

JOB SATISFACTION OF INDIAN MARRIED WOMEN
IN THE CLOTHING MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN DURBAN
AND IT'S EFFECTS ON THEIR INTERPERSONAL
FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

by

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C O N T E N T S

	Page
CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION	
A. INTRODUCTION : WHY STUDY JOB SATISFACTION ?	1
B. BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT STUDY	4
C. GOALS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT	7
D. WORKING HYPOTHESES	8
E. AN OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE	8
F. CONCLUSIONS	10
CHAPTER TWO : INDIAN WOMEN AND INDUSTRY	
A. BACKGROUND TO THE INDIAN WOMEN'S ENTRY INTO AND PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA	13
1. INDIAN MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR FORCE	13
2. REASONS FOR THE DECLINE OF AGRICULTURE AS AN EMPLOYER OF INDIAN FEMALES	15
3. FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LOW PARTICIPATION RATE OF INDIAN FEMALES IN INDUSTRY	16
4. STATISTICAL DATA ON THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION OF INDIAN FEMALES IN INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA	19
B. THE STATE OF THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY TODAY	24
1. REASONS FOR THE GREATER USE OF FEMALE LABOUR IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY	24
2. REASONS FOR THE GREATER USE OF INDIAN LABOUR IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY	27

3.	AN OVERVIEW WITH REFERENCE TO THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL, THE GARMENT WORKERS UNION AND WAGES	28
C.	CONCLUSIONS	36

CHAPTER THREE : A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

A.	JOB SATISFACTION	42
1.	DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT	42
2.	THE CORRELATES OF JOB SATISFACTION	43
a.	Job and Life Satisfaction	43
b.	Job Satisfaction and Occupational Level	45
c.	Job Satisfaction and Age	46
d.	Job Satisfaction and Educational Level	47
3.	THEORIES OF JOB SATISFACTION	47
a.	The Occupational Level Theory	47
b.	The Theory of "Cognitive Dissonance"	50
c.	Social Reference Group Theory	51
4.	THE DETERMINANTS OF JOB SATISFACTION	52
a.	The Work Group	53
b.	Job Content	56
c.	Supervision	61
d.	Compensation	65
e.	Influence in Decision Making	67
f.	Working Conditions	68
g.	The Trade Union	69
h.	Bureaucracy	70
i.	Personal Variables	70

j.	Conclusions	73
B.	FUNCTIONS OF THE URBANISED FAMILY	76
1.	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE URBANISED FAMILY AND OTHER SOCIAL SYSTEMS	76
a.	The Urbanised Family and the Economy	77
b.	The Urbanised Family and the Polity	77
c.	The Urbanised Family and the Community	78
d.	The Urbanised Family and the Value System	78
2.	INTERNAL FAMILY ACTIVITIES	79
a.	Task Performance	79
b.	Family Leadership	81
c.	Integration and Solidarity	82
d.	The Family Value System	84
3.	FAMILY AND PERSONALITY	85
a.	Task Performance	85
b.	Family Leadership	86
c.	Family Integration and Solidarity	87
d.	Family Value System	87
4.	CONCLUSION	88
	CHAPTER FOUR : PROCEDURE AND TECHNIQUES USED IN THE GATHERING AND PRESENTATION OF DATA	94
A.	REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE	94
B.	CONSULTATION WITH AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES OF INFORMATION	94
C.	THE METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION : THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	95

	Page
D. THE PILOT STUDY	106
E. THE CHOICE OF LOCALE	108
F. THE SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE	110
G. DATA PROCESSING	114
1. Editing	114
2. Coding	114
3. Keypunching	115
4. Computer Programming and Statistical Techniques	115
 CHAPTER FIVE : PART I : RESULTS AND DISCUSSION : JOB SATISFACTION	 120
A. FINDINGS : WORKERS ARE SATISFIED!	121
1. OVERALL JOB SATISFACTION	121
2. WORK AND LEISURE	123
3. COMPENSATION	126
a. Wages	126
b. Opportunity for Advancement	130
4. THE GARMENT WORKERS UNION	132
5. THE WORK GROUP	136
6. JOB CONTENT	139
7. SUPERVISION	144
8. WORKING CONDITIONS	146
9. SOCIAL NORMS AND COMPARISONS	147
10. SECURITY	149

11. GENERAL SATISFACTION	150
B. SECONDARY FINDINGS	152
1. JOB SATISFACTION AND AGE	152
2. JOB SATISFACTION AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	153
3. JOB SATISFACTION AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	154
C. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS : ARE WORKERS SATISFIED ?	154
1. THE OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL THEORY OF JOB SATISFACTION	154
2. COGNITIVE DISSONANCE	156
3. THE SOCIAL REFERENCE GROUP THEORY	157
4. THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF THE SUPERIMPOSED SOCIAL SYSTEM	158
 CHAPTER FIVE : PART II : RESULTS AND DISCUSSION : JOB SATISFACTION AND INTERPERSONAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS	 161
A. JOB SATISFACTION AND FAMILY FUNCTIONING	161
1. OVERALL EFFECT OF JOB ON FAMILY AS PERCEIVED BY WORKING WOMEN	161
2. GENERAL ATTITUDE	163
3. FAMILY INTEGRATION AND SOLIDARITY	165
4. GENERAL FAMILY FUNCTIONING	167
5. TASK PERFORMANCE	169
6. FAMILY LEADERSHIP	171
7. FAMILY VALUE SYSTEM	173
8. SOCIAL NORMS	175
9. SATISFACTION WITH FAMILY LIFE	176

	Page
10. CONCLUSIONS	178
B. A SPILLOVER EFFECT	179
CHAPTER SIX :	183
A. CONCLUSIONS	183
B. RECOMMENDATIONS	184
1. PAYMENT BY RESULTS : THE PIECEWORK INCENTIVE	184
2. SOCIAL SERVICES	185
3. JOB ENLARGEMENT AND ROTATION	187
4. A NEW WORK GROUP	188
5. AN INDEPENDENT UNION FOR GARMENT WORKERS	189
C. FUTURE RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES	190
D. SUMMARY	193
APPENDIX A (THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE)	198
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	205

NOTE: Apart from the select bibliography, references used are listed at the end of each chapter.

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
1	OCCUPATION STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN POPULATION OF NATAL (1904)	19
2	ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE INDIAN POPULATION EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA 1921-1946	20
3	WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE WORK FORCE	21
4	AGE STRUCTURE OF THE FEMALE INDIAN LABOUR FORCE	22
5	THE DISTRIBUTION AMONG INDUSTRY DIVISIONS OF THE FEMALE INDIAN POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA 1951-1970	23
6	STATE OF THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY NATAL, FEBRUARY 1982 : WAGE EARNERS WORKING ON THE FACTORY FLOOR	24
7	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY LEVEL OF JOB SATISFACTION	122
8	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORK AND LEISURE AS CONTRIBUTORS TO LIFE SATISFACTION	123
9	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDE TOWARDS UNDERPAYMENT	126
10	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDE TOWARDS OVERPAYMENT	126
11	FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO WAGES	127

TABLE	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
12	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ATTITUDES TOWARDS PROMOTION	130
13	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE UNION	132
14	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE WORK GROUP	136
15	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ATTITUDES TOWARDS JOB OVERLOAD	139
16	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE JOB ITSELF	141
17	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUPERVISION	144
18	WORKERS' RESPONSES TOWARDS "WORKING CONDITIONS"	146
19	WORKERS PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR JOBS	147
20	WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF THE AMOUNT OF SECURITY THE JOB PROVIDES	149
21	WORKERS GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE JOBS	150
22	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS SATISFACTION BY AGE	152
23	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS SATISFACTION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION	153

TABLE	DESCRIPTION	PAGE
24	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS SATISFACTION BY RELIGION	154
25	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY SATISFACTION WITH EFFECT OF JOB ON FAMILY	162
26	WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR FAMILIES GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEIR JOBS	163
27	WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF THEIR JOBS ON FAMILY INTEGRATION AND SOLIDARITY	165
28	WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF THEIR JOBS ON GENERAL FAMILY FUNCTIONING	167
29	WORKER PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF THEIR JOBS ON TASK PERFORMANCE AT HOME	170
30	EFFECTS OF MOTHER'S JOB ON INDEPENDENCE IN CHILDREN	172
31	EFFECTS OF JOB SATISFACTION ON FAMILY VALUE ORIENTATION TOWARDS WORK	173
32	EFFECTS OF JOB ON SOCIAL NORMATIVE WORK EXPECTATIONS	175
33	DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY SATISFACTION WITH FAMILY LIFE	176

LIST OF FIGURES

1	MAP OF STUDY AREA	109
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CHAPTER ONE

A. INTRODUCTION : WHY STUDY JOB SATISFACTION ?

The Human Relations movement with its emphasis on good interpersonal relations, job satisfaction, and importance of informal groups provided the initial stimulant for the study of job attitudes and their relationship to human behaviour in organisations. From the thirties to the present day, many studies were carried out to determine the correlates of high and low job satisfaction. Such studies related job satisfaction to seniority, age, sex, education, occupation and income. According to Lawler and Porter (1967; 20) this great interest stemmed from a simple desire on the part of the scientist to learn more about job satisfaction. However, most of the interest in job satisfaction seems to have stemmed from its presumed relationship to job performance. The assumption that a high level of job satisfaction leads to high productivity came to be popularly accepted since it fitted into the value system of the human relations movement and also because some research data supported this point.

Hoppock (1935; 5) clearly recognizes the importance of job satisfaction studies. He states :

"Whether or not one finds his employment sufficiently satisfactory to continue in it, either permanently

or until he has prepared himself for greater responsibilities, is a matter of the first importance to employer and employee. To state the problem is no less significant: subject any group of normal people to intolerable working conditions and revolt is inevitable, first in strikes; if they fail, in riots; finally, if necessary in political or social revolution."

Hoppock goes on to say that personnel work in industry is crucial and that "some idea as to the extent of dissatisfaction is basic to intelligent consideration of many questions in these and other fields."

In support of Hoppock, Davis (1977; 73) asserts that one of the surest signs of deteriorating conditions in an organization is low job satisfaction. In its more sinister forms it may be the cause of wildcat strikes, slowdowns, absenteeism. It may also be a part of grievances, low productivity, disciplinary problems and other organizational difficulties.

Davis maintains that high job satisfaction is regarded as important by administrators because it tends to be connected with positive conditions that administrators want; it is fundamentally the result of effective behavioural management.

The assertions of Hoppock (1935) and Davis (1977) are consistent with those of Bendix and Lipset (1953; 32 ff) who stated that the Marxian theory of why men under capitalism would revolt was based on the assumption of what prompts men to be satisfied or dissatisfied with their work.

From the above, it may be gathered that there are two distinct answers to the question: Why study job satisfaction? First, there is the humanitarian argument concerning the attempt to increase the quality of working life (Coldwell, 1977; 2). Here it is argued, job satisfaction ought to be studied in order to ascertain how and in what ways men can be made more satisfied with their jobs, which is man's central life activity. This is obviously an important dimension which has far reaching consequences beyond those of the work situation itself eg. Burack and Smith (1977; 104) contend that job satisfaction affects mental health and family life. There is even some evidence that job satisfaction may make a modest contribution to overall longevity (Palmore, 1969; 103 ff). In a study of angina pectoris Medalie and his associates (1973; 583 ff) found that men who reported problems with co-workers and supervisors, such as being "hurt" by them or not being appreciated, were at greater risk for subsequent angina.

Second, there is the instrumentalist argument. Here job satisfaction, or rather dissatisfaction, is regarded as an

industrial malaise that produces diverse problems crystallized in the company balance sheet. In numerous studies conducted in North America, absenteeism, labour turnover, and tardiness (defined as the total number of incidents of late arrivals for whatever reason during a specific period of time) and aggression, have been found to be associated significantly with job satisfaction (Vroom, 1964; 175 ff). In studies that have been conducted regarding the Black worker in South Africa, the results appear to indicate the same relationships. (Coldwell, 1977; 2). Accordingly, job satisfaction is an important focus of organizations which try to reduce absenteeism, turnover and tardiness.

B. BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT STUDY

In South Africa, little or no research has been undertaken to determine the effect of the Indian women's job on her family. The present study, being undertaken with regard to work satisfaction, as determined by various facets of the work environment, may thus be regarded as breaking new ground in its investigation into the effects of Indian women's employment on their family relationships. Being traditionally housewives, the entrance of Indian women into the industrial setting has had inevitable repercussions on interpersonal family relationships. The positive and

negative aspects of these repercussions have yet to be studied in detail. Of significance is the fact that over the last decade (1970 - 1979) the divorce rate in the Indian community escalated by a staggering 130% when calculated from Report No 07-02-03 of the Department of Statistics. Did the Indian woman's entrance into the world of work play a part ? There are numerous factors that affect the quality of family life, but is job satisfaction instrumental in so doing ? Is the Indian woman in the clothing manufacturing industry experiencing problematical interpersonal relationships within her family group because she is dissatisfied with her job ? If so what can or should be done by management and workers to increase job satisfaction ? Substantial research findings are lacking to either confirm or deny these questions. The answers to questions such as these could be important for greater productivity in industry in general and improvements in family relationships within the Indian family.

The following statements succinctly express the rationale for this study. The first extract is from a report on the Clothing Industry Natal by the Post Newspaper (28 July 1982; 1).

"Great dissatisfaction has been expressed over the years by Clothing Factory Workers."

The second extract is from Barker (1962; 3).

"Despite all the mechanical aids that have been introduced, the garment worker remains the most important factor in clothing production. Machines and appliances save both time and physical effort and contribute to a more consistent attainment of necessary standards of output and quality; but the manipulation of these aids to production is in the hands of the worker, on whom the rate of output and degree of excellence still depend."

The Unit of Study

Indian women are the units of study since they represent an increasingly important source of labour in the clothing manufacturing industry in Durban. Only married women were studied since it is assumed that job satisfaction will have more effect on the multiple roles enacted by them than on the relatively simple role-set of unmarried women. This also made the study practical by keeping the study population within manageable limits.

Since the clothing manufacturing industry makes use of typ-

ical modern mass production methods, and is an important source of employment for Indian women in Durban, the present study confined it's analysis to this industry as a typical example of women's work experience in industry and again also in the interest of manageability of the research project.

C. GOALS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

1. To provide an overview on Indian women and their participation in industry in South Africa.

This is done in the second chapter.

2. To define and elaborate on the concepts 'job satisfaction' and 'family relationships' with reference to existing theory.

This is done in the third chapter.

3. To ascertain the degree of job satisfaction experienced by Indian married women employed in the clothing industry, and the effect of this on their interpersonal relationships within the family group; and to discuss the theoretical implications thereof.

This is done in the fourth and fifth chapters.

4. To make relevant recommendations after examining the


results emanating from the empirical research in an attempt to ameliorate problems which may be identified. This is done in the sixth chapter.

D. WORKING HYPOTHESES

Two working hypotheses are formulated with an assumed spill-over effect serving as a link :

1. ^{working} ~~Indian married~~ women employed in the ^{labor force} ~~clothing industry~~ experience job dissatisfaction.
2. Job dissatisfaction among ^{working} ~~Indian married~~ women varies directly with dissatisfaction about their interpersonal relationships in the family group.

E. AN OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE

 Initially, a literature survey was undertaken, the results of which are presented in Chapters Two and Three. The researcher also consulted various authorities in the field at the same time. This involved discussions with trade unionists, employees of the Industrial Council for the Industry and factory owners. The researcher also undertook

to observe workers in their work environment.

An interview schedule was decided upon as the best method of data collection, since it ensured a good response rate and was both convenient and fairly inexpensive to administer. The elements of the sample were of such a nature that it could be predicted with a high degree of probability that there would have been a very low response rate if a mailed questionnaire had been used. A summated rating scale was then constructed, taking into account the various facets of the work situation that determine job satisfaction (Part 1), as well as statements concerning the effects of job satisfaction on interpersonal family relationships (Part 2).

The fullscale study was preceded by a pilot study in which the interview schedule was pretested for shortcomings.

On completion of the pilot study together with subsequent adjustments to the interview schedule, 305 respondents were selected from clothing factories in Durban to be included in the final study. The selection of this sample involved: initially, the selection of factories for which cluster sampling was used; and secondly, the selection of the respondents which necessitated simple random sampling. Statistical analyses of the results were then performed by computer, the Spearman Rho correlation coefficient and the medians being the main measures used.

F. CONCLUSIONS

Through it's pro-management bias and it's human relations orientation Industrial Sociology (and Industrial Psychology) have implicitly supported the status quo in western societies and proposed to resolve social problems by means of psychological manipulation while being unwilling to advocate major structural changes. (Jubber, 1979; v ff : Wiendieck, 1979; 231 : Shaw, 1975; 24).

The new emphasis in industrial sociology, a reaction to the pro-capitalist orientation, has been a scathing criticism of capitalism, including the "need" for the transformation of this type of economic system.

Without falling prey to either of the above orientations i.e. pro-capitalist or pro-labour, "objectivity" is aimed at in the present study since it does not begin with any ideological orientation. Only on completion of the survey, are the implications of the results for sociological theory discussed and recommendations formulated.

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CHAPTER TWO

INDIAN WOMEN AND INDUSTRY

A BACKGROUND TO THE INDIAN WOMEN'S ENTRY INTO AND PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. INDIAN MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR FORCE

According to Sugden (1979; 225) racial interdependence at the economic level, has of necessity, always been a feature of South African society, while traditional attitudes and the effects of early legislation have been instrumental in shaping the role of the Indian worker in the South African labour markets. From their introduction as indentured agricultural labourers, the Indians have, in the 120 years since their introduction in South Africa, largely lost their ties with the land, and became an increasingly, urbanised, industrial oriented society with sophisticated and skilled talents among the workers. Since their introduction to the sugar cane fields of Natal, most of the population has remained in this province, which accounted for 82% of the Indian population and 81% of Indian workers in 1970. Movement to other provinces has been slight, due to restrictive legislation concerning interprovincial migration of Indians. Following some relaxation of these measures, however, particularly since the 1960's, the Transvaal as the economic hub of the country, has been gradually attracting more workers, from 9% in 1904 to 14% in 1970.

Chap 4 & Analytical Approach

Being a minority group (2,9%) of the total population in 1970, Indians constitute a small but important proportion of the total South African labour force, increasing from 1,7% in 1946 to 2,3% of all workers in 1970, and forming 6% of the manufacturing workers, 6% of the commerce and finance workers, and 2% in each of the fields of construction and transport in 1970. In order of importance the major fields of Indian employment are : manufacturing 35%; commerce and finance 30%; services (particularly waiters and barmen) 12%; construction 6%; transport and communication 4%; storage and agriculture 4%; (Natrass, 1981; 55 : Sugden, 1978; 288). In 1970, 9% of the Indian labour force were listed as 'unemployed' or unspecified.

In an attempt to identify the extent to which employment opportunities for Whites and Indians differed because of racial discrimination Padayachee (1980; 69) found that the available evidence suggests that racial discrimination in various forms, legislative, institutional and customary has adversely affected the occupational mobility and wage payments of Indians. Padayachee also notes that changes in legislation and racial attitudes have broadened the employment opportunities of Indians, however, these are not equivalent to that of White South Africans. A shortage of suitably qualified and skilled manpower, and a prolonged period of compulsory military service for Whites, has also led to some improvement in the status of the Indian worker.

With the existing high birth rate and low mortality rate, the Indian population is increasing rapidly, and this coupled with the youthful structure indicates the availability of a large potential work force in the future.

2. REASONS FOR THE DECLINE OF AGRICULTURE AS AN EMPLOYER OF INDIAN FEMALES

In 1904, 6078 Indian females were employed by the agricultural sector of the economy. This figure steadily declined with the result that only 330 women were employed by the agricultural sector in 1970 (Arkin, 1981; 68). Concomitant increases in the employment of Indian females took place in other sectors, with manufacturing having grown to become the largest employer of these workers in South Africa. In 1970, 40% of all economically active Indian females were employed by this sector (Arkin, 1981; 274).

Sugden (1979; 272) contends that this decrease in agriculture as a major employment field for Indians can be related to the influence of several factors over a period of time. Savings during indentureship were limited and prospective farmers could afford to purchase only small plots of land. Tracts of available land were also bought by wealthier Indians such as traders, and subsequently sold in small plots at a good profit, thus pricing land beyond the reach of average labourers. The traditional customs of

inheritance required the equal sub-division of land between surviving male heirs upon death of the father.

The above mentioned factors contributed to land fragmentation, and coupled with poor educational standards and lack of training for employment in non-agricultural fields resulted in heavy over-population of Indian farming land.

