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This study attempted an investigation of the main causes of, and the possible solutions to, a high rate of labor turnover in a janitorial service business that employs primarily moonlighters.

It was hypothesized that (a) certain individual characteristics usually identified on an application blank, would distinguish between the long and the short-tenure moonlighter, and (b) certain organizational characteristics would be found to be associated with employee dissatisfaction and, hence, short tenure.

Questionnaires containing items related to tenure of the type usually found on employment application blanks and/or in research studies of tenure were administered to a group of 37 long-tenure employees (personnel who had been working for the company for at least nine months in March, 1972) and 47 short-tenure employees (personnel who had worked for the company for less than three months during the period from June, 1971 to March, 1972). The Chi-square test was used to analyze the relationship between the test variables and the performance criterion, tenure. Several of the individual characteristics were found to be significantly related to tenure: sex, age, number of children, ages of children, tenure at the primary job, number of evening jobs held in the past two years, longest moonlighting job held, employment during the day, and marital status.

Observation and interviews with the company employees established that there were two major causes of dissatisfaction among employees that could account for the high level of employee turnover: pay, and time allocations for cleaning jobs. Other organizational

factors that were found to be related to dissatisfaction and tenure were (a) the lack of a training period or a period of graduated standards of performance for new personnel, (b) supervisor-janitor relations, and (c) work group cohesiveness and independence from the managers at the main office.

JOB TENURE OF MOONLIGHTERS IN A SERVICE OCCUPATION

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by

Julia Bree Nile

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the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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CHAPTER I

THEORY

Research into labor turnover problems may be approached from two different theoretical perspectives. In this paper, these two approaches will be called, (a) organizational and (b) demographic. Organizational theorists believe that labor turnover should be studied as one element of the organization in which it occurs. Demographic theorists, on the other hand, believe that labor turnover should be studied as a characteristic of employees hired by the organization. The organizational theorist, therefore, would attempt to reduce labor turnover by changing certain aspects of the organizational environment that are believed to be conducive to employee dissatisfaction and, hence, short job tenure. Demographic theorists would attempt to reduce labor turnover by selectively hiring those employees with characteristics that are believed to be, or have been found to be, positively related to long tenure with the organization. In a way it may be said that organizational theorists concern themselves with internal change, whereas demographic theorists concentrate on external change in order to reduce labor turnover in the organization.

Organizational Theory

Elton Mayo, who is usually associated with the "Human Relations" school of organizational concepts, is a strong advocate of the organizational theory approach to labor turnover problems as opposed

to the demographic approach. In the report of a research study he did in the aircraft industry of southern California, Mayo (1944:1) argues, "It is our firm conviction that the only way to achieve control of absenteeism and labor turnover is to study such symptoms in the situations in which they arise. We are assured that they cannot be isolated for study as discrete and separate entities."

The term, organizational theory, as used in this study, comprises several long-established managerial philosophies, among them: scientific management; human relations; and industrial sociology and psychology.

The organization concept of scientific management is generally associated with the work of Frederick Winslow Taylor (1947). Taylor believed that organizational tasks could be analyzed in such a way as to ascertain scientifically the one best way of doing each task. This principle led to the standardization of the method of performance of each task, careful placement of employees so as to find the most suitable worker to perform each task and extensive training for each employee. The principles of scientific management assumed a form of "Theory X" definition of the average employee (McGregor, 1960). That is, the employee is assumed to behave as an individual, independent of his fellow workers; he is naturally lazy and is primarily motivated by money. According to Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs, such an employee would be located at either the first or second level of motivation: he would be motivated to perform adequately because of the necessity of satisfying his physiological needs or his security needs.

These basic assumptions of scientific management lead logically to the adoption by management of specialization and standardization as methods of work organization and incentive wage plans as the primary means of employee motivation. Inskeep (1970) states the implications of the preceding points for any study of labor turnover:

If we subscribe to the principles of scientific management, we might expect improved job behavior (including longer tenure) to result from better placement, higher incentive wages, and improved training programs. One could not argue that changes of this type would not favorably affect the labor turnover rate.

The role of salary or wage as a factor in job satisfaction and tenure is a complicated one. Some studies have resulted in conclusions to the effect that pay is not as important as other more social aspects of the job in promoting satisfaction. In a study by Seidman and Watson (1940), a sample of men and women were asked to report which were the most satisfying aspects of the job they held previously. The results indicated that recognition, friendly associations, work fitted to vocational level, and variety of duties were more important contributing factors in job satisfaction than was pay.

