and 255. And yet turnover amongst Forestry Estate 1 workers was much lower than amongst Forestry Estate 2 and 3 workers whose expressed sentiments about work were much more positive.

A fluid labour market offering many alternatives leads to accumulation of integrated workers in the workforce because of satisfaction. The difficulties of reconciling work and social obligations, and the facility with which these may be overcome, also have an effect in pre-determining parameters of integration and alienation. Astute, concerned, and active management, sensitive to, and responding to sources of complaint, can influence the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction within the indefinable parameters set by the extrinsic factors. Essential areas for management attention are the development of good communication channels, and the elimination of discomforts and inconveniences in company accommodation for workers.

The manifestation of underlying dissatisfaction may not be clear or overt, particularly where communication quality is poor. However high proportions of alienated workers in the work group over a period of time must result in lesser collective enthusiasm applied to daily tasks at work, and a tendency to produce only what is necessary for the retention of employment for as long as preferable alternatives are not available. Such practice must gradually become established as a group norm. If the measure of alienation used is a valid one then collective levels of production must provide supporting evidence, if comparisons are possible. Productivity levels are therefore chosen as a measure for comparison with the typological distributions that have been discussed.

b) The Comparison of Productivity Levels

Although each estate workforce performed similar tasks by similar methods and under similar organisation it has been shown that there have been considerable differences in internal and external environmental features, in management style and in the comparison of both samples and workforces. Comparisons of behaviour between the workforces concerned therefore holds many difficulties. It may be that the complexities and contradictions defy analysis in a manner that might demonstrate, support, or disprove the dynamics thought to be involved. Perhaps the most worthwhile outcome of this dissertation would be the clearer identification of factors that may lead to the greater happiness of people at work which, if wisely attended to, might make a contribution to the resolution of major problems in South Africa and elsewhere. It is not unreasonable to suppose that one of the primary results of happiness at work, or work integration, should be greater productivity, but the relationship has not always been clear. Bardo and Ross (1982, p.29) noted that:

"The relationship between worker satisfaction and measures of productivity has been the subject of extensive research during the past 50 years. First suggested by the theories of Mayo, Roethlisberger, and other members of the human relations school of management, the intuitively pleasing proposition that satisfied or contented workers would achieve higher levels of productivity has not been well supported through empirical tests. Two broad reviews of the research (4.14) \* suggests the absence of any substantive satisfaction-performance linkage." (\* this refers to articles by Brayfield and Crockett, and by Sasser and Leonard).

Despite this introduction to their own study of satisfaction of industrial (aerospace) workers as predictors of production, turnover and absenteeism, Bardo and Ross conclude (ibid. p.37).

"Social psychological orientations toward work have been shown here to be of sufficient complexity to warrant further research. Also, these data do not suggest any unitary causal linkages between attitudes and behaviours, but instead both attitudes and behaviours appear to be intertwined with organisational situation, characteristics, and structure."

Job satisfaction, it appears, has not been related clearly to motivation, and thence to productivity. In this research exercise comparisons between geographically separate samples or estates are complicated by local differences of terrain, weather, soil, and the type or species of crop. Also data concerning turnover, absenteeism, and per capita production was not kept in sufficient detail to relate the facts precisely to shifting combinations of elements making up the work force concerned - male or female workers, single quarter or family accommodated workers for example. Also, in most activities, there were variations of local method or practice. This consideration, particularly, invalidated comparisons of productivity between the three estates for most production activities, although the direction of variation in production per capita generally aligned with expectations. In respect of one activity, however, comparisons can be made. This activity is known as wattle-bark stripping. The wattle tree, or mimosa, is native to Australia. The trees were well established in plantations in South Africa before the turn of the century. The trunks of the trees are stripped of their bark for its value as a derivative of tannin which is used as a leather tanning agent. No efficient mechanical means of accomplishing this task has been devised that does not spoil the bark, and it is carried out manually by relatively unskilled workers. Proficiency, however, does increase with practice. The trees are sensitive to seasonal and climatic variations, and bark "strippability" is affected by these considerations. The age and density of the trees, and the steepness of terrain, can also affect the speed at which workers can progress. These difficulties are the subject of constant attention by the company's work study department, so that workers will not be prejudiced by local, adverse conditions. Remuneration tables are adjusted accordingly, but are worked out relative to a 'company standard task' of 400 kgs of bark per manday. This is an average potential production rate established by the work study department based on observation of workers in a wide range of circumstances and conditions. A variety of production-payment tables are projected from these norms to allow for the local or temporary difficulties referred to above.

The supposition supported by the analysis so far is that workforces which have a majority of workers in the "employment positive" categories (i.e. settled plus ambitious workers) will tend to be more productive than those with a lesser percentage, or minority, in those

categories. The task in question is one that is performed by male or female unskilled workers. At the estates in question workforces assigned to this work at the time were always predominantly female, but their composition varied. The distributions between categories of unskilled workers and female workers are therefore relevant:

a) Percentage Distribution of unskilled male and female workers by category

<u>Sample/Estate</u>	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
1	32	12	10	46
2	44	11	14	31
3	46	13	12	29

b) Percentage Distribution of Female workers only by category

<u>Sample/Estate</u>				
1	32	6	21	41
2	42	8	25	25
3	72	8	0	20

In each of the above cases the distribution of workers by category gives rise to expectation that productivity would be highest at Estate 3, second highest at Estate 2, and lowest at Estate 1. During a period of 23 working weeks (December 1983 to May 1984), during which bark stripping was carried out at all three estates prior to the research survey, production records noted the following performances against standard task:

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Wattle Bark Production per manday (kgs)</u>	<u>Company Standard Task (kgs)</u>	<u>Percentage of Co. Standard achieved</u>
Estate 1	284	400	71%
Estate 2	362	400	90%
Estate 3	417	400	104%

To consider these figures and their explanation a series of discussions was held, culminating in one including the following interested or involved personnel:

- the author;
- the district forestry officer in charge of Estates 2 and 3;
- a forestry officer who at the time of the survey was in charge of harvesting operations at Estate 1, but was later, fortuitously, in charge of Estate 3, and thus able to make comparisons from personal experience;
- a forestry officer previously in charge of Estate 3, now seconded for developmental purposes to the work study department;
- the chief work study officer of the company;
- the company training officer;
- the personnel officer concerned with labour welfare.

The objective of the meeting was to separate reasons for productivity deviation which could be ascribed to physical or natural causes, and those that could be ascribed to motivational reasons. Natural factors taken into account were as follows:

a) Rainfall

Higher rainfall causes the trees to release their bark more easily, and stripping productivity is facilitated. Rainfall records during the same period, supplied by the station at Cedara, indicated that a total of 1391,4 mm fell at Estate No 1 compared with 810,6 at a point midway between, and close to, Estates 2 and 3. This factor gave a 72 percent advantage to the lower producing estate.

b) Temperature

Mean daily temperatures at Estate 1 during the same months, also supplied by the Cedara station, were consistently hotter, by a margin of 2,0 to 2,7 degrees Celsius, than at Estates 2 and 3. This could have an effect upon the strength and energy of workers, but it was noted that certain lower-lying parts of Estate 3, where blocks had been stripped, were much better than the higher areas of that estate.

c) Yield per hectare.

Higher yielding blocks mean higher productivity, since more bark is produced at the expense of less movement, and probably a greater yield from each tree processed. Yields of bark during the twelve months prior to the survey were:

Estate 1 12,6 tons per hectare

Estate 2 14,9 tons per hectare

Estate 3 14,9 tons per hectare

The yield advantage of 18 percent at Estates 2 and 3 favoured production there against Estate 1, but did not show any advantage between Estates 2 and 3.

c) Terrain

Rough terrain and steep slopes detract from productivity. Terrain at Estates 1 and 2 were similar, and rougher than that at Estate 3.

Estate 1 was favoured by rainfall, Estate 2 by yield per hectare and lower temperatures, and Estate 3 by yield per hectare and terrain, and to a certain extent lower temperatures compared to Estate 1.

Discussion continued about many other considerations that could be relevant - daily routine, feeding, age of workers, condition of tools, quality of gang supervisors, number of strippers per chainsaw operator, alternative work opportunities. Some were felt to be significant:

Estate 1 workers:

- experienced longer delays between waking up and commencing work. This reduced their rest period but did not increase production time;
- had more strippers per chainsaw operator (about ten compared to 8 or 9 at the other estates). This reduced pressure to keep up with the pace of tree-felling;
- worked at other times of the year as cane-cutters, assuring them of a longer period of comparably remunerative employment during the year. At the other estates the most had to be made of the opportunity offered by the wattle stripping season;

- were under "average" quality first line (black) supervisors.

Estate 2 workers:

- had the advantage of better quarters, and a better morning meal from a more modern kitchen. Difficulties at Estate 1 were earlier referred to, and at Estate 3 workers at that time made their own breakfast the night before;
- had a "better than average" supervisor.

Estate 3 workers:

- had a "better than average" supervisor;
- had short term, limited earning goals.

The forestry officer who had served at Estates 1 and 3 said that he had found workers at the latter to be "much more hardworking, more motivated" than those at Estate 1, but "much quicker to grumble". Following this observation, as an interesting aside, a check was made on responses by females, who were the majority of the bark stripping gangs, to two test statements, items 56 and 62. These statements were referred to, inter alia in Chapter 7. They are taken to be indicative of the level of support for active/constructive voice and active/ destructive voice respectively (the percentages of unskilled workers in the samples, male and female who agreed are given in parenthesis):

Percentage of female (and unskilled) workers agreeing with test statement

	<u>Estate 1</u>	<u>Estate 2</u>	<u>Estate 3</u>
<u>Item 56:</u> If workers protested strongly the company would be certain to pay more attention to them.	62 (59)	75 (67)	96 (71)
<u>Item 62:</u> Worker leaders are too quick to agree to what the company says. They should argue more forcibly	47 (53)	33 (42)	44 (50)

These affirmative responses to item 56 clearly show a high degree of belief in the efficacy of voice by Estate 3 workers, women particularly, slightly less by Estate 2 workers, and less again by Estate 1 workers. Their support for voice in its more aggressive, conflictive form (item 62) is at more similar levels through the samples, but with most support now from Estate 1 workers. The responses fit the expected contrasts of behaviour, and are borne out by the (unsolicited) personal observations of the forestry officer who had worked at Estates 1 and 3. It is also the observation of the author, and of other senior company staff, that the district forestry officer in charge of Estates 2 and 3 is noted for his persistence in getting to the root of worker problems, and applying the best solution. More will be said of this in the next chapter.

Following several hours of group discussion the conclusion was reached that the differences of production between the estates concerned could be explained partly by natural factors, but that motivational factors played the major part. Of course all such observations may be criticised as subjective, but they remain the most informed available. However, conversely, the fact must remain that more difficult conditions can make work harder, thus re-inforcing feelings of alienation. These conclusions support a contention that the research instrument is capable of identifying and measuring levels of work group motivation, and that the levels of motivation found affect group productivity.

#### c) A Forestry Sector Scattergram

For the sake of comparison with Figure 9.5, the scattergram for the timber processing sector, Figure 9.11 now combines the forestry estate samples. Lower levels of alienation overall are seen in forestry but this is the product of the special characteristics of each sample. The comparison is not therefore pursued.

### 9.4 DURBAN METROPOLITAN INDUSTRY

#### 9.4.1 A Sample with a Difference

Some detail of the nature of the sample interviewed in Durban was given in Chapter 5, pages 140 - 141. An important difference in the nature of the sample from all the others which bears repetition at this point



is that it represents an agglomeration of individuals many of whom shared certain characteristics but they did not all have a common employer. The sample cannot therefore represent a work group, and its distribution in the social dynamics typology is merely the portrayal of the separate position of many individuals.

The fact that the sample was so composed is of particular value since it can demonstrate responses to the social dynamics considerations by individuals in relation to circumstances which are both extraneous to their work and different from those pertaining in the other samples.

#### 9.4.2 Sample 5 : Urbanised Workers in Metropolitan Industry

##### a) Social Dynamics Profile of Sample 5

The indications of MANOVA analysis in Table 6.13 (page 199) were that in relation to overall means factor scores of the sample respondents would tend to show a low orientation to change, relatively very low levels of adherence and good integration.

The scattergram in Figure 9.12 provides the profile for the Durban sample of one hundred male industrial workers. The immediately apparent features are fairly low extremes of score, low distribution of respondents at extremes, fifty percent of workers in the settled quadrant which is high, and only seven percent in the ambitious quadrant, which is low.

##### b) Relevance of Sample 5. Composition

Table 9.1 indicated the sample mix was exclusively male, had an imbalance of semi-skilled over unskilled (almost the reverse of the overall skill distribution), and that almost all respondents were accommodated in a family environment. The first feature would give rise to expectation of a high change orientation, which is clearly not apparent in the scattergram. The second and third features anticipate the more settled profile, which is apparent in the scattergram. Wage levels given in Table 8.18 show that respondents were the highest paid in the study which could be expected to have a settling effect, if indirectly.

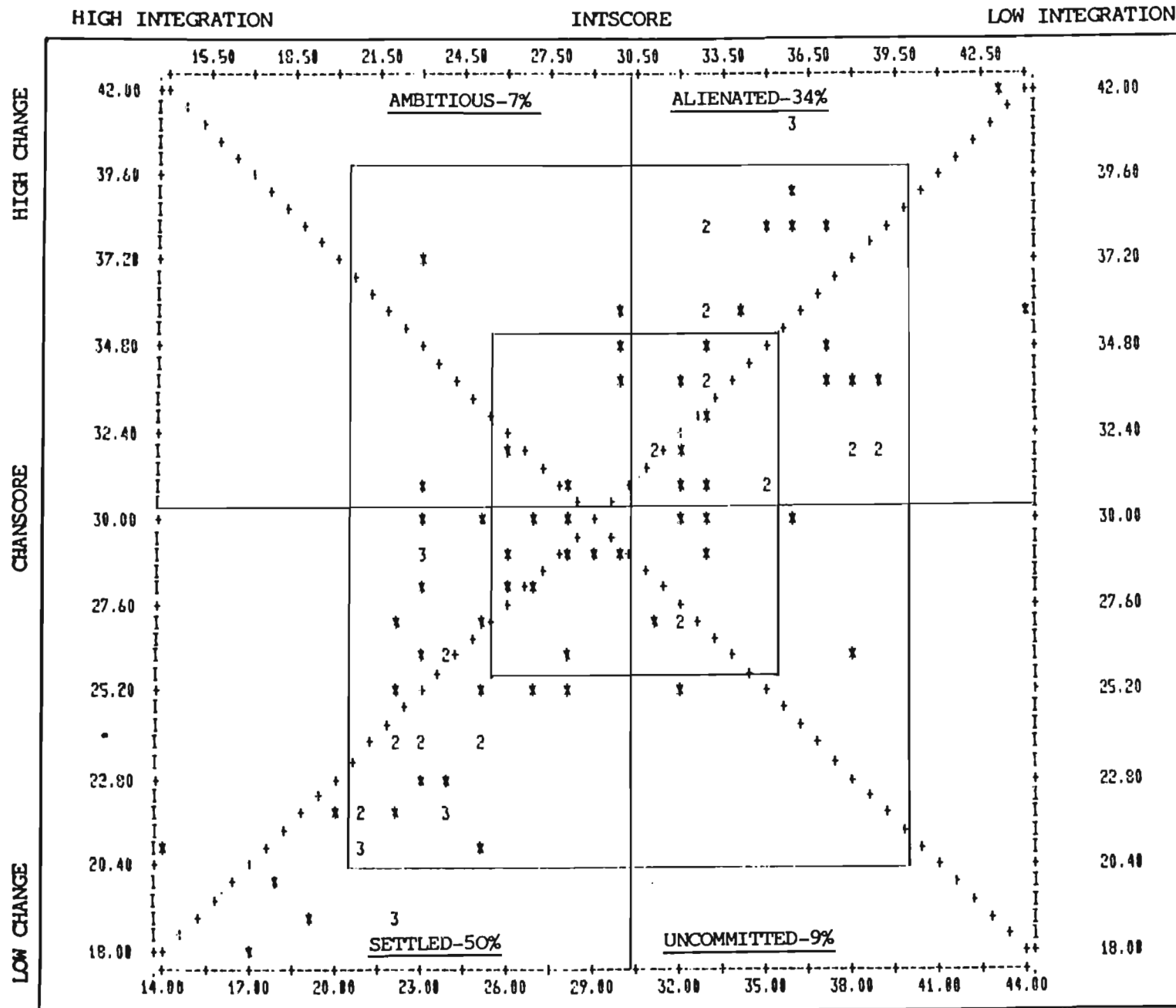


FIGURE 9.12

MEAN SCORES:

CHANSORE  
AND INTSCORE

SAMPLE/SECTOR:

5 Durban  
Industrial

N = 100

Intensity Margins:

	Scores
Outer	GT 20 LE 40
Inner	GT 25 LE 35

Correlation:

Pearsons r = ,78219

r squared = ,61183

Sign. P = ,00000

FIGURE 9.12

Because of the peculiarities of the sample composition, differentiation cannot be made within it of distributions according to sex or domestic situation. The distributions of respondent by employee category in the sample can be, and are later, compared against those for males elsewhere, and others who reside in a family situation. Differentiation in the sample according to skill level has already been referred to in section 8.9.2 of the last Chapter (pages 297 - 302).

In Chapter 8 several references were made to the correlation of factor variable scores with predictor variables in the sample. These were more frequent, and often more clear, than in other samples. It is believed that many of the correlations arise from the nature of the labour environment in Durban, which must offer greater, and more visible, opportunity for lateral and vertical mobility. These considerations are taken up below.

#### c) Environmental Considerations

The conclusions of Chapter Eight included reference to the importance of labour market fluidity or 'viscosity' to the sorting process that workers undertake for themselves in striving to find the job which suits them best. The advantage of freer movement is that it results in better deployment of skills in the economy over a period of time. Inclinations towards change or alternatives, and away from situations of malintegration of work, are more easily realisable. Integrated situations, in which the employee then loses interest in alternatives, are attained. Levels of dissatisfaction thus decline with individuals over a period of time and differentiation between workers then leads to observable correlation of time-related or 'investment' variables, and social dynamic variable scores. Also, since adherence for positive reasons is strongest in a situation that the employee likes, there will tend to be correlation of the three social dynamics scores in a free labour market. In 'viscous' conditions high adherence will pertain despite personal desire for change.

These arguments explain the levels of correlation found between the social dynamics scores and age, service length, and skill level in the

Durban sample which were not found so consistently elsewhere. These are given in the correlation matrix, Table 9.7, showing correlation (Pearson's  $r$ ) and levels of significance ( $P$ ), and need no elaboration in the light of the foregoing.

d) Wage Levels and Relative Aspirations

Table 8.18 (page 320) showed that respondents in Durban earned considerably more than the workers interviewed elsewhere. Because a more fluid labour environment results in differential levels in the attainment of economic and other goals there is likely to be common differentiation of social dynamic scores and income. Among Durban respondents correlation was found between the change and adherence scores and income-related variables.

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Social Dynamics Scores</u>		
	<u>Change</u>	<u>Adherence</u>	<u>Integration</u>
Wage	$r = - ,1959$	$- ,3542$	n/s
	$P = ,025$	$,000$	
RATMUST	$r = ,3540$	$,2644$	n/s
	$P = ,000$	$,004$	
RATSAVE	$r = ,2904$	$,3713$	n/s
	$P = ,002$	$,000$	
RATJOY	$r = ,2202$	$,4096$	n/s
	$P = ,014$	$,000$	

The absence of correlation between integration and the income-related variables suggests that in a freer labour environment workers look more readily to alternatives than to their current employers for redress. The more viscous the labour market may become through recessionary conditions, through government regulation of free movement, through local or industrial peculiarities or through the inhibition of trade by foreign sanctions, the more workers must look inward for change and less to the best utilisation of their own resources.

TABLE 9.7 CORRELATION MATRIX OF TIME-RELATED INVESTMENT VARIABLES AND SOCIAL DYNAMIC VARIABLES  
SAMPLE 5 : DURBAN WORKERS (N = 100)

VARIABLES		AGE (Years)	SERVICE (Years)	SKILL (High-Low)	CHANGE	ADHERENCE	INTEGRATION
AGE (Years)	r = P =		,7015 ,000	n/s	- ,2550 ,005	- ,3079 ,001	- ,2226 ,013
SERVICE (Years)	r = P =			n/s	- ,2866 ,002	- ,3582 ,001	- ,2129 ,017
SKILL (High-Low)	r = P =				,2278 ,011	,4028 ,000	,2350 ,009
CHANGE	r = P =					,5774 ,000	,7822 ,000
ADHERENCE	r = P =						,6156 ,000

e) Projection of the Sample 5 Profile

The composition of the sample was internally uniform in terms of sex, all respondents being male, and domestic situation, with 96 percent living in a family situation. No hypothetical adjustment of the sample composition can therefore be undertaken for comparisons of typological distribution with Table 9.2.

However, comparisons between the sample scattergram, Figure 9.12 and certain others summarise important differences to which attention has been periodically drawn.

Comparison with Figure 8.8 (page 310), which represents the social dynamics profile for all workers in the study who live in family accommodation, shows great similarity of distribution between the four categories. The major differences are lower score extremes in the Durban sample and fewer workers in the ambitious category. These characteristics seem to be explained by the earlier resolution of dissatisfaction through improved mobility.

Comparison with Figure 9.2, earlier in this chapter, representing Sample 7 workers of whom the same proportions lived at home, shows Sample 7 to be very settled, intimating that high levels of domestic and wider social integration, even without a high degree of labour mobility, can be associated with good integration at work. The higher percentage of ambitious workers in Sample 7 could lead to higher pressures for internal change.

Comparison with Figure 9.4, earlier in this chapter, is a comparison between two all-male samples which was referred to earlier. Of Sample 4 workers 96 percent lived in single quarters. The plant was in a viscous labour environment. Sample 5 workers in Durban lived and worked in opposite conditions. The results in the scattergram are shown also to be opposites in the comparison of the settled and alienated categories.

Comparison with Figure 8.1 (page 279), which plots all male workers in the study, shows that the urbanised male workers in the Durban

sample are more settled. This is attributed to the reasons advanced above.

There was differentiation within the sample according to skill level so that sample distributions according to skill level, which appear in Figures 8.5 and 8.6 (pages 301 - 302) could be projected by the method explained in Annexure 9A. Assuming the Durban sample to include 67 percent of unskilled workers and 33 percent of semi-skilled workers the following comparisons could be assumed.

<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>N =</u>	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Whole Study	554	41	11	10	38
Sample 5	100	50	7	9	34
Adjusted Sample	100	44	5	10	41

At first sight the adjustment indicates that the Durban environment is likely to produce as high levels of alienation as the norm. Attention was drawn (page 298) to the very low extremes of score by unskilled workers in Figure 8.5. More detailed extrapolation according to the distribution between "intensity zones" in the relevant scattergrams showed that the low distribution at extremes remained. The low extremes are attributable to readier resort to exit in response to dissatisfaction, and to less of the intensity of conservatism that might occur amongst satisfied elements in a low alternative environment.