The restrictions on interracial property transactions, and a limit on minimum sub-divisional size during the 1940's, effectively pegged Indians to the existing farms which were in many cases not economically viable. Population/land pressure increased rapidly. Deproclamation under the Group Areas Acts resulted in a loss of Indian farm land which in periurban areas affected particularly the market gardeners and contributed to the general insecurity of tenure.

The attraction of urban areas increased, with apparent opportunities for employment and a 'living' wage. The 'push' of the land and 'pull' of the town combined into a strong force resulting in increasing urbanisation of the Indian people, and the development of a changed industrial and occupational structure.

3. FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LOW PARTICIPATION RATE OF INDIAN FEMALES IN INDUSTRY

Cultural factors were until recently of considerable impor-

tance in limiting the extent to which Indian females played an active economic role outside the home. Traditionally, the Indian woman's place was in the home, however, the adoption of western values have recently obviated traditional restrictions. This increasing emancipation of women, together with the displacement of agriculture as a primary source of employment and means of support, and the gradual elimination of the self employed man affecting the responsibility of women as family 'home' worker or 'away' worker have all played their part.

In almost every industrial country labour force participation is substantially higher for urban women than for women living in rural districts (Darling, 1975; 28). Recent large scale movement of the Indian population to the towns tended to have a positive effect on the low participation rate of Indian females (Sugden, 1979; 265). The higher birth rate in rural areas, which increases the burden of family responsibilities on rural women, and the lack of many of the household conveniences which could lighten the workload of wives in the home, are also factors that discouraged rural women from seeking outside jobs. Today's decreasing infant mortality rates are of importance in that the survival of children allows the ideal family size to be reached sooner and thus frees Indian women for outside employment if so desired.

Educational attainment is directly related to labour force

participation of women (Darling, 1975; 26). Educational standards of Indian women have improved and they are now better equipped to seek jobs. In 1960, 36% of women workers had no schooling, while by 1970 this proportion had dropped to 13%. Those with eight years or more schooling increased from just under 20% in 1960 to 50% in 1970. In 1970, 4,6% of economically active Indian women had been awarded degrees and/or diplomas, compared to 3,4% of economically active Indian men.

Economic factors have played a major part in recent years in increasing the participation rate of Indian females in industry. Sugden (1979; 265) contends that this is not only related to poverty, but also the desire to increase standards of living and to supply children with better education. In many instances husbands incomes do not suffice because of the rising cost of living, and as Darling (1975; 27) points out a husband's income to which his education and job status are closely linked is an important factor affecting women's labour force participation.

4. STATISTICAL DATA ON THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION OF INDIAN FEMALES IN INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA

TABLE 1 : OCCUPATION STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN POPULATION OF NATAL (1904)
(ARKIN, 1981; 68)

CATEGORY	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
PROFESSIONAL	382	354	28
DOMESTIC	21473	3703	17770
COMMERCIAL	5058	4010	147
AGRICULTURAL	32436	26358	6078
INDUSTRIAL	12337	12277	60
INDEFINITE	49	44	5
DEPENDENT	28963	15638	13280
UNSPECIFIED	220	168	52
TOTAL	100918	63497	37421

Table 1 shows that in 1904, only 60 of the 37421 women in Natal were employed by the industrial sector, the majority falling into the Domestic, Agricultural and Dependent categories.

TABLE 2 : ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE INDIAN POPULATION
EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN
SOUTH AFRICA 1921-1946 (ADAPTED FROM
ARKIN, 1981; 186)

	1921		1936		1946	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
TOTAL	5793	8,9	9057	13,6	16565	24,7
MALES	5538	8,9	8764	15,3	15670	25,5
FEMALES	155	6,1	293	8,3	895	19,5
NATAL	4618	9,4	9027	11,5	15732	28,1

Table 2 shows the increasing importance of the manufacturing industry as an employer of Indian labour in the economy before the end of World War II. In 1921, 8,9% of economically active Indian males and 6,1% of economically active Indian females were employed by manufacturing industry. This increased to 25,5% of economically active males and 19,5% of economically active females in 1946. Between 1921 and 1946 the number of economically active Indian females employed in manufacturing increased threefold.

TABLE 3 : WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE WORK FORCE
(ARKIN, 1981; 246)

YEAR	WHITES	INDIANS
1951	23,7	7,3
1960	25,6	10,5
1970	29,7	18,6

Women made up only 7,3% of the Indian work force in 1951. The proportion of Indian women in the labour force increased to 18,6% in 1970 but remained substantially lower than the percentage of white women (29,7% in 1970) in the work force. Tradition and custom appeared to be an obstacle to employment. However, it may be noted that the percentage increase of Indian women in the labour force is significantly greater than the percentage increase of white women. This large percentage increase has been particularly in the fields of the clothing industry, teaching and clerical work (Sugden, 1979; 287). One adverse effect has been the introduction of competition between males and females for the same job openings.

TABLE 4 : AGE STRUCTURE OF THE FEMALE INDIAN
LABOUR FORCE (SUGDEN, 1979; 270)

AGE IN YEARS	1960 %	1970 %
15 - 19	20	23
20 - 24	18	25
25 - 34	29	28
35 - 44	20	15
45 - 64	20	9
65 +	1	1
	100	100

The only notable figure above is the loss in the 45 - 64 age group (from 20% to 9%), this being due to earlier retirement of women. The gains reflected in the first two age groups are so because of the number of young girls reaching working age. In 1970, 41% of all Indians in South Africa were between 0 - 14 years of age (Natrass, 1981; 45). The youthful structure of the Indian population in general implies a promising potential work force for the future.

TABLE 5 : THE DISTRIBUTION AMONG INDUSTRY DIVISIONS OF THE FEMALE INDIAN POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1951 - 1970 (ADAPTED FROM ARKIN, 1981; 274)

INDUSTRY DIVISIONS	1951	1960	1970
AGRICULTURE	773	851	330
MINING	-	-	20
MANUFACTURING	1518	3082	13530
CONSTRUCTION	6	-	110
ELECTRICITY	-	-	-
COMMERCE	1151	1722	5910
TRANSPORT	22	50	200
SERVICES	2001	3513	6340
UNEMPLOYED	1128	4020	7010
TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE	6599	13238	33450
NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE	170470	222250	276560
TOTAL FEMALE POPULATION	177069	235488	310010

The above table clearly indicates the importance of manufacturing industry as an employer of Indian females, together with the significant increase in the numbers of Indian women employed by Industry in South Africa after World War II. In 1951, 23% (1518) of all economically active Indian females were employed in manufacturing. This figure increased to 23,3% (3082) in 1960, and 40,5% (13530) in 1970. The 1970 figure shows an 100% increase over 1960.

B. THE STATE OF THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY TODAY

Any investigation into the level of job satisfaction experienced by workers in a particular industry necessitates an overview of conditions in that industry. An attempt is now made to provide an overview of conditions in the clothing industry, before an analysis of the workers responses to these conditions is undertaken.

1. REASONS FOR THE GREATER USE OF FEMALE LABOUR IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY

TABLE 6 : STATE OF THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY :
NATAL, FEBRUARY 1982 : WAGE EARNERS
WORKING ON THE FACTORY FLOOR

INDIAN FEMALES	24408	
INDIAN MALES		6631
BLACK FEMALES	9010	
AFRICAN MALES		1300
COLOURED FEMALES	2053	
COLOURED MALES		71
WHITE FEMALES	3	
WHITE MALES		3
TOTAL FEMALES	35474	
TOTAL MALES		8005

After a physical count of wage earners working on the factory floor, by the Garment Workers Union, Natal in February 1982, the figure obtained was reconciled by a blue card count. It was established that 81,59% of all wage earners, employed by the Clothing industry in Natal were women, 18,41% being men.

This preponderance of women employees in the clothing industry is typical. Barker (1962; 292) points out that in South Africa, as well as Australia, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States women far outnumber men in the clothing industry.

Reasons for the greater use of female labour in the clothing industry are not difficult to ascertain although, as Barker (1962; 292) points out, the comment that :

".... in the case of the mechanised clothing industry women can handle the machines much better than men. They are more adapted to the work and to sitting down all day,"

is perhaps too facile. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the workers in the garment industry both in Europe and America, actually included a majority of men, particularly where the making of coats, jackets, trousers and shirts involved tailoring processes. Certain operations such as pressing or cutting out multiple lays of material, have

customarily been regarded as men's work. However, as the factory production of light clothing such as dresses, children's wear and underwear was developed, an increasingly greater number of women gave up domestic work for industrial employment in clothing factories. Another crucial factor was management's endeavour to reduce labour costs and subdivide processes into many simple operations. The proportion of those skilled in the craft of apparel production, usually men, was accordingly reduced and the bulk of the labour force given repetitive work for which women of far less training were still suitable.

In South Africa in August 1926, attention was drawn to the fact that firms were increasingly employing female machinists to do the work of previously male trousermakers and it was agreed that attempts be made by the Industrial Council to stop this trend (Bonner, 1978; 136). Bonner reports that attempts were also made to reduce the alleged threat by Asians and Africans to White Standards in the clothing industry. However, it is clear that economic reality overcame prejudice.

Barker (1962; 292 ff) reported that the above trends resulted in the work of garment manufacture becoming less attractive to White women who preferred to enact occupational status roles of a higher rank, often preferring the conditions and status attached to employment in offices and

shops. The Industrial Tribunal Report (1957; 5 ff) cited in Barker (1962; 273) pointed to factors such as : the raising of the school leaving age, which enabled more European juveniles to obtain clerical and distributive jobs, higher commencing remuneration, less exacting discipline and a natural aversion to entering an increasingly non-European industry as being instrumental in diverting White females to the service trades.

From the above it may be gathered that it was a mixture of economic reality and racial prejudice that led to a preponderance of African, Indian and Coloured females in the clothing industry. It would certainly be impractical for any employer not to employ the lower paid classes of labour in place of the higher paid.

2. REASONS FOR THE GREATER USE OF INDIAN LABOUR IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY

It is evident from Table 6 that Indians make up the majority (71,4%) of the labour force employed in garment manufacture in Natal. Job reservation is the main reason for this. Muller (1965; 78) notes that in the case of the clothing industry, "job reservation has apparently protected the position of Indian workers by guaranteeing them a certain percentage of all jobs and thus preventing further penetration of African workers to the detriment of Indians." However, Muller sees fit to note that in general job

reservation tended to restrict the employment opportunities for Indians. The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act (1979) repeals section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act (1956), abolishing the principle of statutory work reservation; although much controversy surrounds its actual implementation.

Another reason for the predominance of Indian labourers in the clothing industry is that the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act No 22 (1941) and Shops and Offices Act No 75 (1964), cited in Padayachee (1980; 26), both stipulate that separate and adequate accommodation facilities and conveniences be provided for each group. Therefore it may make it costly and inconvenient to employ a mixed labour force, and difficult to promote a member of a particular race group where, for example, different cloak rooms have to be provided for different grades of staff.

3. AN OVERVIEW WITH REFERENCE TO THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL, THE GARMENT WORKERS UNION AND WAGES

The clothing industry has developed into the "super" bracket with an annual turnover of a record R1378 million nationwide. The approximately 400 factories in and around Durban generate 40% of this total with a R5512 million a year turnover (Post, Oct 12 1982; 3). The clothing industry is one of South Africa's major employment areas, with thousands of jobs being created within the industry annually.

The Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Natal), lists the total number of factories in the study area at 373. These factories employ a total of 47122 workers (Clothing Manufacturers Natal Directory, 1981 : Amendments as at 30 April 1982). The Industrial Council lists the total number of clothing factory workers in the province of Natal at approximately 55000. These workers are represented by the Garment Workers Union (Natal), a registered union that is an affiliate of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA).

The main purpose of the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Natal) is to provide a platform for negotiations regarding wages and working conditions (Douwes Dekker, 1972; 118). The Industrial Council consists of representatives from the Natal Clothing Manufacturers Association and the Garment Workers Union. Du Toit (1976; 77) maintains that the most important duty of such an Industrial Council is to prevent the development of a dispute by obtaining an agreement between the employer and employee parties concerned. When an agreement is reached it is published in the Government Gazette, making it legally binding upon the parties to the agreement. When a dispute exists between the parties which make up the Council, the Council must endeavour to have such a dispute settled. The Council thus ensures industry wide uniformity in working conditions and wages.

The Industrial Council system is often criticized by independent trade unionists for minimising the power of the Union to make effective demands. It is argued that the bargaining process is taken away from the workplace, where workers are not only organised, but where they have the ability to back their demands with an organized response such as withdrawal of labour. This line of thought sees workers as being denied access to bargaining with their own managers, and are therefore relegated towards playing a passive role in the collective bargaining process and in their union. To many unionists, negotiations that take place in the Council chambers have little bearing on concrete worker struggles.

The Natal Clothing Manufacturers Association represents the interests of the factory owners. A spokesman for the Association made the following statements to Post Natal (12 Oct. 1982; 3) :

"We offer a golden opportunity for people to secure their future in a multi dimensional industry. Salaries have also kept pace with the rising cost of living and while at one time the industry was regarded as paying low salaries this has changed dramatically."

The objective facts on the issue apparently suggest otherwise. The minimum weekly wage of beginners in the clothing

factories is reported to be R24. Qualified workers such as machinists (employees who perform by sewing machine any operation in the making of clothing), cutters (employees who cut out all articles of wearing apparel, linings, trimmings or interlinings by any method), and pressers (employees employed in pressing the finished garment by hand or machine) are paid between R36 and R42. Males who are qualified as machinists earn about R42 while female machinists earn R36 a week (Post Natal, 28-31 July 1982; 9). These wage figures are well below the poverty datum line, although they include a 5% increase in January 1982 and an additional 5% in July 1982 (Sunday Times Extra, 1 August 1982; 1).

Transvaal clothing factory workers seem to have been worse off than the Natal workers, although there have been recent improvements. Post Natal (25 Aug. 1982; 1) reported that sewing machinists (beginners) who previously, before August 1982, earned R17 a week would receive R27 a week following an agreement reached between the Garment Workers Union (Transvaal), the National Union of Clothing Factory Workers (representing African Workers) and the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers Association. Qualified rates have also been increased from R33 to R42. It was also announced that sex discrimination in wages had been abolished.

In August, 1982, the Garment Workers Union (Western Cape) also announced that they are negotiating with the Clothing

Manufacturers Association for a new wage structure, above the present poverty datum line (Post Natal 25 August 1982; 1).

During the last decade, certainly in the most disadvantageous position among clothing factory workers were the African workers in the homelands. This is so because the Industrial Councililiation Act and the Wage Act were both suspended in the homelands, thus allowing employers to pay lower wages and dispense with normal forms of benefits for their African workers. Randall (1972; 77) also reported that in the homelands a 45 hour week is worked instead of a normal 40 hour week.

It is fairly evident therefore that in addition to the advanced methods of production and training of workers (Post Natal, 12 Oct 1982; 4), low wages may be cited as one reason for the phenomenal growth rate of the clothing industry.

The Sunday Times Extra (1 Aug. 1982; 1) reported the following :

"According to a fact paper put out by the
Institute for Planning Research at the
University of Port Elizabeth in March 1982
an average Indian family of six in Durban

needs to earn at least R275 per month to maintain a defined level of health and decency in the short term. The amount of R275 is calculated on the cost of basic needs such as a balanced low cost diet, transport to work and back for the breadwinner, and housing cost. And for the same family of two adults and four children the Institute has calculated that a minimum wage of R412 a month is needed to cover other immediate essentials."

The UPE study is based on the assumption that the needs of the different population groups in South Africa differ. Their economic needs differ only in terms of rents.

According to a survey conducted by Padayachee (1980; 36) the average number of earners per Indian household was 1,51. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the income earned by clothing factory workers is supplemented in many cases by other income earners in the family. However, Padayachee found that the per capita income of Indians was R57,59 per month. The Financial Mail (6 May 1977) calculated Indians per capita income as R50 per month; which bears out Padayachees findings. Both figures are well below the poverty datum line. In the event of clothing factory workers income not being supplemented, even the qualified

workers would not be able to maintain a defined level of health and decency, let alone other immediate essentials.

In July, 1982, the Garment Workers Union began negotiations with the Natal Clothing Manufacturers Association on the issue of wages. The Union sent the following main proposals to the Natal Clothing Manufacturers Association:

1. That the minimum weekly wage be set at R40.
2. That qualified workers be paid a minimum wage of R75.
3. That sex discrimination be abolished.

A spokesman for the Garment Workers Union made the following statement to Post Natal (28-31 July, 1982; 1) :

Ends
 "Our workers are the worst paid and it is time they were paid better. A ^{large proportion} thick slice of workers salaries is eaten up by travelling and other costs. Factory workers start at about 7 a m and finish at about 5 p m. They have to leave home when it is dark and return home well after sunset."

This statement seems to imply that clothing factory workers are dissatisfied with their jobs. The spokesman also stated that it would not be realistic to ask for more than the above proposals. It should be noted, however that it was highly unlikely that the above demands would be met. If they were met they would come into effect in January 1983. If negotiations break down, the Garment Workers Union would be powerless since they do not possess the right to strike, with the result that 55000 workers would have to accept whatever decrees the Industrial Council deems just. The Garment Workers Union is of little real benefit to workers. In support of this is Padayachee's (1980; 59) findings that Union membership of Indians did not appear to be of benefit to members on the wage issue, and as will become evident in Chapter 3 compensation is an extremely important determinant of job satisfaction.

One adverse effect of the financial difficulties experienced by factory workers is the illegal gambling that takes place in factories. The percentages of men and women who gamble away small amounts of money on a numbers game known as fafee are equally high. Men and women workers also run lotteries in an attempt to save money. In August 1982 the Garment Workers Union circulated warnings to all factories, that workers found indulging in any form of gambling, money lending, or lotteries on work premises would face disciplinary action in terms of Section 16(1) of

the Garment Workers Union constitution. Post Natal (25 Aug. 1982; 9) reported that the Union has also started a clamp-down on "loan sharks" who prey on workers. These "loan sharks" lend money to desperate workers and then charge exorbitant interest rates. This sort of problem is not as widespread on the higher rungs of the occupational hierarchy.

Low wages also account for the unusually high rate of job turnover. The Clothing Industry (Natal) has to contend with approximately 100 terminations as well as new registrations each day. There is always a shortage of clothing factory workers because of continual growth of the industry as well as low wage levels; therefore many young women join the industry until they are able to find better paying jobs in the event of which they leave the industry, only to make way for more young people, especially school leavers. Some young women who join the industry are in possession of matriculation certificates, however they leave the industry on finding better paying positions in the economy.

C. CONCLUSIONS

In comparison with women of other race groups, it is evident that that proportion of Indian women working outside the home is very low. Muller (1979; 337) contends

that the Indian has generally not allowed material values to replace his traditional moral and spiritual values. However, the process of acculturation is taking its toll and Indian women are now going out to work in larger numbers. Economic necessity is also a key reason for the increased labour force participation of Indian women, since in many cases husbands' incomes cannot keep pace with an annual inflation rate of 16%, and in numerous other cases the woman is the sole breadwinner.

This low proportion of Indian women working outside the home probably improved the quality of family relationships. It has meant that Indian children have generally been aided in their upbringing by strong parental discipline and helpful guidance, resulting in an important social benefit for South African society in the form of a relatively low crime rate. Divorce rates for the South African Indian community have also been much lower than the rates for other race groups. The evidence seems to suggest that where the mother is a housewife, it would contribute to the stability of family relationships. However, Sullerot (1968; 88) reports that the divorce rate is higher in certain countries where the proportion of working women is relatively low than in others where the proportion is relatively high.

On the other hand, Indian women have traditionally contributed relatively less to family income than women of other population groups. Sugden (1979; 287 ff) notes that this situation is changing and as more women enter the labour force there will be corresponding increases in the Indians per capita income in future - but probably at the expense of the quality of the upbringing children receive, as well as the quality of interpersonal family relationships.

From the overview that has been presented, it is evident that the largest single problem facing clothing factory workers revolves around the wage issue, this being highlighted by the inefficiency of the Union to make effective demands. The researcher asserts that the major source of dissatisfaction among these workers, as is the case with most lower class workers, would centre around economics.

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CHAPTER THREE

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

A. JOB SATISFACTION

1. DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT

For the purposes of this study, the comprehensive definition of 'job satisfaction' as provided by Davis (1977; 73 ff) will be used: "Job satisfaction is the favourableness or unfavourableness with which employees view their work. It results when there is a fit between job characteristics and the wants of employees. It expresses the amount of congruence between one's expectations of the job and the rewards the job provides".