Herzberg found that factors that were strong determinants of job satisfaction were similar to those mentioned in the Seidman and Watson study: achievement; recognition; work itself; responsibility; and advancement. However, Herzberg (1966:72-74) points out that despite the fact that pay does not contribute to positive job satisfaction, it does contribute to job dissatisfaction.

When the factors involved in the job dissatisfaction events were coded, an entirely different set of factors evolved.

These factors were similar to the satisfiers in their unidimensional effect. This time, however, they served only to bring about job dissatisfaction and were rarely involved in events that led to positive job attitudes. Also, unlike the 'satisfiers', the 'dissatisfiers' consistently produced short-term changes in job attitudes. The major dissatisfiers were company policy and administration, supervision, salary, interpersonal relations and working conditions.

Pay cannot, therefore, be ignored as a factor which may contribute to job dissatisfaction and short job tenure.

In an investigation into employees' main areas of complaint in their work, Smith and Kerr (1953) were led to suggest that "employees in general concede that pay is not the most important factor in a job, but they nevertheless feel that it represents a foremost grievance factor." They found that pay grievances were mentioned twice as frequently as any other single topic of complaint. In a study of the relationship between labor turnover and each of 24 other variables in seven major manufacturing divisions of an Indianapolis electronics factory, Kerr (1947) was able to reveal pay as the foremost objective correlate of turnover. The hourly earnings of male workers were found to be the most significantly related to labor turnover.

Grievances about pay express the employee's concern with economic security. Gladys Palmer (1965) holds:

The general concern of manual workers with economic security is of long standing. . . . The net effect of various economic developments is to make both employers and workers value stability as much as variety in employment connections.

Her thesis is that the employee will not leave his job unless he feels that his economic security is threatened. The worker wants, primarily, to have a steady and secure job. A study by Clarke (1950) substantiates this hypothesis. He reviewed workers' reasons for quitting

a job, as revealed by an analysis of exit interview information. The main reason for leaving was found to be that the job or the company did not offer the employee the security he wanted. According to Palmer, (1965) the job changer is always "reluctant." He leaves only because the job does not satisfy his need for security. All of the research studies reported on by Palmer "testify to the importance of seniority rights in keeping workers tied to their jobs, whether such rights entitle a man to chances for promotion, to the length and choice of vacation periods, or to pensions and other benefits, in addition to protection in case of layoff."

In a second analysis of exit interview information collected over a period of four years from voluntary leavers of a company, Ronan (1967) found that the main reasons for leaving were, in the case of higher level employees, salary, and for lower level, job security, which was assumed to be a way of saying steady work and hourly income.

All the studies reported on here indicate that pay and feelings of security have been found to be positively related to long tenure on the job. Apart from economic incentives, improved training programs were also suggested as being possibly related to improved job tenure in the discussion of the principles of scientific management and its implications for studies of labor turnover.

Several empirical studies testify to the importance of training programs in initiating and maintaining the employee in the organization. As Evan (1963) points out, "One of the principal agents of adult socialization in industrial society is the formal organization. One of the formal techniques for socializing employees of a large industrial

organization is the training program." A study by Bucklow (1950) found that newly hired employees were leaving the organization because they were unable to meet, in a limited time period, a production standard set by the company. The establishment of a series of graded standards during the training period had the effect of greatly reducing turnover.

The human relations approach to industrial problems began with the research of Elton Mayo and his associates (1945) in a series of studies carried out at the Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric Company between 1927 and 1932. The human relations school acknowledged the human element as being present in all organizations, a fact which the scientific managers tended to ignore. The organization was thought of as a social system incorporating individuals, informal groups and intergroup relationships as well as the formal structure. Mayo, and others of this school, believed that workers function not as individuals but as part of a social group. The worker, as part of a social group, was motivated by his need to receive the acceptance and approval of his fellow workers. The individual's behavior was governed by group imposed norms. The concept of the economic man which was central to the work of Frederick Taylor was rejected. The implications of this philosophy of behavior for labor turnover studies is summarized clearly by Inskeep (1970): "If we subscribe to the human relations theory, our approach to the labor turnover problem should be concentrated on development of harmonious groups within the plant."