#### f) Conclusions: Sample 5

The conclusions of this section have largely been expressed in the foregoing paragraphs. The inclusion of Durban workers in the study added an invaluable dimension which has assisted in the clearer interpretation of results throughout the study.

In Durban the nett effect of the increase in mobility, is a reduction of polarisation between workers and their more rapid sorting into more acceptable jobs at less acute levels of dissatisfaction. Inhibition of this freedom by reduced economic activity, recession, (or perhaps damaging sanctions) must gradually increase polarisation within

workforces, and a build up of alienated workers. Reduced individual freedom varies with increasing potential for conflict.

## 9.5 SOCIAL DYNAMIC DETERMINANTS OF WORKFORCE PROFILES - CONCLUSION

### 9.5.1 Social Dynamics and Earlier Motivation Theory

It is submitted that this chapter has consolidated the consistency of the evidence and argument that was developed from the hypothetical base provided by Chapters Two to Five, and the analysis outlined in Chapters Six to Eight. Over the course of this analysis, piece by piece, the evidence provided by correlation and distribution has been explained in relation to the theoretical and hypothetical base or has been used to develop that base in a manner which further explains the associations between the worker, his society and his employer. In general the results put forward should not prove to be generally inconsistent with other sound theoretical or empirical conclusions. The examination of the social dynamics model against the vast body of existing literature on industrial relations, job satisfaction and worker motivation would be an ambitious undertaking and could provide the material for another dissertation. Comparison with some long-held (or long-forgotten) tenets in these fields is appropriate however at this point.

March and Simon (1958. p.121), writing on employer participation were concerned with a number of features relevant to this analysis. "The greater the individual's satisfaction with his job," they observed, "the less the propensity to search for alternative jobs." The assertion aligns exactly with the high degree of correlation found between the dynamics of change and integration which have been fundamental in this study. They recognised also the difference between the "propensity to search" and actual or perceived "ease of movement."

"Under nearly all conditions the most accurate single predictor of labour turnover is the state of the economy. Even such a gross aggregate statistic as the national quit rate shows a strong negative relationship with the aggregate rate of discharges and lay-offs. When jobs are plentiful voluntary movement is high; when jobs are scarce, voluntary turnover is small." (ibid. p.115).

They go on to surmise that the perceived "ease of movement," derived from the level of business activity, is also influenced by the personal characteristics of employees (sex, age, social status, length of service, skill specialisation and skill level), and the visibility of alternatives (depending on the number of organisations visible, the heterogeneity of personal contacts, the visibility of an individual to other organisations, and the reduction of interest by virtue of long habituation to present circumstances).

They conclude that "In the absence of empirical evidence little can be said about these propositions except that they conform to our own experience and intuitions."

Irrespective of conclusions that may have since been reached by other studies the observations in this and the previous chapter, based on empirical evidence, support the accuracy of their propositions to a high degree. The isolated rural industry (Sample 4) could be characterised by skill specialisation, low visibility of alternatives, homogeneity of personal contacts, strong local social ties, long habituation. This led to low turnover and retention of work-dissatisfied employees. The environment of the small-town industry (sample 6) was characterised by higher visibility of alternatives, greater heterogeneity of personal contacts, weaker dependence on the job for maintenance of social ties, shorter habituation. This appeared to account for high interest in alternatives, and higher rates of turnover restrained by an ease of movement limited by the capacity of the economy to offer actual, attainable alternatives. The larger economy of the Durban metropolitan area (Sample 5) offered a higher number of visible and attainable alternatives, with lower costs attached to job mobility. This led to a more rapid sorting of employees into satisfactory positions, or more rapid goal attainment.

Ross and Zander (1957, p.70) asserted in an essay on need satisfaction and turnover "Three questions about the interference of employment with sources of satisfaction in home or community showed significant differences between the responses of the resigned workers and those of matched people who remained. These questions indicated that those who resigned felt that they were kept from doing things at home, that their jobs were interfering with their social life, and

were preventing participation in clubs and similar activities." Such conclusions agree altogether with the observations made about levels of employee alienation in single quarter accommodation.

Brayfield and Crockett (1955. p.76) noted that "there are many goals outside the industrial plant which may be socially rewarding to the individual and which require only minimal financial and occupational rewards inside the plant. - - - (the worker) may continue to remain in industry only to maintain some minimum economic position while carrying out his outside functions." These considerations seem compatible with the settled nature and local circumstances referred to in the border industry sample (sample 7). There the moderate rewards of local employment were preferable to higher rewards far away.

The problems of role reconciliation have been referred to in the preceding sections of this chapter as a source of tension which can affect the satisfaction workers feel in relation to their job, and workers are constantly torn in their choice of social action between the rural traditional, and urban industrial patterns referred to on page 22. This appeared to be most satisfactorily dealt with where work was in close (daily) proximity to the total social environment (sample 7 - the border industry), secondly where work was in close proximity to the family unit (the Durban sample and other workers living with their families), thirdly where the social environment at work provided some approximation of normal social life (hostel residents in mixed villages, as with the forestry industry samples 1, 2, and 3), or where workers were at work for short term objectives (sample 3), fourthly, and least satisfactorily, where male workers were most isolated from normal social life (sample 4).

Aspects of working life which have been introduced in this chapter through the consideration of each sample have been those concerning the apparent effects of worker satisfaction or integration upon motivation and productivity, and of management style upon worker integration.

Brayfield and Crockett (ibid p.72), discussing the ambivalent nature

of correlation between worker satisfaction and motivation to produce expect the relationship "to be one of concomitant variation rather than cause and effect. It makes sense to us to assume that individuals are motivated to achieve certain environmental goals and that the achievement of these goals results in satisfaction. Productivity is seldom a goal in itself but is more commonly a means to goal attainment. Therefore, as has been suggested, we might expect high satisfaction and high productivity to occur together when productivity is perceived as a path to certain important goals and when these goals are achieved. Under other conditions, satisfaction and productivity might be unrelated or even negatively related."

The measurement of productivity for comparative purposes holds many pitfalls which are readily acknowledged. However, with this qualification the evidence advanced in this chapter which a) favourably compares the productivity of the sample 7, border industry plant, with that of the sample 6, small town plant, and b) the productivity of the sample 2 and 3 estates against that of the sample 1 estate, indicates that work groups with a higher percentage of workers who are constructively oriented towards their employment in terms of the integration factor are motivated towards more productive work. Reasons for sample 7 plant motivation and productivity at work cannot be categorically stated, although it is apparent that employment at the plant integrates well with social purposes. The resulting absence of dissatisfaction and destructive reaction to it may well be sufficient to provide a favourable contrast to sample 6 where a larger number of workers appear to have an active/destructive, or alienated, orientation. The contrasts between the forestry sample 2 and 3 estates on the one hand, and the sample 1 estate on the other appear to originate in similar considerations, re-inforced by a more supportive management style, and, in the case of estate 3 workers, definite and limited goals, the attainment of which being expedited by high productivity.

The causes of satisfaction (or work integration) and its relation to productivity may be extraneously pre-determined to a degree. The internal amelioration of this pre-determined state is the responsibility of company managers and supervisors, and that this is so

is supported by the nature of the integration factor variables, their high correlation with change (alternative) factor variables, and the observed differences between a normal establishment and one where the manager is well known for his supportive style.

This question of management style has of course many facets, and its discussion is best postponed to the end of Chapter Ten which is concerned with the investigation and analysis of managers' and supervisors' perceptions and expectations of worker responses.

The contribution of this chapter has been the characterisation of sample profiles, and assessment of their relevance to the study norms, those of the workforces from which they were drawn, and the environments, internal or external, in which they operate.

#### 9.5.2 Conclusions from Sample Analysis

The following specific conclusions are supported by, or have been put forward on the basis of the findings contained in this chapter:

- (i) Low levels of work alienation are associable with high reconciliation of work and social roles;
- (ii) A combination of high visibility of job alternatives coupled with constraints upon actual mobility is associated with higher dissatisfaction with current employment;
- (iii) Poor company hostel facilities are disruptive to worker-employer integration and thus conducive to alienation or lack of commitment;
- (iv) Poor communications impedes the resolution of sources of dissatisfaction which contribute to employee alienation;
- (v) A viscous labour market and poor labour relations practice leads to the accumulation of alienated workers, whereas the opposite conditions lead to the accumulation of settled or satisfied employees;
- (vi) Freedom of choice in the employment market leads to reduction of extremes of integration based on adherence,

or of alienation, so that lower levels of polarisation are found. Such conditions are more likely to pertain amongst employees established in the metropolitan area;

- (vii) Short-term employment leading to the satisfaction of short-term goals can be as integrative as long-term employment;
- (viii) Contrary to the intimation adduced in Chapter Eight, section 8.11.5, paragraph (iii) on page 325 it is concluded that lower income level workers are not necessarily less well integrated than those at higher earning levels, and the opposite is often the case. Parsons, it was noted on page 30, referred to four methods of obtaining compliance with goal directed demands, each with its medium of exchange appropriate to one of the four functional sub-systems. In the integrative societal community he pointed to 'persuasion' as the method for gaining compliance, and 'influence' as the medium for exchange. In the adaptive sub-system of the economy 'inducement' was the method given and 'money' the medium for exchange. This study shows that whilst workers enter employment for adaptive reasons and for money, they are motivated in the societal community of the work group by the integrative ones of persuasion and influence. The wise employer will recognise that he has to expend both money and 'influence' to obtain the services that he seeks.

ANNEXURE 9AWorking Sheet for Projection of Sample Composition and Typological Distributions for Comparison with those of the Whole Study or Workforce.1. Example: Adjustment of Sample 6 composition according to sex to the same composition found in the whole study.

- a) Sample 6 included 45 males and 20 females (i.e. N = 65)  
 b) Whole study included 449 males and 105 females (i.e. N = 554)  
 c) Assume sample 6 had same proportions as whole study, i.e. 81,05% males and 18,95% females.  
 d) Therefore where N = 65 the sample would include:

$$(65 \times 81,05\%) \text{ males} = 52,68$$

$$(65 \times 18,95\%) \text{ females} = 12,32$$

- e) The percentage distributions of each sex by employee category which were used in Table 9.3 are now used to categorise the projected nos. arrived at in (d), above i.e.

<u>Sex</u>		<u>N =</u>	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Males	N =	52,68	15,28	4,74	1,05	31,61
Females	N =	12,32	6,77	1,85	0,62	3,08
<hr/>						
Projected Totals	N =	65,00	22,05	6,59	1,67	34,69
Percentage		100,00	33,92	10,14	2,57	53,37
Rounded to (%):		100	34	10	3	53

2. Adjustment for any other proportion in the sample either to whole study proportions or workforce proportions

This would follow the same procedure, adapting firstly the proportions found in the sample to the proportions of the whole study or workforce as the case may be, and secondly distributing these adjusted proportions according to the social dynamics typological distribution for the variable given in the tables of the text (in the above example the relevant table being Table 9.3).

- The Other Side of a Relationship

10.1 SECURING MANAGEMENT CO-OPERATION

10.1.1 Personnel Management - A Vantage Point

The original intentions of the investigation were to study the perceptions of workers in the selected areas of South African industry. However, before arrangements for field work were complete, it was recognised that the survey would present an invaluable opportunity to test the understanding and sensitivity of managers and supervisors in dealing with the workers for whom they were responsible. It would enable measurement of the gap, if any, between managers and supervisors on one hand, and workers on the other. These intentions were referred to in sections 4.5.1 and 5.3.5. The point of interaction to be studied begins with the meeting point between worker and employee portrayed at level 5 in Figure 3.3 of Chapter 3 (page 93).

This proposed line of enquiry forms the core of this part of the exercise but opens the way to an account of the wider manner in which participants from the employer's side of the South African "interface" were involved. Where this has been previously recounted only abbreviated reference will be made. The framework provided in Table 10.1 briefly summarises the progress and widening of the involvement of these participants in this aspect of the study. The numbers indicated are the total number of persons involved at one stage or another to the point of writing.

Of great advantage in this part of the exercise has been the author's position as personnel manager in one of the companies concerned. With that position goes constant contact with all levels of company management and supervision, and very frequently the workers. It carries with it membership of the senior management group, and a vantage point situated one decision band below top management represented by directors of the Company. The board of directors provides a direct

TABLE 10.1 SEQUENCE OF PARTICIPATION BY MANAGERS AND SUPERVISORS

ACTION	COMPANY MANAGERS/ STAFF DEPARTMENTS (N = 12)	LOCAL MANAGERS/ SUPERVISORS (N = 69)	EXTERNAL PARTICIPANTS (N = 55)
<u>PREPARATION</u>			
1. Support Concept	*	-	-
2. Support Funding	*	-	-
3. Discuss Schedule	*	-	-
<u>FIELDWORK</u>			
4. Facilitate Field-work	*	*	-
5. Complete "worker" schedule as a questionnaire	*	*	-
<u>ANALYSIS</u>			
6. Discuss 'raw' results	*	*	*
7. Discuss employee categories	*	*	*
8. Discuss Applications	*	*	*
<u>APPLICATION</u>			
9. Planning Application	*	*	-
10. Implementing Application	*	*	-

line for the diffusion of wider corporate values and standards, and it imposes responsibility upon the company to maintain these or to progress towards them. This involves the drafting of employment policies, their explanation to directors, and giving effect to them when and if proposals are approved. As a member of the senior management team a personnel manager is constantly involved in discussion with other members of issues concerning employment policy. Their support or concurrence is necessary both in gaining policy approval from the Board, and in its subsequent administration in the company. The assistance of the personnel manager is needed by them in employment policy administration - he needs to budget for these programmes, administer his own staff, monitor those attached to line managers at plant level, and explain the reasons for company policies to line managers and supervisors all the way through the company's organisational structure. This demands constant interchange of views and ideas, and one becomes attuned to the way in which managers, supervisors, hierarchical levels, or particular operating groups view labour matters. Additional insights are of course also gained by the development of lateral associations with personnel practitioners in other organisations, both within and outside the same industry, and invitations to attend and contribute to training sessions for operational staff in the industry, or for private farmers or timber growers.

#### 10.1.2 Company and Plant Level Management Compliance and Assistance

Naturally senior management cooperation was necessary to the conduct of the research exercise. Without it the necessary compliance of subordinate staff would not be forthcoming. Reactions of course varied. Some managers were curious or enthusiastic - they wanted to know what responses would be to the proposed enquiry schedule, although in some cases they expressed doubt as to whether workers would hold views on these issues, or be willing to express them. This more robust re-action was identifiable with line managers in operational divisions. Others were more cautious, indeed alarmed at some of the test statements in the schedule, fearing that they would "put ideas into the heads of workers." It was "not quite done" to raise such

issues. However, after discussion, and the modification of one or two of the more "radical" test statements in the draft enquiry schedule, reservation was overcome, and co-operation extended in two major companies. It was previously mentioned this was not forthcoming in another two companies, and the researcher's offer to explain the objectives to the management teams concerned was not accepted.

With this sometimes uncomfortable experience fresh in mind the author expected to find more pronounced apprehensions at operational level, among local managers and supervisors. It was thought initially that they were likely to be more resistant than company management, more likely to worry about the possibilities of disturbing their authority. In the event they were almost uniformly phlegmatic. They were to show as little sign of anxiety as subsequently did the workers.

The final outcome was favourable to the proposed research exercise, however. It is heartening that apprehensions can often be overcome where they exist, and that often they do not exist where they are expected.

Staff at management and supervisory level assisted greatly with all necessary arrangements for the field work, and the provision of private interviewing facilities. Their assistance, of course, was indispensable.

### 10.1.3 Managers and Supervisors as Survey Participants.

Apart from the co-operation mentioned above twelve company based managers (i.e. staff or line managers removed from the plant environment, normally referred to hereafter as company management), were given copies of the enquiry schedule, the content of which was explained to them. They were asked to respond to each test statement (items 28 - 104) as they thought the average black worker would respond in the workforce from which the sample was drawn, with which workforce they were either constantly or frequently involved. Obviously company based managers would be more remote from workers than local managers - but they had a responsibility for the workforce

in question nevertheless, and a duty to gauge its morale as accurately as possible. They were invited to select the workforce whose responses they were attempting to anticipate.

Because of unavailability of staff, or other problems during the field work programme, management and / or supervisory participation was sparse in respect of samples 3, 6 and 7. It was not sought at all in respect of Durban respondents since approaches to them were not made through their employers. Participation in respect of samples 1, 2 and 4, by written completion of the schedule, was at an acceptable level, however.

#### 10.1.4 Plotting Management Estimates of Worker Response

The simplest manner of summarising these assessments was to plot their average "social dynamics scores" on the sample scattergrams in the same manner as the scores were plotted for workers. The results for samples 1, 2 and 4 are shown at appropriate points in Figures 10.1 to 10.3 respectively. Other samples are omitted for the reasons previously mentioned.

Symbols superimposed on the worker response scattergrams include:

- O (blue) plant level managers' and supervisors' individual mean 'scores' co-ordinates - i.e. their anticipation of average worker score;
- O (pink) company level managers' individual scores co-ordinates;
- O (green) the co-ordinate of the means of all worker scores in the sample;
- O (red) the co-ordinate of the means of plant level manager/supervisor scores;
- O (yellow) the co-ordinates of the means of company level managers' scores.

In addition certain manager-supervisor groupings have been encircled to allow for distinctions between them for the purposes of later comment.

## 10.2 ANALYSIS OF MANAGEMENT PARTICIPATION

### 10.2.1 Management Estimates of Worker Response: Sample 1

#### (a) Differences in the Distribution of Estimates

Figure 10.1 clearly shows the following :

- (i) local management, from the sample estate and those surrounding it, have clearly erred on the side of conservatism. Their average (Likert) scores of 22,00 on the change axis, and 21,55 on the integration axis show a considerable gap between their estimation of the average worker's perceptions and its reality;
- (ii) company based managers, more thinly represented, have clearly arrived at a more accurate estimate than local managers, particularly those indicated close to the worker average co-ordinate.

Closer examination showed that finer distinctions could be made. In the scattergram Figure 10.1, of the five symbols in the quarter circle at lower left, in the most conservative or settled area, four symbols represent the most senior levels of local management. They appear to be the most insulated from worker opinion, or the least sensitive to it.

The full circle contiguous to the quarter circle encompasses all the first line white supervisors, a (local) black labour officer, and two members of company management - one line, and one personnel. This circle is divided into two semi-circles distinguishing two sub-groups:

- those in the more conservative, or lower-scoring group had all worked in the area for more than eighteen months at the time the survey was conducted, and all were white South Africans.

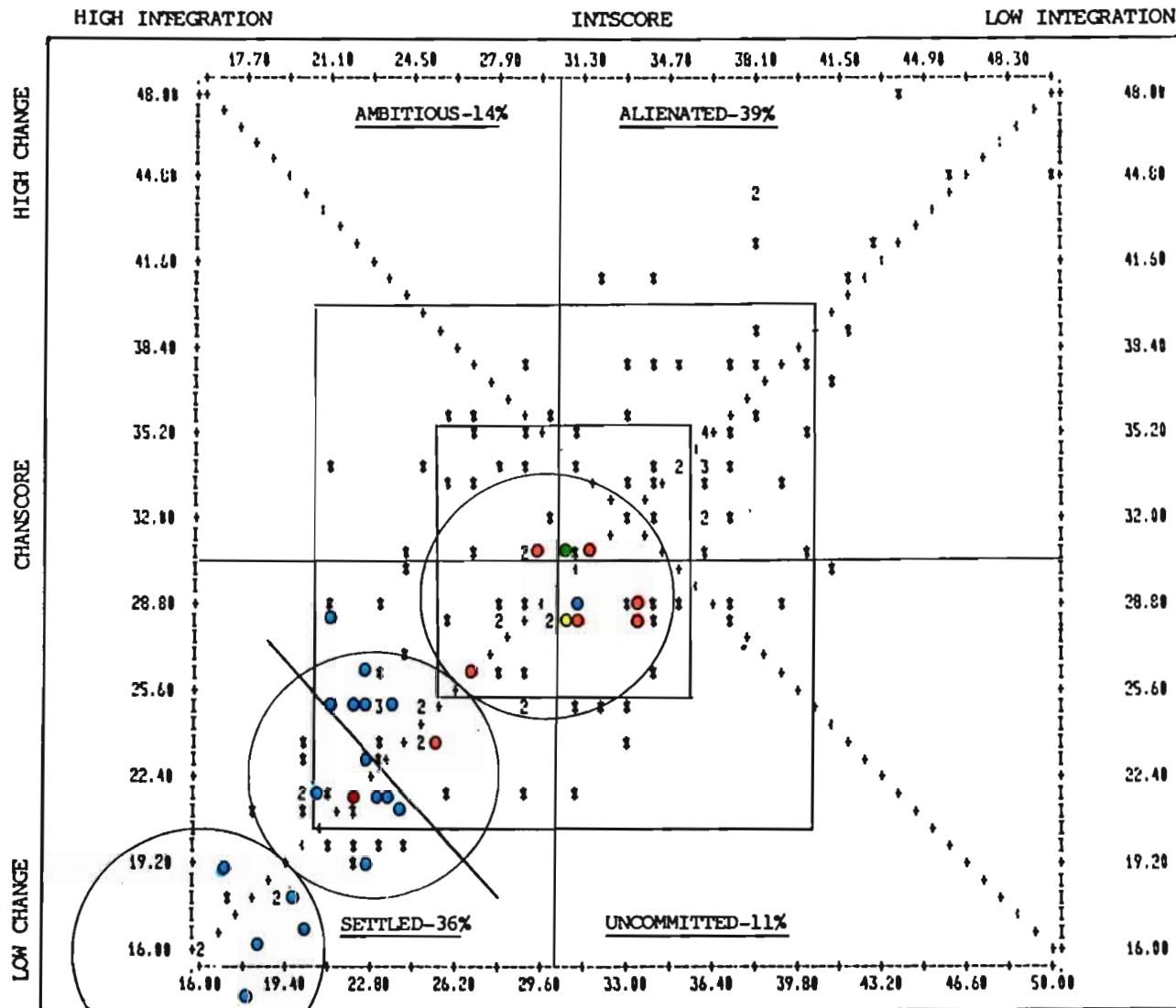


FIGURE 10.1

MANAGERS' AND SUPERVISORS' ESTIMATES OF AVERAGE WORKER SCORES: SAMPLE 1

(SUPERIMPOSED ON FIGURE 9.6)

Key:

Individual Estimates by Managers/Supervisors

● Local

● Company

Average Estimates by Managers/Supervisors

● Local

● Company

Average Scores of Workers

●

- those in the more central group included two personnel staff (one local black, and one company based white), and four local white managers, who had served in the area less than eighteen months, and who were all ex-Rhodesians.

The circle at the centre of the scattergram includes three white forestry line managers at company level, the company personnel manager (the author), one black company welfare officer, whose estimate was closest to the worker means co-ordinate, and one local manager considered to have a closer than usual interest in labour matters.