Similar to the above definition is that formulated by Smith, Kendall Hulin (1969; 6), by subsuming what was commonly posed by twenty eight others. They conceptualise job satisfaction as being feelings or affective responses to facets of the situation. These feelings are associated with a perceived difference between what is expected as a fair and reasonable return (or, when the evaluation of future prospects is involved, what is aspired to) and what is experienced, in relation to the alternatives available in a given situation. Their relation to behaviour depends upon

the way in which the individual expects that form of behaviour to help him achieve the goals he has accepted.

Davis (1977; 74) points out that job satisfaction may refer to either a person or a group. An administrator can say that "Antonio Ortega has high job satisfaction" or "Department C has high job satisfaction". In addition, job satisfaction can apply to parts of an individuals job. For example, although Antonio Ortega's general job satisfaction may be high, he may be dissatisfied with his vacation plan. In the same way that health is important because it represents general physical conditions, job satisfaction is important because it represents general human conditions. It requires attention, diagnosis and treatment just as health does.

2. THE CORRELATES OF JOB SATISFACTION

A concise review of the correlates of job satisfaction is presented; and will be used in the subsequent analysis.

a) Job and Life Satisfaction

In an interpretation of job satisfaction, the general emotional tone of employees is of crucial importance. Some employees, for example, may be very satisfied with their family and community life, but they think that their jobs

are average. In this instance their job satisfaction is relatively low because it is below their other satisfactions. Other employees may be loaded with home and community dissatisfactions but they also feel that their jobs are average. This means that their job satisfaction is relatively high. In order to relate general emotional tone specifically to job satisfaction, some organizations survey both job satisfaction and life satisfaction so that the two conditions may be compared. This is known as the spillover effect, meaning that one spills over to the other (Iris and Barrett, 1972; 301). The current study is aimed at analysing spillover effect, with regard to job satisfaction and family life satisfaction. A different and less prevalent relationship is that people compensate for low job satisfaction by trying to achieve high life satisfaction. This is termed compensatory effect.

For men, there is a moderate to strong relationship between an individual's satisfaction with his life in general and satisfaction with his job. However, no such consistent relationship seems to exist for women (Brayfield, Wells and Strate, 1957; 204). These authors feel that this is to be expected since work is much more the centre of the male's concern than the woman's. It is a cultural norm that the male should receive a large part of his life satisfaction from the job role he enacts and the status he derives from his occupation. Brayfield and his associates assert that

for a majority of women, family and motherhood are more important than career.

b) Job Satisfaction and Occupational Level

Studies of occupational groups have revealed a consistent relationship between occupational level and job satisfaction. The higher the level of an occupation, the greater the job satisfaction (Vroom 1964, Korman 1977, Davis 1977, have reviewed numerous studies).

The positive correlation between higher level work and higher job satisfaction also applies internationally. Workers in Soviet Russia, the United States, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and Norway all report higher job satisfactions in the higher occupations (Inkeles, 1960; 6).

Blauner (1960; 341 ff) reviewed a number of work satisfaction studies and found that professionals and businessmen claimed relatively high levels of satisfaction, that clerical workers claimed higher levels than manual workers, whilst skilled manual workers appeared more satisfied than unskilled workers or assembly line workers. Watson (1980; 132) notes that these accounts fall into a pattern closely relating to the social class hierarchy - itself a patterning of the way those resources most valued in society at large are distributed.

Porter (1962; 375 ff) found that the vertical location of management is an important factor in determining the extent to which managers feel that they can satisfy particular psychological needs. In general, those in lower management positions were more dissatisfied than managers in top level positions. Bass and Barrett (1972; 76 ff) assert that increased satisfaction with each succeeding level in the organization is not surprising since a number of other satisfaction related job factors are implied by higher levels, including responsibility, money, prestige, rate control, and more intrinsically rewarding work.

Korman (1977; 233) attributes the positive correlation between occupational level and job satisfaction in part to reference group theory that, overall, society values some jobs more than others. Hence, people in valued jobs will like them more than those who are in non valued jobs.

c) Job Satisfaction and Age

Bass and Barrett (1972; 89) note that job satisfaction tends to increase with age. Herzberg and his associates cited in Bass and Barrett (1972) contend that this relationship is not a linear one. Cross sectional investigations show that job satisfaction is highest when an individual first begins a job; it declines during the following years and remains at a relatively low level when the employees are in their late

twenties and early thirties. From that point on, satisfaction with the job begins to rise at least up to the pre-retirement age of approximately sixty.

d) Job Satisfaction and Educational Level

After reviewing numerous studies Korman (1977; 226) reported that with occupational level held constant, there is a negative relationship between the educational level of the individual and his job satisfaction.

3. THEORIES OF JOB SATISFACTION

An overview of the different theoretical approaches towards the study of job satisfaction is presented, in order that the theoretical implications of the results emanating from the present investigation be later discussed.

a) The Occupational Level Theory

Coldwell (1977; 24 ff) reviewed Darley and Hagenah's occupational level theory. Darley and Hagenah maintain that below a certain level in the occupational hierarchy, a job is basically a means for rudimentary subsistence and is not intrinsically interesting, challenging or satisfying. Above this level, survival and subsistence needs are met and the job may become intrinsically satisfying. Once one level of

needs have been satisfied, the organism then seeks the satisfaction of another element. This theory therefore applies specifically to the work situation whereas Maslow (1943; 85) propounded it at a more general level. Maslow proposed that the needs of man develop in the following sequence from lower needs to higher needs.

Physiological needs eg. hunger, thirst.

Safety Needs eg. security, order.

Belongingness and love needs eg. affection,
identification.

Esteem Needs eg. prestige, success, self-respect.

Self Actualization i.e. desire for self fulfilment.

He argued that a lower need must be satisfied before the next "higher" need can emerge in the development of the individual.

Darley and Hagenah classified three specific factors as job content i.e. intrinsic satisfaction elements: interesting work, use of one's ability, and working independently at challenging tasks (with the internal feelings of accomplishment and involvement in work). Four factors are classified as job context or extrinsic satisfaction elements: economic and security aspects of work, a chance to get ahead and the need for recognition as a person.

Darley and Hagenah contend that it is the occupational level that dictates which of these factors is more salient with regard to job satisfaction. At the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy the job context factors will be more important whereas at the higher levels it will be the job content factors that have priority.

Thus, to Indian women employed in garment manufacture in Durban, the following job context factors would be of importance because of the low status nature of their jobs.

1. economics
2. security aspects
3. opportunity for advancement
4. self esteem

If their economic needs are not satisfied, however, they would express apparent satisfaction with the following aspects of the job :

1. security aspects
2. opportunity for advancement
3. self esteem
4. interesting work
5. use of one's ability
6. working independently at challenging tasks.

This apparent satisfaction would result because the lower order need of economics would have to be satisfied before an individual enacting a low status task would strive to satisfy higher order needs.

Claus Offe (1976; 71) raises objections to the occupational level theory of job satisfaction. He argues that it is not really a sociological model at all, for it rests on the psychologistic assumption that people in all social strata have the same fixed needs and that the extent to which these needs are satisfied at work depends purely upon the rank of the job within the organizations hierarchy.

Need theories have also been criticized because none of their basic elements have been empirically tested (Wabha and Birdwell 1973, cited in Wiendieck, 1979; 234).

Wiendieck states that Maslow's ideas are more concerned with how the world should be, rather than how it actually is.

b) The Theory of "Cognitive Dissonance"

Festinger (1957), cited in Vroom (1964; 85) and Wiendieck (1979; 245), developed a theory of "cognitive dissonance" which has been used by industrial psychologists to explain job satisfaction. They argue that an individuals cognitive system will make the individual satisfied with a

job, by making the individual appreciate the favourable aspects of the job as opposed to the unattractive aspects of an alternative. Initially, the individual will experience dissonance between the favourable aspects of the alternative and the unfavourable aspects of his job. However, the individual's cognitive system is extraordinarily flexible and capable of restoring balance and hence satisfaction.

Wiendieck (1979; 245) correctly argues that this theory neglects the normative and social structural factors which are vital in an understanding of job satisfaction, and pushes the problem into the narrow framework of individual cognitions with its "self-cure" tendency.

c) Social Reference Group Theory of Job Satisfaction

Korman (1977; 218) summarizes this theory as follows: Job satisfaction is a function of, or is positively related to, the degree to which the characteristics of the job meet the approval and the desires of the groups to which the individual looks for guidance in evaluating the world and defining social reality.

Blood and Hulin (1967; 284 ff) and Form and Geschwender (1962; 228 ff) have shown that socially and economically deprived people can, despite their underprivileged life

situation, show an astonishingly high degree of job satisfaction. The probable reason for this is that such people seem not to evaluate their situation in terms of middle class aspirations, as many have assumed they do, or even in terms of their own needs and desires but seem to compare their own lot with that of their peers and neighbours who are equally deprived. In relation to this reference group they may be relatively well off and hence relatively satisfied.

Korman (1977; 218) criticizes this theory for being an incomplete explanation, since only some people go along with group opinions and group evaluation of organizational phenomena whereas many people are independent of these pressures. Korman assumes that it is only people with low self esteem who are strongly influenced by the social normative evaluations of their reference group, whereas people with high self esteem are more concerned with their own need fulfilment. Korman (1977; 220) also argues that human behaviour is a complex, multiple caused activity, and there is little reason to think that a phenomenon as important as job satisfaction would be a function of just one set of factors.

4. THE DETERMINANTS OF JOB SATISFACTION

An investigation into the level of job satisfaction experienced by married Indian women necessitates an

indication of the most important determinants of job satisfaction. This is imperative if an adequate method of data collection is to be developed. A survey of relevant literature is undertaken in order to establish this.

a) The Work Group

C D Bryant (1972; 366) states that one's co-workers, i.e. fellow workers who have different specialties, and one's colleagues, i.e. fellow workers who pursue similar occupational specialties, are not selected by choice; rather, they are more likely to be selected by necessity as dictated by the needs of the work situation itself. Although an individual may take up work with his fellow workers as strangers in time the close daily association of working with them may result in the development of a strong social bond. The shared stimulation or monotony of work frequently makes for a "consciousness of kind" and generates an occupational group awareness on the part of those involved. For some, the lack of meaning in monotonous and unstimulating work may be offset only by the fact that interaction with other persons at the work place may be rewarding. Informal work groups perform several functions, one of the more significant of which is to provide the individual with meaningful personal gratifications. The work group often becomes, along with the family, one of the more significant social entities of which the individual is a member.

There exists data suggesting that workers' satisfaction with their jobs is related to their opportunities for interaction with others on the job. On the basis of interviews with workers in an automobile plant, Walker and Guest (1952; 76) state that isolated workers disliked their jobs and gave social isolation as the principle reason. Richards and Dobryns (1957), cited in Vroom (1964; 121), found that the morale of a group of workers in an insurance company was greatly lowered by an environmental change which restricted their opportunity for social interaction. Du Brin (1978; 161 ff) reported that when the opportunity for interaction with other workers decreases, job satisfaction suffers.

Group membership has the mental health advantage of reducing tension for many people. The emotional support provided by the group helps one control tension. A study conducted by Seashore (1954; 1 ff) of 228 industrial work groups in a machinery company showed that tension and anxiety were least pronounced in the highly cohesive groups. Watson (1980; 132) maintains that social satisfactions can be gained from working within an integrated group.

A major reason people join groups and retain their membership is that groups satisfy several important psychological needs. Among these are needs for affiliation, security, esteem and self-fulfilment. The studies noted above show

that people prefer working in groups to individual effort because of the opportunity the former provides for socializing with other people. Satisfaction of security needs is possible because of the emotional support provided by group membership. Particularly when a person is establishing himself or herself in the world of work, the group offers a source of help. It is more comfortable for people to consult peers rather than a boss about minor work related problems.

Esteem needs are satisfied in two important ways by group membership. Firstly, the work group often provides positive feedback when the individual does something correctly or accomplishes something. An example may be used to illustrate the second point, when a new-car salesperson chalks up a banner month, he might be named "salesman of the month" by the dealership. Such recognition satisfies a need for recognition, but it also adds to a person's worth in the eyes of others - a major source of esteem.

The work group also adds to a worker's professional or technical development by providing the worker with a chance to communicate about job related skills. Need satisfaction enters the picture, because improving one's skills and knowledge leads toward self fulfilment.

Zaleznik, Christensen and Roethlisberger (1959) predicted

that the individuals satisfaction varies as his degree of reward from management and from the group; however, they found that workers who were being rewarded by the group were highly satisfied, regardless of their reward by management.

Thus, it is evident that from the early beginnings of Mayo's works (1945; 111), when he stated that "mans desire to be continually associated in work with his fellows is a strong if not the strongest, human characteristic," right up to the present day, the work group is of fundamental importance in determining an individuals level of job satisfaction.

b) Job Content

Burack and Smith (1977; 104) maintain that work itself is one of the basic elements in building an individuals sense of satisfaction. People must feel that they are using valuable skills and that their work requires them to apply these to different challenging situations.

Parker (1971; 43 ff), stated that job satisfaction could be determined by factors such as opportunities to create something, use skill, and work wholeheartedly. Dissatisfactions are likely to involve formulations which simply

oppose these but Parker also usefully locates specific factors such as doing repetitive work, making only a small part of something, and doing useless tasks.

Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959; 113 ff) in their book "The Motivation to Work" describe an investigation into the sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction of accountants and engineers. The methods used were neither correlational nor experimental. The authors assumed that people have the ability and the motivation to report accurately the conditions which made them satisfied and dissatisfied with their jobs. Accordingly, they asked their subjects in interviews to tell them about times during which they felt exceptionally good and exceptionally bad about their jobs. They found that the stories told about good periods most frequently concerned the content of the job. Achievement, recognition, advancement, responsibility, and the work itself were the most frequently coded themes in such stories. On the other hand, conversations concerned with bad periods most frequently concerned the context of the jobs. Company policy and administration, supervision, salary and working conditions more frequently appear in these stories than in those told about good periods.

Herzberg and his associates attributed these findings to the fact that the favourable job-content factors such as achievement, and the work itself tend to produce satis-

faction, but their absence does not tend to produce dissatisfaction. On the other hand, the unfavourable job context factors like poor supervision or working conditions tend to produce dissatisfaction but their absence does not produce satisfaction. In effect, this explanation asserts a nonlinearity in the effects of job content and job context variables on job satisfaction. Increases in some desirable job context variable will result in an increase in job satisfaction to the point where the worker is indifferent or neutral concerning the job. Increases in some desirable job content variable are required to further increase the workers job satisfaction to a positive level. Therefore, doing away with factors that lead to dissatisfaction will not in itself lead to worker satisfaction. It is only the positive factors or satisfiers that are related to the intrinsic nature of the job that are capable of doing this. Thus, the opposite of job satisfaction is no satisfaction and the opposite of job dissatisfaction is no dissatisfaction.

The findings of Walker and Guest's (1952; 76) concerning assembly line workers in an automobile plant are diametrically opposed to those obtained by Herzberg and his associates. They found job content, particularly the paced repetitive nature of work, to be the chief factor reported as disliked about jobs. On the other hand, the economic factors of pay and security (both job context characteristics) were the principal liked features.

Increasing evidence exists that physical health, as well, is adversely affected by repetitive and dehumanising environment eg. paced assembly lines. Cooper and Marshall (1978; 81 ff).

Gurin, Veroff and Feld (1960; 153) and Vroom (1964; 126 ff) explain that obtained differences (by Herzberg) between stated sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction stem from defensive processes within the individual respondent. Persons may be more likely to attribute the causes of satisfaction to their own achievements and accomplishments on the job. On the other hand, they may be more likely to attribute their dissatisfaction, not to personal inadequacies or deficiencies, but to factors in the work environment i.e. obstacles presented by Company policies or supervision. Therefore Herzberg's "critical incident technique" of data collection is at fault.

Increased specialization has been characteristic of the industrial age, with changes due to specialization being most marked for rank and file factory workers. The development of techniques of mass production has resulted in a substantial increase in the repetitiveness of the jobs of most factory workers. Although most social scientists acknowledge the increases in efficiency that have stemmed from greater specialization, many of them feel that specialization has led to a decrease in job satisfaction (Vroom, 1964; 132).

The effects of repetitive work received considerable attention during the 1920's in the work of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board in Great Britain. A large number of studies were carried out in both laboratory and industrial settings on the determinants and consequences of monotony and boredom in tasks. The major conclusions of these studies were summarized by Wyatt, Fraser and Stock (1929) and cited in Vroom (1964; 133) as follows :

The amount of boredom experienced bears some relation to the conditions of work. It is less liable to arise when

- i) the form of activity is changed at suitable times within the spell of work,
- ii) the operatives are paid according to output instead of time worked,
- iii) the work is conceived as a series of self-contained tasks rather than as an indefinite and apparently interminable activity,
- iv) when the operatives are allowed to work in compact social groups rather than as isolated units,
- v) when suitable rest pauses are introduced within the spell of work.

Walker and Guest (1952; 76) found that the degree to which employees in an automobile assembly plant expressed interest in their jobs was related to the number of operations which they carried out. Only 33% of workers performing a single operation reported their jobs as very or fairly interesting. On the other hand, 44 per cent of those performing two to five operations and 69 per cent of those performing more than five operations reported their work as very or fairly interesting.

French and Caplan (1973; 30 ff) have differentiated work overload in terms of quantitative and qualitative overload. Quantitative refers to having 'too much to do,' while qualitative means work that is 'too difficult'. After summarizing research done on work overload, French and Caplan concluded that both qualitative and quantitative overload produce at least nine different symptoms of psychological and physical strain, with job dissatisfaction being listed foremost on the list.

From the foregoing discussion it may be concluded that the importance of job content factors such as a challenging job, job overload and specialisation in determining job satisfaction, is obvious.

c) Supervision

There exists some disagreement with regard to the importance

of immediate supervision in worker satisfaction. Putnam (1930; 314 ff) in discussing the results of the program of interviewing in the Hawthorne works of the Western Electric Company contends that the relationship between first line supervisors and individual workmen is of more importance in determining the attitude, morale, general happiness and efficiency of that employee than any other single factor.

On the basis of their study of accountants and engineers, however, Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959; 113 ff) suggest that the importance of supervision has been over-rated.

Quantitative evidence concerning the importance of supervision is inconclusive. Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson and Capwell (1957) cited in Vroom (1964), have compiled data from 15 studies in which workers were asked what made them satisfied or dissatisfied with their jobs. Supervision was mentioned as a source of satisfaction more frequently than security, job content, company and management, working conditions, and opportunity for advancement and wages. The only aspect of the job mentioned more frequently was relationships with co-workers. However, supervision appears fourth in the same list of job factors when they are ordered in terms of the frequency with which they are mentioned as sources of dissatisfaction. It may be concluded that supervision is an important variable in

determining both the levels of job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction of the worker.

Burack and Smith (1977; 104) see supervision received as an important determinant of job satisfaction since people need to feel comfortable with the guidance, recognition, and equity in the evaluations they receive.

Experiments demonstrate that the satisfaction of group members with the leadership they receive are affected to a large extent by attributes of the person providing the leadership (Vroom, 1964; 107). Employees in small, highly interdependent work groups, which were characterised by a great deal of interaction among workers and between workers and their supervisor, had more positive attitudes toward equalitarian leaders. In contrast, employees in large work groups, in which opportunities for interaction among workers and between workers and their supervisor were greatly restricted and in which individual employees were highly independent, were found to have more positive attitudes towards authoritarian leaders.

Much of the research on supervision has been based on the assumption that supervisors can be characterized in terms of the degree to which they are considerate of the desires of their subordinates.

Halpin and Winer (1957; 42), identified two major independent dimensions of leader behaviour viz. Consideration and Initiating Structure. Consideration includes supervisory behaviour indicative of friendship, mutual trust, respect and warmth, while Initiating Structure includes behaviour in which the supervisor organizes and defines group activities and his relation to the group.

Seeman (1957; 86 ff), reported a positive relationship between the consideration of school superintendents and the job satisfaction of elementary school teachers. Fleishman, Harris and Burt (1955), cited in Vroom (1964; 110) found a positive relationship between the consideration of foreman and the morale of their subordinates. Fleishman and Harris (1962), cited in Vroom (1964; 112) found that in general low consideration and high structure were found to go with high grievances and turnover. It may be concluded from these findings that consideration of subordinates on the part of a supervisor results in a high level of satisfaction which in turn is reflected in relatively low turnover rates, grievances and absences.