According to Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs, human relations theory views the worker as being motivated primarily by his need for

love and esteem. Love and esteem needs are the prepotent motivators once the individual's physiological and safety needs have been satisfied. The human relations theorists are not saying that pay is completely unimportant as a motivator: what they are saying is that given a certain level of financial reward that enables the worker to satisfy his need for clothing, housing and food, and that gives him a degree of economic and job security, he will no longer be motivated to better performance by additional financial incentives.

If managers subscribe to the human relations theory of organization, they are concerned with satisfying their employees' social needs, as opposed to their physical needs which concern the advocates of scientific management. Ross and Zander (1957) concluded from a research study into labor turnover, "Workers whose personal needs are satisfied on the job are more likely to remain in the organization." They defined personal needs as those for recognition, autonomy, for a feeling of doing work that is important, and for evaluation by fair standards. These personal needs correspond to those aspects of the organization that Herzberg (1966) called the "satisfiers" because it was these factors that workers most often mentioned as being productive of personal satisfaction on the job.

As was mentioned before, Mayo was the foremost advocate of the human relations approach to organizational analysis. In many instances cited by Mayo (1944:27), "Attention by management to the organization of the human needs of their workers was followed by an apparently spontaneous development of teams and of mutual responsibility, diminished turnover and absenteeism, and improvement in the quality and quantity of work."

Two examples from Mayo's empirical research will suffice to demonstrate the relationship found between labor turnover and attempts to provide for, and satisfy employees' social needs. Mayo (1924) helped reduce labor turnover at a Philadelphia textile mill from 250 per cent per annum to approximately 5 per cent per annum by introducing several innovations, notably the introduction of worker controlled rest pauses and a qualified nurse to administer first-aid, but whose chief duty was to encourage workers to talk over any personal problems. The additional responsibility and personal outlet provided by these innovations prompted consultation, discussion and teamwork.

A second example comes from the famous Hawthorne studies (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939). Referring to the "test-room" experiment conducted at the Hawthorne Plant, Mayo (1944:25) says, "When . . . the new worker at number two bench assumed informal leadership of the group and identified the team wholeheartedly with the company experiment, all labor turnover stopped and casual absences sank to a fraction of their former dimension and to a fraction of the rate in the department outside the test-room."

Other advocates of the human relations approach to organization theory have helped confirm Mayo's original hypothesis and added to the empirical validation of that hypothesis. Evan (1963) tested and confirmed the hypothesis that "The level of turnover is negatively associated with the level of peer-group interaction possible among participants of the organization." His rationale was that the peer-group is a special type of primary group which is able to perform spontaneously the necessary function of reducing stress in the organization

where, very often, status occupants work under ambiguous or conflict-laden situations.

Clark (1946) found, by comparing labor turnover with the size of work groups, that there was a clear pattern of low turnover with small work groups and high turnover within large work groups.

Argyle and Gardner (1958) tested the hypothesis that small groups will have lower absenteeism and turnover than will larger groups, because satisfaction is greater in the small group. However, in this case the relationship found was not strong enough to enable the investigators to conclude that labor turnover was positively related to the size of groups.

From this brief review it may be seen that the formation of groups, accompanied by increased peer-group interaction, the development of group norms and the identification with the group by the individual has been found to have the effect of reducing labor turnover by catering to the employees' social needs for personal expression, peer-group acceptance and approval and group autonomy.

The first-line supervisor plays an important role in the development of cohesive groups among his subordinates. If the supervisor adheres to this human relations approach to work organization, he will attempt to organize his subordinates in the ways outlined above. Because of the importance of the supervisor's role, Mayo (1944:25) has been led to state that his research "Points to the methods of first-line supervision as of critical importance in the control of absenteeism and labor turnover."

There have been several studies concerned with the influence on employee behavior of the characteristics of first-line supervision. Katz, Maccoby and Morse (1950) have clearly demonstrated that the behavior of the first-line supervisor is an important factor in determining the productivity and behavior of a work group. In their Michigan studies they found that the "employee centered" supervisor is able to achieve high productivity and enjoys better morale among his subordinates. He does this by attempting to build congenial work teams among the employees and by being seriously interested in both his subordinates' work and personal problems. According to these studies, the less successful supervisor tends to be "production centered" in that his first priority is always the quality and quantity of work his subordinates are able to produce. His main communication with his subordinates concerns techniques of production, equipment maintenance and time schedules. It might be expected that groups supervised by "employee centered" supervisors would exhibit less turnover than would groups supervised by "production centered" supervisors.