For considerations of local sensitivity, which if contravened can prejudice the offering of information, the names of individuals, or the detailed information which might identify the above groups, was not revealed to participants when giving feedback. However, in discussion groups with participants, they were given the distinctions between local and company management estimates. They were also given, privately, a copy of the scattergram to show the position of their own estimate relative to that of their colleagues.

(b) Explanations offered for Differences of Estimation

The above information was discussed at some length with the groups concerned, at local level, and some explanations advanced:

- (i) in the course of daily work routines there is a tendency for supervisors to develop a core of working relationships with certain key subordinates whom, by virtue of frequent contact, they come to know much better than other employees;
- (ii) these workers will tend to have key operational responsibilities, to have shown acceptable attitudes to work, to be at a more senior level than the ordinary worker (gang supervisors and drivers for example). Clearly there will be a greater tendency for them to be "settled" employees themselves, and this fact will contribute towards shaping the supervisors' judgement of work force morale;

- (iii) relationships with other workers tend, too often, to be more impersonal, conducted through the medium of the more senior workers referred to above. (The average white supervisor may often control as many as 100 black workers working in separate areas of his estate. Twenty years or more ago these supervisors would have visited work gangs in the field on horseback, and spent more time talking to the men and women at work. Now this process tends to be more hurried - visits made by truck, instructions given, and the work group left with a task to achieve. Personal contact with the majority of the work group is thus more fleeting - one result is that the supervisor has less accurate perceptions of his workers' sentiments, and another must be that many workers, lacking any close and frequent relationship with their (white) supervisor, has less evidence on which to base positive associations between black and white, between worker and company, and tend to become, or remain, alienated);
- (iv) there is a tendency for relationships with alienated, or even ambitious, workers to be troublesome for both parties. Attention was drawn in Chapter 7 to the fact that 64 and 60 percent of these two categories agreed respectively with the test statement (item 48) that "many of the whites in the company treat blacks very badly". These categories have more complaints to make, are ready to make them, and making them may lead to less easy, more uncomfortable contacts.
- (v) Alienated workers, too, are likely to be the more frequent target of critical comment by supervisors which is likely to reinforce their negative perceptions of the employment relationship. From this there will tend to develop, as a rule, an inclination to avoid contact, or to reduce it to more easily tolerated levels.
- (c) Hierarchical Distance between Managers and workers

Further to the considerations referred to above, unless the

problems are recognised and energetic efforts made to counter them, they will tend to become more acute as the structural authority of the manager at local level increases - his contacts may become less numerous and frequent, the subordinates themselves more advanced in the hierarchy, more settled, and more respectful of senior than junior managers. This would help to explain the greater difference of more senior local management estimates than those of their juniors. However, other factors tended to reinforce this, as will be seen.

#### 10.2.2 Management Characteristics Influencing Estimates.

##### (a) Further Management Participation

At further stages of discussion with local participants the nature of the dynamics involved were explained and observations, written and verbal, requested on managing the circumstances which these implied. Response, generally, was positive and constructive, and most participants found the results to be of great interest. This was expressed by observations such as these:

"The survey was an eye-opener."

"I found this survey exceptionally informative."

"The results have been extremely interesting."

"A fascinating study extremely relevant to the next few years."

Others were less warm in a specific sense, but all were positive in a general sense. Interest was aroused in the possibilities of improving labour relations in so far as their own sphere of influence was concerned. It was easy enough for all to see that a deliberate effort to alienate workers by contravening the principles which are explicit or implicit in the variables of the integration factor would rapidly result in a volatile situation. Conversely, deliberate and sustained effort to improve worker perceptions on these issues would beneficially influence the situation.

Given facts that they could relate to their own situation, almost all participants reacted in a predominantly positive manner, acknowledging that improved labour relations were necessary, desirable, and attainable.

(b) Characteristic Differences between Participants

Despite the generally positive response and contribution to the investigation and its results, certain contrasts of attitude were notable between the local participants.

(i) Attitudes to Communication

Evident differences in approach or attitude were those concerning communication (which is the focal point of the employment exchange silhouetted at levels 2 and 3 in Figure 3.4, Chapter Three). It was characteristic of some to think of this as a downward process rather than an upward, or two-way one. "Telling" seemed to have priority over "listening." Where the communication gap was recognised the reaction was to "sell" the company's view-point and policies, rather than to probe for workers' concerns, goals or anxieties.

Examples:

"Communicate with them (alienated workers) at all times and let it be known that you are not prepared to put up with their lack of loyalty. Loyalty is extremely important. All workers must be led to this situation by good communication."

"Management must strive to ensure that all workers know what is expected of them at all times, and be consistent in their daily communications."

"Labour must be made to understand that not everyone can be employed in town, and that they are lucky to have a job so close to the facilities that town offers."

These were not the only sentiments expressed by these particular contributors, but they were associable with those who are shown to have held the less accurate perceptions of those represented in the scattergram. They contrast with these other comments which came from those who were more accurate in their responses:

"Try and recognise a man for who or what he is, and allow him to prove himself to you and himself. Communicate freely,

try to understand him. Help him understand you, be open, meet on the same level..... If they trust (that) you have their interests at heart half the battle is over."

"(An effort should be made to improve communication) by genuine two-way communication - not one being the big boss and the other inferior, as this will be one-sided."

"A good channel of communication should exist at all times, irrespective of what may happen or occur..... Encourage discussion and find what the worker feels insecure about then try to allay any fears the worker has."

There is a greater sensitivity in these latter remarks, a more evident readiness for personal evaluation that is consistent with the more accurate assessments these participants made (they are all shown in the scattergram in the more central half of the middle of the three circles). Their observations, it is also noted, use the singular in relation to workers, expressive perhaps of the conception of relationships in inter-personal terms. The first three examples are couched in ascriptive terms - "them", "all workers," "labour" - that would accord with patterns of thought in terms of inter-group relations; there was other evidence of such thinking by those who made the more conservative assessments in Figure 10.1:

"work has never come easy for the Zulu so he will always try something."

"The company should see them for what they are and not try so hard to treat them as whites."

In terms of Berne's transactional analysis, discussed by Hersey and Blanchard in the context of management practice (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982. pp 72 - 74), the more authoritarian style can be clearly identified as Parent-Child communication, and the less authoritarian style as Adult-Adult communication. As times and people advance the Parent-Child pattern becomes progressively less appropriate, if indeed it ever was, resulting in "blocked transactions" where one party attempts to communicate Parent-Child, while the other is responding Adult-Adult or vice versa.

(ii) Compliance or Co-operation

Another discernible area of difference that tended to distinguish types of supervisor was a more evident awareness of a wish for control and compliance, than a wish for trust and co-operation. Recognition of workers' imperative need for work tended to be seen by the more conservative as having more positive interpretations such as lower turnover, greater stability, a more secure labour supply, and a cut-back in training needs. Less conservative participants understood better the faults inherent in a captive worker situation - "the worker is only working for the cash without interest in the company."

(iii) Readiness to Acknowledge Problems

Another noteworthy difference, which must tend to either the insensitive or the defensive, was observed when participants were presented with evidence of the dissatisfaction of female workers described in section 9.3.2 - those with the most immediate responsibility, who happened to belong to the more conservative category, opted not to see it as a real problem (in written response at any rate) whereas all other participants, conservative or not, recognised it and made various suggestions for its correction.

(iv) Different Personal Histories

Reference was earlier made to the two groups of participants who were represented by the symbols in the middle of the three circles. The more accurate sub-group, it is recalled, included two personnel staff, and four ex-Rhodesian local managers who had not been long in the area. The differences between the Rhodesian and the South Africans are interesting. These appear to be derived from different (white) cultural backgrounds, from different experiences of changing life circumstances, or from different lengths of local association. On these counts the following appear relevant:

- Rhodesian society was, with qualification, less subject to the formal restraints upon inter-racial communication existing in South Africa (for example those noted by the HSRC and referred to earlier in Chapter Two, page 60).

- the prolonged period of political uncertainty in the latter days of white-ruled Rhodesia kept a concern about black political and economic aspirations at a pitch which is only lately becoming generally apparent in white South African society and public debate;
- the managers concerned had already lived through the Rhodesian war and later disruptive changes in their lives. This experience would have told them that reality is not always superficially apparent. They would be sensitive to the possibility of future changes from the same source, and for the same reasons - failure to correctly assess or act upon the strengths and weaknesses of their position in relation to the currents of black opinion on key issues.
- having thus much in common with each other the Rhodesians would tend to feel at home in discussing political events, and so share a fairly common assessment which could influence their responses to enquiries in this field towards a similar result.

Probably these factors played a part in the apparently greater sensitivity of the Rhodesians to local black perceptions. Their shorter periods of service in the district had not allowed time for this sensitivity to be dulled by the more conservative assessments of their longer serving colleagues, or for the development of routinised associations with workers which might be unduly reassuring. Long service in the district on the other hand did not always imply a more conservative estimate, since amongst the longer serving managers were assessments at both extremes (for example the one in the central circle of Figure 10.1 and others at extreme lower left).

### 10.2.3 A Summary of Factors Influencing Management Estimates: Sample 1

#### a) Significant Factors

To summarise, the following factors appear to have played a significant part in influencing the participants' sensitivity and

capacity for accurate assessment of the workers at the sample 1 estate:

Lesser Sensitivity

More settled existence

One-way "Parent-Child" communication

Group ascription

Stronger cultural barriers

Longer service in conservative group

Acceptance of the existing structure of relations

Longer term, routinised association with supportive black workers

Greater Sensitivity

Past experience of change

Two-way "Adult-Adult" communication

Personalised assessment

Weaker cultural barriers

Shorter service in conservative group

Conscious effort to widen communication.

Less developed, less routinised associations with black workers.

b) Local and Company Staff Differences

In dealing with this sample there remains the question of the differences noted in Figure 10.1 between local and company staff. The following are suggested reasons which find support from those concerned:

- (i) company managers view the problem with a certain personal detachment. Their perceptions are not shaped by day to day contacts with black workers which might lend false assurance;
- (ii) they are constantly exposed to reports of political and industrial unrest elsewhere in the country which tell them that there is a higher level of socio-political awareness amongst blacks than outward signs from the company work force indicate;
- (iii) as senior managers they are acutely aware of their responsibility to top management, and thus consider the possibilities of error with more focus;

c) Degree of Interest

Senior and company based managers' responses to the feedback of survey material, like those of local managers, showed a high degree of interest. Responses were more closely reasoned and more detailed. They pressed for closer enquiry into reasons for worker dissatisfaction, the greater involvement of black workers in decision making, easier vertical mobility for blacks, sensitisation of supervisors to black needs, conscious effort to positively influence alienated workers, or suggested profit sharing by workers.

d) Manager-worker Gap

Some of results and some of the remarks reproduced above show a wide gap between conservative managers and the average worker, let alone the more alienated worker. However, if this difference were over-emphasised, it would conceal the reality that, from whatever point of the spectrum managers might start by virtue of experience, or social conditioning, or personality, their overall re-actions to the information given them were constructive- their inclination is to improve their own understanding and to manage a happier workforce. It is quite conceivable that if trade union officials of the more radical kind had been involved with the workforce in question their close associates and more comfortable contacts would have been with the alienated extremes amongst workers. Quite probably their scores on the survey schedule would have shown their assessments to have been in the alienated quadrant of Figure 10.1. Both sides need to acknowledge that there is a middle ground, and that honest compromise is likely to achieve the most progressive result for both workers and industry in the short and long terms). The participation of managers and supervisors in relation to sample 1 workers' responses was wide enough to support some fairly firm conclusions. It will be seen whether participation in relation to samples 2 and 4 support, add to, or detract from these conclusions.

10.2.4. Management Estimates of Worker Response: Sample 2

(a) The Scattergram

Figure 10.2 shows that four local managers and supervisors partici-

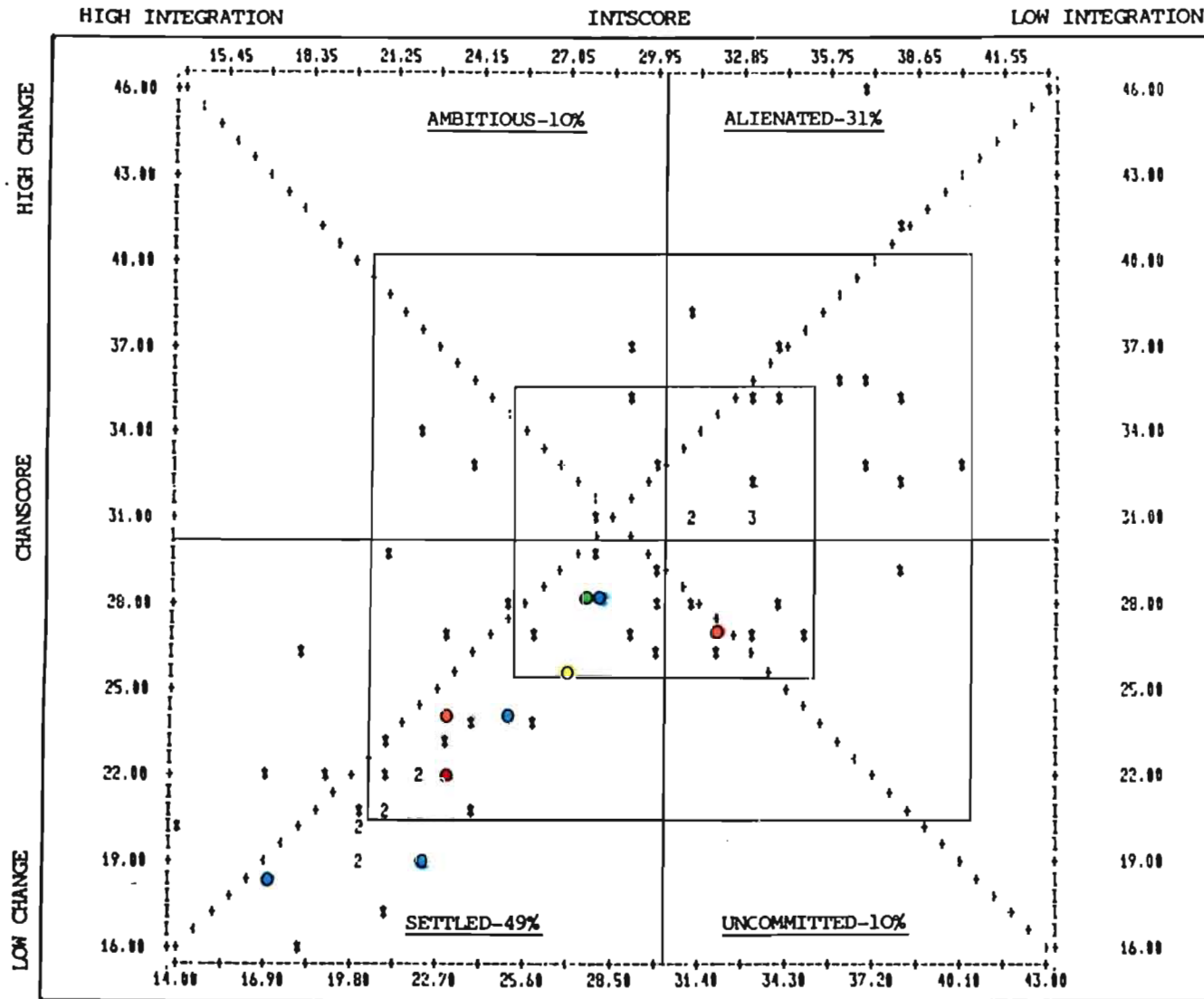


FIGURE 10.2

MANAGERS' AND SUPERVISORS' ESTIMATE OF AVERAGE WORKER SCORES: SAMPLE 2

(SUPERIMPOSED ON FIGURE 9.7)

Key:

Individual Estimates by Managers/Supervisors

● Local

● Company

Average Estimates by Managers/Supervisors

● Local

● Company

Average Scores of Workers

●

pated in estimating the "average worker" responses to the test statements in the enquiry schedule, and two from the company based staff. Of these six, only five were subsequently involved in comment upon the results and invited to put forward their views on the management of the situations and dynamics identified.

The nature and number of the participants was such that no easily identifiable groups were apparent, but some of the "sensitivity criteria" listed in 10.2.3 (a) above were supported by the content of their evaluations - particularly that of attitude to communication.

Mean worker scores on the change and integration variables were 2,8443 and 2,8016 on the Likert scale respectively.

(b) The Local Manager

The closest management assessment of worker scores was extremely close at 2,8235 and 2,8333. This estimate was submitted (in the form of a completed test statement schedule) by the senior local manager, or district forestry officer, whose comment was sought in the analysis referred to in the previous chapter. His commitment to full communication was repeated and emphatic when his re-action was sought in the first report-back:

"Communications (both ways) are very important... get onto and sort out complaints promptly";

"No, complaints do not cause problems. Most people will listen and appreciate when problems are discussed";

"There can never be too much communication. Daily contact through work is essential between estate management and workers."

"Managers must follow the winds of change. The old days are gone forever and we must be able to handle the rising aspirations of blacks."

These attitudes are quite different to the more authoritarian examples

of some sample 1 managers. They clearly express willingness to listen, evaluate and adapt, and a sensitivity to changing times.

(c) Other Participants

Amongst others from whom follow-evaluations were received the two most accurate initial assessments were made by those shown at Likert score co-ordinates 2,4 and 2,5 (24,00 and 25,00 on the scattergram scales), and 2,4 and 2,3. The first participant was a local estate manager, while the second was based at the company office, but has frequent contact with local managers throughout the company. Pertinent comment made by them respectively is quoted as follows:

(i) local estate manager on -  
communication:

"I talk a lot with our labour and I have few problems. I hear them talking;"

"Estate managers must speak Zulu and take the time to talk to labour. They must show real interest and never bluff or lie to labour:"

"Workers need to see that estate managers want to, and can, communicate with them. This relieves tension;"

hygiene matters:

"The water supply needs better clarification. The compound (on his estate) is old and located in a frosty valley"

general relations:

"My labour, I was told, (before being transferred to his present estate situated near to the sample 2 estate) would be difficult, but they haven't been really."

"I have few disciplinary cases to deal with -none for one year."

(ii) company based manager on -  
communication

"(There should be):

- informal meetings without fear of reprisal. Encourage supervisors to speak with labour - not just issue curt instructions."
- more communication. Explain the situation to workers. Hold regular 'chat' sessions.
- find out what the workers want, not what we think they want. We must move quickly."

This participant attributed the fact that all of the women in this sample had indicated that they were generally cheerful at work to the "involvement of the district forestry officer and his personal consideration for conditions, wage levels and tasks. He ensures that tasks are properly set and administered." He went on to comment, in respect of company practice generally "there is a typical we-they attitude. There is much need for better communication and involvement at all levels. There is too much secretiveness."

The two remaining participants who made a very conservative estimate of worker attitudes, plotted at bottom left of Figure 10.2, made little reference to the value of communication, and that related to downward communication. The most inaccurate estimate of the two was given by a black personnel assistant. This result was surprising because the district forestry officer rates his contribution to labour administration very highly, and there can be no doubt about the man's sincere concern for his fellow black workers which is almost palpable. And by his own rating he understands them.

"Workers look at Labour Officers as their spokesman. He knows all that can make a black worker happy and satisfied."

"This exercise has been very interesting and relevant to my job because I was able to give the true reflection of a black worker."

Whatever the basis for self-deception, and however good and sincere the intentions, this case demonstrates the advisability of line managers not delegating their inalienable responsibility for communication and personal contact.

(d) The manager's personal style

In this sample the senior local manager has been shown to have considerable empathy in his dealings with his workers. It is recognised by his superiors and colleagues, and comment was made on these qualities in the introduction to the sample in section 5.3.3(d), Chapter 5. The last chapter attributed the generally settled nature of the workers in this sample compared to sample 1, and the productivity of the workforce, to a combination of locally available job alternatives, management attention to "hygiene" factors and work problems, and generally sensitive, but strong management. The conclusion reached in this chapter is that the personal style of the manager has played a very large part in ensuring these conditions, and provides him with accurate insights, and the facts he needs, for effective management of the operation for which he has responsibility.

10.2.5 Management Estimates of Worker Response: Sample 4(a) The Scattergram

Figure 10.3 provides the scattergram of Sample 4 worker responses, with the assessments of local (plant) and company management or supervisors superimposed. As previously noted the worker mean scores co-ordinate was high in this sample, showing relatively high alienation levels compared to other samples. A noticeable feature of management responses is that they are also higher in general than those seen, for example, in Sample 1. This general trend appears to be attributable to a sensitivity or response to the higher levels of worker alienation. It seems to be characteristic, however, that the average local manager should underestimate the level of alienation. Given evidence of this comparatively high level of alienation, the more conservative local managers found it hard to reconcile with their own perceptions, and with the lack of outward signs of unrest. This was referred to in section 9.2.3, but since that section was written a major union group claims to have recruited 85 percent of workers at the plant, which claim has been verified, yet local management could find no evidence of this from enquiry amongst the workforce. There are barriers to communication

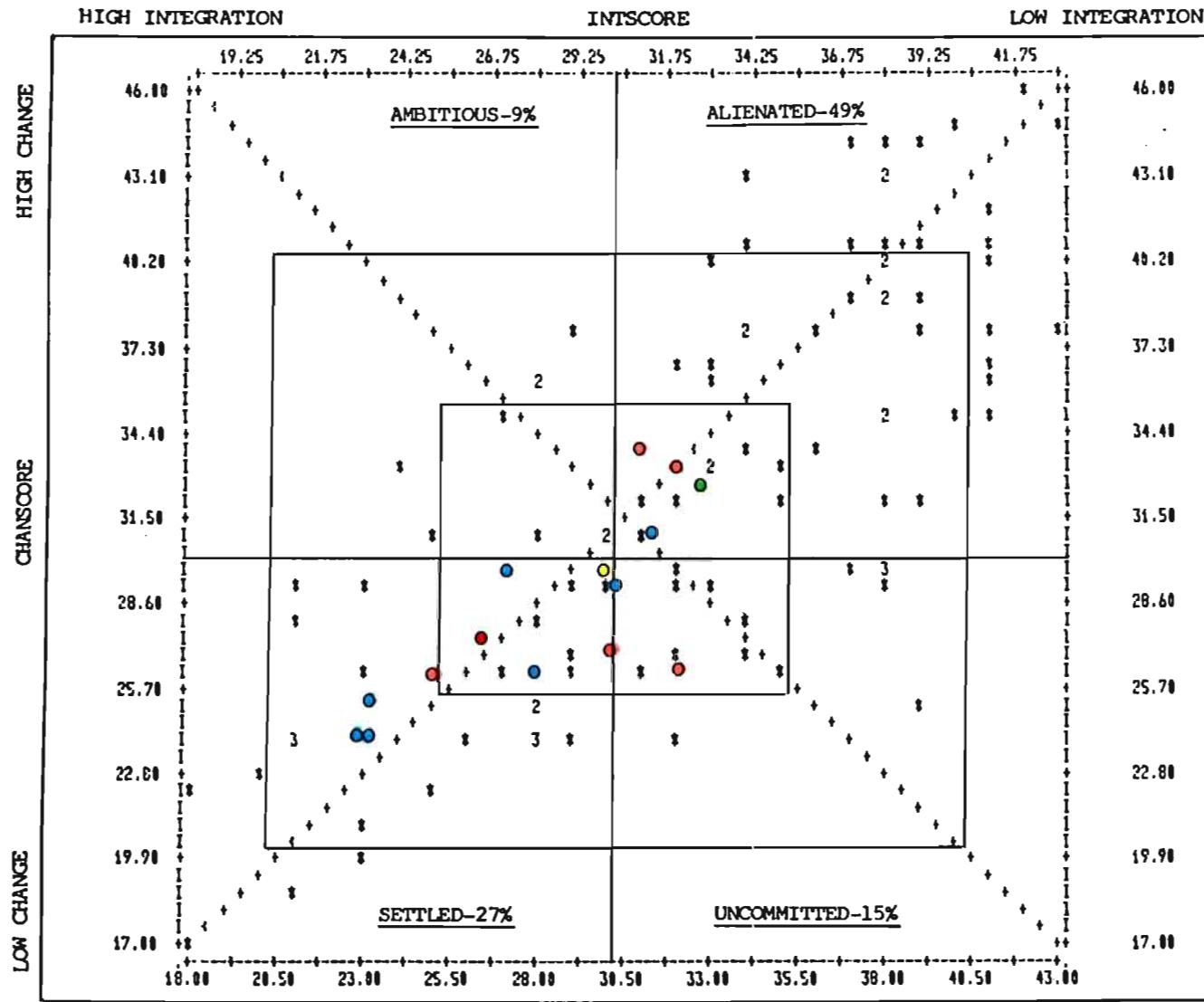


FIGURE 10.3  
 MANAGERS' AND  
 SUPERVISORS'  
 ESTIMATES OF  
 AVERAGE WORKER  
 SCORES: SAMPLE 4

(SUPERIMPOSED ON  
 FIGURE 9.4)

Key:  
 Individual Estimates  
 by Managers/Supervisors

● Local

● Company

Average Estimates by  
 Managers/Supervisors

● Local

● Company

Average Scores of  
 Workers:

●

on sensitive or controversial issues, particularly those of a black-white, semi-political nature. Since section 9.2.3 was written, the writer has held meetings with all workers concerning the reorganization and re-election of a more representative works council, and this was enthusiastically received. While there may be barriers workers also wish to communicate effectively.