Vroom (1964; 115) states that attempts by influential supervisors to help their subordinates achieve their goals will usually succeed and will result in higher employee satisfaction, whereas similar attempts by non-influential supervisors are less likely to succeed and to affect

satisfaction. In a hierarchical organisation the degree to which a supervisor satisfies the needs of his subordinates may be dependent not only on the supervisory methods and practices which he uses but also on the amount of his power in the larger organisation.

From the above discussion it becomes evident that supervision must be regarded as an important determinant of job satisfaction. Supervision is certainly of importance to clothing factory workers since they are under constant close supervision at work.

d) Compensation

Burack and Smith (1977; 104) regard compensation as an important determinant of job satisfaction, not only in terms of pay but also in terms of what it signals in status or promotion.

Satisfaction stemming from the receipt of wages is dependent not on the absolute amount of the wages, rather on the relationship between that amount and some standard of comparison used by the individual. The standard may be an adaptation level (Helson, 1947; 1 ff) derived from wages received at previous times or a conception of the amount of wages received by other people.

According to Patchen (1960), cited in Vroom (1964; 151), if one person compared himself with another person who was earning more but who was similar in his standing on dimensions related to pay, the comparison would be dissonant and would be expected to lead to dissatisfaction on the part of the comparer. Similarly, if he compared himself to someone who was earning the same but who was inferior in standing on dimensions related to pay, the comparison would also be objectively dissonant and accompanied by dissatisfaction. On the other hand, if a person compared himself to someone who was earning more and who was superior on dimensions related to pay, or to someone who was earning the same and was similar on dimensions related to pay, it would be objectively consonant and would be expected to result in satisfaction.

Social norms and comparisons are important in determining job satisfaction not only with regard to wages, but with regard to all the determinants of job satisfaction. If other people, particularly people that a worker respects, see his job as a good one - or one with which the worker should be satisfied, then the worker is more likely to be satisfied. However, if all the worker's friends have more challenging jobs than he has, he will be more dissatisfied than if all his friends shared his predicament (Strauss and Sayles, 1980; 2 ff).

Included in the category of compensation are such items as medical aid schemes, pension schemes, bonuses, accident

insurance, paid leave and travel allowance. All of these items together with wages and promotional opportunities undoubtedly contribute to an individuals overall job satisfaction.

e) Influence in Decision Making

There is considerable evidence that the satisfaction of subordinates is positively related to the degree to which they are permitted an opportunity to participate in making decisions (Vroom, 1964; 115). In an investigation in an automobile manufacturing plant, reviewed by Vroom (1964; 115 ff), Jacobson (1951) related the attitudes of workers toward their foreman and toward their shop stewards to the reports of the extent to which they were involved in decision making by occupants of each of these roles. As predicted, there was a positive relationship between the amount of participation in decision making and their attitudes toward both foremen and shop stewards.

Vroom (1959), cited in Vroom (1964; 118), obtained evidence suggesting that the effects of participation in decision making on satisfaction depend on the personality of the participant. In a field study of supervisors in a package delivery organisation, he found that the relationship between psychological participation and job satisfaction varied with the strength of the need for independence and

the degree of authoritarianism of the participant. Amount of participation was most positively related to the satisfaction and performance of persons high in need for independence and low in authoritarianism and least positively related to the satisfaction and performance of those low in need for independence and high on authoritarianism. There was no evidence of any unfavourable effects of participation either on satisfaction or performance.

According to Parker (1971; 43 ff), using initiative and having responsibility is an important factor underlying job satisfaction. This involves a feeling of freedom to take decision and a certain independence of authority. Parker also states that to some extent the satisfaction derived from a job having these characteristics is a matter of personality and upbringing. Someone who has been raised and educated in a tradition of conformity and subservience to authority may not wish to use his initiative or have responsibility in his job. However, it seems that most people value the opportunity to think and act in their work as responsible and autonomous individuals, therefore influence in decision making must be regarded as a determinant of an individuals work satisfaction.

f) Working Conditions

Recommendations

Working conditions such as hours, rest pauses, equipment,

temperature, ventilation, humidity, music, lighting, toilets, noise level, and location are all determinants of an employees satisfaction (Dessler, 1981; 328).

The work role occupied by a person affects not only how he will use his working hours but also how he can spend his leisure time. A persons job usually influences the community in which he lives, the way in which other members of the community respond to him, and the amount of time he can spend with his children. If an individual visualizes his working hours as being too long, there would be a decrease in his level of job satisfaction, since he would regard the job as depriving him of sufficient leisure or family time. Therefore, hours of work is of especial importance to working women who are married and have to enact the roles of mother and housewife in addition to that of industrial worker.

g) The Trade Union

In the United States, job dissatisfaction is a major reason why workers turn to Unions (Dessler, 1981; 331 ff). In Natal, garment workers are forced to join the Garment Workers Union (Government Gazette, 11 Jan 1980; 23), since "no member of the employers organisation shall give employment for a period longer than two weeks to any person who is not a member of the trade union." The Garment Workers Union thus becomes one facet of the work situation, and an employees satisfaction

or dissatisfaction with the union would contribute to his overall level of job satisfaction.

h) Bureaucracy

Dubrin (1978; 292) contends that untold numbers of people find life in bureaucratic organisations to be frustrating and dissatisfying. Among the sources of frustration and dissatisfaction people point to are the "red tape", loss of individuality, and inability to make an impact on the organisation.

Research evidence has been collected providing additional support to the assertion that working in a bureaucracy creates job dissatisfaction. Dimarco and Nortons, (1974; 581 ff) major findings were that job satisfaction decreased as the bureaucratic properties of the organisation increased. This was explained by the lack of individuality and control characterizing bureaucratic structures.

It thus appears that the degree of bureaucracy present in an organisation is a further determinant of job satisfaction.

i) Personal Variables

Strauss and Sayles (1980; 2 ff) discuss the following five personal variables which determine job satisfaction :

i) Expectations

If a worker expects his job to be challenging (or well paying) and it is not, then he will be dissatisfied. However, if a worker expects his job to be dull (or low paying) and it turns out that way, his frustration may be minimal. The following is an example of the expectation process at work: reported job satisfaction of Black workers dropped sharply during the mid 1960's, probably not because objective job conditions had changed, but because the Civil Rights Movement engendered higher expectations.

Patchen's (1960) study, reviewed by Vroom (1964; 153), in a Canadian oil refinery demonstrated a higher frequency of absences among persons who felt that they deserved to have been promoted compared with those who stated that they did not feel that way at all. He also found significantly greater absences among persons who stated that their promotional chances should be better than among those who stated that their opportunities for advancement were as good as they should be

ii) Self Evaluation

If a worker regards himself as being generally

satisfied (or as one who can cope well), he will be unwilling to admit that the job can get him down. If a worker has a generally sunny disposition this may be reflected in his attitude towards his job.

iii) Input - Output Relations

A workers satisfaction with his job depends on how he perceives the relationship between what he puts into the job (input) and what he gets out of it (output). A hard worker (high input) who fails to finish what he sought to accomplish (output), will be less satisfied than if he put in a half hearted effort.

iv) Commitment

A worker who selects one job from a range of opportunities, makes a free commitment to it. He will therefore be reluctant to admit that his job is not rewarding as it would be tantamount to conceding that his ability to make a sound choice is defective. The worker's sense of commitment (and resulting satisfaction) maybe particularly strong as his decision is well known among his friends.

v) Priming

If there is a lot of talk about pay in a work group, the workers belonging to that group are likely to think pay important. If management publicizes it's job enrichment programmes, workers are likely to think that important - and to be disgruntled when the programme fails to live up to it's billing.

Although difficult to measure the personal variables of expectations, self evaluation, input-output relations, commitment and priming should also be regarded as playing a part in determining job satisfaction.

j) Conclusion

As far as Indian women employed in the clothing industry are concerned the following determinants of job satisfaction are of crucial importance :

The work group
 Job content
 Supervision
 Compensation
 Working conditions

Since 'influence in decision making' as a determinant of job satisfaction is to a large extent dependent on the personality and life style of the individual, it would not be of major importance to Indian women. This is so because Indian women traditionally play subservient roles within the family group. Their marriages are also not equalitarian, an equalitarian marriage being one in which the decision making is joint at times and separate at times, the decision making being balanced. In general, husbands make the decisions in Indian homes and more so where wives have low levels of education, as in the case of Indian women employed in the clothing industry. It is therefore surmised that a lack of influence in decision making would not be a major source of dissatisfaction to married Indian women employed in clothing manufacture.

The distantiated nature of the trade union from workers together with the workers lack of education with regard to the functions of the union, both cause the Garment Workers Union to be of minor importance as a determinant of job satisfaction.

Bureaucracy is also considered to be of minor importance to clothing factory workers, with 84% of all clothing factories in the study area being small factories.

Personal Variables such as expectations, self evaluation, input-output relations and priming are of universal applicability when considering job satisfaction. However, the role of 'commitment' is questionable with regard to Indian women in the clothing industry. This is so because they do not have a range of opportunities from which to select a job and in most cases work in the industry because it is the only job available.

B. FUNCTIONS OF THE URBANISED FAMILY

The discussion that follows attempts to ascertain how the functions of the urbanised family relate to the needs of working mothers and to the effects of their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their jobs on family life.

The analysis is directed primarily towards developing a frame of reference in terms of which the statements included in the second part of the interview schedule could be formulated.

1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE URBANISED FAMILY AND OTHER SOCIAL SYSTEMS

It is necessary to briefly examine the relationship between the urbanised family and other social systems. According to Bell and Vogel (1968; 9 ff) this relationship can be conceived of as a series of functional interchanges. Some sort of balance is achieved in this interchange, between those contributions made by the family and those received by the family. The interchanges may not consist of concrete goods, but may consist of behaviour and behaviour response.

a) The Urbanised Family and the Economy

The economy may be defined as that part of a society which is concerned with the creation and distribution of valued goods and services. One interchange between the urbanised family and the economy is the contribution of labour by the nuclear family in exchange for goods and service. In industrial society wages are received for the labour contributed by the urbanised family member. In this instance, the family must give encouragement and the necessary facilities to the wage earner, so that he can continue his participation in the economy.

b) The Urbanised Family and the Polity

Every social system has some type of administration of its activities to attain the system goals. The subsystem which fulfills these functions for the society may be termed the polity. In the first interchange with the polity, the family contributes loyalty in exchange for leadership. On the second level of interchanges between the polity and the family, the family supplies compliance i.e., social control in exchange for decisions made by the polity.

c) The Urbanised Family and the Community

All social systems face the problem of integrating various parts and activities of the system; this problem is solved by institutionalising patterns of behaviour and by using mechanisms of social control to motivate members to conform to these patterns. The subsystem of society concerned with this problem may be termed the community. As one of the functional interchanges, the urbanised family participates in community activities in exchange for the support of the community. In the other functional interchange the community gives the family an identity in exchange for adherence to community patterns.

d) The Urbanised Family and the Value System

It is the urbanised family's duty to see that new members are socialized into the basic value system. The family is peculiarly suited for this task, by virtue of the prolonged dependency of the human infant and the intensity and priority of relationships within the family. The value system specifies standards and the nuclear family accepts them.

2. INTERNAL FAMILY ACTIVITIES

In order to participate in these interchanges with external social systems, certain activities must be performed within the urbanised family. The nuclear family must carry on internal activities related to these external exchanges, and it must perform other internal activities directly for its own benefit. Most activities carried on in the family have functional significance for the family itself and external systems, and the various functions fulfilled can be separated only analytically.

Any given interchange between the economy and the family, such as the granting of wages in return for the performance of services by family members, may involve internal activities such as family leadership, integration and solidarity, and pattern maintenance, as well as task performance. Similarly, the goods received from the external systems have implications for all the subsystems in the family.

a) Task Performance

Task performance within the urbanised family always occurs in the context of the family's relationships with external

systems. The internal activity is governed in part by the requirements of the external interchanges and in part by the amount of goods obtained in the external interchanges. In addition, internal task performance is related to internal family characteristics, such as the standard of living and the solidarity and integration of relationships within the family.

Family members participate in the care and maintenance of family possessions, although in the extreme case this may merely mean seeing that no damage comes to these possessions. Maintaining equipment requires a variety of other services such as cleaning, repairing, or improving the family's possessions. If there are dependent members of the family, then other members are expected to perform various tasks in connection with their welfare.

To some extent, the relationships within the family develop as a result of the nature of the task activity. For example, if productive activities performed within the family require close interaction between family members then one would expect family bonds to be very strong, particularly if there is considerable interdependence between members in the performance of these tasks.

If there are major task activities performed within a family, the nature of the task may also require that

appropriate standards exist between family members to regulate their activities.

The problem of distributing tasks within the family is solved to some extent by biological factors. The biological nature of the mother-child bond ordinarily leads the mother to perform tasks connected with the child, particularly when it is small, and the father to perform activities that will produce the needed goods and services.

Various social values governing the relative status of man and woman, parent and child, also greatly influence the division of labour, and the strength of these values may also govern the flexibility or rigidity in role allocation.

Performing tasks together may strengthen family solidarity and reinforce family values. The nature of the task may require one person to assume greater leadership, and if one family member makes an unusually valuable contribution to family tasks, he may be given higher status. Conversely if he fails in some important way, his status may be lowered.

b) Family Leadership

Because the family is a stable group with the same member-

ship over a relatively long period of time, it's division of leadership is ordinarily rather clearly structured. For example, parents have clear-cut leadership over children. However, because of the complex nature of the family and the wide variety of activities within it, many subtle considerations are involved in it's leadership, depending on such things as the particular activity pursued, the present family situation, the needs of family members, and the voluntary though not necessarily conscious, transfer of leadership in certain affairs to other members.

If a minor problem develops, disturbing the usual pattern of relationships, the individual concerned may simply assume the leadership required for solving the problem.

Families having 'no disagreements', or which solve their problems 'democratically' are often those families in which there is sufficient solidarity and sufficiently accepted interaction patterns, so that subordinating certain wishes or desires is not felt as a sacrifice, or even as problematic.

c) Integration and Solidarity

For a group to maintain close relationships between members over a long period of time requires some commitment and

feelings of solidarity. Solidarity, in addition to giving members motivation to abide by the norms, is important in dealing with individual tensions and personality problems.

There are certain activities particularly significant for family solidarity. One obvious case is the family ritual or the family celebration. The performance of certain specific routines at mealtime, in which the family unites as a whole, gives the family a feeling of solidarity; special family holidays, such as birthdays also serve to give the family a feeling of solidarity, together with family symbols such as photograph albums, family secrets and favourite stories.

Both as a result of, and to promote these feelings of solidarity, the family attempts to preserve the motivational commitment of its members. If a family member is losing interest in family activities in ways considered inappropriate, the family will apply various sanctions, either positive or negative, to renew the individual's participation. Any lack of motivation is always a potential threat to the entire group, and the family cannot let deviance from family norms occur without attempting to supply motivation to correct this deviance or at least making clear that such behaviour is unacceptable.

d) The Family Value System

Through their relationships with each other, family members come to have certain expectations about how other members should behave; these expectations are associated with feelings of rightness and wrongness. Specific expectations are related to more general standards and together they constitute a system of values for organising and giving direction to various family activities. This value system provides a hierarchy of goals and a body of rules for their attainment. These are valued far beyond their mere utility in solving specific problems. The family attempts to maintain this value system because it gives meaning and purpose to specific family activities.

It is possible for children and their parents to have different general values, but if the family is to continue to exist, there must be some agreement about the values which serve as a basis for and regulate family activities. The values of a family are not entirely, or even necessarily conscious, except when there is conflict or when they are made explicit in the socialisation process. Even in the socialisation process, values are often taught through relationships and examples rather than by explicit precept.

All behaviour within the family is subject to the same type

of legitimation. The leadership, task performance, solidarity and division of labour, in any of these spheres, all take place within the context of the family's overall value system.

3. FAMILY AND PERSONALITY

Personality is treated as an undifferentiated system having interchanges with the various functional subsystems of the family, just as, in the first section, the family was treated as a unitary system having interchanges with the functional subsystems superordinate to it.

a) Task Performance

The division of labour in this sphere by sex and generation is a basic structural characteristic of the family in all societies. The family, if it is to develop its members' personalities adequate for them to advance into the outside world, must then give individuals the opportunity for graded involvement in, or identification with, task activities, and ensure that learning takes place. This assignment of tasks must be appropriate to, and not above or below, the intellectual, physical, and attitudinal capacities of the individual.

The assignment of tasks within the family, and the sanctions experienced by carrying them out, or failing to do so, do play an important part in personality development. How important they are will vary with the emphasis and value given, in the family and in the society generally, to task performance functions.

Even the most mature adult personalities require some support and recognition, if they are to preserve the proper orientations to work and maintain the appropriate flow of motivational energy. This support comes not solely from the family, but consistent lack of support and validation can affect the personality.

b) Family Leadership

The modes of meeting the leadership problems of coordination and authority which the family develops similarly have wide-ranging effects upon the developing and the developed personality. Levy (1968; 590 ff) showed how the diffusion of authority patterns to members of the child's own generation have a constructive effect on personality development.

Since personality is acquired through the process of accepting roles assigned by parents, the child is particularly

susceptible to deviant development when parents express their conflicts by assigning inappropriate roles in implicit ways. The process of assigning roles is an important part of the leadership functions in the family; when there is a coincidence of impulses of the parents at a covert level, so that there is both implicit stimulation for certain behaviour and implicit permission of it, the results can be very traumatic for the child's personality.

c) Family Integration and Solidarity

Minimum integration is necessary if socialisation is to take place. Without quite intense bonds among members, the motivational leverage necessary to encourage children to give up dependency strivings, for instance, would not exist. In any event, all persons forever bear the mark of how their families handled problems of integration and solidarity.

d) Family Value System

From the family value system, the individual derives direction and the standards which become internalised as part of his personality. When there is consistency of values and consistent affirmation of them, the individual

develops a consistent superego. However, Giffin and her associates (1968; 679 ff) contend that if the child receives inconsistent rewards, or is rewarded in terms of inconsistent values, then he is likely to develop superego defects, and thus an imbalance of the personality.

4. CONCLUSION

The above discussion served to indicate that four functions of the family system underlie interpersonal relationships among family members. These four functions are :

- Task performance;
- Family leadership;
- Family integration and solidarity; and
- Family value system.

The four functions will serve as the points of departure for the statements included in that section of the interview schedule which deals with the relationships between the degree of job satisfaction experienced by married Indian women, and its effects on their family life.

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CHAPTER FOUR

PROCEDURE AND TECHNIQUES USED IN THE GATHERING AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

A. REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Chapters Two and Three of this project represent the result of a literature survey, and to some extent consultation with authoritative sources of information. This imperative stage in the research process was undertaken so that a reliable and valid method of data collection could be formulated. A literature survey is also necessary if the link between theory and empirical research is to be maintained. An attempt is later made (Chapter Five) to explain the findings of the present study in terms of the theoretical propositions outlined in Chapter Three.

B. CONSULTATION WITH AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This necessary stage in the research procedure was undertaken because literature pertaining to Indian women employed in South African industries is scarce. Discussions were held with employees of the Industrial Council, members of the Garment Workers Union, and Clothing factory owners and managers. The researcher also held discussions with workers, in an informal manner, so as to gain a general impression

of their job attitudes. It was on the basis of this consultation that a relevant (to the South African Indian woman not the American worker) method of data collection was developed.

C. THE METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION: THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Job Satisfaction surveys, whether by questionnaire or by interview, are of three general types classified according to the form of question asked (Davis, 1977; 80). Objective Surveys present both a question and a choice of answers in such a way that respondents merely mark the answer that is their choice. Descriptive Surveys present questions but let employees answer in their own words. Projective Surveys present abstract situations unrelated to job or company and require the worker to analyze and comment upon them. Projective devices are not used for general surveys, but they are mentioned here to show the full range of instruments that are available.

A descriptive survey was not used in this study since a suitable interview usually takes from one to two hours for each interview; hence it is both time consuming and expensive. In order to ensure that the same material is covered in a consistent manner with each employee, each interviewer must be carefully trained and should follow a standardized interviewer's guide that indicates the material

to be covered as well as the manner in which questions are to be phrased.

The present study is an objective survey in which a recording or interview schedule was utilized as the means of data collection. These schedules have a number of advantages. Blauner (1960; 354) asserted that they are quite straight forward and, in general, are easily understood in a common-sense fashion i.e. they are easily understood by the respondents and are easy to administer. Research costs are relatively economical, and the guiding consideration is that the data are quantifiable and easily expressed in a form which can indicate the total distribution of work satisfaction and dissatisfaction in a given population. It also facilitates the ready location of differences among workers according to occupation, industry, educational level, sex, religion, etc. Davis (1977; 80) points out that these objective surveys are easy to analyze statistically, this then permitting much of the analysis to be performed on computers, which is an important cost consideration when thousands of employees are surveyed.