Clarke (1946) examined the relationship between labor turnover and foreman interest in the instructional courses which the company provided for the foremen. He found that among the group of foremen with perfect attendance and high interest in the programs, 67 per cent were in the low turnover groups with 22 per cent in the high turnover groups. In those sections of foremen who had poor attendance and demonstrated low interest, 33 per cent were in the low turnover group and 40 per cent in the high turnover group. From this study it was concluded that

the more involved the supervisor was in his job as a supervisor the more successful he was in maintaining worker satisfaction in his group.

The supervisor who is successful in producing cohesive work groups will have a far easier supervision job than will the supervisor who remains "production centered" in his attitudes towards his subordinates. Mayo (1944:14) says that:

It is far easier to supervise a well-knit group than a collection of unrelated individuals. The supervisors' communication to a group may be single, to one informal leader; he does not have to repeat his communication to almost any number of individuals and thus greatly increase the chances for the misunderstanding and frictions that our studies have shown so often lead in a disorganized situation to absences and turnover.

The examples given here have shown that improvements in labor turnover might be expected from a careful study and modification of techniques used by first-line supervisors towards their subordinates. However, as Inskeep (1970) points out, "Changing supervisory behavioral patterns is not an easy task."

The organization theorist would draw on the managerial philosophies outlined above in order to provide a framework for a study into labor turnover. Two hypotheses can be developed from this theoretical framework.

Hypothesis 1.--Labor turnover is negatively associated with the degree of financial and personal security the employee perceives the job as offering him. Financial and personal security would be measured by (a) financial remuneration, (b) seniority benefits, (c) efficiency of the training program and (d) likelihood of lay-off.

Hypothesis 2.--Labor turnover is negatively associated with the extent to which the worker's social or human needs are satisfied by the

job. Social and human needs would be measured by (a) the chance to work in small groups rather than as an isolated individual, (b) the opportunity to set their own targets or for group autonomy in work decisions, (c) close contact and communication between the worker and his supervisor and higher management, and (d) worker identification with company objectives and norms.

Demographic Theory

The demographic theorist would take a different approach to the problem of labor turnover than that which has been outlined above. The demographic theorist perceives labor turnover as being a function of the type of employee hired by the company. Selective hiring of those employees with characteristics that are believed to be, or have been found to be, positively related to long tenure with the organization would be the approach taken by the demographic theorist to the problem of high labor turnover.

Several characteristics of individuals have been found to be related to the job tenure of workers. Maier (1955) outlines several specific factors that are related to labor turnover:

1. Age. There are definite patterns of work tenure for employees of various ages. For workers between the ages of 17 and 23 the average length of service was approximately seven weeks. For workers from 30 to 35 the average length of tenure was three times as great as that. Labor turnover generally increases among workers who are more than 35 years of age and reaches another high point when the worker is about 42 years old. After the age of 45, labor turnover begins to decline.

2. Marital status. Average length of tenure is greater for married men than for single men, holding age constant.

3. Intelligence. Labor turnover shows varying relationships with intelligence in different occupations. For most occupations there is an optimal level of educational qualification.

4. Sex. Again, labor turnover shows varying relationships with sex in different occupations. Some occupations may be particularly suitable for women or for men, in which case those whom the job does not suit will be more likely to leave than others. Maier (1955:568) says, "Companies that discriminate against women can expect superior women to be dissatisfied and to leave for companies that show a lesser degree of discrimination."

Wolfbein (1952) summarizes the characteristics that can be related to the job tenure of the American worker. He says that labor turnover varies directly with age, for both men and women employees. The median number of years in continuous employment goes up consistently with age, with the worker over 45 years old exhibiting the greatest stability. Regarding the relationship between labor turnover and sex, Wolfbein says that the differences in the tenure of men and women employees

Begin to get marked as they enter the adult age groups, when women drop out of the labor market at the time of marriage and child bearing. In the older age groups the median number of years of continuous job holding among men is double that of women.

Statistically guided employee selection involves relating independent variables of the type outlined above, that are believed to have some relevance to the tenure of the employee, to the performance criterion which in the case of a labor turnover problem is tenure.

The source of the independent variable data is often the application blank which usually contains such relevant information as: age, marital status, sex, address (commuting distance), education, tenure on previous jobs, home ownership, spouse's occupation, number and age of any children and previous jobs held, as well as, possibly, test scores and references from past employers.

There are several studies which outline the methods used and the results of using the application blank in order to establish long tenure predictors. In a review of the literature on predicting employee turnover from this kind of information, Schuh (1967) holds:

The rationale for using the application blank is that certain items in the applicant's personal history, such as age, education or marital status, may be predictive of future tenure in a job. From the available research evidence, this rationale appears well supported.