(b) More Accurate Management Assessments

A feature of the management assessments in Figure 10.3, compared to the distribution in Figure 10.1, is that there is less distinction between plant and company management personnel. Nevertheless the most accurate assessments were by company senior managers - the manager of the company's manufacturing division, and the Company Secretary and Legal Advisor, upon which comment is made below.

(i) The manufacturing division managers' assessment was scored at 3,2941 and 3,2500 on the change and integration scales, compared to the worker sample means of 3,2540 and 3,2600. The participant concerned had the advantages of having personally managed the plant in question for several years, and of having been, as a member of senior management, subject to the high volume of political and industrial relations information that passes through the company main office. He is also aware of the implications for the company of any industrial unrest and of his responsibility in that regard. Commenting on the survey results his emphasis was upon communication, and an investigative, problem-solving approach:

"Communications should be improved between workers and supervisors by explaining the workers' problems to the supervisors and the supervisors' requirements to the workers";

"Somehow we have to get to those workers' problems to identify them, and then these have to be rectified as soon as possible."

(ii) The Company Secretary, who is also Legal Adviser to the company, at the time of the survey, had only been with the company for six months, and had never visited the plant. The accuracy of his estimate of worker responses could therefore occasion surprise.

It lends credibility to the value of experience beyond the plant in question, of intelligent awareness of broad trends in the national, political field and of contact in the management forum with other company managers. (It also suggests that local associations of an habitual nature may be more of a hindrance than a help. The effect is only overcome by the exceptional local manager). As an academically well qualified, professional man ( L.L.M-London), with the interest in current affairs that is a quality required at executive level, he keeps himself well informed. This, together with experience in the legal profession, which is accustomed to the assessment of widely opposed facts and opinions, appears to have provided the judgement necessary to a reasonably accurate estimate.

Such was the author's rationalisation of this manager's accurate estimate. Questioned as to why his estimate was in fact so accurate, his reply was that he had not at that time yet visited the plant, but he had "heard about it - but I suppose basically I based my replies on my views of what is going on in the country at the moment, where I feel it is heading, and on my personal observations of the difficulties blacks face in everyday life."

(iii) Local Managers with Short Service

It seems more than a coincidence that the next two most accurate estimates, shown at the centre of the scattergram, were made by personnel appointed at the factory not long before the survey - six and eighteen months. This again suggests the value of exposure to a wider variety of circumstances than that provided by remaining in one work place, the probability that they had not had time to develop a coterie of worker associates with whom relationships might be easy-going, routine, accommodating. It also suggests personal qualities or attitudes which distinguished them from others whose assessments were less accurate. One was critical of what he considered to be dilatory or indecisive responses to worker requests by the company, leading to the perception by workers that the company was not much concerned about their interests.

He advocated greater readiness by the company to respond, so that workers would be less inclined to seek their remedies through outside (i.e. union) assistance. The second local manager shown centrally in the scattergram similarly advocated more positive action by the company in this regard, as well as emphasising the importance of improved ("deeper") communication with workers. Other managers whose assessments are indicated as being within the central areas of the scattergram, whether based at company or plant, voiced similar support for better communications, advocated an "open-door" policy on complaints, or urged more rapid progress for blacks in the company towards proper participation in decision making processes. They also reacted with concern to the fact that workers had indicated poor perceptions of race relations (56 percent of the workers at the plant agreed that "many of the whites in the company treat blacks very badly", compared to 41 percent overall, and 38 percent of forestry workers, whose lower wage levels would be popularly expected to result in greater conflict). As one remarked:

"Certain individuals could learn to communicate without shouting and swearing. The disciplinary code should be made absolutely clear to everybody, both black and white, on an on-going basis. I feel that if the workers know the code well, if they know where they stand, together with better communications in some cases the results (re race relations) would have been better."

(In subsequent discussion of the results with the factory manager, labour officer and the manufacturing division manager, they agreed that the question of black-white shop floor relations was, in their opinion, the central area of conflict at the plant. Environmental factors they recognised did not help but over these they had little influence. Hygiene factors in the factory hostel may have been a problem at the time of the survey but much had been done to overcome this. The problems remaining were the inter-related problems of communication and black-white relations. An approach is being worked upon to overcome this).

(c) Less Accurate Management Assessments

At the most inaccurate extremes of the management assessments the

authoritarian/low-trust attitude is more evident:

"(Workers) always consider that they are underpaid but rarely seem to be overworked. (They) view management with a great amount of suspicion and distrust."

"(Where certain workers do not feel much at home) if not watched they will loaf at any opportunity. (To counter this supervisors) should maintain close supervision, and enforce the disciplinary code frequently and fairly."

"(Inviting complaints) prevents trouble if it is made known that petty complaints fall on deaf ears and frivolous complaints waste time."

However, even from the participant expressing the above views there was recognition of the need for better channels of communication. This supports the observations made in respect of the sample 1 management participants to the effect that few people, if any, were oblivious to the need for improved communications between workers and managers, blacks and whites. The essential difference between the extremes lay in what they understood by the process of communication.

(d) Central Issues of Management Behaviour

Observations arising from this sample support previous conclusions that important elements of success for the manager in assessing the industrial relations climate include:

- (i) full, two-way communication between worker and manager to apprise each of the other's thinking. This is remediable by the manager himself, assisted by advice and training.
- (ii) exposure to news of current affairs and recent developments in the industrial relations field. This is the responsibility of the manager himself, his superiors, and particularly the personnel or industrial relations specialists who must channel sufficient relevant reading material, formal

training, or informative debate to the areas where it is needed.

### 10.3 PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS FOR SUPERVISORS

#### 10.3.1 Further Discussions

The third stage of discussion with managers and supervisors, which is a continuing process, centred about the consideration of the practical applications of the principles learned from the survey, and from the analysis of data. This stage had three steps which are discussed below.

#### 10.3.2 Report-back and Explanation.

This step involved the presentation of the main principles established, based on the factor themes, but now included an account of the response patterns of the four main employee categories identified. Participating groups were either supervisors who had contributed to the earlier part of the investigations referred to above, or similar groups in the same company who could relate easily to the circumstances and results. In all this involved 69 supervisors or local managers.

#### 10.3.3 Suggestion and Discussion of Applications

##### (a) Relevance to the Supervisor's Role

This step concentrated upon areas of supervisory practice which they would be able to implement or influence themselves. The suggestions for developing their supervisory effectiveness were based on the assumptions that they would be able to do little themselves directly to influence workers' attitudes on the issues of factor 1, outlined in section 6.3.2, which concern general attitudes to change and interest in alternatives. However, it was suggested, they could influence these attitudes by concentrating upon the improvement of work relationships in the areas which are picked out by the variables of factor 3, the integration factor, and the 'adjustment variables' in the adherence factor (factor 2), referred to in sections 6.3.3 and 6.3.4.

If by their example and actions they could generate positive attitudes by workers in these areas there should be a corresponding improvement in relationships at work, participation by workers in solving day to day problems, and success in achieving work objectives. The overall strategy would be to move workers out of the job-negative categories on the right hand side of the scattergrams, to the job-positive categories at left of the scattergrams by striving to make work relationships more positive, pleasant, and enjoyable. Supervisors had their part to play and the company needed to give them back up.

These discussions generally engendered lively interest. One senior local manager, whose own earlier responses had been of the more conservative kind, participated most enthusiastically. After one two-hour feedback and discussion session he said "there was not a man here who did not pay close attention all the way through."

(b) Points for Attention

The points central to discussion, which were generally supported as valid by managers, included the following:

(i) Trust and Communication

The building of high trust relationships and open communication is emphasised. Supervisors are urged to build these relationships with all workers under their control, not a select few. They are warned to expect less comfortable, but more representative, exchanges in which they can participate in a more informed and mature manner. They are urged, in this context, to:

- deal fairly, honestly and consistently with workers at all times;
- take and exhibit a genuine interest in workers' problems;
- be alert for workers who show signs of unhappiness at work and to investigate this with sensitivity and readiness to assist;

- show a receptive and positive response to complaints;
- administer discipline in a fair and understanding manner;
- pay proper attention to the induction and instruction of new workers, so that their new work association commenced on a positive note;
- ensure that the formal and informal communications systems work to best advantage.

(ii) Recognition and Participation

These questions cannot be divorced from those of trust and communication, but are separately identifiable as means to the common end of more integrated relationships. Supervisors have little or no authority to vary the financial rewards paid to workers. In the case of some unskilled workers, on the forestry estates for example, reward varies according to production performance only. Otherwise workers are paid at uniform rates.

In the case of semi-skilled estates workers variance in reward is the prerogative of the senior local manager, according to service and performance, but within scale parameters prescribed by the company. (In timber processing common rates apply throughout, with individual differences arising from length of service). It is probably desirable that this uniform basis of reward should remain outside the personal control of supervisors. The form of recognition that they are urged to employ is constructive interest in workers' performance and achievements, and appropriate advice. They should encourage and instruct those who show promise, and those who have problems. They should invite and reinforce any tendency to suggest improvements or to contribute to the solution of problems. They could also liaise with their neighbours to enhance the chances of lateral mobility within the company.

(iii) Attention to Accommodation and Daily Routine : (Hygiene Factors)

Managers are advised to take a close personal interest in the company's

domestic arrangements, ensuring that sleeping, eating, and ablution facilities do not become overcrowded, and are maintained in a clean, airy and hygienic state. Daily routines should be scrutinised, and inefficiencies in the use of time reduced to a minimum. Health and absenteeism problems should be investigated, and assistance called for as necessary.

Of course most of these principles are already generally accepted in theory but it must be acknowledged that many organisations, and individual managers or supervisors, neither formally endorse them nor actually apply them in practice. However, they gain all the more credence for being demonstrably based on responses from workers in the same or a closely associated company.

Following these discussions, an anonymous evaluation was requested from supervisors, with the following results:

- 100 percent indicated that the presentation and its message was clear;
- 76 percent agreed that the message would apply to their own workers;
- 77 percent agreed that the approach suggested did not have only a theoretical basis, but had clear practical value also;
- 79 percent indicated that they had always agreed with the approach suggested;
- 89 percent indicated that they now agree with the approach;
- 94 percent agreed that they now intended to make a conscious effort to apply the approach.

#### 10.3.4 Step 3: Selecting Pilot Areas for Application

##### (a) Selecting Areas

During these lectures and discussion sessions mental note was made of individuals who showed particularly keen interest. In conjunction with the senior manager of the company's estates areas of promise were identified, where focused and intensified effort to improve supervisory practice and labour relations could be applied. The conditions sought included these:

- (i) a totally supportive line management structure, providing a direct link between the supervisor concerned and company management. He could, and must, be sure that his efforts were supported;
- (ii) an area where managers of contiguous properties might take note of successes and begin to follow suit. The eventual aim is to establish new and improved norms of supervision, and employee involvement that can guide first a district, and ultimately the company.

(b) Selecting Supervisors

During this stage four supervisors of estates were "sounded out", without any pressure, and they exhibited keenness to participate. There followed further discussion with these supervisors themselves and their own superiors to review objectives, and to reinforce a sense of involvement and team-work. To support their efforts a programme was formulated which is to include the following input from other company sources:

- (i) training of both workers and supervisors in the content, purposes and procedures of the disciplinary code.
- (ii) the training of workers, representatives, and supervisors, in the purposes and practical employment of the works council system;
- (iii) the arrangement of adult literacy classes for workers and correspondence classes for the more advanced;
- (iv) advice and suggestions for the improvement of accommodation and feeding;
- (v) training and development of black foremen and appreciation courses for their immediate subordinates;
- (vi) operational training for semi-skilled or unskilled workers, including short, basic skills courses, such as axemanship, to widen contact with the worker body;
- (vii) implementation of the "6M" attitudinal training course developed by the National Productivity Institute (the

purpose of the course is to improve worker understanding of company operations and explains the role of men, money, materials, machinery, markets, and managers.

- (vii) supervisors' own training needs in supervisory skills, industrial relations, technological skills and appreciation courses, to improve understanding of subordinates' job roles.

The effect of the above is to improve the sense of support experienced by the supervisor, to enhance workers' feelings of company concern, to optimise operational skills, and to ensure a co-ordination of training and welfare support, whereas in the wider field it had tended to be employed on a more 'scattershot' or ad hoc basis.

This is the stage now reached and there it must now be left in this dissertation.

#### (c) Discussion Outside the Company

Before concluding this section it should be mentioned that similar explanations and discussions of the research results, and the suggestions for improved supervisory practice, were held with professional colleagues in other companies, and with private timber growers or supervisors attending a course in labour relations provided by the Timber Industry Manpower Services organisation. Generally re-action was favourable to a similar degree to that shown by company supervisors noted above.

### 10.4 CLOSING THE GAP - A CONCLUSION

#### 10.4.1 Implications for Management

The part of the study recounted in this chapter has established, or brought forward, evidence of a number of facts which contribute to assessing the implications for the management of workers in a South African industry. There seems little reason to doubt that their efficacy would be a valid assumption elsewhere in South African industry, or, more broadly, simply elsewhere in industry.

The following points were established, supported, indicated or reasonably expected in this chapter.

- (a) Managers are capable of accurately assessing or anticipating workers' opinions on matters which concern both socio-political change, and relations with their employer;
- (b) The accuracy of their assessments can be adversely affected where they confine their associations to the familiar coterie of co-operative workers dealt with in the context of smooth-working routines.
- (c) Accuracy of assessment is enhanced where managers go out of their way to associate with the full spectrum of their workers. This not only brings their own perception closer to a real appreciation of worker feeling, but is likely to have the effect of reducing levels of worker alienation, so that constructive, integrative movement occurs in both directions.
- (d) Accuracy, or the quality of judgement, is also improved by conscious effort on the part of the manager to remain abreast of current affairs, by the company in facilitating this self-education, and by wider experience.
- (e) Newcomers to an organisation can often assess situations with a fresh mind since they are unhindered by the considerations of point (b) above, but have an advantage in terms of point (d). Personal judgement and actions may be conditioned by the organisational climate so that longer serving managers or supervisors at the sample 1 estate, for example, tended to have more conservative judgement than their colleagues with shorter service.
- (f) Attitudes to the mode of inter-personal communication are vital to managers' or supervisors' understanding of workers. Reliance on downward communication, or "parent-child" communication is counter-productive to management understanding. Two-way, "adult-adult" communication is essential to understanding.
- (g) An authoritarian style of management tends to be associated with a preference for downward communication and judgements based on ascriptive patterns.

A preference for participative management styles is associated with support for two-way communication and personalised assessments.

- (h) Hindrances in the formal system of communication, as were found in the sample 4 plant works council, create a false sense of complacency, and reduce the likelihood of identifying problem areas.
- (i) The great majority of managers and supervisors exhibit positive attitudes towards the improvement of labour relations when presented with relevant facts. Positive attitudes usually prevail even where the characteristics of current personal practice are deficient - there is an openness to corrective action.

The central lesson for the practice of management in South African industry, which can be gained from the above, is that the gap between a common understanding of current issues by management and workers is identifiable, is not as impossibly wide as might be commonly feared, and is remediable by education and practice. It leaves, however, no room for complacency, no time for procrastination, no allowance for lack of commitment. Closure of the gap, on the other hand, may provide an important key in unlocking South Africa's real industrial potential and reducing its social and political tensions.

CHAPTER ELEVEN SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF LABOUR RELATIONSTheory, Management, and Government11.1 SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF LABOUR RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF  
SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY11.1.1 Research Reviewed

In section 5.1.2 of Chapter Five the main criteria of enquiry were drawn together which were to provide the framework of this research work. They were derived from sociological theory, using both integration and conflict theory in juxtaposition (Chapter Two), from labour environmental considerations and social system interaction focused in the employment bond (Chapter Three), and from considerations concerning the pressures and attractions which influenced the duration and nature of the employment bond (Chapter Four).

The principle objectives were the design and testing of an enquiry instrument which would

- enable the measurement of worker desire for change from the present social order and industrial order;
- allow expression through the different domains which would be likely to concern workers, i.e. the personal, social, cultural, economic, political, organisational and environmental;
- relate enquiries to various phenomena of social action where these could be accommodated;
- establish issues of primary concern to workers;
- provide potential for identifying conditions or variables associated with the fluctuation of worker attitudes.

Results of the survey analysis indicated three central themes of importance in determining workers' relations with their employing organisation. The nature of these themes, termed the social dynamics of labour relations, and the conditions or characteristics of workers associated with their operation, enable certain conclusions to be reached in the fields of sociological theory, management theory and practice, and in aspects of national policy.

### 11.1.2 Factor Interpretation Reviewed

The central and most important single finding of this study has been the identification by factor analysis of significant underlying dynamics of labour relations. These dynamics, or themes, are concerned with change, worker integration, and adherence to employment. These were described in Chapter Six, section 6.3, but the interpretation then made should be now reviewed in the light of the analyses in ensuing chapters.

#### a) The Change Factor Reviewed

Understanding of this factor has been greatly assisted by comparison of results with the work done by Hirschman, Farrell, Rusbult and Lowery in the conceptualisation, development, and testing of the EVLN (Exit, Voice, Loyalty, Neglect) model. In particular their recognition of an active-passive attribute scale in responses to dissatisfaction among federal employees in the United States government service helps to explain motivations underlying the change factor variables. Re-examination of the listed variables shows that it is clearly appropriate to view almost all, as expressed, as active responses to an underlying dissatisfaction. This becomes less clear with the variables which loaded less strongly in the factor, and which are also identifiable with the integration factor. Also the stronger loading variables for the most part are responsive not causative. For example the first listed variable, item 71, "If there was a black government in this country it should take over all the shops and factories and run them itself" is expressive of a response to some dissatisfaction with the existing social order, which in some way is not fulfilling some need or desire. It could not be asserted with the same certitude that, because a respondent thinks a potential black government should run commerce and industry, he would then become dissatisfied with his present situation. Exceptions to this observation amongst the first eleven variables listed are those items (48 and 73) which reflect race relations and relative advantage between races. These could be read as causative rather than responsive.

If the principal variables show an active response to dissatisfaction then in terms of the EVLN model their contents would be characterised as indicative of propensity to "voice" (by which term Hirschman, it

will be recalled. referred also to "any attempt at all to change, rather than to escape from, an objectionable state of affairs"), or propensity to "exit" - and indeed they are. They would also be most strongly supported by the ambitious and alienated category workers- and indeed they were.

Clearly the loading in factor analysis of the variables in the change factor which also loaded as variables of the integration factor would weaken as high scores by uncommitted workers on the integration issues would not be so clearly associable with their low scores on change factor variables. Nor would low scores on integration factor issues by ambitious workers be associable with their high scores on change factor variables.

It is therefore concluded that the principle element or continuum in the factor is an active or passive response to dissatisfaction. The principle variables include issues for resolution either by personal removal to different circumstances, or by changing existing circumstances or systems to suit the person. This fact sheds light on the association between the furtherance of personal goals, and pressure for change in a system which has failed to satisfy or to integrate the worker within it.

#### b) The Integration Factor Reviewed

Understanding of the integration factor variables was also assisted by the EVLN model and by the recognition of a constructive-destructive theme. 'Constructive' is an appropriate word to apply to low-scoring responses on all the factor variables (except item 56 because its scoring should have been reversed) in the sense that such responses tend to cement the existing employment bond. High scoring responses indicate sentiments destructive to that bond.

What is now supported by the observations in (a) above, and the consistently high correlation between the two factors, is that the causative element in the process of worker alienation is defined to a considerable extent by the variables of the integration factor. The more the quality of the relationship is judged favourably in terms of the criteria expressed by the variables (and these are principally concerned with

trust, sincerity, communication, responsiveness, fair dealing and happiness in the work environment) the less is there evidence of an active response to dissatisfaction in the form of a desire for change.

The conclusion to be reached from this in turn is that the desire for change felt by workers results from failures of the integration function within the context of their employment relationship. The successfully functioning employment relationship is integrative in several senses. Firstly it provides effective means for co-ordinating the needs of a labour-supplying economy with that of a labour-consuming one; secondly and concomitantly it is the means for co-ordinating the needs of the individual and his family with those of the organisation, to the extent that the respective roles of the individual are reconcilable; and thirdly it provides the means for optimally co-ordinating the productive capacity of a goods-supplying organisation with a goods-consuming market.