The Interview schedule used, was divided into two parts : Part One measuring the level of job satisfaction; Part Two designed to ascertain the effects of job satisfaction/dissatisfaction on interpersonal family relationships. A summated rating scale developed according to Likert principles was used in both cases.

In constructing the rating scale, face validity was ensured since the determinants of job satisfaction as well as the functions of the family (both discussed in Chapter Three) were taken into account. As far as content validity is concerned, not only should the items contain the common thread of the attitude under study, but between them they should also cover the full range of the attitude, and cover it in a balanced way (Moser and Kalton, 1971; 356 : Bailey, 1979; 57 ff : Selltitz et al, 1976; 179). Moser and Kalton state that the assessment of content validity is essentially a matter of judgment; the judgment may be made by the surveyor or by a team of judges engaged for the purpose. In the present study the assessment of content validity was made by the study supervisor in collaboration with the researcher. Item analysis (Hagan, 1982; 183) was employed in order to eliminate non discriminatory items. The possibility of response set was reduced by the randomisation of items in the interview schedule.

The ways in which the determinants of job satisfaction and the functions of the family are related to the items in the rating scale can be briefly indicated.

Job Content :

Since job content is one of the most important determinants of job satisfaction, and because it encompasses many aspects of the job itself, five questions were included on this determinant.

Questions 8 and 18 were concerned with job overload, as defined in Chapter Three; Question 8 was designed to measure qualitative overload and question 18 designed to measure quantitative overload. Question 13 measured the individuals degree of job interest, with questions 5 and 24 being concerned with the amount of status that the respondent perceives the job offers and the individuals degree of alienation from the job respectively.

Compensation :

A main reason for people going out to work is compensation. Four questions were included on this determinant, questions 12 and 23 concerning wages, and questions 7 and 19 concerning opportunity for advancement. Questions 19 and 23 also serve as probes to test the consistency of respondent's answers.

The Work Group :

Four questions were included on this important determinant of job satisfaction. Questions 4, 9, 14 and 22 were concerned with this aspect of the social environment of factory workers. Question 22 also serves as a consistency test to question 4.

Supervision :

The four questions (6, 10, 16, 21) which were used to ascertain level of satisfaction with supervision were adapted from the Moonbeam Company's Survey on the Quality of Supervision (Davis, 1977; 86).

The above determinants of job satisfaction were the most important ones, therefore, 17 of the 25 questions on job satisfaction were concerned with them. The Job Descriptive Index, a highly regarded job satisfaction scale developed by Smith, Kendall and Hulin (1969; 83) was concerned only with the above determinants. However, 8 relevant questions on the following aspects of the job were also included :

General satisfaction (questions 17 and 25). Similar to questions used by Hoppock (1935; 249 ff).

Physical Working Conditions (question 3). Similar to question used by Coldwell (1977; 191 ff).

Union (question 11). Following Zaleznik, Christensen, and Roethlisberger (1959; 258 ff).

Social Norms and Comparisons (question 20). Following Strauss and Sayles (1980; 2 ff) that this is a determinant of job satisfaction.

Hours of Work (question 15). This determinant has been discussed in the preceeding Chapter, and at least one question warranted inclusion.

Security that the job provides (question 2). A similar question was used by Coldwell (1977; 191 ff) since the security that a job provides undoubtedly contributes to a harmonious psychological environment in which to work.

Work and Leisure (question 1). This was used to measure the compensatory effect.

The determinant 'Influence in decision making' was included under the section on supervision, while Bureaucracy was not taken into account since it did not directly affect the Indian women's satisfaction with her job.

Statements on each of the above determinants of job satisfaction were listed and respondents were asked to choose among five response categories to each item.

Five response categories were used since it has been suggested that dichotomizing responses into only "satisfied" and "dissatisfied" categories has the effect of over-estimating the actual degree of satisfaction by pushing those who are in a neutral category toward the satisfied

alternative (Herzberg F et al; 1957; 4). Moser and Kalton (1971; 369) state that a rating scale with many response categories is more sensitive and informative than a straight Yes/No choice of answers similar to that used by Smith, Hulin and Kendall (1969; 83 ff) in the Job Descriptive Index.

Positive statements indicating a high level of satisfaction were scored as follows :

strongly agree	5
agree	4
undecided	3
disagree	2
strongly disagree	1

Negative statements indicating a low level of satisfaction were scored as follows :

strongly agree	1
agree	2
undecided	3
disagree	4
strongly disagree	5

Strong agreement with a statement indicating job satisfaction would mean a high level of job satisfaction. Strong agreement with a statement indicating job dissatisfaction

would imply a high level of dissatisfaction. An even distribution of positively and negatively worded statements contributed to the validity of the scale. The respondents degree of satisfaction was measured by his total score, which was the sum of the scores of the categories he endorsed for each of the items. A high total score represented a high degree of satisfaction.

The second part of the interview schedule sought to ascertain whether a relationship existed between the degree of job satisfaction experienced by married Indian women in the clothing industry and interpersonal relationships within their families i.e. the effects of job satisfaction on family life.

The response categories accompanying negative statements on the effects of job satisfaction on family life were weighted as follows :

strongly agree	...	...	...	...	...	1
agree	...	...	...	...	...	2
undecided	...	...	...	...	...	3
disagree	...	...	...	...	...	4
strongly disagree	...	...	...	...	...	5

The response categories accompanying positive statements on

the effect of job satisfaction on family life were weighted as follows :

strongly agree	5
agree	4
undecided	3
disagree	2
strongly disagree	1

In the construction of statements for use in this part of the interview schedule, the four family functions of task performance, family leadership, integration and solidarity and family value system were taken into account in an attempt to ascertain the effects that job satisfaction/dissatisfaction of the mother had on these functions which form the basis of interpersonal family relationships. Fourteen statements were used to elicit responses in this part of the schedule.

Question 26, adapted from Hoppock (1935; 35), was concerned with the family's general attitude towards the mother's job.

Questions 28, 29, 31 and 32 were concerned with the effects of the mother's job satisfaction/dissatisfaction on general family functioning.

Question 30 sought to ascertain whether a spillover or compensatory effect existed.

Questions 27, 33 and 35 were concerned with the family function of integration and solidarity and whether the mother's job attitude affected this important family function.

Question 36 was included in order to verify the surmise that leadership needs will be exceptionally strong in the factory worker, since she is enacting a wholly subservient occupational role. Strong disagreement with the statement would verify the surmise that powerless factory workers have an exceptionally strong need for fulfilling the function of family leadership.

Question 34 was included so as to gauge the effect of social norms on working mothers.

Question 37 was concerned with the family value system. The mother's response to the statement indicated the effect of the mother's job attitude on the family's value system. It will thereby be clarified whether or not the mother's job is 'detrimental to' or 'good for' the family's value system. The mother's attitude may have an influence on the children's attitude to enacting occupational roles in the future.

Questions 38 and 39 were concerned with task performance. As noted earlier, task performance as a family function is separated from integration and solidarity, leadership, and family value system, for analytical purposes only. All family functions are interrelated. Questions 38 and 39 sought to ascertain whether the spillover/compensatory effects of the mothers job affected the motivational commitment of the mother towards the family. Motivational commitment is necessary for the family function of integration and solidarity which is in turn a requisite for healthy interpersonal family relationships.

Question 40 sought to elicit the biographical details of the respondent i.e. age, level of education, religious affiliation, and wage.

Limitations of the Interview Schedule

Despite the considerable objectivization of the scale, the method of rating remains to a certain extent subjective since the assessment of attitude position is left to the respondent. The respondent may not want to answer honestly, and in this case Blauner (1960; 335) suggests that a cultural bias towards indicating contentment exists.

Moser and Kalton (1971; 359) are of the contention that the avoidance of extremes is a common occurrence with

rating scales and has been termed the error of central tendency. Other errors are those of leniency and severity, the former occurring with respondents who dislike being critical and the latter with those who set high standards. It should be noted that these limitations are common to all rating scales, and in order to assure reliability the administering of the schedule should ideally be followed by an interview. However, the costly and time consuming nature of interviewing made it impractical within the scope of the present study.

The Interview Schedule is attached to this dissertation as Appendix A.

D. THE PILOT STUDY

The full scale study was preceded by a pilot study in which the interview schedule was pretested for shortcomings.

The pilot study consisted of a total of twelve interviews. With the assistance of factory managers, the respondents were purposively selected to cut across the different strata expected to participate in the final study i.e. in the selection of these twelve respondents age, educational level, religious affiliation, and wage were taken into account.

The response rate during the pilot study was 100%. This successful application was partly due to management's acceptance that the survey was in the best interests of workers as well as management and their consequent efforts to persuade workers to cooperate with interviewers. It seemed that the excellent response rate was also due to the underlying 'need' of workers to talk seriously about their jobs. A good response rate in the large scale study thus seemed probable.

Although respondents were initially willing to answer questions, the nature of some questions made respondents cautious and sometimes suspicious. It was obvious that workers feared that the completed interview schedule would become available to management. In these cases repeated reassurance of the confidentiality of the interview together with an explanation that results would be in a generalized form and that the answers of individuals would not be divulged to anyone, became necessary.

The suitability of the method of data collection was also verified during the pilot survey. It became clear that interview schedules eliminated the risk of non-response, which would most likely have been exceptionally high had mail questionnaires been used. The low level of education of the respondents would have been partly to blame for a low response rate had mail questionnaires been used. A

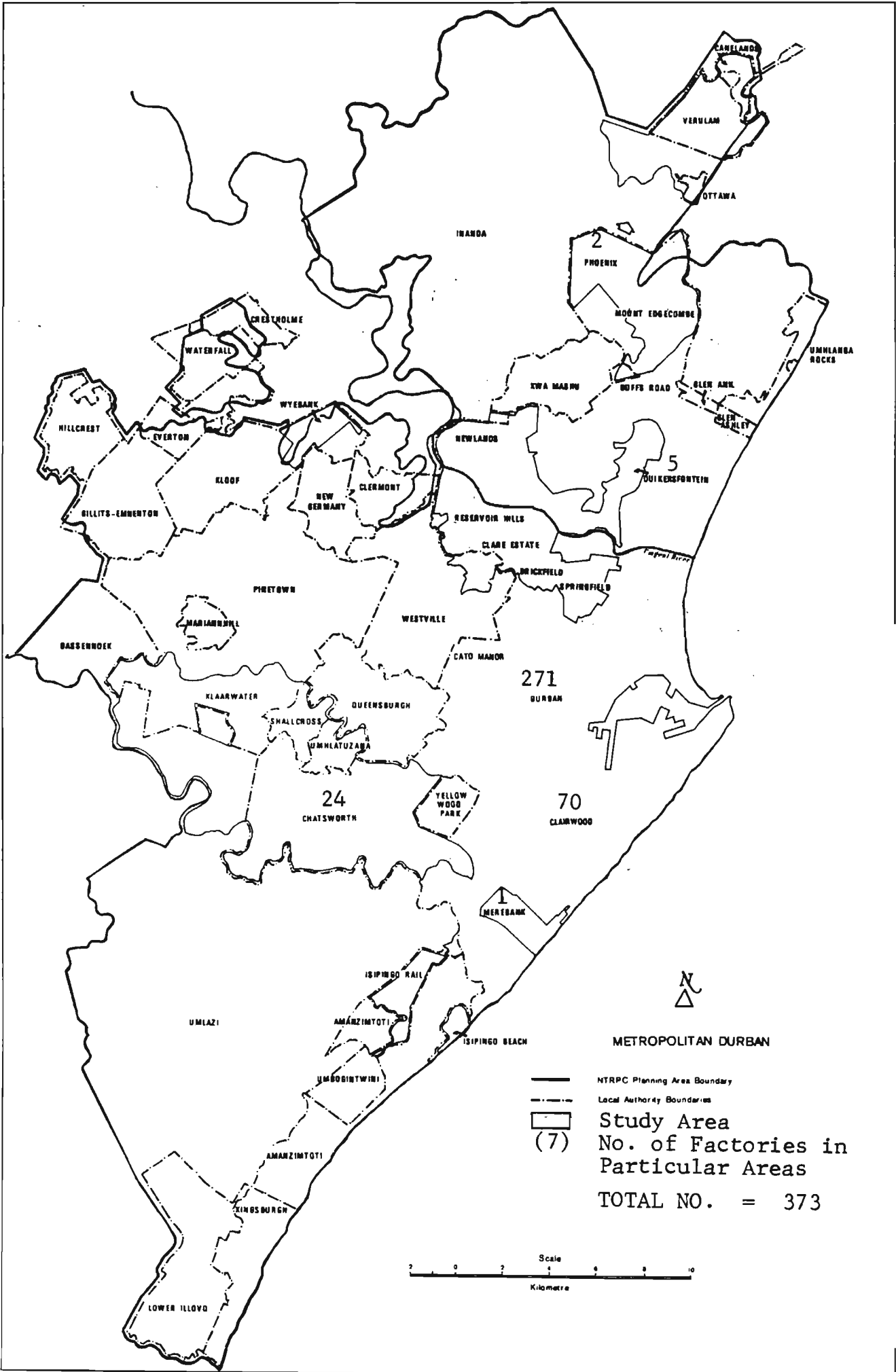
low response rate would also have been attributed to the lack of personal reassurance which was necessary to convince respondents of the confidentiality of the data being collected.

It was also established that the respondents experienced no difficulty in understanding the language used in the interview schedule.

The fixed alternate questions used greatly facilitated the ease with which the interviewer was able to administer the schedule. It took approximately fifteen minutes to administer each interview schedule, this dictating the number of interviewers who had to be trained to participate in the final study. It was decided that ten interviewers, a manageable number to train, would be able to competently execute the approximately three hundred interviews necessary for the final study within a reasonable space of time.

E. THE CHOICE OF LOCALE

In order to delineate the locality of the study in such a way that the practical implementation of it was manageable, while at the same time retaining a representativeness of the study population, it was decided to stipulate the municipal boundary of the Borough of Durban as the study area.



The shaded area on the map represents the study area. In this area there were 373 factories employing a total of 47122 workers i.e. approximately 87% of the total work force employed by the Clothing Manufacturing Industry in Natal.

F. THE SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

The Selection of the Sample was a two stage procedure involving :

1. selection of factories (Cluster sampling);
2. selection of respondents (Simple random sampling)

1 Selection of Factories

According to the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Natal), as at 30 April 1982 there were a total of 373 clothing factories within the Durban municipal boundaries (study area as indicated on map). These factories were grouped into three clusters viz. Small, Medium, and Large, according to size.

Large Factories

Factories employing more than 500 workers. It was established that there were 25 large factories employing a total of 24100 workers.

Medium Factories

Factories employing between 200-500 workers. There were 34 medium factories employing a total of 9800 workers.

Small Factories

Factories employing less than 200 workers. There were 314 factories employing 13222 workers.

Therefore, the factory ratio was as follows :

<u>Large:</u>		<u>Medium:</u>		<u>Small:</u>
25	:	34	:	314

The clusters to be randomly selected were, therefore, the following :

- 1 large factory
- 2 medium factories
- 12 small factories

The factories from which the final respondents were to be selected were chosen in the following way :

The twenty five large factories were each given a number, with one number being randomly picked.

The thirty five medium factories were each given a number, with two numbers being randomly picked.

The three hundred and nineteen small factories were each given a number, with twelve numbers being randomly picked.

2. Selection of Respondents

This was done according to the numbers employed ratio :

<u>Factories</u> :	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>	<u>Large</u>
Workers Employed	9800	13222	24100
	10	: 13	: 24

This means that for every ten respondents selected from the Medium factories, thirteen should be selected from the small factories, and twenty four should be selected from the large factory: the numbers selected would then be representative in terms of the ratio.

According to a table developed by Backstrom and Hursch (1963; 33), indicating sample size for several degrees of precision 267 respondents are needed to attain a 95% confidence limit, and a 6% margin of tolerated error. Thus, to ensure that 95 samples out of 100 would contain the population value in an interval within 6% in either direction of the estimate, it was decided to multiply the existing numbers employed ratio by 6.5 in order to make up the total sample number of 267, plus an additional number of elements to provide for wastage of sample elements.

This increase in size can only result in a greater accuracy of the drawn sample.

<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>	<u>Large</u>
10 x 6.5	13 x 6.5	24 x 6.5

Therefore 65 workers were to be selected from the 2 medium factories, 84 workers from the twelve small factories, and 156 workers from the one large factory.

Each married Indian woman employed in the large factory was given a number. One hundred and fifty six respondents were then randomly selected. Each married Indian woman employed in the two medium factories was given a number. Sixty five respondents were then randomly selected. Each married Indian woman employed in the twelve small factories, which were randomly selected, was given a number. Eighty four respondents were then randomly selected.

Therefore, the sample consisted of the following :

65 workers from 2 medium factories
 84 workers from 12 small factories
 156 workers from 1 large factory

Total : 305 respondents.

It should be noted that the population under study was a relatively homogeneous one for it is only with a homogeneous population that a sample size of 267 is adequate.

1. They belonged to the Indian population group.
2. Only women were under study.
3. All the women under study were married.

In the final study only 270 of the 305 respondents selected were interviewed. The main reason for this was that factory records were often dated, with the result that many workers who had recently been relocated could not be contacted. This figure was still above the required number of 267 in order that a 95% confidence limit, and a 6% margin of tolerated error be ensured.

G. DATA PROCESSING

1. Editing

The 270 interview schedules received were initially checked for completeness. Thorough interviewing ensured that no information had been omitted.

The researcher then undertook to detect glaring inaccuracies in the responses. No clear inconsistencies were apparent.

2. Coding

Since the coding frames had already been established, the relatively simple task of coding responses was then set about. The codes were then transferred from the interview schedules onto data sheets.

3. Keypunching

The coded data was then transferred from the data sheets onto punched cards. The process of keypunching was performed by the researcher on an IBM keypunch machine. A single card was used for each respondent. The first three columns on the card were used for identification purposes - all interview schedules were made identifiable by using numbers ranging from 001 to 270. Column 4 was left blank. Columns 5 to 29 (25 columns) were used to store data relating to job satisfaction. Column 30 was left blank. Columns 31 - 44 were used to store data relating to job satisfaction and family life. Column 45 was left blank, with columns 46 - 49 being used to store data concerning biographical details. Only 5 rows were used because the highest code number used was five.

An IBM (listing) machine was then used to print out on a sheet of computer paper the codes punched on each card, one card per line. This facilitated easy proofreading for punching errors, which were then rectified.

4. Computer programming and statistical techniques

The computer programme used was developed by a qualified programmer so as to meet the specific requirements of the researcher. The programme was written in FORTRAN language.

Since a Likert or Summated Rating Scale is clearly not an interval scale (Bailey, 1979; 355 ff : Moser and Kalton, 1971; 364), statistical analyses had to be confined to the use of non-parametric techniques. The main measure of central tendency used, was the median which according to Hinkle (1982; 57) requires at least ordinal-scale data.

In an attempt to ascertain the index of the relationship between job satisfaction and interpersonal family relationships, the Spearman Rho Correlation Coefficient was computed. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient is the appropriate coefficient when the level of measurement for the two variables being correlated is either interval or ratio (Hinkle, 1982; 111). The Spearman Rho Correlation coefficient, being the non-parametric counterpart of the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, is appropriate with regard to the present study. The Spearman Rho correlation coefficient was also used to assess the reliability of the measuring instrument i.e. the responses (scores) to each question on job satisfaction were tested for degree of association with the total scores on job satisfaction. The same procedure was used with regard to the second part of the interview schedule.

Theoretical justification for the use of parametric statistical techniques with essentially non-parametric data has

been advanced by Popham (1967), cited in Ramkissoon (1980; 95). Popham argues that if there is a logical and systematic basis for quantification, parametric techniques may be used without any distortion of results. He has empirically demonstrated that the differences in results between non-parametric and parametric techniques are too small to prevent the use of the latter, which are much more power-efficient. It was therefore decided that in some instances, means would be used on a comparative basis with medians.

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CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The following results were obtained after 270 Indian married women employed in garment manufacture in Durban had been interviewed.

Presentation of inter correlation matrices were obviated by the exceptional consistency of the coefficients. All inter correlations between scores on job satisfaction (Questions 1-25) and effects on family (Questions 26-39) revealed that $P_s = 0,999$ which was significant beyond the .001 level, thereby demonstrating a high degree of reliability. All correlation coefficients used in this chapter were found to be significant beyond the .001 level.