He confirms this statement when he says, "Of the twenty-one studies reviewed using bibliographical data, only two failed to find at least one item to be related to the tenure criterion."

A study by Tiffin (1947) illustrated "How an analysis of personnel data obtained at the time of employment for all new employees . . . revealed certain significant differences between employees who later acquired long tenure and employees who stayed on the job for only a short time." The results of this study showed conclusively that age, education, marital status and number of dependents were related to job tenure. "At the time of employment, employees who stay at least nine months on the job are older, have had less formal education, are more frequently married, and have more dependents than employees who leave the job prior to three months."

Barrett and Lang (1963) found that three items of the application blank discriminated between long and short tenure employees. Long tenure employees were found to more often have the following characteristics: (a) they were less than 25 years old, (b) they weighed as much or more as expected in relation to their height, and (c) they gave mature reasons for leaving past jobs.

In a research study by Inskeep (1970) at a garment factory, five independent variables were found to be predictive of low labor turnover among employees: (a) home ownership, (b) age between thirty and thirty-nine years, (c) youngest child over six years of age, (d) over thirty-six months of prior work experience, and (e) nine years or less of formal education.

When the criteria necessary for predicting short or long tenure have been established, a new application blank, containing only those criteria, may be developed. This will be weighted so that the employment interviewer may quickly score each prospective applicant according to whether or not he/she would be a good employment risk. Inskeep reports on the results of developing a new application blank in this way:

The new weighted application form was much less complicated than the application form previously used by the Company; it was limited to one page. Job applicants could complete the entire page in less than five minutes and the job interviewer could score the form immediately. Those with very low scores on the weighted application form were ruled out immediately as job applicants or told to return at some future date for further interviews.

Barrett and Lang (1963) concluded from their study, using statistical employee selection, that "Once constructed the weighted

application blank can serve as a rapid screening device. . . . Applicants with a minimum chance for success in certain jobs--success in terms of tenure and/or performance--can be eliminated."

After finding several variables that discriminated between future long and short tenure employees using this method, Tiffin (1947) concluded: "When differences of the type found in this study are revealed by such an analysis, the employment interviewer is immediately furnished with a helpful additional tool to guide his judgement concerning the likely tenure of an applicant if he is employed."

Theoretical Synthesis

The discussion so far has outlined two divergent approaches to the study of labor turnover in organizations. They need not be, however, mutually exclusive theories. The advocates of an organizational theory approach to labor turnover, including the human relationists and the scientific managers, could argue, as does Mayo to an extent, that human behavior, motivation and opinions are far too complex ever to be easily quantified as outlined in the statistically guided employee selection method. For this reason they would argue that a study of the actual situation in which the problem occurs is essential rather than studying the isolated, individual components of that problem. If factors within the organization are still productive of high labor turnover, selective hiring will only solve part of the problem. Selective hiring can only be concerned with a small part of the many varied factors which influence or are related to behavior in an organization. But, as such, it can be an invaluable additional

perspective in the understanding of labor turnover, especially in studies of moonlighting.

In the particular case confronting this research project, it is believed that both approaches would be complementary and in some ways essential. The labor market at Southern Building Maintenance (SBM) is composed primarily of moonlighters. These people have certain characteristics which make them almost inherent short tenure employees on their second job at SBM. It is necessary, therefore, first to separate the prospective short tenure from the possible long tenure employees at the selection and hiring stage. But then, after the work group has been statistically selected, it is necessary, in order that job satisfaction be maximized, to take into account any necessary situational changes.

Moonlighters may be said to be of two types: transient moonlighters and permanent moonlighters. The transient moonlighter is defined here as the person who takes a second job just once in a while in order to have some extra income for a special project or emergency. The permanent moonlighter, on the other hand, almost always has to have a second job in order to meet regular household expenses. The transient moonlighter is the individual who may be said to be an inherent short tenure employee at his second job. He takes the second job knowing that he will be leaving in a couple of months regardless of how he likes the job or the company. It is these transient moonlighters that selective hiring should attempt to identify, because even the closest attention to problems within the organizational situation will not manage to hold employees such as these. This point is summarized

by Guthrie (1969), who asks the question, "Is moonlighting sporadic for the individual, a last resort in financial emergencies, or is it continuous over time as it becomes incorporated into a regular pattern of work activity?"