#### c) The Adherence Factor Reviewed

The adherence factor was the most difficult factor to comprehend since its significance is derived from the presence or absence of pressures or ties which influence the worker, and which are either extrinsic or intrinsic to the work place. Extrinsic pressures included the necessity for remaining in the employment sector which could vary according to the local fluidity of the job market. Extrinsic ties such as the proximity of family were also important to the worker. Where employment could not be changed without disruption of links with their homes in nearby homelands adherence would be relatively high, such as with the forestry estate sample no 1 and the border industry processing plant no 7. Where employment could be changed without making significant difference to their links with home, adherence tended to be low. This tended to be the case with both the urban samples (Table 6.13). Durban workers all lived with their families and could change jobs when opportunity arose without disruption of this status. Of the workers in the small town some were in the same position, others were already some distance from family so that a change of employment made little difference. Reasons for adherence which were (at least partially)

intrinsic to the job included the advantages gained from the investment of skills and service, so that semi-skilled workers in Durban were more adherent than unskilled workers - the correlation between skill level and adherence was high. Another was the quality of adjustment to the work situation that had occurred. With the forestry estate sample 2 turnover was high because local alternatives were readily available, but internal adjustment by those who remained was good, due to domestic circumstances and management practice. The nett result was that workers adjusted positively to their work situation.

This combination of adjustment to intrinsic and extrinsic pressures and ties is complex, often apparently contradictory, and has not everywhere been adequately or completely understood. Inter alia, what is clear is that it reflects the workers' adaptation to environmental circumstances in the Parsonian sense - the worker adapts to the sheer physiological survival imperative by seeking work within whatever range of options exists, and then adapts to the circumstances found at work by a process of psychological adjustment or resignation.

The particular importance of the adherence dynamic is that it acts as the pressure valve regulating ingress and egress to and from the internal environment of the employment situation.

### 11.1.3 Interaction of the Dynamics

The research found these principal dynamics at work in the employment relationship which together determined the configuration of individual attitudes and, in sum, the characteristics of the work group profile. The dynamics are a change dynamic, an integration dynamic, and an adherence dynamic.

The interaction of the first two dynamics within the workplace environment determines the level of internally generated pressure for change. The integration dynamic here is believed to be causative, reflecting reasons for dissatisfaction, and the change dynamic responsive, showing response to the dissatisfaction.

The third (adherence) dynamic is regulative in that it represents the

pressures which force workers into a particular workplace and which prevent them from leaving. Where external pressure is high internal pressures will accumulate, but the effects can be ameliorated by astute management. Where external pressure is low internal pressure may be relieved by exit, leaving the more satisfied workers behind.

The most important principle that emerges from this is that any policy or circumstance which interferes with individual freedom of choice of employment. i.e. the free marketing of his labour by the worker, must be detrimental in its effects upon labour relations in the area where that policy or circumstance has effect.

Since external pressures are derived from natural, economic, or political sources they can be influenced only by public policy of which the cornerstone should be the removal of all impediments to the freedom of movement of the individual in his "inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness" through choice of employment, subject only to the restraints of an impartial common law. Such public policy is the responsibility of government, central or local, but not its sole prerogative since the vital interests of the individual and the private sector as a whole are at stake, as well as, in sum, the vital interests of the nation as a whole.

The second most important principle to be derived from the interplay of the social dynamics is that, given a situation shaped by ambient pressure and the adherence dynamic, employers can reduce or exaggerate internal pressure by the terms of their internal policy. This internal policy is the responsibility of management, but not its sole prerogative since the vital interests of the individual are at stake. Thus the role of government in labour relations is the guarantee of protection for the individual. It can reduce the threat of accumulating malaise, and resulting political discontent, by its actions in the public environment, optimising exit potential for the individual.

It follows from the foregoing that a combination of high external pressure and high internal pressure, i.e. poor and few alternatives and poor labour relations (or employer concern for workers) will lead to an accumulation of alienated workers in the work place. More generally such conditions may result in an entire strata or class of alienated workers.

In such circumstances increased proportions of workers would consider both the internal and external environment as hostile. These would find common ground with others in the same predicament thus increasing the normative justification for action against the employer. Rising levels of normative justification would lead to increased perception of utilitarian justification as worker solidarity settles about the causes of dissatisfaction and demand for first active, then destructive response grows. There can be little doubt that in early to late nineteenth century Europe, once the industrial revolution had consolidated, both the external and internal environment for most industrial workers was hostile. With the misery of the working class, and the opportunism of the capitalist class at their strongest contrast, with exit from the former and access to the latter blocked by barriers of class, relative deprivation and alienation were at their worst. It was to this social climate, riven with incipient rebellion and repression, that Karl Marx applied his genius. It was an active, destructive response to dissatisfaction with the status quo of contemporary capitalism.

At the other end of the scale a combination of low external pressure and low internal pressure; i.e. many job alternatives, and generally enlightened or humane employment practices, will lead to the optimum levels of integration. In such circumstances increased proportions of workers will consider both the internal and external environment as welcoming, and be attracted to the employment which suits their aims most closely. From this process of selection by innumerable employees, acting in individual freedom, there will tend to accumulate employees who are loyal to their organisation since they remain with it as their first choice. From this must arise both a normative justification for co-operation with the employer, and also a utilitarian justification since co-operation and integration suits their common ends. In the United States during the mid-twentieth century, when social services and local government provided the infrastructure for civilised society, when employment practice was becoming more enlightened as research progressed, when individual freedom and recognition for achievement were increasingly supported by the more egalitarian principles of the New World, and where the economy was fast expanding in the wake of the

Depression and the Second World War, these conditions were approaching their best. It was in these conditions, where success was integral to the system, that Talcott Parsons analysed society in its most functional form. His was the active, constructive prescription for resolving the imperfections of the capitalism, or free enterprise, contemporary at his time.

In between lie conditions less extreme - conditions in society and at work less dreadful than those of early capitalism, but with access to them much less free than in modern Europe or America. Such societies are at the cross-roads. Why and how it is they have not come further is the past subject of dispute between liberal and radical. Whether the way forward is the active, constructive reform of the old, or its active, destructive replacement is now the problem for debate.

## 11.2 TOWARD CONSTRUCTION OF A MIDDLE RANGE THEORY

### 11.2.1 The Need for Middle Range Theory

The hypotheses of this research drew upon macro-level theory for their criteria. Its empirical data was drawn from a variety of micro-environments. Its analysis was undertaken by widely recognised techniques. Its results have revealed dynamics of general application to the nature of the employment bond and labour relations. It was noted in the conclusion of Chapter Two that lacking in the interpretation of contemporary events and circumstance in South Africa is a conceptual framework which bridges the gap between the broad sweep of macro-theory, whether this is derived from a base rooted in functional or conflict theory, and the numerous studies of micro-environments or limited phenomena. This was rated as an important omission, since unless some general and predictable principles of worker and work group orientation and behaviour could be hypothesised, tested and validated, then theory could only be constructed from the bones of the past, and validated from the bones of today. Its principles would remain a subject only for debate, dispute and violent conflict. The measures of opposition or support for something akin to the status quo, or for some unknown, uncertain and untried alternative, would be the numbers of words written, resolutions passed, demonstrations

organised, people murdered, stones thrown, homes burned and bombed, deaths by rifle shot or shotgun blast. Apparently needed are reliable, theoretically sound methods of systems analysis, which this research attempts to provide. It has been developed perforce in the context of South African industry. Its underlying principles could be adapted and re-tested in other areas of current social concern; within any social organisation- the educational system and schools; church groups and their dioceses; local government and rate-payers; homelands and their inhabitants; the state and its citizens; government and the bureaucracy; the family and its members; companies and their customers, chiefdoms and their adherents.

This lack is not peculiar of course to South African society, and there remain endless areas for the construction of middle range theory in sociology generally. Merton, in the context of criticisms of sociological macro-theory, was concerned that, rather than seek immediately a total conceptual structure, sociology should see as its major present task the development of special theories applicable to limited conceptual ranges (Merton, 1968. p.51). He then enumerated his criteria for theory of the middle range to which reference will shortly be made. In order however to compare a theory against criteria it is necessary first to state the theory.

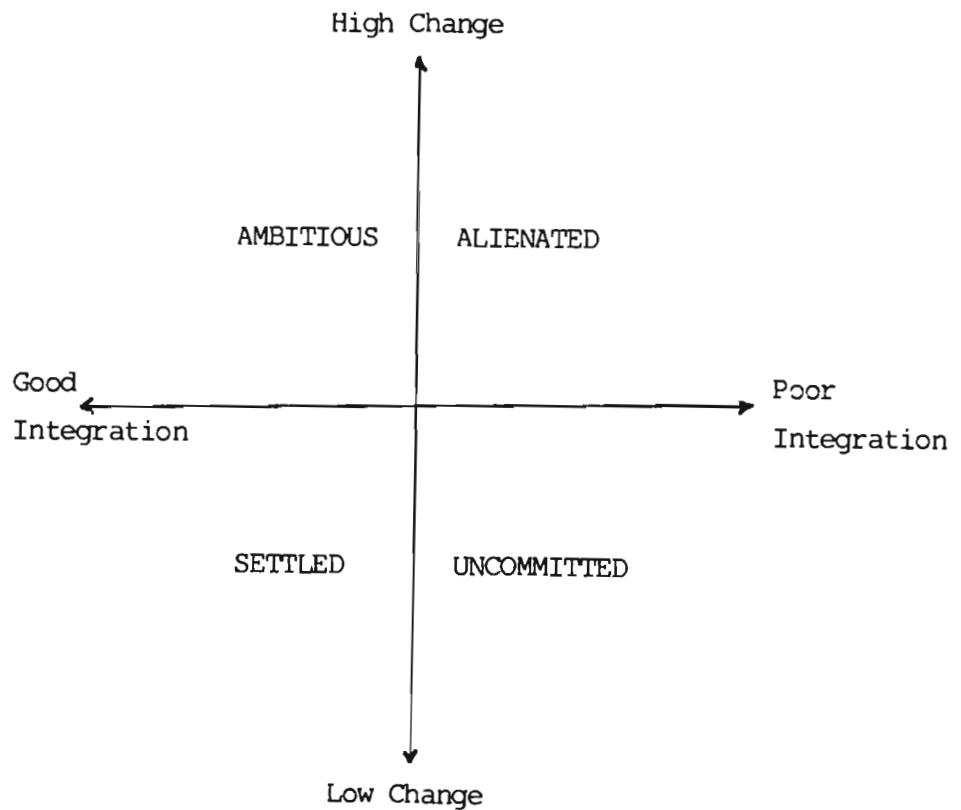
#### 11.2.2 A Social Dynamics Theory of the Employment Bond

Contentions of the employment bond theory are derived from sociological theory, empirical data, and social dynamics identified in this study:

1. The employment bond is a point of contact and of contract between both the individual and the employer, and between the domestic and corporate social systems.
2. The employment bond is a contract entered into by both parties within the context of ambient conditions which are determined by forces which are extrinsic to the micro-environment in any mode of production, but which affect both.
3. The employee's freedom to dissolve the employment bond will depend upon the availability of attractive job alternatives, whilst necessity to maintain the bond will depend on a lack of attractive job alternatives.

4. Employer freedom to dissolve the employment bond will also depend upon the availability or lack of attractive alternatives. The alternatives which may be available to the employer may be alternative methods of production, or alternative supplies of suitable workers.
5. The less the degree of compulsion upon the employee to maintain the employment bond the less he will feel compelled to adjust his behaviour and ethics to suit the organisation, and the more readily will he seek an organisation able and prepared to suit him.
6. Conversely, the greater the degree of compulsion upon the employee to maintain the employment bond the more likely it is that he will feel compelled to adjust his behaviour and ethics to suit the organisation, and the more unnatural, or stressed will be the association.
7. Within the employment bond the two main inter-personal dynamics operate; one causative, one responsive. An external environmental dynamic regulates pressure to seek and freedom to leave employment.
8. The causative dynamic is the employee's assessment of the quality of the relationship enjoyed with the employer and the advantage this brings. Integrative assessment depends upon accommodation of social goals, and upon favourable judgements of employment relationships by the criteria of trust, sincerity, concern, mature communication, responsiveness and fairness which together create a climate of problem resolution, reconciliation of conflicting objectives, recognition, and optimum conditions at work. Unfavourable judgements on these criteria will hinder employee integration and promote alienation. This is referred to as the integration dynamic. Good integration is constructive for the employment bond, poor integration is destructive to it.
9. There is both a moral and a functional onus upon the employer, representing the host organisation, to initiate and maintain a favourable influence upon the assessment of the employee through effective fulfilment of criteria listed in 8 above. Flouting the criteria will have a markedly negative effect upon the employee's assessment; neglect or indifferent observation a negative or neutral effect; and scrupulous practice a positive effect.

10. The responsive dynamic in the employment bond is evident in the propensity or otherwise of the employee to take an interest in changing the circumstances of his employment whether by bringing about change in the organisation, or making a change of organisation. A high interest in change tends to have active characteristics whilst low interest shows passive characteristics.
11. The interaction of the two internal dynamics enables employees and their employment bond to be cast in a four category typology, most clearly represented diagrammatically:



Settled employees are well integrated and have little interest in job alternatives or in change within the organisation. They are conservative, loyal or "employment positive-passive."

Ambitious employees are positive about their company but are interested in better alternatives or in bringing about advantageous change within the organisation. They are progressive, opportunistic, vocal or "employment positive-active."

Uncommitted employees are not well integrated but see no more attractive alternatives. They are apathetic, neglectful, and "employment negative-passive."

Alienated employees are malintegrated and would prefer alternatives. Where exit is prevented by lack of alternatives they seek change within the organisation, aggressively if necessary. They become radical, antagonistic or "employment negative-active."

12. The extrinsic (adherence) dynamic reflects the 'fluidity' or 'viscosity' of the labour market influenced by economic, political and demographic factors. Viscous conditions force workers into available employment but inhibit egress by those who become dissatisfied. Alienated employees thus accumulate, staying because they have to. Fluid conditions allow them to leave, resulting in gradual accumulation of satisfied workers who stay because they want to. Thus the external environment regulates the parameters of the internal labour relations environment. Thus also is the rate of labour turnover both symptom and palliative of discontent.
13. Employees of the same type of classification are likely to share common sentiments on the quality of the employment bond, to share common dissatisfactions, and to see common solutions.
14. The greater the proportion of employees within any one classification the greater the probability that their norms will provide the normative justification for the group's consensus of response to satisfaction or dissatisfaction.
15. Where normative justification for a response is sufficient to create a general or preponderant solidarity, the consensus response may become more feasible, and give rise in turn to utilitarian justification
16. In this manner the inter-personal dynamics of the employment bond become the social dynamics of labour relations.

17. The social dynamics of labour relations may operate in compatibility, or integration, with organisational aims which will result in a settled, happy, committed, and productive workforce. They may likewise operate in a manner which is incompatible with organisational aims which will lead to alienated, hostile, calculative and sterile relations with the employer until resolved.
18. Employment bond theory links localised domestic and corporate social systems, within the context of the national social system, through the interaction of individuals and groups.

The employment bond theory has been derived from the hypotheses and results of this study-not from any extensive review of classical and recent work on worker motivation, or organisational development. It is, however, compatible with, encompasses, or supplements, most of those referred to and noted in the text. It is believed that it will stand more exhaustive comparisons, and is now to be compared with the criteria to which Merton referred.

### 11.2.3 Employment Bond Theory and Middle Range Criteria

In this section it is proposed to quote each of Merton's criteria (ibid. p.68) and to comment upon their relevance to the employment bond theory enunciated.

" 1. Middle range theories consist of limited sets of assumptions from which specific hypotheses are logically derived and confirmed by empirical investigation."

From examination of sociological theory and its relevance to the South African labour environment flow charts or models of "social systems input to worker orientation" were constructed in Figures 3.3 and 3.4. These incorporated what were believed to be key areas contributing to worker integration or otherwise in the corporate or industrial system. Comparisons of these conclusions were made in Chapter Four with theory and research relevant to employment bond theory. Hypothetical employee categories were constructed. In Chapter Five a research instrument was drawn up wide enough to detect crucial

issues. Principal expectations were orientations to questions of change and order. Data analysis confirmed change as a central theme whilst "order" or "system" was slightly re-defined as integration. For the most part analysis of data confirmed hypotheses.

"2. These theories do not remain separate but are consolidated into wider networks of theory, as illustrated by theories of levels of aspiration, reference-group and opportunity-structure."

Employment bond theory complements the EVLN model in contributing to a potentially broader theory of integration and alienation in social systems. Some of the social systems in which analysis in terms of the general theory might be tested include church organisations, educational systems, local and regional government, state citizenship, the bureaucracy, and the family. The results of such analyses would thus have relevance to all forms of organisational management including the process of government.

"3. These theories are sufficiently abstract to deal with different spheres of social behaviour and social structure, so that they transcend sheer description or empirical generalisation. The theory of social conflict for example has been applied to ethnic and racial conflict, class conflict and international conflict."

Employment bond theory was developed and validated in five different industrial and geographical situations, seven different locations, three recorded industrial processes (forestry and two types of timber processing), and others unspecified (Durban industries). It has encompassed interaction between three different social systems - the domestic or homeland, company or corporate, and the national.

It could be maintained however that to achieve the status of a theory of the middle range, according to this criteria, employment bond theory should be developed, tested and validated as a wider theory of social dynamics, of demonstrated application to relationships found in situations other than the employment bond.

"4. This type of theory cuts across the distinction between micro-sociological problems, as evidenced in small group research, and macro-sociological problems, as evidenced in comparative studies of social mobility and formal organisation and the interdependence of social institutions."

As noted previously employment bond theory is derived from both macro-theory principles and micro-environment data. It was validated in the wide variety of circumstances noted in 3 above.

"5. Total sociological systems of theory- such as Marx's historical materialism, Parson's theory of social systems and Sorokin's integral sociology - represent general theoretical orientations rather than the rigorous and tight-knit systems envisaged in the research for a "unified theory" in physics." and -

"6. As a result, many theories of the middle range are consonant with a variety of systems of sociological thoughts."

The investigation and analysis on which employment bond theory is based was rigorously conducted by the rejection of data not shown to be reliable, the specification of conclusions tendered on a speculative basis, and the explanation of all clearly identified trends or facts within the theoretical framework. Being derived from both integration and conflict theory it is consonant with both, and with theory derived from them.

"7. Theories of the middle range are typically in direct line of continuity with the work of classical theoretical formulations. We are all residuary legatees of Durkheim and Weber, whose works furnish ideas to be followed up, exemplify tactics of theorising, provide models for the exercise of taste in the selection of problems, and instruct us in raising theoretical questions that arise out of theirs."

Employment bond theory derived many of its investigative criteria from the functional explanations of Parsons, others being sensitive

to symptoms of the conflict model expressed by Marx, supplemented and developed by other conflict analysts. Their work provided the basis of the research questions.

"8. The middle range orientation involves the specification of ignorance. Rather than pretend to knowledge where it is in fact absent, it expressly recognises what still must be learned in order to lay the foundations for still more knowledge. It does not assume itself to be equal to the task of providing theoretical solutions to all the urgent practical problems of the day but addresses itself to those problems that might now be clarified in the light of available knowledge."

It is believed that these points are answered in the responses made to criteria 2 and 3 above, but obviously this theory would be modified, and its generality extended, from its application to other types of social interaction.

Whether or not the employment bond theory is one which can at this stage be seen as contributory to, or as a theory of the middle range, by Merton's or other criteria, is a matter that will have to be left at this point to the opinion of the examiners, and the mercy of the critics. Whatever their decision on the status of employment bond theory it is submitted that this research and dissertation might now be judged in terms of the criteria cited by Cohen (1968. p.236) for the assessment of sociological theory in the quotation given on the closing page of Chapter Two, in that:

1. It has shown itself able to explain, or suggest ways of explaining why social phenomena have the characteristics they do have.
2. It has provided ideas for the analysis of complex social processes and events.
3. It has aided in the construction of models of how social structures and systems operate.

The dissertation now turns to the applications of the study to management theory and practice, and to questions of government.

### 11.3 MANAGEMENT AND THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF LABOUR RELATIONS

#### 11.3.1 Social Dynamics and Integrative Management - an Introduction

In the preceding chapters, and in the earlier part of this chapter, an attempt has been made to show the processes which lead to worker alienation, and the accumulation of forces antagonistic to society and the business enterprise in their current form. People become dissatisfied for certain reasons, and at a certain pitch of dissatisfaction they will, when and if it becomes practical, seek to change or destroy what they believe to be the source of this dissatisfaction, even if perhaps preferred alternatives are far from clear. It has been seen that alienation of workers from the organisation may have very negative consequences for it and for them, while those of worker integration may be very positive.

Until a system is in fact destroyed and replaced the survival imperative of those in control will dictate that they should struggle to maintain it, or retain control over its modification. If in so doing the interests they serve are narrow, then so too will be the moral basis of their legitimacy, and the margin, proportionally, between themselves and their own undoing. Only by reducing general levels of dissatisfaction to an acceptable degree, and by change, are pressures for change accommodated or contained on an enduring basis.

The success of any society is ultimately judged by its capacity to reduce or contain dissatisfaction. In South Africa policy teeters between accommodation and containment. Whichever will be one day judged by history as the most effective element of policy it is certain that the lower the proportion of accommodation in any mix of repression and reform, the greater will be the eventual costs of containment.

In the business and industrial worlds entrepreneurs and industrialists are presented with situations which they have to manage in some reasoned way. Their situation has two aspects.

One aspect is the external one which fixes their relationship to sources of supply, customers, government and the economy. This macro -environment they can seek to influence by pressure and persuasion upon other agencies at company, corporate and the wider industrial level. These considerations will be set aside for now since they lead on towards the environmental issues which are influenced by government, and which will be the subject of the next section of this chapter.

The second aspect is the internal one, where answers must be sought firstly at the interpersonal and supervisory levels, and secondly in the creation of a synchronised, enveloping, social and organisational climate or philosophy. At the first level the integration of the employee needs to be ardently fostered, in part through the many values long advocated, but often disregarded, by the early human relations and behavioural science schools, supplemented by more recently developed practices in industry such as the quality control circles and other participative work techniques which the highly integrative Japanese system has generated. (Supervisory practices derived directly from the social dynamics analysis were discussed in section 10.3.3).

At the second level, the entire organisational philosophy needs not only to be supportive of, but to place the highest priority upon a commitment to the integration of employees into the organisation - a commitment equalled perhaps only by that to the customer. It is only in that way that full reciprocity of commitment can be called upon from employees and their real potential developed. At its most comprehensive integrative management should aim at employee participation at supervisory, management, and ownership levels.

### 11.3.2 Social Dynamics, Integrative Supervision-and Human Relations

#### (a) Criticism of Human Relations Approaches - Fox

The "human relations" approach has been sometimes attacked as a manipulative and deceitful device for securing willing compliance of the

worker to the furtherance of the employer's interests. In its narrowest, most inept, and calculative form no doubt this description would fit. Unscrupulous practitioners and unscrupulous critics alike can of course exploit or distort any behavioural ideal. Sorcher and Spence (1982.p 578) anticipate such an accusation in response to their "InterFace" project, designed to achieve better worker-supervisor relations in South Africa; "A large proportion of human interactions are, by definition, manipulative. Fortunately, not all are deceitful. Examples include teaching, parenting, preaching, advising, or advocating any point of view."