PART I

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION : JOB SATISFACTION

Responses to the twenty five questions included in the interview schedule to measure job satisfaction are not discussed in isolation but are grouped under the "determinants" of job satisfaction discussed in Chapter Three. An attempt is then made to analyse the theoretical implications of the present findings.

A. FINDINGS : WORKERS ARE SATISFIED !

1. OVERALL JOB SATISFACTION

Indian married women employed in clothing manufacture in Durban expressed a high degree of satisfaction with their jobs.

From table 7 it is evident that the majority (86,30%) of the workers have expressed satisfaction with their jobs. The median score (88) and the mean (86) indicate a generally high level of satisfaction. Since none of the workers scored below 50, it is reasonable to assume that the dissatisfied workers are not thoroughly disgruntled with their jobs. Although 37 workers (13,70%) have expressed some degree of dissatisfaction, 8 of these workers may actually be classified as being neither satisfied nor dissatisfied i.e. they have total scores of 75, representing an average score of three to each question; only scores of 1 and 2 represent real dissatisfaction.

TABLE 7 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY LEVEL OF JOB SATISFACTION.

	<u>DISSATISFIED WORKERS</u> (Those Scoring Below 75 on the Job Satisfaction Schedule)			<u>SATISFIED WORKERS</u> (Those Scoring Above 75 on the Job Satisfaction Schedule)	
SCORE	BELOW 50	50-69	70-75	76-99	100-125
FREQUENCY	0 (0%)	16 (5,93%)	21 (7,77%)	228 (84,44%)	5 (1,85%)
TOTALS	37 (13,70%)			233 (86,30%)	
Mdn.	:	88		\bar{X}	: 86

2. WORK AND LEISURE

The following are the responses obtained from workers, in an attempt to ascertain whether work itself or leisure was the more satisfying life activity.

TABLE 8 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARDS WORK AND LEISURE AS CONTRIBUTORS TO LIFE SATISFACTION.

SCORE	1. THINGS I DO IN MY SPARE TIME GIVE ME MORE SATISFACTION THAN MY JOB	
1	20	(7,41%)
2	108	(40,00%)
3	17	(6,30%)
4	117	(43,33%)
5	8	(2,96%)
TOTAL	270	
Mdn.	3	

The frequencies presented under the high scores of 4 and 5 represent those workers (46,29%) who viewed work as being of major importance as a satisfying life activity. The frequencies presented under the low scores of 1 and 2

represent those workers (47,41%) who derive more satisfaction from leisure activities than from their jobs. 6,30% of the workers remained neutral on the Work vs Leisure issue. As is evidenced by the median (3,00) and the frequency distribution table, Indian women employed in the clothing industry in Durban are evenly divided on whether it is work or leisure that provides more satisfaction.

The results of the present study thus seem to support the findings of Friedman (1960; 509 ff) in a study of clerks whose jobs are completely routine. On leaving the office these clerks are either much more active, or in contrast, withdraw into themselves in a sort of apathy.

The researcher is of the contention that home and family based activities predominate in the leisure of clothing factory workers. This may be borne out by the high scores on family satisfaction (see Section B of Results) attributed to these workers. This is also in accordance with the findings of Reissman (1954; 76 ff) who found that people in higher class positions were more active and diverse in their social and leisure participation than those in lower classes. Dissatisfaction with pay points to financial difficulty as being a major factor influencing the Indian women worker's inability to pursue diverse leisure activities. Since the pursuit of leisure activities in modern industrial society

could be quite expensive, the lower class manual labourer is forced to be content with the pursuit of leisure activities within the home.

In support of the above assertions are Meissner's (1971; 239 ff) conclusions that when choice of action is suppressed by the constraints of the work process, as it is in the clothing industry, the workers capacity for meeting the demands of spare time activity which require discretion is reduced : she engages less in those activities which necessitate planning, coordination and purposeful action, but more in sociable activities.

Leisure is said to be compensatory if it is intended to make up for dissatisfactions felt at work. A compensatory effect cannot be inferred in the present study. In addition to the financial hardships suffered by clothing factory workers, the inadequacy of recreational facilities in areas such as Phoenix and Chatsworth also contribute to the insignificance of leisure activities to many factory workers.

3. COMPENSATION

a) WAGES

TABLE 9 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARDS UNDERPAYMENT

SCORES	12. WORKERS IN THIS FACTORY ARE UNDERPAID	
1	37	(13,70%)
2	96	(35,56%)
3	16	(5,93%)
4	113	(41,85%)
5	8	(2,96%)
TOTAL	270	
Mdn.	3	

TABLE 10 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARDS OVERPAYMENT

SCORES	23. I AM BEING PAID MUCH MORE THAN I DESERVE	
1	73	(27,04%)
2	162	(60,00%)
3	3	(1,11%)
4	31	(11,48%)
5	1	(0, 37%)
TOTAL	270	
Mdn.	2	

Table 10 indicates that 235 (87,04%) of the 270 workers interviewed were certain that they were not being overpaid in their jobs. Table 9 indicates that 133 of these workers were sure that they were being underpaid. The medians 2 and 3 respectively indicate that in the clothing industry women are generally dissatisfied with their wages.

In comparison with all the other determinants of job satisfaction, the medians with regard to wages are two of only three medians which fall below 4, the other being in relation to work and leisure.

TABLE 11 : FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO WAGES

WAGE	R10-19	R20-29	R30, 39	R40-49	R50+	TOTAL
FREQUENCY	3	41	133	83	10	270
PERCENTAGE	1,11	15,19	49,26	30,74	3,70	100%

Table 11 indicates that only 10 (3,7%) of the 270 workers interviewed earn above R50 per week. Two hundred and Sixty (96,30%) workers earn less than R50 per week. Only qualified workers earn above R36 per week. In Durban, an average Indian family needs R412 per month to cover the cost of basic needs as well as other immediate essentials.

(see Chapter 2). None of the respondents earned anywhere near that sum, although many of these workers are not sole breadwinners.

The highest conceivable limit of wages is the productivity of labour i.e. the maximum possible wage is when the firms total income is turned into wages, while the lower limit is given by the worker's existence minimum. (Offe, 1976; 101). It is evident from the above that Indian married women workers in the clothing industry are being paid below their existence minimums.

The minimum weekly wage of clothing factory workers, reported in the Government Gazette, is R24. This figure of R24 laid down after an Industrial Council agreement is well below the workers' existence minimums, however it was positively sanctioned at ministerial level, after being initially agreed to by the Garment Workers Union. The present study revealed that 3 workers were being paid below R20 per week, an "illegal" sum which represents exploitation within a modern industrial system, and that the industrial council has failed to detect and act upon.

Vroom (1964; 151) and Helson (1947; 1 ff) cited by Vroom, are of the contention that satisfaction stemming from the receipt of wages is dependent not on the absolute amount of the wages, rather on the relationship between that amount

and some standard of comparison used by the worker. The present study indicates that dissatisfaction stemming from the receipt of wages is indeed dependent on the absolute amount of the wages. This is so with regard to women employed in the clothing industry as well as the other lowly paid classes of labour in South Africa, mainly as a result of the workers' wage levels not meeting their existence minimums. A contributory factor, to the workers' dissatisfaction, is the relationship between their wage level and some standard of comparison. Vroom and Helson's assertions certainly hold good in the United States where, in general, the manual workers basic needs are fulfilled.

Deci (1975), cited by Wiendieck (1979; 247), has argued that human dignity centres around man's need to seek and conquer challenges, i.e. his desire for being competent and self determining. He argues that work structures have to be designed accordingly. A necessary presupposition for this is that the basic needs of man are satisfied.

Wiendieck (1979; 247) contends that this is something which is not the case for most South African Black workers. The findings of the present study indicate that the economic needs of Indian married women employed in garment manufacture in Durban are also not satisfied.

b) OPPORTUNITY FOR ADVANCEMENT

TABLE 12 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARDS PROMOTION.

SCORE	7. LIKELY TO BE PROMOTED TO HIGHER PAYING JOBS.	19. WORKERS HAVE A FAIRLY GOOD CHANCE OF BEING PROMOTED.
1	17 (6,30%)	15 (5,56%)
2	83 (30,74%)	83 (30,74%)
3	31 (11,48%)	17 (6,30%)
4	135 (50,00%)	149 (55,19%)
5	4 (1,48%)	6 (2,22%)
TOTAL	270	270
Mdn.	4	4

Questions 7 and 19 in the interview schedule were both concerned with the workers attitudes towards promotion.

Question 19, phrased in an impersonal manner, was used as a consistency check. The medians, as well as the results indicated above show that the workers responses were generally consistent.

In general, approximately 36% of the workers expressed dissatisfaction with promotional opportunities, 64% being satisfied. The majority of the clothing factories in

Durban may be termed "Flat" organizations i.e. they have the fewest possible administrative levels relative to the size of the organization. (Porter and Lawler, 1976; 147). Generally promotional opportunities are few and far between, however 64% of the workers still express satisfaction with their opportunities for advancement. Obviously, workers expectations are high even though they are probably unfounded. The workers' apparent satisfaction may be due to the propagation of unrealistic status aspirations by employers, to serve as a motivating force; since few positions exist in the higher ranks of the employment hierarchy in flat organizations.

Walker and Guest (1952; 71 ff) found that mass production methods, while often raising the general level of wages and bringing other benefits, have eliminated many ranks in the promotion hierarchy which previously existed in industry. In the clothing industry in Durban, the introduction of mass production methods have certainly eliminated many well defined steps in the ladder of promotion, however in real terms the rise in the general level of wages and other benefits are not apparent.

Although the wealth of society is socially produced, what is produced and how it is distributed is not decided by any collective public and democratic decision, but rather by

private decisions in line with the dictates of profit and of the market-dictates which necessarily benefit only a minority (Wickham, 1975; 5). It is a far cry from egalitarianism when an industry that generates an annual turnover of R1378 million is found to be lacking in its compensation of it's workers.

4. THE GARMENT WORKERS UNION

The preceding discussion on compensation reveals that the Garment Workers Union (Natal), representing 55000 workers, is not the potent instrument of collective bargaining it ought to be. The following table represents the workers attitudes towards the Union.

TABLE 13 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE UNION.

SCORE	11. THE GARMENT WORKERS UNION DOES A LOT FOR WORKERS	
1	13	(4,81%)
2	30	(11,11%)
3	48	(17,78%)
4	146	(54,08%)
5	33	(12,22%)
TOTAL	270	
Mdn.	4	

Only 43 (15,96%) of the women workers interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the Union; 227 (84,04%) of the workers veered toward the satisfied alternative. The median (4,00) indicates a reasonably high degree of satisfaction with the Union.

In the USA, dissatisfaction with pay was found to be most related to pro-union voting i.e. it is the main reason for workers turning to Unions (Dessler, 1981; 333). In South Africa, a different situation obtains. Workers are forced to join the Garment Workers Union, are dissatisfied with pay, and yet are satisfied with the Union. This apparent satisfaction with the union can be explained by the concept 'legitimation'. Since clothing factory workers have no option but to join the union they have come to accept it as a customary part of the job situation. The researcher speculates that the workers' lack of knowledge concerning the functions of a union and their rights have led them to look upon the union as being a 'bonus'.

Critics often view monopoly capitalism as being less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. To the socialists, the survival of capitalism permits only two strategies: either the physical destruction of union organisation, as in fascism; or it's emasculation, by turning the union bureaucracy into agents of capital. In

South Africa, the Garment Workers Union has been incorporated into a suitable structure. It is an affiliate of TUCSA, an organisation that has on many occasions allowed the state to be it's spokesman; it has bargained the right to strike against other 'benefits' and is in favour of the statutory regulation of industrial bargaining procedures in principle. It has thus become 'legitimate', and workers are satisfied because there is no apparent alternative. However, it is speculated that if clothing factory workers were free to choose their own union and were socialized with regard to the functions of a union, it would be doubtful whether they would still be satisfied with the Garment Workers Union.

Another important reason for the workers expressed satisfaction with the Union lies in the fact that this survey was undertaken in August and September 1982. During the same period, the Garment Workers Union (Natal) received an enormous amount of positive publicity in the 'Indian' newspapers, especially Post(Natal). Workers were promised 100% increases by the Union and special supplements on the clothing industry praised the union highly (The Rag Trade - Post Natal, 12 Oct 1982). It would be fair to point out that by December 1982 workers had still not received any increases and it was highly unlikely that their 100% increases were to come into effect in January, 1983. It is thus obvious

that the publicity accorded to the union and the promises made by the union to the workers influenced the workers response to the statement in the interview schedule measuring satisfaction with the union.

5. THE WORK GROUP

TABLE 14 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE WORK GROUP

SCORE	4. WHENEVER I HAVE A PROBLEM AT WORK THERE ARE FRIENDS IN WHOM I CAN CONFIDE	9.OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO OTHERS WHILE WORKING	14. LEARNT ALOT ABOUT THE JOB FROM FRIENDS	22. MADE MANY FRIENDS IN THIS FACTORY
	FREQ. %	FREQ. %	FREQ. %	FREQ. %
1	1 (0,37)	20 (7,41)	3 (1,11)	3 (1,11)
2	31 (11,48)	93 (34,44)	36 (13,33)	8 (2,96)
3	8 (2,96)	3 (1,11)	6 (2,22)	1 (0,37)
4	205 (75,93)	143 (52,96)	200 (74,07)	212 (78,52)
5	25 (9,26)	11 (4,07)	25 (9,26)	46 (17,04)
TOTALS	270	270	270	270

The median score obtained from the workers responses to questions 4, 9, 14, and 22 was 4 for each question pertaining to the work group. This indicates a generally high level of satisfaction with this facet of the work situation, as well as a consistent set of responses.

The responses to Question 4 tabulated above indicate that 230 workers (85,19%) agreed that they have friends at work in whom they can confide. The responses to question 22, which also served as a consistency check to question 4, reveal that 258 workers (95,56%) claim to have made many friends at the work place.

Question 9 elicited a somewhat more even distribution of responses. One hundred and fifty four workers (57,03%) were satisfied because they had the opportunity to talk to others while working, 3 workers (1,11%) were undecided, while 113 workers (41,85%) could not communicate with others while working.

Two hundred and twenty five workers (83,33%) indicated in response to question fourteen that they had learnt a lot about their jobs from their friends, 1 worker (0,37%) was undecided, with 12 workers (4,07%) conceding that they did not learn much about their jobs from friends at work. These findings indicate that the importance of the informal work group in providing on the job training cannot be over-

emphasised. The work group is probably the most important factor in the execution of the managerial function of training. It is therefore of the utmost importance that workers be given the opportunity to talk to each other on the job, not only for relieving the monotony of work, but also for what it could mean in terms of production since it is more comfortable for people to consult peers rather than a supervisor about minor work related problems.

Walker and Guest (1952; 76) stated that isolated workers disliked their jobs and gave social isolation as the principle reason. The present study reveals that although 41,85% of the workers did not have the opportunity to talk to others while working, workers still displayed a generally high level of satisfaction. This was probably because although 41,85% of the workers were incommunicado while working, 85,19% of the workers agreed that they had friends at work in whom they could confide, and 95,56% agreed that they had made many friends at the work place. Thus it may be concluded that even though workers may not be able to talk to each other while working, other facets of work group satisfaction tend to be compensatory.

The findings of the present investigation tend to support the contentions of Bryant (1972; 366) that lack of meaning in monotonous and unstimulating work may be offset by the

fact that interaction with other persons at the work place may be rewarding. The clothing factory worker's dissatisfaction with pay may also be compensated for by rewarding social interaction with peers at work, since the work group along with the family is one of the more significant social entities of which the individual is a member.

6. JOB CONTENT

TABLE 15 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARDS JOB OVERLOAD

SCORE	8. QUALITATIVE OVERLOAD		18 QUANTITATIVE OVERLOAD	
	FREQ.	%	FREQ.	%
1	2	0,74	12	4,44
2	29	10,74	114	42,22
3	8	2,96	3	1,11
4	212	78,52	135	50,00
5	19	7,04	6	2,22
TOTALS	270	100,00	270	100,00

Table 15 indicates that only 31 workers (11,18%) found their jobs to be too difficult, with 8 workers (2,96%) falling in-

to the neutral category. On the other hand, 231 workers (85,56%) stated that their jobs were not too difficult. The median score obtained was 4.00, this indicating that married women workers in the clothing industry in general do not suffer from qualitative job overload. However, these workers seem to experience a fair amount of quantitative overload, with 126 workers (46,66%) agreeing that they had so much of work to do that they were sometimes unable to finish it on time. One hundred and forty one workers (52,22%) disagreed when asked whether they were given too much of work to do.

French and Caplan (1973, cited by Cooper and Marshall (1978; 85) have found that job overload produces job tension, lower self esteem, threat, embarrassment, high cholesterol levels, increased heart rate, and more smoking. Confirmation of these findings lay outside the scope of the present study. However, since it was found that 46,66% of the workers expressed dissatisfaction with their work load, it probably means that some managers are allocating task work to their employees. Jubber (1979; 188 ff) states that to achieve their objectives, industrial organisations must somehow or other allocate all the tasks which require doing among their personnel. The competitive and economic pressures on industrial organisations do not simply require that tasks be allocated, but that they be allocated as rationally as

possible. Often this rationality fails to take heed of the workers potential. The Government Gazette (1980; 7) defines task work as "the setting by an employer or his representative to an employee of a definite number of garments to be made up by such employee in a specified time". In terms of the Industrial Councilliation Act, 1956 as it pertains to the Clothing Industry (Natal), task work is prohibited (Government Gazette 1980; 12). "Piece Work", which means any system by which earnings are calculated upon the quantity or output of the work performed, is not encouraged.

TABLE 16 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE JOB ITSELF

SCORE	5. I AM PROUD OF MY WORK	13. JOB IS INTERESTING AND CHALLENGING	24. END PRODUCT MAKES ME FEEL SATISFIED
1	1 (0,37%)	5 (1,85%)	2 (0,74%)
2	12 (4,44%)	16 (5,93%)	19 (7,04%)
3	2 (0,74%)	8 (2,96%)	11 (4,07%)
4	206 (76,30%)	220 (81,48%)	217 (80,37%)
5	49 (18,15%)	21 (7,78%)	21 (7,78%)
TOTALS	270	270	270
Mdn.	4	4	4

Table 16 indicates that in general, Indian women workers in the clothing industry find their jobs rewarding. Two hundred and fifty five workers (94,45%) felt proud of the work they did, 241 workers (89,26%) found their jobs interesting and challenging, and 238 workers (87,15%) experienced a sense of satisfaction when looking at the finished clothing.

The researcher supports the contentions of Parker (1971; 100) that with the present structure of family life and education, some children are brought up in home and school environment that would encourage them to seek interest and a sense of achievement from work, while others would expect little from work and therefore feel "satisfied" with low level occupations.

The present study refutes the findings of Walker and Guest (1952; 76) and Bass and Barrett (1972; 76 ff) that the job itself is what lower class workers dislike. This is so because in South Africa, Indian women workers in the clothing factories are still basking in their "achieved status" of working women. The low status and repetitive nature of their jobs is not of importance to them since the alternative means being submissive housewives who are unable to contribute to family income. The pride that these workers feel, together with the interest and challenge that

they experience lies in their "status" of being economically active members of the labour force, and not necessarily in the job itself. However, it is because of their low level aspirations, that these workers recognise their occupational ceilings and thus attribute glamour to the nature of their work by agreeing that it is both interesting and challenging. These findings are also consistent with what Jubber (1979; 181) describes as the strategies which capitalist industrial organizations have adopted to reduce worker alienation, the main one being the glorification of labour.

7. SUPERVISION

TABLE 17 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUPERVISION.

SCORE	6. SUPERVISOR CRITICIZES ME IN FRONT OF OTHERS	10. SUPERVISOR TREATS EACH WORKER FAIRLY	11. SUPERVISOR ALWAYS CONTROLS HIS TEMPER	21. SUPERVISOR WELCOMES SUGGESTIONS
	FREQUENCY %	FREQUENCY %	FREQUENCY %	FREQUENCY %
1	25 9,26	14 5,19	13 4,81	11 4,07
2	27 10,00	40 14,81	30 11,11	44 16,30
3	2 0,74	10 3,70	48 17,78	14 5,19
4	198 73,33	179 66,30	146 54,07	191 70,74
5	18 6,67	27 10,00	33 12,22	10 3,70
TOTALS	270 100	270 100	270 100	270 100
M	4	4	4	4

Table 17 indicates that in general clothing factory workers are satisfied with the supervision they receive. Only 52 workers (19,26%) stated that their supervisors criticized them in front of others, whereas 216 workers (80,00%) stated that their supervisors did not criticize them in front of others. The responses to all four questions on supervision were consistent, with the median score being constant. Two hundred and six workers (76,30%) agreed that supervisors did not "favour" workers; 201 workers (74,44%) agreed that their supervisors welcome suggestions; and 179 workers (66,29%) agreed that supervisors were level headed. However, 48 workers (17,78%) remained neutral on this issue. Workers were scored out of a total of 20 points with regard to supervision i.e. 4 questions were included on supervision, the maximum score to each being five; the median score calculated from the workers' total scores was 15,5, this indicating satisfaction with supervision.