Some form of employee selection is, therefore, essential in this particular case because of the special type of labor supply available to SBM. Maier (1955:578) makes the point when he says:

Employees who take a job as a temporary condition will select jobs primarily for their pay rates and there is little the company can do to prevent these employees from quitting. If this type of turnover is to be reduced, the place to do it is in the employment office. . . Skilled interviewers and the previous employment record can do much to detect the transient worker.

General characteristics of moonlighters can now be examined in order to gain some insight into those which might characterize the transient moonlighter and those which might characterize the permanent moonlighter. In a 1965 examination of multiple jobholders, Bogan and Swanstrom (1966) summarized the general characteristics they found to be true of moonlighters: (a) three out of four are married men, (b) nine out of ten are white, (c) about 50 per cent are men aged 25-44 years old, (d) only three out of ten do the same kind of work on both jobs, and (e) 50 per cent of them work less than thirteen hours a week at the second job. The definition of moonlighter used by Bogan and Swanstrom was the Census Bureau (P-50) definition: a moonlighter is defined as an employed person who, at the time of the study, (a) worked for two employers or more, or (b) worked at his own farm or business in addition to a wage or salary job.

In a 1969 study, Parrella (1970) examined the motivations and characteristics of moonlighters. She found that 5.2 per cent of all employed persons, or four million workers, held two jobs in May, 1969. When asked for their main reason for taking a second job, 40 per cent of the sample of moonlighters said that their main reason was to meet regular household expenses for things such as food, clothing, utilities and rent; 10 per cent gave payment of debts as their main reason for moonlighting and 10 per cent wanted the second job in order to add to their savings. A further breakdown of these figures showed that a greater proportion of the black than of the white moonlighters gave the meeting of regular household expenses as their main reason for taking the second job. For both black and white moonlighters, men and women over the age of 25 were more likely to give meeting regular household expenses as their main reason. There was also found to be a direct relationship between earnings on the primary job and the proportion of moonlighters who reported they were holding a second job to meet regular household expenses: of those earning less than \$100 per week, 50 per cent gave this as their main reason; of those earning over \$150 per week, 33 per cent gave this as their main reason. However, she did find that there was no direct relationship between earnings on the primary job and length of tenure on the second job. From this study, therefore, and from other studies concerning the economic aspects of moonlighting (Hamel, 1967 and 1965), it is possible to conclude that "The primary motivation (to moonlight) appears to be financial pressure, particularly among young fathers with low earnings" (Hamel, 1967).

Related to this last point is the family size of the moonlighter compared with that of the non-moonlighter. If moonlighting results primarily from financial pressures, it might be expected that the permanent moonlighter has a larger family to support than does the transient moonlighter. Moonlighting would then become only an economic phenomenon in that it is related to number of dependents on the head of the household. Thompson (1961) found that among his sample of moonlighters, the average family size was 4.31 members, compared with an average of 3.14 members for the whole United States. Only 37.1 per cent of all United States families were composed of four or more members, while 71.4 per cent of the sample had four or more members. These results show that on the average, the moonlighter has to support a larger number of dependents than does the non-moonlighter. Deiter's (1966) study supports these conclusions. He found that having three or more children in the family was one of the main factors related to the moonlighting rate.

Moonlighting cannot be said to be a function simply of the employee's wage on his primary job. Rather, moonlighting is related to the financial needs of the worker. These needs may develop due to the number of dependents the worker has to support. A weekly wage of \$100 may be sufficient to support two people but quite insufficient for the needs of a family of five members. In the latter case the worker may be forced to take a second job in order to meet regular household expenses. However, financial needs arise due to other reasons than number of dependents in the family. A worker with high aspirations may take a second job in order to be able to buy himself a new house or a car even

though his primary wage is sufficient for the support of his family. Summarizing the general motivational characteristics of the moonlighter, Wilensky (1963) says there exists "An unhappy imbalance between family needs and family resources, and the chance to alleviate the problem by filling in with an extra job."

The worker's financial needs, therefore, determine whether or not he feels the necessity of taking a second job, whether these needs are for food and rent or for luxury items: "The amount a man makes on his regular job does not necessarily determine whether he moonlights. It is the amount he wants to spend." (Time, 1957).

It could be argued here that the financial needs the second job is satisfying for the moonlighter determine whether or not he will be a transient or a permanent moonlighter. Dependent on whether the worker needs a permanent second income or whether his need is for extra income from time to time, he will be a transient or a permanent moonlighter.