Considerable assistance in the task of assessing the relevance of the human relations school, in its positive and negative aspects, to the social dynamics model is found in Fox's critique of the "Human Relations message and fallacies." (Fox, 1974. pp. 68 - 85). In the industrial milieu, maintained Fox, those who were clever, lucky, or ruthless, and who advanced to positions of wealth, power and influence, would be little inclined to critical analysis of the system that had favoured them, or to recognition of its basic features as responsible for the responses "at best often lack-lustre, at worst alienated and hostile, of rank-and-file employees. Less disturbing and more convenient was to see these responses as caused by foolishness, moral weakness or subversive agitators, and as being curable by managerial action, attitudinal changes or marginal modifications in the work situation which left the fundamental features in the structure intact." (ibid. p.69).

For management therefore, the human relations message was attractive: "Thus could management both serve its own interests and strengthen the social fabric at the same time by consciously planning for a healthy harmony and common purpose, rather than allowing their organisations to drift by default into disharmony and unhealthy conflict..... Conflict was a symptom of faulty management styles, not of deep-seated perceptions by employees of divergent interest as between themselves and management." (ibid. pp. 72 - 73).

Fox then considered fallacies of the Human Relations approach as he described it. First he noted the "fallacy at the heart of it" -the

perception that work groups placed higher values upon the intrinsic social satisfactions of work group membership than upon its advantages in pursuing the satisfaction of extrinsic objectives. In fact, Fox maintained, the pursuit of extrinsic objectives is primary for employees and their experience is generally "that their welfare at work, from which intrinsic reward would be derived, would be considered only insofar as this served, at best, management's enlightened, long-term interests, at worst a ruthless pursuit of short-term profit." (ibid. p.75).

It has not been any part of the argument of this study that extrinsic pressures and objectives have been secondary. Far from it. They are primary, and the integrative dynamic is the degree to which their satisfaction can be reconciled with and through the employment relationship. The social dynamics model escapes this criticism, since it rests on a broader view than human relations theory and qualifies it.

Secondly he considered that human relations theory ignored external determinants contributory to the frame of reference by which the employee judges his work situation. These determinants include the values instilled by socialisation, resistance to unemployment, and government or trade union local or national policies, which variables could be sufficiently potent to become the major determinants of work group action, swamping any influence the manager might achieve through the "arts and crafts of Human Relations man-management."

It has certainly not been a fault of this research to ignore external influences in the socialisation of the individual, or the regulatory controls affecting individual discretion. A central part of its thesis, from the management point of view, is precisely that the environment in all its forms presents management with a given situation which it has to manage. The best efforts of management cannot overcome all external determinants - but they can ameliorate this given situation.

Thirdly Fox proceeded to a further criticism of the Human Relations approach which he based on the following observations:

" one line of research, which proved somewhat embarrassing for the Human Relations emphasis on face-to-face social skills and supervisory and communications techniques as the primary determinants of employee behaviour, discovered a measure of consistency in the similarities and differences of strike behaviour among a range of industries in different countries. .... certain industries appeared to be relatively strike prone wherever they were found, while others appeared relatively strike free. A comparison, for example, of Western Europe, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, showed mining and docking as industries demonstrating a high propensity for strike behaviour, and railways and agriculture a low propensity, with chemicals, printing and leather coming somewhere in between. While both the collection and integration of such data are complex and controversial activities needing extreme wariness and occasioning keen debate, one point seems incontrovertible for our immediate purposes: any consistent differences between industries above the level of mere chance confirm the inadequacy of the Human Relations nostrum. The assertion that the nature of management/worker relations depends upon the Human Relations skills of management would seem to require us to believe that, whereas in railways and agriculture throughout all the relevant countries managers happened to be well endowed with those skills, those in the mining and docks industries chanced, by an equally curious coincidence, to be devoid of them." (ibid. p.80).

It is not clear why Fox fails to examine the environmental aspects of this argument more closely since such an omission is a fault he ascribes to the human relations school (probably almost always correctly). The international comparisons which he cites are strongly suggestive of environmental factors (apart from others) which may be common to dockers world-wide, or to agricultural workers world-wide, but which are not common to both dock-workers and agricultural workers, or the other categories mentioned. Docks and mines are specialised in their skills requirements, and limited to focal development points. Freedom to move must be circumscribed more restrictively for employees

in the docking and mining industries, by virtue of locale and the requirements for progressive skills investment, than it is in agriculture or internal, nation-wide transport systems. With the exit option thus more inhibited alienation must gradually accumulate more than in more fluid industries where escape from unsatisfactory conditions is possible. In doing so rising levels of alienation create the social climate and normative justification for more confrontational relations with management, which in themselves become self-reinforcing. Men locked for many years into an unsatisfactory relationship with their employer come to accept that as normal, at the same time enjoying the support and concurrence of their peers whose relationship and experience has been similar. In addition internal environmental conditions, which management may or may not be able to influence, could well play a role and they are likely to share common features within organisations of the same industry. Fox should have explored differences in the practice of human relations theory in the same industries in different countries, for example between docking in Australia and docking in Canada. The results may or may not have supported human relations theory, with or without its various imperfections, and may or may not have revealed other reasons for similarity. As it stands, Fox's example does not discredit human relations theory, and leaves open the accommodation of human relations theory within the environmental context which the social dynamics model accounts for.

Fourthly, Fox examines research work apparently attributable to Sayles. This work was referred to in Chapter Seven of this dissertation (pages 269 - 273). He refers to Sayles' conclusions concerning the influence of working environment and production organisation as supplementing the human relations viewpoint, offering management another opportunity and more knowledge which "could be consciously exploited by management for its own benefit" and for "the sort of manipulation proposed by the Human Relations strategy, which would seek to establish a leadership favourable to management." (ibid. p.83). Criticism depends on the eye of the beholder and cynicism is no argument in itself. It fails to invalidate the theory, practice or morality of its target. If management were to engineer its production lines for the express purpose of irritating its workers, and were to commit itself to the dedicated practice of violating human relations ethics it could expect rapid and negative results from workers and critics alike. It is hardly credible

that such tactics practiced in reverse (i.e. in a positive way) should not usually achieve some credit from workers, if not from the critics.

(b) Social Dynamics at "Interface" Level

The social dynamics model encompasses the narrower human relations model, and relates its concepts to the wider work relationship and the external environment. Social dynamics theory fits a wider definition of human relations such as that by Huneryager (1967. p.1) as a "systematic, developing body of knowledge devoted to explaining the behaviour of individuals in the working organisation" derived from "the application of all the behavioural science disciplines to the management of men." It is not, like the narrow human relations school that Fox apparently criticises, a "quick fix panacea" for management. The quality of human relations is an indispensable measure of success in integrative management. It depends upon the exercise of the qualities assessed in the causative, integrative dynamic—namely trust, sincerity, concern, mature communication, responsiveness and fairness leading to problem resolution and reconciliation. Its difficulties and fragility lie partly in those qualities which for some do not come naturally. As a colleague remarked "they lie within the person", and creating the climate where such persons and behaviour are the management norm takes time, singleness of purpose, and generosity of spirit.

Some suggestions to these ends were made in section 10.3 of the last chapter and are still being pursued. They have the advantage of being based upon research carried out within the same organisation as that to which the supervisors and managers concerned belong. In consequence their credibility is more easily established, but this is not an advantage enjoyed everywhere, and the resistance of supervisors to unaccustomed practices, and indeed of workers set by habit in a negatively reactive pattern, may be difficult to overcome.

One approach to this problem which is gaining ground is that of the InterFace project based on the behaviour modelling technique described by Sorcher and Spence. Their 'InterFace' behaviour modelling technique is "designed to give supervisors and subordinates reciprocal

training to facilitate their response to each other ..... employees (in experimental courses) were taught how to initiate an action and to elicit a response from their supervisor to meet their own needs, which has not been typical in South Africa (nor is it typical in most other countries)" (ibid. p.563). In their experimental design and training Sorcher and Spence found significant and lasting movement by both supervisors and employees towards more integrated relationships from positions which were often rigid and clearly highly alienative.

The Sorcher and Spence approach is entirely compatible with the social dynamics identified in this research and has a particular merit in that it addresses both parties in a reciprocal relationship. It is relevant in this regard to the factors noted in 10.2.3. It is quickly effective in that "Unlike traditional interpersonal training processes which attempt to change attitudes first, behaviour modeling seeks to change the way people actually behave in certain situations without first going through the diversionary process of attitude change; attitudes change as a consequence of effective action." (ibid. p.559).

(c) The Social Dynamics Context of Quality Control Circles

Also compatible with the social dynamics approach, and employment bond theory described in section 11.1, are the productivity and quality circle concepts developed in Japan, blending the integrative Japanese work ethos with the theories of the behavioural scientists such as Maslow, Herzberg, and MacGregor. Escom (1986.p.9) quote estimates that there are now as many as ten million members of productivity and quality circles in Japan, with the concept being embraced by many countries in all continents, and including hundreds of Western world companies.

Van der Merwe (1986. pp 121 - 136) gives a clear account of the history, context and meaning of quality circles as part of a participative management system:

"Quality Circles should not be seen as "another system" which can be instantly implemented and will then look after itself.

It should rather be viewed as part of an overall management strategy and as such must be steered and guided by a top management group who have adopted the philosophy of participative management as the "company religion." "

He emphasises that the (massive) success of quality circles in Japan must be viewed as only part of a comprehensive participative management strategy. Sorcher and Spence emphasise the same points in regard to "InterFace" training - it is only part of an answer to the problems of South African industry.

In themselves human relations theory, InterFace training, and quality circles are only pieces in the massive puzzle of successful socio-industrial development. The social dynamics theory of the employment bond expressed in section 11.2.2, and the social dynamics model generally, seek to present, from a factual and theoretical research base, an explanatory social framework to which the pieces in the puzzle may be fitted.

### 11.3.3 Social Dynamics, Integrative Management -and Corporate Values

#### (a) The "Excellence" Approach

Perhaps the best known popular study in the integrative or participative management mould, is that by Peters and Waterman (1982) which sought to identify the quality of "excellence" in prominently successful American businesses and the factors associated with it. Their study pursued wider questions than that of their relationship with their employees, and they identified eight attributes that "characterised most nearly the distinction of the excellent, innovative companies" (ibid. p.13). After the "action orientation", considered the most important trait by the authors (and recognisable in the EVLN and social dynamics models), the next most vital are those concerned with relationships. The first of the relationships referred to is that between the company and the customer or consumer; the second that between the company and the employee, or producer -

They persisted. They insisted on top quality. They fawned on their customers. They listened to their employees and treated them like adults." (ibid).

Hirschman's conceptualisation of the Exit, Voice, and Loyalty paradigm (referred to in Chapter 7, section 7.3) was much concerned with the relationship between firm and customer. Maintenance of the relationship depended either upon a passive acceptance of imperfection by the customer (loyalty), or the firm's responsiveness to "voice" in redressing expressed dissatisfaction. Where "voice" was ineffective the dissatisfied customer would either "exit" and take his custom to the opposition, or where this was impractical, remain in a disgruntled relationship with the supplier which was potentially damaging to the interests and reputation of the latter. Of excellent companies, say Peters and Waterman, "They provide unparalleled quality, service and reliability - things that work and last. - - - Many of the innovative companies got their best product ideas from customers. That comes from listening, intently and regularly." (ibid. p.14). And "Nemeroff finds three principal themes in an effective service orientation: (1) intensive, active involvement on the part of senior management; (2) a remarkable people orientation; and (3) a high intensity of measurement and feedback." (ibid. p.165). The essence of these themes is in the essential simplicity of the EVLN or social dynamics models - the "remarkable people orientation" together with "measurement and feedback" are the concern and communication of the (causative) integration dynamic, whilst the "intensive, active involvement" is, in terms of the EVLN and social dynamics models active, constructive response to actual or potential demand or dissatisfaction. These three behavioural characteristics, noted by Nemeroff, were observed in the successful management style of the district forestry officer whose activities were discussed earlier in this study.

The primary business of the entrepreneur, or industrialist, is the co-ordination of producer activity to match consumer demand. Both ends of the production-consumption chain demand the sensitive and efficient conduct of a relationship - " Nemeroff makes the important

connection that "customer relations simply mirror employee relations." (ibid. p.166).

"The excellent companies treat the rank and file as the root source of quality and productivity gain. They do not foster we/they labor attitudes or regard capital investment as the fundamental source of efficiency improvement." (ibid. p.14).

Social dynamics theory, extrapolated from employment bond theory, accommodates and explains both relationships (i.e. between company and both customer and employee) - as it will prove capable of doing with other relationships within the parameters so far explored. Characterised in terms of the paradigm, the traditional image of corporate America, which raises expectations of high individuality, and self-dependence, intense inter-personal competition, opportunistic mobility, "hire and fire" employment practice, emphasises the active, change-oriented dynamic more than the integration dynamic. The 'excellent' companies emphasise both.

"Thus the best firms link their purposes and ways of realising them to human values as well as to economic measures like profit and efficiency. As we said earlier, it is probably the least publicised "secret weapon" of high performing American firms." (Pascale and Athos, 1982. p.206).

Emphasis of the employee or organisation upon the active orientation, but with little or no emphasis on the integration dynamic, will result in an ethic which condones only a fleeting commitment to the organisation and a much greater commitment to self. Organisational achievement becomes the incidental result of the sum of individual achievements. Referring to American origins in mass exodus from poverty, over-crowding and industrialisation in Europe Hirschman (ibid.p.107) remarked that "The United States owes its very existence and growth to millions of decisions favouring exit over voice." This (alienated) mode of social action was suited to the processes of migration, of frontier exploration and expansion, perhaps as much in South Africa as in America.

In this light the traditional image of thrusting, impersonal capitalist

industrialisation is perhaps not surprising. In the consolidation phase of the historical process of such nations' histories the dominance of the active orientation over the rising need for integration becomes now less functional. It is clear from the accounts given of them that the 'excellent' American companies emphasise both integrative and active orientations, drawing employees and corporate philosophy into an 'ambitious' mode of collective action. Their experience shows that the sum of collective achievement is greater than the sum of individual achievements. Their ethos in its transitional phase could be characterised as integrated activation. In its consolidated and more generally accepted phase optional integration could become the norm, where employees have the option of proper integration into the (available) organisation that best suits them. This must be the mode most suited to the optimisation of national human resources.

(b) The Japanese Approach

In a different tradition Japanese industrialism was conceived - from a rural, intensely conservative, and centuries old feudalism in which the interests of the individual were overwhelmingly subordinate to that of the society. Its legacy in an industrialised Japan is the all-pervasive emphasis upon the integration of the employee into the corporate culture with which any account of Japanese management style is replete. The concept of lifetime employment, regardless of competence, is a well known feature of Japanese industrialism which still remains difficult for Western thinking to accept. Yet these very integrative features, over-emphasised, must have disadvantages for the employee. What of the employee who, despite the best efforts of the organisation, remains dissatisfied as some surely must do? Their exit from one organisation, and access to another, is a matter which occasions suspicion and resistance in the prevailing normative climate of Japanese industry. Freedom of job mobility is restricted and therefore, the social dynamics model would predict, there must be some accumulation of dissatisfied workers. There is strong evidence that this is so. Kono (1984. p.333) says that a number of surveys giving international comparisons of employee satisfaction show that Japanese workers are least satisfied. He quotes from a survey undertaken by the Japanese Prime Minister's

office (The Attitude of Young Workers in the Organisation, 1978) of 1500 young and adult workers in Japan, the United States and United Kingdom as illustrative of this fact. The figures which he uses are germane to this argument and the percentage distributions are noted in Table 11.1. In the table "Young" refers to the age group 18 to 24 years and "Old" to workers over 35 years. The question put to workers was "Are you satisfied with the place you work or not?" and four response options were offered.

TABLE 11.1 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES CONCERNING JOB SATISFACTION: INTERNATIONAL SURVEY. \*

<u>Response Option Selected</u>	<u>Percentage Distribution</u>		
	<u>Japan</u>	<u>USA</u>	<u>UK</u>
1. Yes, satisfied			
Young	8	32	32
Adult	15	49	42
2. More or less satisfied			
Young	51	51	55
Adult	56	40	49
3. More or less dissatisfied			
Young	28	10	10
Adult	21	7	7
4. No, dissatisfied			
Young	11	6	4
Adult	5	4	3

\* The information in Table 11.1 is taken from Kono (1984, p.333)

The information in the table is striking in the contrast of Japanese distributions with their bias towards low job satisfaction despite highly integrative philosophies. It is particularly noticeable that a high proportion of adult workers (over 35 years) remain unenthusiastic in their response. Kono comments:

"This is surprising and shows that respect for people and stable employment do not apparently result in higher job satisfaction. Reasons for the dissatisfaction were requested,

but there are no significant differences between countries. There are two interpretations (he continues). One is that Japanese workers are compelled to work hard under strong pressure from the company and from their colleagues, and since they cannot escape from such pressure under the lifetime employment system, they are dissatisfied. Another explanation is that the high level of education, and the egalitarian tendency in society and in business, enhance the aspiration level of the employee, thus leading to dissatisfaction with the job and pay. The author takes the latter view."

The social dynamics approach would accommodate both interpretations to a degree on the premise that, to the extent that integration of the employee into the organisation fails to produce satisfaction with the job, attainable alternatives are needed to absorb the dissatisfied. Employees will resist social pressures to conform, manipulation, or involuntary integration (in whatever terms they view it) and seek alternatives. As Kono goes on to remark:

"Under a lifetime employment system it is hard, though not impossible, to increase the necessary human resources quickly. Sony and Pioneer have recruited many mature scientists and engineers from other companies, but these are rather exceptional cases. (At the same time, these companies do not easily separate or lay off their employees). If a person who cannot find in one organisation the appropriate job in which he can extend his ability is not able to move to another company, this is inconvenient for both the company and the employee."

The absence of these restrictions in western economies, where greater individual freedom is the norm, results in the more rapid self-sorting of individuals into situations in which they are satisfied, or relatively so - hence the greater satisfaction which is evident at an earlier age in Table 11.1. The same phenomenon was remarked upon extensively in Chapters Eight and Nine where readier access to alternatives by Durban workers was seen as an important factor in reducing the alienation which might accumulate in less

flexible environments. The table shows much less marked differences between American and British workers. Where there is a difference it suggests that more adult workers in America than Britain have managed to sort themselves into the most satisfactory situation. Since unemployment levels were similar in the two (USA and UK) economies at the time, and lower in Britain in the few years preceding 1978, the distribution suggests greater job mobility in the United States. (Employment figures for comparative purposes were taken from the Economist Diary (1986. p.11) for the United Kingdom, and Denison (1979. p.8) for the United States).

Clearly over-emphasis upon employee integration in Japan can have dysfunctional consequences for their total national effort. However effectively they may manage the situation within the organisation they would clearly do better if the external environment offered openings for the dissatisfied and if integrative management shed its coercive flavour. Japanese companies appear to adapt well to the conditions they find when operating in western environments. Peters and Waterman quote Lohr (New York Times Magazine) "At Sony's plants in San Diego and Dothan, productivity has risen steadily, so that now it is very close to that of the company's factories in Japan" They continue "And Sony's highly publicized U.S. record pales next to Matsushita's post-purchase revival of Motorola's T.V. production operation. In five years, with virtually no replacement of the midwestern U.S. workforce, the handful of Japanese general managers managed to cut the warranty bill from \$ 22 million to R3,5 million, to cut defects per 100 sets from 140 to 6, to cut first ninety days (after sale) complaints from 70 percent to 7 percent, and to reduce personnel turnover from 30 percent a year to 1 percent." (ibid.pp 38.39). Integrative management, in a fluid environment where alternatives are reasonably accessible, leads to the accumulation now of settled employees who stay because they want to, while those who are dissatisfied have left. The result is a highly committed workforce. Integrative management in a free society offers the employee optional integration into the organisation of his choice.

(c) The Option of Corporate Integration

The evidence above and that of the research data suggests, as does common sense, that optimum conditions for organisational success are created when the organisation offers integration, and the external environment offers mobility, or alternatives - in other words the total environment offers the employee optional integration. An industrial environment conforming to the optional integration pattern must create the conditions necessary to the optimisation of potential by individuals, organisations and nations.

#### 11.3.4 Social Dynamics, Integrative Ownership, and Employee Share Participation

"Integrative ownership" (or participative ownership) refers to a special dispensation enabling employees at any level to acquire shares in the organisation. Any employee may of course acquire shares from his wages on the stock market in the normal way - if he has the spare resources and knowledge - either in his own or any other organisation. Participative ownership is used in connection with a scheme acknowledged as having the objective of securing greater employee commitment and self-investment. It is most widely used at top management levels in South Africa, and its extension down to worker level is a matter generally only talked about. However it is a prospect with which some of the larger corporations are becoming publicly associated, and one which is progressing elsewhere.

A central Marxist argument against capitalism rests on the concept that all creation of capital derives from the productive activity of labour, and that all accumulation of capital derives from the surplus value of labour. The concept of the surplus value of labour is seen, in perhaps simplified terms, in the example of an organisation which might have a total annual turnover of R100 million per annum. This R100 million might be disbursed as follows:

Salaries and wages	R20 million
Other overheads	R20 million
Maintenance of plant	R20 million
Capital re-investment	R20 million
Profit	R20 million

In terms of this over-simplified example, overlooking contributions of expertise in the fields of investment discretion, marketing technology and production organisation, the worker

therefore creates wealth in the proportion of five to one against his wage. Of this, in the ratio of three to one, the product of his labour (its surplus value) is allocated to the maintenance, extension and accumulation of the assets of the capitalist, and at the sole discretion of the capitalist. Whatever other arguments there may be in support of capitalism this argument against it will always be a rallying call for its opponents. It is probably only through participative ownership (with its attendant risks that such criticisms can to some extent be countered. In Britain (and other western countries) such schemes are well under way. Regulated by the three Finance Acts of 1978, 1980 and 1984 employee participation in profits and shares is now extensive. The number of individual shareholders has doubled since 1979 to six million, representing 14 percent of adults. Of these thirty percent have obtained shares through a scheme run by their employer (Copeman, 1986. p.24). Copeman reports:

"It will be some years yet before a full assessment of the economic and social effects will be possible and no attempt here is made to do that. Nevertheless, there is already evidence that both employees and companies have benefited from the introduction of such schemes.

The 1,100 approved general employee schemes have helped to spread share and option ownership to a very large number of individuals who would not otherwise have held them. Although the financial benefit to them has not generally been very great yet, many will be able to build up a sizeable amount of capital during their working lives if their companies are successful. In the meantime, employees have benefited from an increased sense of belonging and the increased knowledge and understanding of their companies' financial position - all helped by the communication exercise which necessarily accompanies the schemes.

Companies themselves have benefited from improved loyalty and enthusiasm of their workforce which has resulted from the introduction of the schemes. Many have already found

that there has been a beneficial effect on performance."  
(ibid. p.26).

The movement is receiving fresh impetus from the pre-electoral policy buffing of major political parties in Britain. The Conservative party moves from its more traditional capitalist image to press for greater employee profit and share participation. The Labour party turns away from nationalisation to redefinition of policies in support of social ownership:

"The new proposal is to embrace greater local control, more strength for consumers, a boost for co-operatives and the development of "democratic ESOPS" (Employee Share Participation Plans).