It would seem strange to the outside observer that women who are under constant close supervision at work are satisfied with their supervisors. However, this satisfaction is the result of the Indian women's cultural heritage. Indian women have been traditionally subservient towards males and/or authority figures, therefore, Indian women workers who have a low level of western education are more likely, than White or Coloured women workers, to express positive attitudes towards

authoritarian supervisors. Indian women have, for generations, been socialized in a tradition of conformity and submissiveness and are not critical of authority figures. This augurs well for industrial organisations employing Indian women, as Putnam (1930; 314 ff) has found that supervision is of more importance in determining the attitude, morale, and efficiency of employees than any other single factor.

8. WORKING CONDITIONS

TABLE 18 : WORKERS' RESPONSES TOWARDS "WORKING CONDITIONS"

SCORE	3. PHYSICAL WORKING CONDITIONS	15. HOURS OF WORK
1	8 (2,96%)	19 (7,04%)
2	28 (10,37%)	77 (28,52%)
3	7 (2,59%)	7 (2,59%)
4	203 (75,19%)	163 (60,37%)
5	24 (8,89%)	4 (1,48%)
TOTALS	270	270
Mdn.	4	4

It is evident from the above that workers expressing satisfaction with their physical working conditions (84,08%) form a large majority. Only 36 workers (13,33%) expressed dissatisfaction with their physical working conditions, which include music, lighting, ventilation, noise level, toilets, restrooms, safety measures, and equipment.

However, a larger number of these women expressed dissatisfaction with their hours of work. Ninety six of these workers (35,56%) were dissatisfied with their hours of work. These workers probably regard the job as depriving them of sufficient leisure and family time.

9. SOCIAL NORMS AND COMPARISONS

TABLE 19 : WORKERS PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR JOBS.

SCORE	20. MY FRIENDS AND RELATIVES FEEL THAT MY JOB IS A GOOD ONE.	
1	9	(3,33%)
2	29	(10,74%)
3	21	(7,78%)
4	201	(74,44%)
5	10	(3,70%)
TOTALS	270	
Mdn.		4

Table 19 indicates that 211 workers (78,14%) view their jobs as being favourably evaluated by friends and relatives. By contrast 38 workers (14,07%) admit that their jobs are viewed unfavourably by friends and relatives. Twenty one workers (7,78%) expressed neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction with the community's attitude towards their jobs.

Whether or not society attaches value to the roles enacted by clothing factory workers, leaves the objective situation unchanged. They would still have to work at their jobs because of economic necessity, and because the social structure offers no viable alternatives. Therefore, the majority of these workers are bound to rationalize that society regards their jobs as being of value, since whether society values these occupational roles or not is inconsequential to their work reality.

10. SECURITY

TABLE 20 : WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF THE AMOUNT OF SECURITY THE JOB PROVIDES.

SCORE	2. PEOPLE ARE ALWAYS BEING DISMISSED HERE WITHOUT BEING GIVEN A WARNING	
1	19	7,04
2	48	17,78
3	10	3,70
4	169	62,59
5	24	8,89
TOTAL	270	100%
Mdn.	4	

As with all the determinants of job satisfaction that have been discussed, except wages, the women interviewed again expressed a reasonably high degree of satisfaction with the amount of security that the job offered. Mainly because of their low levels of education, these workers would be unable to gain employment in other sectors of the economy. It may be speculated that they therefore rationalize this "inadequacy" by stating that they feel secure in their jobs.

11. GENERAL SATISFACTION

Two of the twenty five questions on job satisfaction were included so as to gain some idea of the workers general attitude towards the job, the responses to which are tabulated below.

TABLE 21 : WORKERS GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE JOBS.

SCORE	17. I HAVE OFTEN THOUGHT SERIOUSLY OF CHANGING MY JOB.		25. I WOULD TAKE ON AL- MOST ANY OTHER JOB IN WHICH I COULD EARN AS MUCH AS I AM EARNING NOW	
1	13	4,81	23	8,52
2	57	21,11	55	20,37
3	16	5,93	22	8,15
4	166	61,48	149	55,18
5	18	6,67	21	7,78
TOTALS	270	100%	270	100%
Mdn.	4		4	

Table 21 indicates that 70 workers (25,92%) have often thought seriously of changing their jobs. However only 18 of these workers have been found to be dissatisfied with their

jobs i.e. having scored below 76 out of a possible 126 on the job satisfaction schedule. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the 52 workers who have thought seriously of changing their jobs, would like to do so as a result of other factors rather than job dissatisfaction e.g. transport problems or family pressure. On the other hand 184 workers (68,15%) have not thought seriously of changing their jobs. Sixteen of these workers have expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs, and have not considered changing simply because the social structure offers no alternatives.

Of the 37 workers (13,70%) who have expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs, 27 (79,41% of the dissatisfied workers) 27 stated that they would take on almost any other job in which they could earn as much as they were earning at the time of the interview. Therefore, it may be concluded that the other 61 workers who were willing to take on any other job offering the same remuneration, would probably do so because of other problems and not job dissatisfaction.

B. SECONDARY FINDINGS

1. JOB SATISFACTION AND AGE

TABLE 22 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER SATISFACTION BY AGE

AGE	UNDER 20	21-30	31-40	41-50	OVER 50
FREQUENCY	16 (5,93%)	99 (36,67%)	100 (37,04%)	48 (17,78%)	7 (2,59%)
Mdn.	82,50	88,00	88,50	85,50	94,00
\bar{X}	81,00	86,00	86,00	83,00	92,00

A cursory examination of the above table makes the researcher support the assertions of Bass and Barrett (1972; 89) that job satisfaction tends to increase with age - the median scores noted above for the different age groups give a clear indication of this. The researcher speculates that the older women, being more conservative tend to be satisfied with their life situations; the younger women, on the other hand, are aware that "higher order" goals are attainable in life.

2. JOB SATISFACTION AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

TABLE 23 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER SATISFACTION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	NO SCHOOLING	CLASS I - STD II	STD III - STD VI	STD VII - STD X
FREQUENCY	28(10, 37%)	44(16, 30%)	146(54, 07%)	52(19, 26%)
Mdn.	85	85	90	84
\bar{X}	85	82	87	84

No relationship between educational level and job satisfaction of clothing factory workers may be inferred from the above table. Numerous studies have shown that job satisfaction decreases as educational levels of workers increase (Korman, 1977; 226). Some support for these studies does seem to exist. Of the 37 workers who expressed job dissatisfaction, only 3 fell into the 'no schooling' category, 9 in the Class I - Std II category, 13 in the Std III - VI category and twelve in the Std VII - X category. It should be noted that the Std III - VI category contained the largest number of workers so it is expected that the largest number of dissatisfied workers fall into this category. It may be tentatively concluded then that the higher the level of education of manual labourers the more likely are they to be dissatisfied with their jobs.

3. JOB SATISFACTION AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

TABLE 24 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKER SATISFACTION BY RELIGION.

RELIGION	HINDU	MOSLEM	CHRISTIAN
FREQUENCY	192 (71,11%)	22 (8,15%)	56 (20,74%)
Mdn.	87	88	88,5
\bar{X}	85	88	87

No definite conclusions may be drawn from the above table, mainly because of the disproportionate size of the groups. However, Moslems and Christians tended to express higher levels of (average) satisfaction than Hindus.

C. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS : ARE WORKERS SATISFIED ?

1. THE OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL THEORY OF JOB SATISFACTION

It is often argued by the proponents of the occupational level theory of job satisfaction (see Chapter 2) that

physiological stresses such as noise, dust and heat, are greater in the lower positions filled by the directly productive workers, just as the occupants of such positions experience greater dissatisfaction because of the stress induced by the repetitive character of the work and the boredom emanating from routine work processes. It is also assumed that in these positions a fundamental need for self actualization is continually frustrated, so that job dissatisfaction is perpetuated. The findings of the present study contradict this theoretical argument. Indian married women employed in clothing manufacture have been found to be satisfied with all aspects of their jobs; expressing a degree of dissatisfaction only with regard to wages.

The Darley and Hagenah propositions, resting on the psychologistic assumptions of a need hierarchy, thus seem slightly more plausible when used to explain the current findings. Proponents of this theory would argue that since the economic needs of these workers have not been satisfied, the satisfaction that they have expressed with regard to all other facets of the job, may not be regarded as "real" satisfaction. This is so because a lower order need (economics) must be satisfied before an individual would strive to satisfy higher order needs.

However, this theory is unacceptable as an explanation because people in all social strata do not have the same

fixed needs (Offe, 1976; 71). The theory also neglects the normative and social structural factors which are vital in an understanding of job satisfaction. It obscures the fact that there is no direct causal relationship between the objective variable of work conditions and the subjective variable of job satisfaction. Instead, the link itself is first always created by the intervention of specific expectations, value systems (based on general cultural norms) and self conceptions of workers i.e. the linkage is subjectively mediated. Offe (1976; 71) contends that with any given work conditions the subjective level of job satisfaction does not arise 'from itself,' but only through the filter of specific expectations and occupational role identities. Higher or lower job satisfaction would then be caused by the relative difference between the group specific expectations, which have become part of the individuals understanding of his role, and the objective conditions of work.

2. COGNITIVE DISSONANCE

The theory of Cognitive Dissonance is also inadequate when used to explain the findings of the present investigation. It has already been pointed out in Chapter Two that this theory pushes the problem of job satisfaction into the narrow framework of individual cognitions with it's "self cure" tendency (Wiendieck, 1974; 245). Wiendieck also

maintains that the important systems of meaning which determine the experience of cognitive dissonance are taken for granted by proponents of this theory.

Indian married women employed in the clothing industry in Durban have been found to be satisfied with their jobs. To explain this satisfaction in terms of cognitive dissonance would mean ignoring the effects of general cultural norms, and the powerful influence that the social structure, especially the economic and political institutions, exert on individuals.

3. THE SOCIAL REFERENCE GROUP THEORY

This theory seems plausible in explaining the current findings. Indian women workers are satisfied with their jobs despite its repetitive nature and the low status it is accorded because they evaluate their own positions in comparison with that of their peers and neighbours who are equally deprived. In relation to their reference group they may be relatively well off and hence relatively satisfied. However, the present study revealed that the workers are dissatisfied with wages. If the social reference group determines satisfaction, then these workers should also be satisfied with wages. Therefore, the

researcher concludes that satisfaction with wages, especially with lower class workers, is dependent on the absolute amount of the wages and not some standard of comparison like the social reference group. Inadequacies in this theory are obvious. Korman (1977; 220) correctly argues that a multifaceted phenomenon like job satisfaction cannot be explained away by just one set of factors.

4. THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF THE SUPERIMPOSED SOCIAL SYSTEM

The degree of freedom of the superimposed social system is of utmost importance for an adequate understanding of job satisfaction (Wiendieck, 1979; 246). The present study revealed that clothing factory workers experience a relatively high degree of job satisfaction. Blood and Hulin (1967; 284 ff), Hulin (1966) cited in Wiendieck (1979; 246), Form and Geschwender (1962; 228 ff), have all documented, supporting the present findings, that workers from socially deprived strata in society show a relatively high degree of satisfaction, despite the demeaning conditions of life and work they have to endure. The researcher supports the contentions of Wiendieck that these findings, including the present findings, exemplify man's tendency to accommodate himself within the existing social structure if more

attractive alternatives are not visible. Alternatives which do not enter the cognitive field, cannot influence it.

Wiendieck contends that the concept of satisfaction has thus to be seen against the background of the degree of freedom an individual has, and perceives he has, in society. Humans reveal an extensive capacity for adaptation. They tend, for example, to accept for the sake of cognitive balance and sanity even the most inhumane conditions if these are perceived as unchangeable (because of existing power structures and cultural norms). Sometimes appalling conditions are accepted and "happily" lived with simply because the possibility of comparison has been systematically reduced or eliminated via techniques of social segregation and control.

Thus, it is clear that job satisfaction is dependent on :

- i) the alternatives offered by the social structure i.e. the degree of freedom of the superimposed social system;
- ii) cultural norms i.e. the effect of the individual's socialization process in determining his attitude.

Although the Social Reference group theory is inadequate

when used on it's own to explain job satisfaction, the researcher contends that it is not incompatible with Wiendiecks theoretical propositions and may be used in addition to the two propositions outlined above as a secondary determinant of job satisfaction. Of significance is the fact that it is the social structure that determines the social reference groups of different individuals.

PART II

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION :

JOB SATISFACTION AND INTERPERSONAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

The results and discussion that follow represent an analysis of the way in which job satisfaction is perceived by Indian married women to affect their family lives. Fourteen questions (26-39) were used in the interview schedule to elicit responses on this aspect.

A. JOB SATISFACTION AND FAMILY FUNCTIONING

1. OVERALL EFFECT OF JOB ON FAMILY AS PERCEIVED BY WORKING WOMEN

Indian married women employed in the clothing industry in Durban tend to be satisfied with the effects of their jobs on their families. The table below elucidates the general findings in this regard. Since 14 neutral responses (X3) would mean a total score of 42, only those scoring above 42 are regarded as being satisfied.

TABLE 25 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY SATISFACTION WITH EFFECT OF JOB ON FAMILY.

	WORKERS DISSATISFIED WITH THE EFFECTS OF THE JOB ON INTERPER- SONAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS (THOSE SCORING BELOW 43)			WORKERS SATISFIED WITH THE EFFECTS OF THE JOB ON INTERPER- SONAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS (THOSE SCORING ABOVE 42)	
SCORE	BELOW 30	30-39	40-42	43-56	57-70
FREQUENCY	2 0,74%	11 4,07%	25 9,26%	220 81,48%	12 4,44%
TOTALS	38 (14,07%)			232 (85,92%)	
Mdn.	:	51		\bar{X}	:

It may be concluded that in general Indian married women are satisfied with the effects of their jobs on their families. Of the 38 workers (14,07%) who expressed "dissatisfaction", 25 (9,26%) may actually be regarded as falling into a neutral category, therefore only 13 (4,81%) may be regarded as truly dissatisfied.

2. GENERAL ATTITUDE

TABLE 26 : WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR FAMILIES GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEIR JOBS.

SCORE	26. MY FAMILY WOULD LIKE ME TO CHANGE MY JOB	
1	9	(3,33%)
2	70	(25,93%)
3	19	(7,04%)
4	164	(60,74%)
5	8	(2,96%)
TOTAL	270	
Mdn.	4	

Seventy nine workers (29,26%) indicated that their families would like them to change their jobs. Twenty of these workers were found to be dissatisfied with their jobs i.e. from a total of 34 who were found to be dissatisfied.

Twenty three of these workers also admitted that their jobs had made them lose interest in family activities, with 45 of them conceding that overtime work often caused problems at home. Therefore, it may be concluded that those workers

whose families wanted them to change their jobs, would argue for this change on the grounds that the mother did not spend enough time with the family mainly as a result of overtime work; and also because the job has made the working woman lose interest in family activities. Some families may even argue that it is because of the mother's dissatisfaction with her job that they would like to see her make a change.

However, workers generally perceive their families as being happy with their going out to work, since 172 workers (63,70%) stated that their families would not like them to change their jobs; with 19 (7,04%) remaining neutral on the issue.

3. FAMILY INTEGRATION AND SOLIDARITY

TABLE 27 : WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF THEIR JOBS ON FAMILY INTEGRATION AND SOLIDARITY.

SCORE	27.I ALWAYS COME HOME FROM WORK IN A BAD MOOD AND THIS IRRITATES MY FAMILY	33.AFTER A HARD DAY AT WORK WE USUALLY QUARREL A LOT AT HOME	35.OVERTIME WORK OFTEN CAUSES PROBLEMS AT HOME
1	7 (2,59%)	1 (0,37%)	18 (6,67%)
2	75 (27,78%)	44 (16,30%)	72 (26,67%)
3	6 (2,22%)	9 (3,33%)	7 (2,59%)
4	171 (63,33%)	199 (73,70%)	163 (60,37%)
5	11 (4,07%)	17 (6,30%)	10 (3,70%)
TOTALS	270	270	270
Mdn.	4	4	4

Eighty two workers (30,37%) stated that they always came home from work in a bad mood (presumably job related) and this irritated their families. However, with the majority (69,63%) this was not the case.

Forty five workers (16,67%) agreed that they quarrelled a lot at home after a hard day at work. Again, the majority (83,33%) felt that their jobs did not affect their family lives.

Ninety workers (33,34%) stated that overtime work caused problems at home because their families felt that they did not spend enough time with them. However, the majority (66,66%) disagreed.

From the results outlined above, it may be deduced that workers generally perceive their jobs as not having negative effects on the integration and solidarity of the family. To some extent, approximately 30% of the cases, women have been found to be aware of the negative effect of their jobs (and level of satisfaction) on family integration and solidarity.

The interruption in role enactment and the necessity of delegating responsibilities often led to the hypothesis that maternal employment resulted in an increase in conflict within the family (Nye 1974; 186 ff), thus undermining integration and solidarity. The present study indicates that this may not be the case within the Indian family, since workers responses indicate that integration and solidarity is not undermined by their employment.

4. GENERAL FAMILY FUNCTIONING

TABLE 28 : WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF THEIR JOBS ON GENERAL FAMILY FUNCTIONING.

SCORE	28.I AM SATISFIED WITH THE EFFECT OF MY JOB ON MY FAMILY	29.FEEL DEPRESSED AFTER WORK	31.BEAT CHILDREN AFTER HARD DAY AT WORK	32.FAMILY ARE HAPPY WITH MY GOING OUT TO WORK
1	5 (1,85%)	9 (3,33%)	0 (0,00%)	4 (1,48%)
2	39 (14,44%)	47 (17,41%)	59 (21,85%)	39 (14,44%)
3	9 (3,33%)	18 (6,67%)	29 (10,74%)	9 (3,33%)
4	206 (76,30%)	186 (68,89%)	165 (61,11%)	202 (74,81%)
5	11 (4,07%)	10 (3,70%)	17 (6,30%)	16 (5,93%)
TOTALS	270	270	270	270
Mdn.	4	4	4	4

Nye (1974; 187) contends that sociologists generally expect major role changes to be initially characterized by increased conflict because of confusion, lack of predictability of behaviour, and different perceptions of the social norms. This conflict is assumed to be transitory, persisting only until a new consensus is reached. Table 2 indicates that Indian women have attained this consensus within the home.

Of the 45 workers who were dissatisfied with the effects of their jobs on their families, only 12 were found to be dissatisfied with their jobs. The researcher speculates that the major reason for these women being dissatisfied with the effects of their jobs on their families is that they do not have enough time to spend with their families.

Fifty six workers felt depressed after work and this affected interpersonal family relationships, and fifty nine workers often beat their children after a hard day at work. In the case of these workers who are aware of the disruptive effects of their jobs on their family lives, the researcher contends that the advantages associated with their employment (job satisfaction, financial rewards, interaction with friends at work) compensate for this higher level of conflict within the home.

Two hundred and eighteen workers stated that their families are happy with their going out to work. The researcher asserts that the main reason for this is the important contribution that the mother makes towards total family income.

5. TASK PERFORMANCE

The traditional division of labour gave the husband sole responsibility for earning the family income and the wife general responsibility for the housework. Only those tasks which were too heavy or too technical for the wife were performed by the husband. However, various factors (outlined in Chapter Two) have been responsible for large numbers of Indian women joining the labour force. Thus, in many homes husbands and wives share the responsibility for earning and producing goods on a roughly equal basis. This would undoubtedly affect both the division of tasks and the total amount of work done in the household. Moore and Sawhill (1978; 207) and Hoffman (1974; 130) note that in general, husbands of working wives engage in slightly more child care and housework than do husbands of women who are not earning income, although it does not appear that the rapid movement of women into the labour force has been matched by a very significant increase in husbands willing-

ness to help around the house. The researcher supports the contentions of Moore and Sawhill that although Indian married women may be members of the labour force, they are still charged with all or most household duties.

TABLE 29 : WORKERS PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF THEIR JOBS ON TASK PERFORMANCE AT HOME.