Summarizing the discussion on the demographic theory approach to the study of labor turnover, several hypotheses may now be developed:

Hypothesis 3.--Tenure on the second job is positively related to several individual characteristics. The independent variables to be included in the correlation with tenure include: age, marital status, commuting distance, education, primary occupation, tenure at primary occupation, home ownership status, major financial commitments, income from primary occupation, hours worked at primary occupation, spouse's occupation, number and age of children.

Hypothesis 4.--Tenure on the second job is positively related to the need for a permanent second income in order to meet regular household expenses, either because the primary wage is low or because the primary wage is low in relation to the number of dependents in the family.

Hypothesis 5.--Tenure on the second job is positively related to a general disjunction between family income and family aspirations, resulting in the need for a second income. High level of aspiration will be indicated by the family's expenditure on luxury items such as washers, dryers, freezers, dishwashers, color television, stereo or automobiles. Whether the family owns or rents its home could also be taken as an indication of its general level of aspiration.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

This research was initiated at the request of the president of Southern Building Maintenance (SBM) which is a business located in North Carolina. SBM is an organization which contracts to clean offices in the Greensboro, Winston-Salem, High Point, Greenville, Charlotte, and Raleigh-Durham areas of North Carolina. The research concentrated on the Greensboro office of SBM and was concerned with the high labor turnover experienced among the janitorial personnel employed there.

The pertinent characteristics of SBM are outlined here. A representative of SBM competes with other janitorial service businesses in the area for contracts to clean offices in Greensboro. Generally speaking, the lowest bidder gets the contract. This fact has several important ramifications. First, there is constant pressure to keep organizational costs to a minimum. For this reason, the janitorial personnel of the company are hired at the minimum wage rate required by law. The contract stipulates the number of hours allocated to clean each particular building or office as well as the specific cleaning that has to be done in that time. Therefore, not only are the janitorial employees hired at the minimum wage rate, they are also confined to a definite number of hours at that wage rate with a specific task to be performed within that time.

Most of the contracts are for evening cleaning. The janitorial employees begin work at around 6:00 p.m. and finish around 9:30 p.m.

However, this is not the case for all employees. Some finish much later than that and some start as early as 4:00 p.m. This point helps characterize the employees of SBM to a limited extent. The janitorial personnel may be either (a) men and women who are employed during the day by another organization and work for SBM in the evening, i.e., moonlighters, or (b) men and women who are unemployed during the day, their employment at SBM being their only job. The first of these categories constitutes the greatest group of employees. The majority of those moonlighting employees are men. The second group of employees outlined above is composed primarily of women who are housewives during the day and work at SBM in the evening part time. Also in this group are male and female students working to help pay their way through college. This second category constitutes only a very small proportion of all employees. Most of SBM employees, then, are moonlighters.

Over 90 per cent of SBM janitorial employees are black. Six of the seven supervisors are black and one of the three managers is black. All of the higher management personnel are white. This corresponds to what is found in the rest of the country. In a nationwide study of multiple jobholders in 1965, Bogan and Swanstrom (1966) found that nine out of ten moonlighters were white. However, of those moonlighters who were black, Haygle and Michelotti (1971) found in their national study of multiple jobholding in 1970 and 1971, a greater proportion had second jobs in service industries than did white moonlighters.

This research concentrated on the evening operations of SBM, which encompasses the bulk of its contracts. There is a small daytime

operation which consists of one manager, one supervisor and about eighteen janitorial employees. The evening business is handled by the other two managers (both white) who delegate to six supervisors. Each supervisor has between fourteen and twenty employees in his group and each group is responsible for either a "building" or a "route." There are two supervisors who work with their groups in a "building." This means that all the janitors in the supervisor's group report to one building and spend all their time cleaning that one building. The supervisor is responsible for that one building only. All large buildings are cleaned in this way. Where a contract is obtained for a single office or small building that does not require a great deal of time to clean, one supervisor is given a number of these contracts and has to organize his group to clean every building on his "route." This means that, unlike in a "building," both the supervisor and his janitors have to move from one office or building to another during the course of the evening. Four of the supervisors at SBM are responsible for "routes."

At this point it is possible to summarize the information that has been accumulated concerning each supervisor and his route or building.

Supervisor A.--Has four years with the company, two as a supervisor. Supervisor A is a black supervisor who is responsible for one building. It is a modern, fourteen story office block in the downtown area. He averages twenty employees in his group, ten men and ten women.