This would allow employees collectively to hold shares in their companies so that they could influence corporate decisions as well as enjoying some of the profit." (Carvel, 1986. p.1)

#### 11.3.5 The South African Co-ordinate in the Social Dynamics Typology

Against the ideals towards which Japanese, American, and British industry are turning from their traditional origins, however many problems they may still have to solve, it is now necessary to ask at what point South African industry now stands, in a general sense, in the social dynamics typology.

The answer must be firstly that the South African labour environment is neither integrative nor fluid. To that extent the South African labour environment is alienative and "viscous"; and to that extent national potential productivity and prosperity must fall below the optimum, and potential for conflict must rise. To what extent South African performance falls below the optimum is less easily answered than the question of the extent to which it falls below that of other nations. The South African National Productivity Institute reports (N P I, 1986. p.8)

"South Africa's output per capita is about one sixth of

Switzerland's; one fifth of the USA's; a quarter of Japan's and a third of the UK's. Although these ratios do not reflect favourably upon South Africa much more concern is generated by the average annual growth rates in output per capita achieved by each country since 1972. The growth rates reveal that in addition to South Africa's low absolute level of output per capita, she also registered an alarmingly low average annual growth rate in output per capita of only 0,3 percent between 1972 and 1983.

In fact South Africa's GDP per capita registered R1000 in 1983 (at constant 1975 prices), exactly the same as in 1972."

The problem cannot lie in any lack of natural resources in South Africa - its natural, and mineral wealth is almost legendary and is certainly greater than that of Switzerland, Japan or the United Kingdom. The problem must stem from one or both of two reasons:

- (i) population growth is faster than economic growth, so that productivity per capita is arrested. This proposition is well supported. This factor is important to this thesis in that it creates burdens upon the economy, and leads to an overabundant supply of poorly trained and poorly educated workers. This in turn inhibits the mobility and demand price, or wages, of those in the employment sector through competition for scarce jobs. The matter is, however, a field of its own and may be referred to, but will not be more fully investigated than it was in Chapter Three.
- (ii) the productivity per capita of those actually employed is low.

A central concern of this thesis is the proposition that the second factor above can be reduced by management of the internal and external labour environments to maximise the integration of workers into the economic system and their range of options. Also through freedom of choice and movement in a fluid external labour environment the greatest number of workers will opt for the type of work and organisation that suits them best. This presents the employer with the optimum advantage

in the task of internal integration of the employee in organisational goals. The levels at, and ways in which this might be influenced have been discussed to some extent. They have included integrative work practices at the worker-supervisor level, based on social dynamics, accommodating the validity of the human relations and quality circles approach, facilitated by integrative training of the InterFace type -or any other that builds mutual tolerance, communication and understanding. They have included the development of the integrative organisational philosophies which are seen as the distinguishing feature of what are becoming popularly called the 'excellent' companies in management circles. Finally integrative policies at ownership level as they are developing in Britain were referred to.

South African industry is at the point where it needs to abandon any procrastination and to get on with the effective reform of capitalism along integrative lines as an option chronologically available ahead of any (peaceful) switch to socialism or communism. On this issue Lipton (1985. p.12) offers five possible national strategies, or scenarios:

- " (i) Retain both capitalism and apartheid;
- (ii) Have less or no capitalism (i.e. a larger state sector) combined with white domination;
- (iii) Have less or no capitalism combined with black domination;
- (iv) Get rid of apartheid i.e. have multi-racial (or non-racial) capitalism;\*
- (v) Get rid of both apartheid and capitalism i.e. have multi-racial (or non-racial) socialism.

\*Lipton comments " I prefer this option (iv) because I believe it could be achieved with less violence than any of the others; it does not rule out subsequent movement towards more egalitarian, welfare-oriented politics; and it is the only option compatible with the revival of the remnants of liberty and democracy; the degree of coercion required to enforce each of the other options seems incompatible with this."

Making capitalism work as a basis for popular support and on-going reform certainly has the virtues Lipton refers to. There is little or no evidence that a socialist system on Soviet lines would solve

any major problems in South Africa. In a modern day analysis of the Russian society and economy Smith wrote:

"The real drag on the Soviet economy, -- ----, is the inability of Soviet socialism to generate enough good modern technology and to convert it into production fast enough. Over the decades Moscow may have produced impressive growth rates, though the pace is now slowing, but the dynamism of innovation has been missing. The planned Soviet economy lacks the driving force of competition that stimulates technological development in the West, and Communist planners and theorists have yet to devise an adequate substitute.

Practically the entire system, top to bottom, resists new inventions, new products, new ideas. Deterrents are woven into the very fabric of the Soviet economy. Generally, innovations seem to emanate from decrees issued on high with little input from ultimate consumers. They are developed in huge research institutes which operate independently from industrial enterprises and which take more pride in having some special one-of-a-kind, hand-tooled sample gadget for show (pokazukha) in a Soviet industrial exhibit than in getting it into production. Even pushed by some agency, a new proposal must thread its way through a labyrinthine process of approvals from the central bureaucracy, immobilized by a maze of technical regulations." (Smith, 1976. p.232).

It is a description, which in the South African context, might provoke wry comment from the champions of free enterprise and the unfettered entrepreneurial spirit. In terms of the social dynamics model the Soviet economy as described is seen as lacking in both active orientation, and in integration between the organisation and either customer or employee. In terms of the EVLN model its dominant behavioural characteristic in industry would be neglect. If this is indeed an accurate picture the national necessity to regulate inebriation by the restriction of alcohol sales must be viewed as symptomatic.

Finally, summed up in terms of the social dynamics model, must be the nature of the South African economy and industrial ethos. It is harder to classify than most because it is in fact an amalgam of types. Labour is (in the main) drawn from societies with highly integrative traditions and values- "recent research shows that blacks show a propensity for working in groups and have work values similar to the Japanese worker" -(Van der Merwe, *ibid*, p.133); Capital and Management are predominantly from societies hardly distinguishable from the traditional American image with its emphasis on individuality in motivation; Government is predominantly from a different yet similar society which has within itself highly integrative features, as well as a mobile history, and which largely controls the external environment.

The character of South Africa in terms of the social dynamics is not yet fully formed. The heritage of its separate groups is such that in concert their potential is immense; in disarray it will be squandered and reduce them all to penury.

#### 11.3.6 Social Dynamic Roles of Capital and Industry in a "New Deal"

Capital, represented by progressive corporate leadership, and the collective institutions of commerce and industry, finds itself centre stage if a "New Deal" for South Africa is to be programmed. It can still deal directly with black workers, or with organised labour through the unions, in a credible way, and its potential political role has been inadvertently strengthened by the channelling of Black political expression through the unions. It can still talk with conservative, progressive or radical Black leadership since it has interests in, and influence upon the nature of any present stability, and that of future economy. Next to, and also with the electorate, it retains a power to influence government through its dominance of the economy. Finally it possesses still a credibility with major trading partners through common interests, common values, and common histories which government has largely lost.

No other sector of South African society is so strategically placed

nor will it remain there indefinitely. It must exercise its options while there is still time. It cannot hope to defer its responsibilities. It can at most hand on its dilemma to the younger generation, but not by then the option of its resolution. It must be the collective driver, leader, catalyst, diplomat, salesman and statesman of a new deal for as many of South Africa's citizens as possible, where the deal is "optional integration" in industry. It will itself be the ultimate customer of the conditions itself and government create now.

It is at this point opportune to raise again, as spectre or reality, depending upon the reader's perceptions, Marx's portrayal of the alienated worker in the Paris Manuscripts (1844), quoted by McLellan (1980. p.119) who notes that Marx divided the alienated situation of the worker under capitalism into four aspects:

"The worker (Marx wrote) is related to the product of his labour as to an alien object. The object he produces does not belong to him, dominates him, and only serves in the long run to increase his poverty. Alienation appears not only in the result, but also in the process of production and productive activity itself. The worker is not at home in his work which he views only as a means of satisfying other needs. It is an activity directed against himself, that is independent of him and does not belong to him. Thirdly, alienated labour succeeds in alienating man from his species. Species life, productive, life creating life, turns into a mere means of sustaining the worker's individual existence, and man is alienated from his fellow men. Finally, nature itself is alienated from man, who thus loses his own inorganic body."

It is a description only semantically, and with considerable difficulty, reconcilable with the image of an employee working in a fully integrative industrial environment freely chosen.

The options for all are clear in so far as management of the internal dynamics of labour relations is concerned, and they have been discussed

in the preceding text. The problems of a coordinated strategy and its implementation are nevertheless considerable, and they are influenced by the operation of the third, environmental dynamic over which government has most control. They remain, however, a firm responsibility of corporate management.

A great deal has been written elsewhere on integrative management and the methods and strategies it requires - in Britain in the last decade, for example, by research groups sponsored by the Department of Employment on the questions of worker participation in central business decision making and shared control; in South Africa by the Project Free Enterprise Final Report by the University of South Africa's School of Business Leadership. More recently (October 1986) "South Africa International" carried assessments by seven leading personalities of possible post-apartheid economic scenarios, reviewed by Thomas in the South African Foundation News of November 1986.

More could have been said here of all the possible permutations. More too could have been said of the role of trade unions in integrative management. Their role could be positive or negative. In a general sense, however, the presence of a representative union must be taken as an extension of the employee. The tasks of employee integration necessitate, then, the persuasion of the union in direct negotiation and through the attitudes of its members.

It has not been the intention to prescribe all the ingredients for a general antidote for South Africa's problems in industry. Rather there has been a concern to relate the working social dynamics model, derived in this study from sound South African data, and a wide range of substantiated theory, to general principles, and to project from it a reasoned analysis of what to an extent reconciles or unites the interests of workers, supervisors, managers and owners.

The social dynamics analysis has established clear and unmistakable signals of the factors determining worker integration or alienation in the economic and industrial system. Its scope embraced five

industrial situations at seven locations in both marginal and more profitable operations. Its generality cannot be denied in South Africa, nor to a close degree universally elsewhere. The social dynamics analysis supports the possibility of a successful, participative capitalist or free enterprise system being developed by a progressive commitment to change, and the probability of its demise if that commitment does not materialise.

#### 11.4 GOVERNMENT AND THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF LABOUR RELATIONS

##### 11.4.1 Government and the Fluidity of the Labour Environment

The social dynamics of labour relations include two which operate within an industrial social system or workplace - the change and integration dynamics. Their management is principally an organisational task although the cumulative effects of successful management, or of mismanagement will have repercussions for the external society.

The third social dynamic is the adherence dynamic which reflects the freedom or lack of freedom experienced by the worker in marketing his services to his best advantage. Its importance for industry, and for the general level of malaise or contentment in the country, is that it is a regulative dynamic which determines the difficulties encountered by the worker in exchanging a situation which he dislikes for one which he prefers. Freedom of movement, or fluidity in the labour market, allows the more rapid selection of preferred options by workers and thus a more quickly settled and more committed work force. Restrictions upon movement, or viscosity in the labour market, keep dissatisfied workers captive and uncommitted. The evidence is quite clear that fluidity of the labour market is in the interests of the worker in terms of personal happiness, in the interests of management in terms of a committed work force, and in the interests of government because the product must be a generally more contented citizenry than is possible when the labour market is viscous.

The fluidity or viscosity of the labour market characterises the labour environment. The agency most able to influence it is the government

It is necessary to examine the consequences for society of a viscous labour market since these will provide the reasons for creating fluidity. It has been noted above that the consequences of viscosity are felt by worker, management, and government. Inevitably they are felt by the population as a whole through effects upon national productivity, prosperity and stability. Thereafter the causes of viscosity, which may be social, political or economic, and the means of minimising it, can be examined.

#### 11.4.2 Effects of Labour Market Viscosity upon the Worker

Social dynamics theory as stated in section 11.2.2 asserted, inter alia, that the employee's freedom to dissolve the employment bond depended upon the availability of alternatives. The fewer the alternatives open to the worker the greater is the need to adjust behaviour and ethics to the requirements of the present organisation since exit is inhibited. Thus the greater will be the incidence of relationships maintained under stress, for reasons other than mutual attraction. There may be many reasons why the worker does not find his current employment suitable. His place of work may be far from his family, causing stress from the conflict of roles, estrangement from family, and economic inefficiencies in the household - differences in levels of alienation between workers living in hostels, and those living en famille, were found to be quite marked in Chapters Eight and Nine. The worker may not enjoy satisfactory work relations with peers or supervisors. The wages may not be suitable, the work boring or unpleasant. It may offer no future, no chance of advancement or of personal development. However unpleasant the circumstances the worker must suffer them, unless he has alternatives other than to fall back upon the charity of relatives. The more adherence to employment is thus enforced the more common will be negative attitudes to work and the employer, and the higher the levels of alienation.

Labour market viscosity therefore creates an invisible prison for the dissatisfied worker, holds him captive in circumstances he would not freely choose, creates a medium through which he cannot move with

ease to optimise the quality of his life.

#### 11.4.3 Effects of Labour Market Viscosity upon the Employing Organisation

In Chapter Seven the morale of alienated workers in terms of negative attitudes to work motivation and aggressive expression of grievances were seen to be inimical to workforce integration. In Chapter Nine a relationship was established between the proportional levels of alienation in the workforce and lower levels of productivity. The results for the employer must be increased difficulty in managing the internal dynamics of labour relations, less revenue in return for expenditure, impaired capacity to improve either wages or dividends, or to attract or retain investment capital for development. A fluid labour environment will relieve the organisation of alienated workers who do not like it, and will ensure that those who remain do so because they do like it. Fluidity will occasion the short term inconveniences that may arise from higher turnover levels, with attendant induction and operational training costs, but create the long term advantage of a more solid nucleus of stable, committed, settled workers who will in themselves enhance the attractiveness of employment in the organisation.

#### 11.4.4 Effects of Labour Market Viscosity upon National Interests

Labour market viscosity has a fundamental impact on two questions of vital national interest - those of national prosperity and of national integration and stability.

Firstly national production is the sum of the production of all wealth producing agencies within the national economy. If employee alienation is linked inversely to production and directly to labour market viscosity, then high national levels of labour market viscosity must contribute to creating low levels of production, impaired revenue earnings, reduced domestic consumption and contracted markets. Simultaneously higher levels of labour alienation provide a social base and motivation for more aggressive demands upon employers, expressed

through trade unions in a drive for higher wages. In the national bottom line this is expressed, together with the results of other factors, in terms of rising costs and shrinking revenue - the formula for an eroded national capacity to meet the social and economic demands upon it.

Secondly, whilst the capacity of the national system to meet the demands upon it is shrinking, the demands upon it are growing in the terms related above, as are the demands for change expressed in the change dynamic. The change dynamic is responsive to the success or failure of the integration dynamic within the organisation, but it has a political element in it as may be recalled by reference to the variables listed in Chapter Six, section 6.3.2. These show that, perhaps subconsciously, workers think about personal mobility and change of political and economic systems in an impartially inter-dependent manner. Thus the restriction of the freedom of workers to move within the economy leads steadily to increased accumulation of unresolved pressures for socio-political change.

In these processes is readily seen a progression from the functional model of society to the changing conflictive model of society as these were briefly described by Dahrendorf and Cohen, and referred to on pages 16 - 17 of Chapter Two.

#### 11.4.5 Social Barriers to Occupational Mobility

Social norms pertaining to vertical job mobility are products of the attitudes of all the main institutions in society; church, business, educational system, and government. The government is powerfully situated in terms of its potential to support or erode these norms.

Social barriers to vertical occupational mobility have been traditionally and most commonly expressed in systems of class stratification when identifiable segments of society are sealed off within the less profitable sectors of the economy. Egress is inhibited by the social resistance of members of the upper strata to upward mobility by those in the lower. The capacity of members of the

dominant strata to compete may be enhanced, and that of the subordinate impaired, by the discriminatory channelling of national resources to upper strata institutions. This is often normatively justified by reference to the greater direct (and self-perpetuating) monetary contributions made by the superordinate group.

In South Africa penetration of the class barrier by Blacks in the past has been more obvious by the distinctions of race, and has been made more difficult by legal reservations of occupation. The 'black advancement' programmes which the larger corporations embark upon are no substitute for total freedom of upward mobility but they are functional in breaking down the social barriers that are the residual legacy of the abolished legal barriers.

Class stratification confines the flexibility of social institutions, namely industry, to provide alternatives for the dissatisfied. With exit restricted, and internal pressures growing, normative justification for the change of the system becomes popularly focused upon the removal of class or race barriers to obtain relief.

Probably the fact that western societies have survived class conflict, and that class itself has survived so long in the West, is due to general lack of legal restrictions upon vertical mobility, permeability being thus permitted, and, perhaps more important, almost no form of imposed restriction upon lateral mobility. This latter feature allows relief (or 'exit') from a whole variety of circumstances which may be unsatisfactory. It is not however a safety valve that has been allowed to function unhindered in South Africa.

#### 11.4.6 Administrative Barriers to Occupational Mobility (Influx Control)

In most societies there are restrictions upon lateral job mobility which are of the worker's own making. These arise from the ties of community and family, and investment in hearth and home which provide incentives to remain, but not prohibitions upon leaving.

In western countries people are free to move with family, to re-locate their hearth and home, to change community at will, and settle down when they wish where all the circumstances suit them best, and without much formality - they settle for the best "package" they can find. Americans can move to any state in the USA. Europeans can move anywhere in the countries party to the EEC. Only in authoritarian countries imbued with anxiety about "control" are these basic freedoms restricted. Smith refers to some of the controls which operate in the Soviet Union:

" The workbook is a lifetime employment record with job description, salary level, disciplinary measures and reason for leaving listed for every position held throughout a person's career. The employee turns it in to his employer to keep until he quits or is fired and must get it back to seek a new job, a certain deterrent to floating and random job hunting, but not always effective. The passport is the key item because it contains not only vital information about birth, parentage, national ethnic group (very important among Soviets), marriage and divorce data, but most important, the residential registration with the local police. This is the basic element of control - the residential permit in the passport, known as the propiska.

In probably two dozen closed cities - Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi, Vladivostok, and other principal cities or defense areas - it is extremely difficult for newcomers to get propiskas because the authorities are striving to hold down population, overcrowding, housing shortages and general congestion. Any move from one residence to another must be registered and approved by the police. Any visit to another city lasting more than three days must be registered too. But plenty of people find ways to beat the system for a little while - - - by staying with friends or by renting a private room rather than staying at a hotel where clerks automatically registered you with the police. So many people are

renting rooms, legally or illegally, that the police cannot keep up with all those who avoid public accommodations."

(Smith, 1976. p.267).

In South Africa an Urban Foundation position paper on influx control stated (prior to recent changes):

"An effective identification system which enables enforcement officers to distinguish those with rights to remain in the urban areas from those who are present illegally, is essential to the proper workings of influx control. Each black person over 16 is obliged to carry a reference book which contains details of their urban status and a comprehensive record of employment, criminal convictions, etc. All this information is collated in a central computer register in Pretoria. An advanced system for filing fingerprints and other personal data, provides officials with all the necessary information for the identification of anyone suspected of illegal entry or of possessing forged documents. Despite this many suspects are held in police custody for lengthy periods while their status is examined. Because of the value of urban qualifications, there is an extensive black market in the sale or theft of reference books with the appropriate endorsements - each year more than twice as many duplicate books are issued by the authorities as original books, for first time applicants."

Both these accounts are of social systems derived from imposed ideologies, not from personal freedoms. They reflect administrative nightmares so similar that if the names of the towns were expunged the extracts would be virtually inter-changeable. Both government systems, theoretically opposed, thus appear to be in many ways what Dahrendorf characterised as "plan rational" rather than "market rational." (Dahrendorf, 1968.p.500). They plan every step ahead to divert the stream, rather than swim with the current or tide. The problem is that the dyke always springs so many holes that there are not enough fingers to stop them up.

The irony of all the prodigious effort and expenditure that has gone into these efforts in South Africa (and presumably also in the USSR) is that they were counter-productive to the security of the very communities whose interest they were intended to protect on at least three counts:

- (i) They detracted from national flexibility in alleviation of alienation through freedom of choice;
- (ii) They were personally alienating to the individuals abrasively treated by the system;
- (iii) The prevention of urbanisation perpetuates the meteoric rise in population growth patterns associated with rural communities. (HSRC, 1986).

Partly in recognition of the ineptitude of these policies, partly in response to internal and external pressures for reform the enabling legislation that underpinned influx control in South Africa has been largely dismantled. Whilst the position of citizens of the TBVC countries (the homelands accorded independence by South Africa) is qualified, South African Blacks are theoretically legally free at last to move to any town within the country, and with their families. The practical problems of accommodation are yet to be resolved but these reforms are important for eventually they will ease problems of alienation both through greater freedom in job selection, and greater integration with family.

The scattergrams in Chapter Eight and Nine showed reductions of between twenty to forty percent in the numbers of alienated and uncommitted workers where family integration and job mobility were practical, compared to situations where they were not. Such gains on a national scale would be of inestimable value. Time lost in normal urbanisation over decades explains the massive problem now. It needs to be urgently addressed by the provision of sufficient freehold residential land, access to private building loan finance, flexible building standards, site and service schemes, and the upgrading of existing squatter settlements. Executive Chairman of the Urban Foundation, the Hon. J.H. Steyn, has drawn attention in the latter regard to the success of the wide scale, low cost, and very basic slum improvements in the "Calcutta Development Plan." (Steyn, 1986. p.12).

The most advantageous position in terms of the social dynamics is attained by the combination of wide alternatives together with a natural social life. This is attainable through the migration of workers to cities with their families or by the growth of industry so near to their rural homes that they are able to enjoy a normal domestic life.

#### 11.4.7 Economic Barriers to Occupational Mobility

Economic problems which need to be overcome in the processes of urbanisation and industrial growth include those of finance for the provision of housing and capital investment. These are probably answerable by the private sector over a period of time, given the right legal context. However, the primary concern here is with the general level of economic activity,, or conversely, recession.

The evidence adduced from the research data indicates that conditions of recession and worker alienation are mutually reinforcing. Economic recession leads to reduced options. Reduced options lead to an accumulation in the national work force of alienated workers. Accumulation of alienated workers leads to lower production and higher demands. Lower production leads to lower consumption, and higher demands to higher costs, which re-inforce economic decline.

Were this correct then there must be evidence that national per capita productivity per unit of time must decline in times of recession and high unemployment. Statistical data is not kept in the detail or form in South Africa which would assist such a contention and it is hard to find definitive evidence elsewhere. An exhaustive study was undertaken by Denison of the decline in the rate of growth of National Income per person employed (NIPPE) in the United States during the period 1973 - 1976 (Denison, 1979). There are of course many reasons why actual productivity per person should normally continue to increase, through technological advance for example, but why the rate of its increase suddenly declined in 1974 was not apparent. The average annual rate of growth of NIPPE during the period 1948 - 73 was 2,6 percent per annum which Denison

was able to account for by calculated estimates under the headings of changes in labour characteristics (hours worked, age/sex ratios, and education), changes in capital and land per person employed, improved allocation of resources, changes in the legal environment, economies of scale from larger markets, and advances in knowledge plus "not accounted for elsewhere" items. During the period from 1973 - 76 NIPPE fell from 2,6 percent to - 0,6 percent a drop of 3,2 percentage points. Denison distributed this difference between the same headings described and found that nearly 2,2 of the 3,2 percent drop in productivity improvement was perforce allocated to the "advance in knowledge and not accounted for elsewhere" heading, and most of the drop to the miscellaneous component of this classification. The drop could not be accounted for.