SCORE	38. JOB HAS MADE ME LOSE INTEREST IN FAMILY ACTIVITIES	39. ENOUGH ENERGY TO CARRY OUT HOUSEHOLD TASKS AFTER WORK
1	5 (1,85%)	12 (4,44%)
2	51 (18,89%)	48 (17,78%)
3	8 (2,96%)	11 (4,07%)
4	174 (64,44%)	187 (69,26%)
5	32 (11,85%)	12 (4,44%)
TOTALS	270	270
Mdn.	4	4

Of the 56 workers who stated that their jobs made them lose interest in family activities 12 were found to be dissatisfied with their jobs. When correlated with job satisfaction scores, a positive medium strength correlation was found to exist ($P_s = 0,435$).

Of the 60 workers who felt that they did not have enough energy to carry out household tasks after work, 12 were found to be dissatisfied with their jobs. When scores to this question (39) were correlated with total job satisfaction scores, a positive medium strength correlation was found to exist ($P_s = 0,433$).

Thus, it may be concluded that as a married woman's level of job satisfaction increases, her satisfaction with the performance of household tasks after work will also increase.

6. FAMILY LEADERSHIP

A number of studies have found that wives who are employed exercise a greater degree of power in their marriages (Moore and Sawhill, 1978; 206). Employed mothers also tend to stress independence in their children.

TABLE 30 : EFFECTS OF MOTHER'S JOB ON INDEPENDENCE IN CHILDREN

SCORE	36. OFTEN LET CHILDREN MAKE DECISIONS FOR THEMSELVES	
1	17	(6,30%)
2	154	(57,04%)
3	42	(15,56%)
4	52	(19,26%)
5	5	(1,85%)
TOTAL	270	
Mdn.	2	

Table 30 indicates that the present findings contradict the contentions of Moore and Sawhill that employed mothers stress independence in their children. Only 57 women (21,11%) stressed that they are democratic in their upbringing of children. The median score of 2 also indicates that, in general, Indian married women are autocratic in their socialization of children. This is partly due to the low status nature of their occupational roles i.e. because they lack the opportunity to wield power and exercise leadership in the work environment, they do so in the home. It is also due to the fact that Indian marriages are usually not

equalitarian; the decision making in the home is balanced only where the woman has a high level of education. Women employed in the clothing industry generally have a low level of education; with only 19,26% of those interviewed falling into the Standard VI - X category. Therefore, the roles they enact in the home are always subservient to the husband's, this then leading to a desire for leadership which they wield over the children.

7. FAMILY VALUE SYSTEM

TABLE 31 : EFFECTS OF JOB SATISFACTION ON FAMILY VALUE ORIENTATION TOWARDS WORK.

SCORE	37.I LIKE MY JOB AND MY CHILDREN KNOW THAT I DO	
1	12	(4,44%)
2	48	(17,78%)
3	11	(4,07%)
4	187	(69,26%)
5	12	(4,44%)
TOTAL	270	
Mdn.	4	

Whatever the effects of a mother's employment on her children's welfare, the transmission of values from one generation to the next is likely to be affected by the life styles of today's parents (Moore and Sawhill, 1978; 214). Sixty women stated that their children did not know that they liked their jobs. However, only 12 of these women were found to be dissatisfied with their jobs. Therefore, the researcher speculates that the other 48 liked their jobs but were not able to communicate this attitude to their children. This may be due to cultural norms. In general, children in Indian homes do not take part in "equalitarian" discussions with their parents, through which many attitudes may be transmitted. Parent-child relationships are usually rigid and hierarchical in the traditional Indian home.

In general, it may be concluded that Indian married women workers are transmitting positive attitudes about their jobs to their children. This would probably lead to less traditional sex-role concepts and a higher evaluation of female competence.

8. SOCIAL NORMS

TABLE 32 : EFFECTS OF JOB ON SOCIAL NORMATIVE WORK EXPECTATIONS.

SCORE	34. RELATIVES FEEL THAT MY JOB IS A GOOD ONE	
1	10	(3,70%)
2	71	(26,30%)
3	18	(6,67%)
4	156	(57,78%)
5	15	(5,56%)
TOTAL	270	
Mdn.	4	

Eighty one women conceded that their relatives felt that their jobs were not good. Eighteen of these workers were found to be dissatisfied with their jobs. Job dissatisfaction is thus one reason for relatives wanting these workers to change their jobs. The researcher speculates that other reasons could include the low status nature of these jobs, poor earnings and the effects of maternal employment on the children. When responses (scores) to the above question

were correlated with total job satisfaction scores, a positive moderate correlation was found to exist ($P_s=0,431$). This implies that as the level of job satisfaction increases, it's effect on social norms is bound to be positive i.e. relatives are more likely to feel that a job is a good one, the higher the level of satisfaction experienced by the worker.

9. SATISFACTION WITH FAMILY LIFE

TABLE 33 : DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY SATISFACTION WITH FAMILY LIFE

SCORE	30. I AM EXTREMELY SATISFIED WITH MY FAMILY LIFE	
1	2	(0,74%)
2	17	(6,30%)
3	2	(0,74%)
4	214	(79,26%)
5	35	(12,96%)
TOTAL	270	
Mdn.	4	

Table 33 indicates that 249 women (92,22%) expressed extreme satisfaction with their family lives. Only 19 women (7,04%) expressed dissatisfaction. These findings support the findings of Blood (1963), reviewed by Nyl (1974; 192), that working wives of the low income group (and non-working wives of the high income group) rank highest in marital satisfaction. Blood felt that the high satisfaction of the working wives in the low income group could be explained by their relatively more important contribution to the family income. The researcher contends that this is certainly one reason.

When responses (scores) to the question on family satisfaction were correlated with total job satisfaction scores, a positive moderate correlation ($r_s = 0,439$) was found to exist. This implies that as job satisfaction increases, family satisfaction is also likely to increase.

Only 5 women who were dissatisfied with their family lives were found to be dissatisfied with their jobs. The remaining 32 women who were dissatisfied with their jobs were all found to be satisfied with their family lives. Therefore, it may be concluded that dissatisfaction does not spill over from job to family; on the contrary, it may be compensated for. However, job satisfaction spills over onto family life.

10. CONCLUSIONS

Although it has been found that women generally express satisfaction with their jobs, and satisfaction with the effects of their jobs on their families, it is obvious that a working mother, satisfied or dissatisfied with her job is only one factor affecting family functioning. In addition to a mother's motivation for working and her satisfaction with her job, Yarrow (1962) cited in Moore and Sawhill (1978; 214) outlined various other factors that influence the consequence of maternal employment

- i) the duration of the mother's employment.
- ii) her husbands opinion of her employment.
- iii) the adequacy of child care.
- iv) the amount of help received with housework.
- v) family's socio-economic status.

In South Africa, there are a number of additional factors which contribute to inadequate family functioning. Those listed by Anderson (1975; 5 ff) include the planning and

erection of mass housing schemes for government designated Indians, Coloureds and Africans, high density complexes, the creation of unbalanced communities, the implementation of the Group Areas Act and the absence of well organised community services and amenities.

Therefore, although women perceive their jobs and satisfaction with their jobs to have a positive effect on their family lives, it is important to note that this was the only factor investigated in the current project since research into the other factors mentioned above lay outside the scope of the present study.

B. A SPILLOVER EFFECT

The foregoing results show that job satisfaction spills over onto family life. It also shows that the higher the worker's satisfaction, the more satisfied the worker is likely to be with the effects of the job on the family. A high positive correlation ($P_s = 0,880$) was found to exist between total job satisfaction scores and total "effects of job on family" scores.

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CHAPTER SIX

A. CONCLUSIONS

The results that have been discussed in Chapter 5 make the researcher support the contentions of Parker (1971; 100) that most jobs today are regarded by most people as only a means to the end of earning a living. Jobs are generally not a source of positive satisfaction - the fact that in surveys most people say they are 'satisfied' with their jobs simply means that they expect very little from them or that they can find no better job i.e. because the social structure offers few alternatives. The researcher therefore concludes that the major determinant of job satisfaction lies not in the different facets of the job situation but necessarily in the structure of society.

The present study was aimed only at eliciting the mother's perception of the effects of the job (and level of satisfaction) on the family. In larger scale studies other members of the family should also be interviewed so as to ensure reliability, since it has been found that the more satisfied the mother is with her job, the more likely is she to perceive the effects of her job on the family as being positive.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. PAYMENT BY RESULTS : THE PIECEWORK INCENTIVE

The present study revealed that workers employed in the clothing industry are dissatisfied with pay packets that don't yield their existence minimums. Relatively flexible income concessions can become an effective way of stopping the occurrence of behaviour patterns which minimise production levels, than would be the use of overt force and the threat to withdraw the workers economic livelihood - the predominant methods of control in many industrial work situations.

Politicized workers often see piecework as a means whereby they can be manipulated by management to ensure maximal use of labour. As a result, Offe (1976; 131 ff) notes that this collective opposition to the attempted manipulation smothers any interest in individual wage rises.

However, in general, piecework is comparatively welcome to the workers. Collins, Dalton and Roy (1946; 8) note that piecework means greater freedom to dispose of work time as workers please in the face of a society - wide tendency to routinize and standardize worker activities. Roy (1960; 361 ff) contends that piecework provides an experience

which is characterized by interaction, organization and completion; while under time payment work is aimless, unintegrated and concluded with mere cessation of activity.

The researcher asserts that where the sociocultural disposition of individualistic income orientation already exists, as it does in the Indian community, piecework will be welcome. However, as Offe (1976; 132) notes, the more the basic wage exceeds workers' existence minimums, the more adverse will the effect of piecework be on interpersonal sentiments. The workers will respond to such systems by 'braking' and other forms of tacit non-cooperation.

Given the present conditions the researcher concludes that piecework will be welcomed by Indian workers simply because it means more money. Higher wages for clothing factory workers is imperative. A box of biscuits for Christmas and a watch for 25 years of service will never make up for sub-standard pay.

2. SOCIAL SERVICES

A working mother contributes by her activity towards the growth of the national product. At the same time her role as educator of her children is also in the interest of

society. Society is therefore under an obligation to provide all facilities enabling working mothers to assure a healthy and harmonious development for their children. The following measures will also enhance job satisfaction :

a) Maternity Leave

Maternity leave has been made an integral part of the "Law on Maternity Protection" in Austria. (Gutberger, 1968; 229). It was recognized, both from the medical and psychological points of view, that it is essential for the development of a baby to stay as close to the mother as possible. Thus every working mother may - while retaining her post - remain at home with the baby during it's first year of life and be entitled to financial assistance from the Social Security. A similar system should be introduced in South Africa.

b) Crèches and Nursery Schools in Factories

In Italy a decree prescribes that any firm employing at least 30 women of child-bearing age, has to set up a day nursery with suitable technical and sanitary equipment where children are supervised during their mothers working hours. (Gutberger, 1968; 231). A similar arrangement could only be beneficial in South Africa.

c) Play Centres

Play centres for school children are one of the best solutions for alleviating the lot of the working mother. Not only can the mother be assured that her child is well taken care of outside school hours but also that the childrens' homework will be properly supervised. In Austria, institutions for children up to 14 years of age are in the main supported by the town councils. In Denmark municipalities are legally obliged to see that there are sufficient day nurseries and other similar socio-pedagogical institutions available for their inhabitants. (Gutberger, 1968; 233). This would also be welcomed in South Africa.

3. JOB ENLARGEMENT AND ROTATION

Although Indian women have been found to be satisfied with their jobs, which consist mainly of single operations, it would be fair to recommend on the basis of numerous studies (Argyris, 1971: Tannenbaum, 1968: Walker and Guest, 1952) cited by Miller and Form (1980; 139) that job enlargement and rotation be implemented as this would enhance worker satisfaction.

Job enlargement is the increase in the number of tasks

performed by employees in their work. It has been found to increase worker satisfaction by giving workers a chance to use more of their abilities. (Dessler, 1981; 341).

Job rotation involves systematically moving workers from one job to another, thus adding more possibilities for growth and new experience. (Miller and Form, 1980; 141).

4. A NEW WORK GROUP

In support of Gardell (1981; 8) the researcher asserts that work organization should be based on groups of workers including the supervisor. These groups should be given greater responsibility for planning, organization and control over the work of the group. The motives for a change in this direction rest on demands for richer job content and demands for improved quality of life. Within this group context the individual can expand his or her possibilities for attaining some amount of freedom and competence in work. The individual and the group will be able to achieve wider control over the work system and the work methods, and human contact and solidarity between people will be more likely. This will also improve production.

Workers made passive by restricted decision opportunities

can hardly be expected to assume initiative and contribute creatively to the organization on the rare occasions when job restrictions are temporarily lifted.

5. AN INDEPENDENT UNION FOR GARMENT WORKERS

Fifty thousand garment workers in Natal represent on paper, a potent force in collective bargaining. However, over the years the Garment Workers Union (Natal) has proven to be an ineffective instrument in the bargaining procedure, with the result that workers are today being paid below their existence minimums, and have expressed their dissatisfaction with the wage structure.

The strength of any union depends on it's democratic running and the fact that workers should control them. This is what garment workers need: An independent union that possesses the right to strike - this would entail legislative change since workers in South Africa do not possess the real right to strike. Without the right to strike workers have no leverage in bargaining with employers.

"Equal pay for equal work" is a principle that unions the world over have striven for. The Garment Workers Union (Natal) has still not assumed this.

According to Troisgros and Dehareng (1968; 255), "Trade Unionism defends the living conditions of all wage earners. This is its 'raison de être'." This is what it should be to Garment Workers.

C. FUTURE RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES

1. The findings of the present study have negated the working hypotheses outlined in Chapter 1. Hypotheses for future research may thus be reformulated as follows :

- a) Indian married women employed in the clothing industry are satisfied with their jobs.
- b) Job satisfaction among Indian married women varies directly with satisfaction with their interpersonal relationships in the family group.

2. An investigation comparing the levels of job satisfaction experienced by male and female manual workers.

It has often been assumed that males experience higher levels of satisfaction than females, simply because women

are more family centred and do not seek as much satisfaction from their jobs. However, the present findings indicate that the differences in job satisfaction levels of males and females may be of no significance. In fact, females may experience higher levels of satisfaction than males in manual jobs, noting that their aspirations are not as high i.e. because the social structure offers them fewer alternatives.

3. An investigation into the relationship between work and leisure activities of manual industrial workers.

The present study utilized only one question in the interview schedule to elicit whether work or leisure was the more satisfying life activity. An investigation into the leisure activities of lower class workers could be undertaken, showing the way in which leisure relates to work.

4. An investigation into the relationship between physical and mental health and job satisfaction of manual workers.

It is the working individual with few opportunities to make job decisions in the face of output pressure who bears the

job strain burden. Workers may be found to be expressing satisfaction but bearing the effects of dissatisfaction e.g. job tension, lower self-esteem, threat, embarrassment, high cholesterol levels, more smoking (Cooper and Marshall, 1978; 85), angina pectoris (Medalie and his associates, 1973; 583 ff), and even effects on overall longevity (Palmore, 1969; 103 ff).

5. In support of Burack and Smith (1977; 496) the researcher asserts that companies should take a more serious view of their social responsibilities to the community and society. Burack and Smith maintain :

"In considering the poverty sector in our society (USA), we believe corporations will take a greater interest in providing job training to produce employable people and restore human dignity."

Research needs to be undertaken into ways in which big business could serve the communities from which it draws it's labour resources.

6. Much research is needed into the field of union activity e.g. an investigation into the relationship between

politicization and worker militancy. Comparisons could be made between different work groups with regard to their knowledge of the functions of a union and industrial legislation.

In the present study workers were found to be satisfied with their TUCSA affiliated union. However, only one question was included in the interview schedule to elicit workers' attitudes towards the union.

D. SUMMARY

The present investigation was carried out in order to ascertain the degree of job satisfaction experienced by Indian married women employed in the clothing industry in Durban, and the effect of this on their interpersonal relationships within the family group.

An interview schedule was constructed, on the basis of relevant literature, to be used as the method of data collection. A pilot study was carried out in which the interview schedule was pretested for shortcomings.

A cluster sampling plan was used to select 14 factories from which 305 respondents were selected randomly. However,

only 270 respondents adequately completed the schedules. The remainder could not be reached because of changes of address which were not made known to management. This figure of 270 fell above the required number of 267 so that a 95% confidence level and a 6% margin of tolerated error was attained.

The data was processed by computer, with the Spearman Rho correlation coefficient and the median being the main statistical techniques used in the analysis.

In general, Indian married women workers expressed a high degree of satisfaction with their jobs. The findings were explained in terms of Wiendieck's (1979; 231 ff) theoretical propositions which imply that people have a tendency to accommodate themselves within the existing social structure if more attractive alternatives were not visible. It was then concluded that the major determinant of job satisfaction was the social structure and not necessarily the job itself.

Job satisfaction was found to spillover into family life. It was also found that the higher the worker's job satisfaction the more satisfied the worker is likely to be with the effects of the job on the family.

The following recommendations were made, which in the researcher's view would, if implemented, serve to enhance job satisfaction and consequently lower rates of absenteeism, turnover and tardiness, and more importantly improve the quality of life.

1. That the piecework incentive be used.
2. That social services be provided.
3. That techniques of job enlargement and rotation be implemented.
4. That the work group be restructured.
5. That an independent union for garment workers becomes a reality.

Future research possibilities emanating from the present project were then explored.

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APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE



Telephone: 821211
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Private Bag X54001,
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4000.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

TO BE ANSWERED BY MARRIED INDIAN WOMEN EMPLOYED IN THE
CLOTHING MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

Dear Madam

This study is being carried out so as to find out exactly how you feel about your job. On the basis of the information that you supply, suggestions will be made in an effort to overcome problems that you may have encountered.

Please read the following statements carefully and then place a cross (X) in the appropriate square.

There are no right or wrong answers.

The information that you provide will be treated as strictly confidential and will be used only for scientific research purposes. Neither you nor your factory will be identified.

I thank you for your co-operation.

Sincerely


T. D. CHETTY


PROFESSOR G.F. SCHOOMBEE
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. The things I do in my spare time give me more satisfaction than my job.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	✓			

2. People are always dismissed here without being given a warning.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			×	

3. The physical working conditions in this factory (music, lighting, toilets, safety measures etc.) are good.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			×	

4. Whenever I have a problem at work there are friends in whom I can confide.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
×				

5. I am proud of the work I do.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
				×

6. My supervisor criticizes me in front of others.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	✓			

7. It is likely that I will be promoted to higher paying jobs while I am working for this company.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	✓			

8. The job I do is too difficult.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
				✓

9. I have the opportunity to talk to others while working.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			✗	

10. In this company supervisors treat each worker fairly.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
				✗

11. The Garment Workers Union does a lot for workers.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

12. I think workers in this factory are underpaid.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

13. My job is interesting and challenging.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

14. I have learnt a lot about this job from my friends at work.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

15. I find the working hours to be too long.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

16. My supervisor always controls his temper.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

17. I have often thought seriously of changing my present job.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

18. I have so much of work to do that I am sometimes unable to finish it on time.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

19. In this factory workers have a fairly good chance of being promoted.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

20. My friends and relatives feel that my job is a good one.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

21. My supervisor welcomes suggestions.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

22. I have made many friends at this factory.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

23. I am being paid much more than I deserve.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

24. The end product (finished clothing) gives me a sense of satisfaction.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

25. I would take on almost any other job in which I could earn as much as I am earning now.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

26. My family would like me to change my job.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

27. I always come home from work in a bad mood and this irritates my family.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

28. I am satisfied with the effect of my job on my family.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

29. I feel depressed after work and this affects the relationship between me and my husband and children.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

30. I am extremely satisfied with my family life.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

31. After a hard day at work I sometimes beat the children.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

32. My family are happy with my going out to work.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

33. After a hard day at work we usually quarrel a lot at home.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

34. Relatives feel that I have too many responsibilities at home to go out to work.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

35. Overtime work often causes problems at home, because my family feels that I do not spend enough time with them.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

36. In bringing up my children, I am entirely democratic i.e. I often let them make decisions for themselves.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

37. I like my job and my children know that I like it.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

38. My job has made me lose interest in family activities.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

39. The pleasure I receive from my job gives me enough energy to carry out household tasks.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

40. (a) Age

Under 20	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50

- (b) Educational Level

No Schooling	Class I-Std II	Std III-Std VI	Std VI-Std

- (c) Religious Affiliation

Hindu	Moslem	Christian	Other-Specify

- (d) Wage

R10-19	R20-29	R30-39	R40-49	R50+

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