"What happened" commented Denison, "is to be blunt a mystery. I investigate it in Chapter 9 by examining seventeen suggested causes of worsened productivity performance in the recent past."

Still unable to explain the drop in rates of growth during the period Denison found that the trend was identifiable in ten of the eleven branches of the economy. Further he found similar patterns in six other large industrial countries of which he noted "It should be recalled, however, that all these countries shared in the world recession after 1973" (ibid. p.146).

Social dynamics considerations would begin with the sudden rise in unemployment levels starting a few years before the critical period in which Denison was interested, i.e. in 1970-71:

Year	Percentage of civilian (U.S.) labour force unemployed
1969	3,5
1970	4,9
1971	5,9
1972	5,6
1973	4,8
1974	5,6
1975	8,5
1976	7,7

Assuming that work force alternatives began to reduce in 1970, national average turnover rates would slow down,\* those inclined but unable to exit would begin to assume increasing proportions in organisational work forces, and frustration would begin to mount. Negative sentiments about the work situation would become more general. Captive, alienated workers would do little more productive from that point than was necessary to weather the storm. The national sum of individual achievements would be blunted to some extent. Denison examined, inter alia, the proposition that "People don't want to work any more" which had some influential support, but not from established fact (ibid.,p.134), and he was unable to accept this as being a substantiated part of the explanation.

There are obvious problems in quantifying the effect on productivity of such a hard-to-measure variable as alienation, and indeed productivity itself, with the unsubstantiated time lags in its effect. The unexplained portion of this decline in productivity advances in the USA is consistent with the operation of the social dynamics model, and the examples adduced from sample analysis in micro-situations. The purposes in referring to this study at this point are two-fold:

- (i) In the absence of substantive support for the proposition of the social dynamics model that recession, worker alienation, and national per capita productivity decline are inter-linked, it provides at least important circumstantial evidence that leaves the question open to further debate;
- (ii) It likewise leaves open the proposition that any condition or measure which inhibits labour movement can be likened to recessionary conditions in their effect upon labour alienation.

From these propositions it may be in turn cautiously asserted that restrictions upon labour mobility imposed by social, legal or administrative measures contribute to an artificial creation of recessionary conditions and are, and have been a brake upon South Africa's development.

\* note March and Simon, quoted page 391

At this point the concern expressed by the National Productivity Institute which was recorded in section 11.2.5, is recalled.

It must therefore be a matter of relief that these historical controls are being dismantled as South Africa turns, though slowly, against inevitable inertia, towards a change of course.

It is a matter of great concern that the old agents of artificial recession are being replaced by new in the form of disinvestment and sanctions. The costs in human deprivation, loss of personal freedom, and unhappiness are to be maintained it seems.

## 11.5 SOCIAL DYNAMICS AND AGGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION

### 11.5.1 Social Dynamics and the Growth of Political Aggression

The logic of the social dynamics argument states that any restriction upon the freedom of workers to seek circumstances of their own choosing leads to the incipient accumulation of alienated workers in circumstances which do not satisfy their objectives, and in which frustration is experienced by individual workers. In their accumulation numerical support for expressions of frustration must grow, creating a sense of justification for the dissatisfaction which can thus become a commonly accepted social norm. The model demonstrated that alienated workers favour an active response to dissatisfaction. This may take the form of exit where this is an option, but where exit is blocked it takes the form of more aggressive expression of discontent than that favoured by other workers in other, less dissatisfied categories. As alienation levels accumulate, and the scope and intensity of frustration rise, the social norms justifying this must gain wider support and develop solidarity about the opinions expressed concerning the practical solutions that may be available, and whether they are worth attempting.

Such conclusions are rationally justifiable from the data analysis, and they support Gurr's hypotheses, expressed in Chapter Two which may be summarised as saying that potential for political violence varies strongly in a group with the intensity and scope of normative

and utilitarian justifications given to it. Sayles also described this process in the industrial relations context. (ibid. p.60).

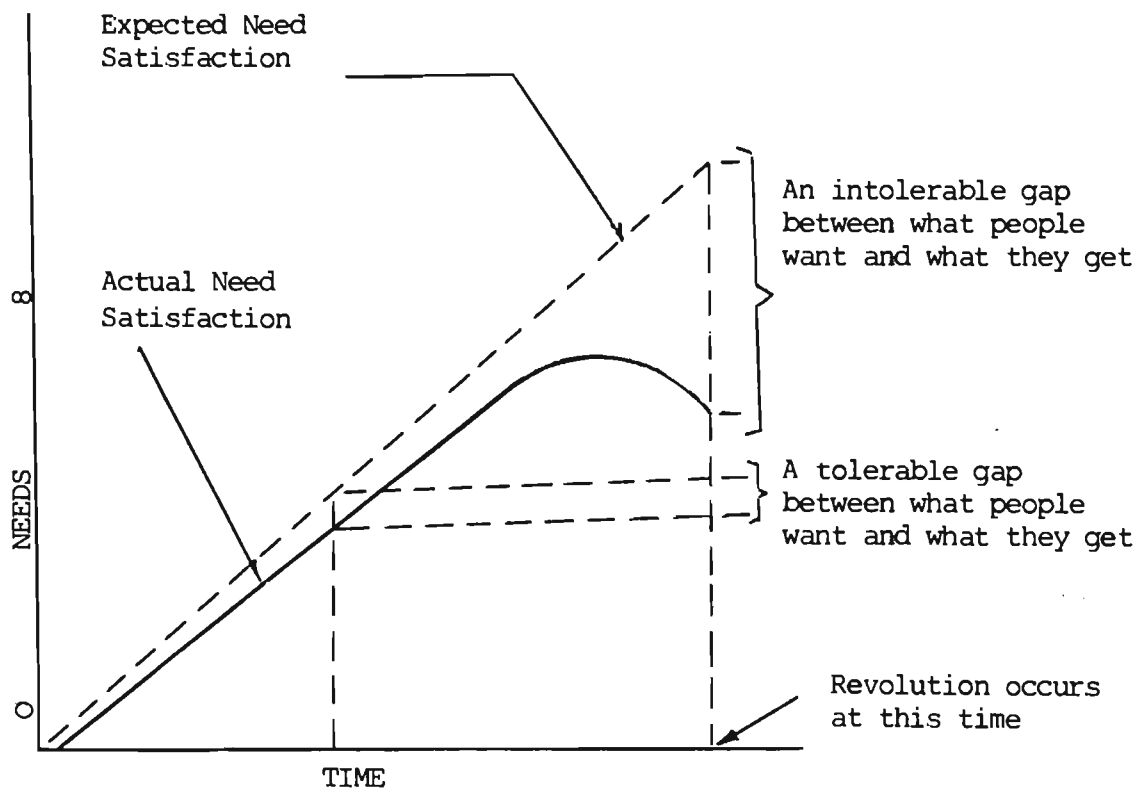
Opinion expressed by workers in the context of the change theme or factor was relevant not only to personal alternatives but also to questions concerning possibilities of fundamental changes in political and economic control. The possibilities of black government, control of shops and factories, black ownership or management, and management by elected workers were supported, almost in the same breath, by those who also showed interest in job alternatives. There is a significant degree of inseparability between political and economic objectives, the former being the means to attaining the latter. This was demonstrated by the analysis and is found in the central terms of both integration and conflict theory. Alienation of the worker in the social dynamics scheme arises from failure to form satisfactory associations with the employing organisation. Remedies for the worker are either to escape from, or to change the system. If escape is blocked, and changes in the system are not made, then changes of the system become the salient purpose, fuelled by frustration and fanned by changing social norms.

The state of "alienation" expressed by the social dynamics model is therefore postulated as one which can be associated with readiness for participation in aggressive political action in the workplace or in other social contexts. Thus states of economic recession, induced by whatever events or measures, can be expected to show an association with an increasing political violence.

Very well known work which is consistent with this proposition is that of Davies (1962) in consideration of a theory of revolution. There can be no single theory of revolution, but it may be that sets of circumstances conducive to it can be identified. Economic recession may not for example be sufficient reason in itself to provoke revolutionary action. Combined, however, with lack of opportunity for voice, through democratic institutions, and a lack of social security it may be sufficient. All three circumstances preceded the French and Russian revolutions for example.

Known as the 'J-curve hypothesis' Davies' theory stated that "Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal" (ibid. p.520). This was demonstrated by a figure in the form of that in Figure 11.1

FIGURE 11.1 DAVIES' J-CURVE OF NEED SATISFACTION AND REVOLUTION



This indicates that when the gap between actual need satisfaction and expected need satisfaction widens from a tolerable to an intolerable one conditions become increasingly favourable to revolution:

" A revolutionary state of mind requires the continued, even habitual but dynamic expectation of greater opportunity to satisfy basic needs, which may range from merely physical to social

to the need for equal dignity and justice. But the necessary additional ingredient is a persistent, unrelenting threat to the satisfaction of these needs: not a threat which actually returns people to a state of sheer survival but which puts them in the mental state where they believe they will not be able to satisfy one or more basic needs. Although physical deprivation in some degree may be threatened on the eve of all revolutions, it need not be the prime factor, as it surely was not in the American Revolution of 1775. The crucial factor is the vague or specific fear that ground gained over a long period of time will be quickly lost. This fear does not generate if there is continued opportunity to satisfy continually emerging needs; it generates when the existing government suppresses or is blamed for suppressing such opportunity." (ibid. p.522).

Davies then proceeded to link the conditions of his theory to various outbreaks of rebellion and revolution, including the French and Russian revolutions. In each case revolution broke out a few years after the onset of generalised downturns in the economy.

The circumstances which Davies refers to in accounting for the economic conditions conducive to revolution are more clearly understood by their consideration in terms of the social dynamics substantiated in this study. "Half of the general, if not common, sense of this revised notion lies in the utter improbability of a revolution occurring in a society where there is the continued, unimpeded opportunity to satisfy new needs, new hopes, new expectations" (ibid. p.533).

#### 11.5.2 Whither South Africa?

With these salutary examples in mind the question must be asked "Whither South Africa?" Some indicators are provided, in addition to those in the preceding text, of the gap there may be between black and white in South Africa, by two recent surveys.

The first referred to is one conducted in the months September - October 1986 by Research Surveys (1986) amongst Blacks and concerning

their views on international sanctions. Persons interviewed lived in three areas - the PWV (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging), Durban and the Eastern Cape. Of these the following agreed that a family member had experienced loss of job within the previous three months.

PWV	- 35 percent
Durban	- 16 percent
Eastern Cape	- 42 percent

In response to further questions concerning politically inspired work behaviour and questions of "aggressive political action" the PWV and Eastern Cape respondents on all questions consistently exhibited responses of the alienated pattern of which the following is an important example: "Do you agree that the African National Congress and people like Archbishop Tutu and the Reverend Alan Boesak are right in calling for sanctions to force the government to remove apartheid?"

	<u>PWV</u>	<u>Durban</u>	<u>Eastern Cape</u>
Strongly Agree	50%	19%	48%
Agree	19%	7%	27%

The question is a multi-faceted one. Affirmative response could reflect support for the African National Congress, for either of the two political figures mentioned, for sanctions, or for the removal of apartheid. A negative response could arise from objection to one or more of these considerations.

If all these issues are taken together the affirmative response could be characterised in social dynamics terms as an 'alienated' response- or 'radical' in political terms. Similarly a negative response would reflect 'settled' or 'conservative' opinions. The very high percentages of alienated response in the PWV and Eastern Cape compared to Durban would, at least in part, seem to be the product of the less accommodating economic environments reflected in the respective unemployment levels. Also, of course, the questions refer to political leaders with high public profiles in the PWV and Eastern Cape respectively - and both Archbishop Tutu and the Reverend

Alan Boesak have adopted a distinctly alienated stance supportive of destructive measures against the political and economic system. However, it is unlikely that they would enjoy the political following that they apparently do unless their stance was identifiable with popular group norms. Were group norms different it is likely that different leaders would achieve prominence - as has happened in Natal where Chief Buthelezi's stance could be classified as 'ambitious' in the social dynamics typology or 'progressive' in the equivalent political terminology. Vociferously opposed to the political system of apartheid he is equally vociferous in opposing measures destructive to the South African economy. Judging by the figures above he enjoys similar levels of support in his constituency as more alienated figures do elsewhere.

The irony of the call for destructive measures, such as sanctions against the South Africa economy, is that their success must result in increasing failure of the economic system to meet popular needs and aspirations, and increasing restriction of personal freedoms in seeking alternatives. Thus they must add to what they purport to detract from, and steadily build the sources of their apparent justification. Through the social dynamics processes described in this dissertation the inevitable result, which is otherwise not logically comprehensible, will be increasing appeals for international pressures destructive to the South African economic system. And so the cycle of deprivation and conflict will be reinforced.

The capitalist South African economy must be the joint victim of measures aimed at apartheid. Disavowal of apartheid by capitalism will avail it little, however sincerely meant, since the question is not one of public relations but of deep-running sociological processes. If it wishes to survive capitalism will have to campaign for the removal of both apartheid and sanctions, whilst striving for the "hearts and minds" of its employees.

There remains evidence, however, of a general readiness amongst the people of South Africa to cooperate in settling their differences, whatever distortions of an already complicated situation are foreshadowed above. Despite the views expressed in the poll a

majority of all respondents (54 percent) agreed that "in spite of apartheid there is still much goodwill by Blacks towards White people". This received even stronger support in the PWV and Eastern Cape than in Durban (43 percent), where respondents were less outspoken with 20 percent "don't knows."

Surveying white managers, with a bias towards middle and lower management, Natrass, in cooperation with P-E Corporate Services, tested attitudes towards change in the social, political and economic areas. Their report of the survey concludes, inter alia, (P-E,1986, p.7), that management is fully aware of the economic necessity for political change and appears to have a clear commitment to the removal of apartheid in all its forms. In another report of the survey, Natrass cited unusually high levels of postal response to questionnaires by over 700 white managers. (Indicator S.A.Winter 1986, pp 33 - 38). Over 75 percent believed that the Land Act, Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act should be repealed. Amongst responses by 620 of the participants, identifying "causes of the poor economic situation ", first ranked, by 53 percent of the respondents, was "poor management of the economy" followed by "too slow reform" by 42 percent. Not ranked was "too fast reform" with one percent support by respondents. Leading cause of social unrest was "black dissatisfaction with government" according to 46 percent of management respondents - by far the most heavily supported response.

In the next article in the same issue of Indicator, following that above, De Beer (1986. p.40) observes "without wide popular support and a reasonable measure of government by consent, a bleak, limited, unprofitable future faces the white community in South Africa and the victors in any revolution will receive little." Corporate leaders of similar stature make constant calls for urgent reform.

These are the opinions of businessmen not afraid of reform, who see the necessity to hasten it. The results of discussions in this study, recorded in section 10.3.2, show promising signs of receptivity to integrative supervisory practice, and the points listed in section 10.4 are recalled.

And there are in addition the everyday observations of the average citizen that race relations have many positive aspects, and despite frequent conflict there remains yet a functioning society with potential for recovery from its long malaise. There are promising signs in the business and industrial world of South Africa that much can be done to act in time.

In closing his theory of revolution on the question of preventing it, Davies remarked:

"The rise of expectations can be frustrated successfully, thereby defeating rebellion just as the satisfaction of expectations does. This, however, requires the uninhibited exercise of brute force as it was used in suppressing the Hungarian rebellion of 1956. Failing the continued ability and persistent will of a ruling power to use such force, there appears to be no sure way to avoid revolution short of an effective, affirmative, and continuous response on the part of established governments to the almost continuously emerging needs of the governed - - - "

(ibid. p.533).

The first option, as a short term measure, may be still open to the South African government but it is hardly an endeavour in which it could call upon the outside world, or even the enthusiasm of its own white citizens, for assistance.

Is it too much to expect, however, that if the government of South Africa chooses quite clearly the second course, it could make that call upon the outside world for help, in the place of hindrance?

And is it too much to expect that the government of South Africa should quite clearly choose the second course, placing the prosperity of all its citizens ahead of the remnants of its ideology. The security of ruling cliques themselves is prejudiced by conditions of poverty. That this has been recognised as an

eternal verity, by those who have had the qualities for wise government, is supported by the dictum attributed to Kuan Chung, principal minister to the Duke of Ch'i, leading state of ancient China, during the years 685 - 645 B.C -

"When the people are prosperous, they will be content with their rural communities and value their homes highly. Satisfied with their communities and valuing their homes will make them respect their superiors and be fearful of committing crimes. When they are respectful toward superiors and fearful of committing crimes, they are easy to govern. When people are poor, they create uneasy conditions in the countryside and show scant respect for their homes. When the countryside is uneasy and people are not concerned about their homes, they will dare to show disrespect for their superiors and violate the laws. When they show disrespect to superiors and violate the laws they are difficult to govern. Thus it is that well-ordered states are always prosperous while disorderly states always are poor. Therefore those skilled in ruling will first enrich the people, and thereafter impose their governing on them." (Cotterell, 1981. p.90).

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APPENDIX 1Insertion prior to final bindingSampling and the Selection of Respondents

The ideal statistical approach to the sampling of any given population or universe would suggest the selection of respondents by the most stringent random selection techniques. A unique code number would be assigned to each potential individual or element in the sample and selection would be made from a random number table.

Practical and other considerations suggested that such a technique would not be the best option in this research exercise, although clearly the principle of chance selection could not be subordinated to any personal discretion in the selection of individuals for interview. These considerations, and the resulting selection practices, are referred to below:

1. The work groups concerned lived in fairly closed communities where prior warning of an impending enquiry could provoke speculation and discussion and prejudice spontaneity. Prior warning would have been necessary with a random number technique.
2. The calling out of workers' company numbers would indicate prior selection, and create apprehension among them that each worker's personal identity was somehow of significance. This could have influenced the frankness of their replies and raised the low incidence of refusal achieved (page 129) and had to be scrupulously avoided. Selection of individuals should be seen to be spontaneous and natural.
3. Company operational pressures could not be ignored, so that a complete universe at any work station was simply not available as a basis for selection at the time required, since a proportion of workers would be actively engaged in essential production tasks. From a knowledge of company operations it can be asserted that there was no particular bias or selectivity in determining who might be engaged in such essential tasks. Which workers might be available, or not available, at any particular time of the day was, from a research point of view, a matter of pure coincidence.

4. Hence the "labour force available for interview" could perhaps be thought of as the universe in the strictest sense. "Availability" was influenced by the time of the working day, the proximity of the workers' or work gangs' place of work to the point of interview, their passage through the interview point (e.g. lorry or tractor drivers could be interviewed during turn-around or re-fuelling stops), or the ease with which a gang of workers might be released from work temporarily or their departure delayed or early return facilitated. These opportunities were determined by chance as already indicated.
5. Where a total group was not interviewed, for example when availability exceeded demand, selection was made on a random basis by the researcher from all workers physically present. Although the random selection did not occur in a strictly formal way, according to numbers, as indicated above, the researcher and interviewers did not know individual workers and hence had no basis for exercising selectivity.
6. Some departure from this procedure occurred at the work stations of samples 6 and 7 where some distribution of workers was sought around the operational areas of the plant. In these cases for example if an "unskilled worker" was to be selected from the "despatch" area then the "nth" index card found for a despatch worker would be selected and the worker's release for interview was requested. No selectivity was exercised by company staff on a personalised basis.
7. As may be seen from the sampling data given (pages 133-142) samples were often disproportionate in the terms expressed on page 132. Certain considerations are relevant to this fact:
  - the intention in the study was not primarily to generalise for specific work stations. Of major importance was the validation of a technique which could later be applied elsewhere, and the determination of relationships between attitudinal variables.
  - if the intention had been to generalise for the company all work stations would have had to be covered, because they all have their own characteristics. The inclusion of all

available work stations would have been a monumental task, however.

- the significance of independent variables and hence the effects of non-proportionality on the findings, could only be determined after data were analysed.
  - for these reasons the certainty of including reasonable numbers of a cross-section of types of workers found in industry was a more important objective than the accurate representation of any single work force, or the company work force as a whole.
8. The effects of non-proportionality were examined, however. In Annexure 9A (page 397) a method is discussed which enables the extrapolation of the typological distributions found in the samples. This was undertaken to rectify imbalances in the sample proportions in order to generalise for particular work stations. Similar extrapolations enabled comparisons with the distribution found for all respondents in the study as seen in Figure 7.3 (page 225). This method of weighting and comparison was used throughout Chapter Nine in relation to all samples.
9. In most cases the difference between the general characteristics of profiles based on actual, unweighted data, and those projected by weighting the proportions of worker types according to the more significant variables (sex, skill level, or domestic situation), to align them with workforce characteristics, was marginal. Examples of the relevant percentage distributions in terms of the typology which demonstrate this are given below.

It will be noted that rectifying sex ratios in Sample 3 does produce a substantial deviation. However there is a significant seasonal element amongst the female workforce whose expectations of the company are the provision of short term employment. This is referred to on page 372. The sample is more reflective of the stable workforce.

9.1 Sample 1: Percentage distributions weighted to match sex or skill level component of workforce

	<u>N=</u>	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Sample	124	36	14	11	39
Workforce weighted for:					
a) Sex	257	35	10	15	40
b) Skill level	257	35	13	11	41

The information required for these projections is derived from that given on pages 140, 354 and 356 as read with Annexure 9A.

9.2 Sample 3: Percentage distributions weighted to match sex, skill level, or domestic situation component of workforce.

	<u>N=</u>	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Sample	64	44	14	11	31
Workforce weighted for:					
a) Sex	147	58	11	5	26
b) Skill level	147	45	13	12	30
c) Domestic Situation	147	45	12	9	34

The information required for these projections is derived from that given on pages 140, 367 and 368 as read with Annexure 9A

9.3 Sample 6: Percentage distributions weighted to match sex or skill level component of workforce

	<u>N=</u>	<u>SET</u>	<u>AMB</u>	<u>UNC</u>	<u>AL</u>
Sample	65	37	11	3	49
Workforce weighted for:					
a) Sex	356	39	12	3	46
b) Skill level	356	36	11	3	50

The information required for such projection is derived from that given on pages 135, 340 and 342 as read with Annexure 9A (page 397).

10. The sampling and weighting techniques used, and the methods of analysis, have enabled the close examination of inter-related characteristics and orientations as the basis for identifying social processes amongst the major and significant categories of worker. At the same time, by weighting, a characterisation of the workforces from which samples were drawn has been possible. This was particularly indicated when the independent variables were found to be significant in the sample.
  
11. The high and constantly demonstrated emphasis on confidentiality and anonymity during the interviewing process secured the frank responses that enabled the development of a sound typology. Highly rigorous sampling methods were sacrificed to this consideration. The author is quite satisfied, however, that no bias by personal or prejudiced selectivity occurred or was possible.