Supervisor B.--Has four years with the company, all as a supervisor. Supervisor B is white and is responsible for one building and a work group which averages nineteen employees. At the time of the research there were eleven women and nine men in the group. The building is located in the downtown area and is a four-story building with offices, a canteen and large areas of computer equipment and semi-office space.

Supervisor C.--Has five years with the company, four as a supervisor. Supervisor C is black and is responsible for a route consisting of five separate buildings. He organizes a work group of about eighteen employees, nine men and nine women. The janitors on this route do not move from building to building. Each is responsible for an area in one building only. The supervisor has to move from one to the other. One of the buildings on this route is the local newspaper office which operates 24 hours a day.

Supervisor D.--Has five years with the company, three as a supervisor. Supervisor D is black and is responsible for a route and an average work group of fifteen janitors. At the time of this study nine of these were women and five were men. The route consists of many small buildings. The janitors have to move from building to building during the evening. On a trip around the route with this supervisor the researcher was out from 6:00 p.m. until 11:30 p.m. and the whole time was spent going from building to building in a car, looking around the building and back in the car again. Even after 5-1/2 hours the supervisor still had two buildings to check.

Supervisor E.--Has seven years with the company, five as a supervisor. This supervisor is black and is responsible for a route and a work group which averages fifteen employees, nine of whom are women and six men.

Supervisor F.--Has two years with the company, almost all as a supervisor. Supervisor F is black and is responsible for a route and an average work group of sixteen employees, eight men and eight women. Some of the janitors on this route stay at one building and some have to move around from building to building. The main building on this route is the airport which operates 24 hours a day.

It is a general rule at SBM that women are hired as general cleaners, i.e., dusting, vacuuming, tidying and emptying trash, while men are hired as floormen, i.e., dust-mopping, washing, waxing, stripping, and buffing floors.

The object of this study, as mentioned at the beginning, was to investigate the causes of high labor turnover experienced among the janitorial personnel employed by SBM. It is interesting at this point to briefly illustrate the labor turnover situation in the work groups outlined above. The monthly labor turnover rate was computed for the six groups already discussed for the months of March and April, 1972. The rate, expressed as a percentage, is derived from the following formula:

$$\text{Monthly Labor Turnover (per cent)} = \frac{\text{Number of leavers during the month}}{\text{Average number employed during the month}} \times 100$$

Of course, the number of leavers in a month will include several

different types of turnover. Employees may be discharged or they may resign. Resignations may be of several different types. Uncontrollable resignations involve changes in the personal circumstances of the employee, such as marriage, pregnancy, illness, accident, death, retirement, movement from the area or difficulties involved with transportation or housing. Controllable resignations generally reflect job dissatisfaction and it is this aspect of labor turnover that the employer is usually able to do something about. The statistics presented here show total personnel changes including discharges, controllable and uncontrollable turnover. There is a reason for this. Ford (1931:185) states that:

A table of total turnover for a given month should show all separations, no matter for what reason. The occasional practice of some employers in eliminating from their tables those separations due to death, illness, seasonal changes in labor demand, etc., is undesirable because of the possibility that some very pertinent information can sometimes be obtained from the cases eliminated from the table.

TABLE 1

MONTHLY LABOR TURNOVER FOR TWO CONSECUTIVE MONTHS IN 1972

	(Per cent) Monthly Labor Turnover	
	March	April
Supervisor A	0	10
Supervisor B	21	5
Supervisor C	10	22
Supervisor D	0	7
Supervisor E	0	19
Supervisor F	25	13

It would be fallacious to transpose the above monthly figures into an annual turnover percentage as it is very likely that in this kind of

work there are seasonal fluctuations. Just from the figures in Table 1 most of the departments may be seen to have an unsteady turnover rate from month to month. From Table 1 it is possible to compute a mean monthly labor turnover rate for the months of March and April, 1972 for each department:

Supervisor A - mean monthly labor turnover = 5 per cent
Supervisor B - mean monthly labor turnover = 13 per cent
Supervisor C - mean monthly labor turnover = 16 per cent
Supervisor D - mean monthly labor turnover = 3.5 per cent
Supervisor E - mean monthly labor turnover = 9.5 per cent
Supervisor F - mean monthly labor turnover = 19 per cent

The three departments with the highest turnover rates are B, C, and F.

Even this cursory glance at labor turnover statistics for SBM shows us that in several departments the figures could represent an annual turnover rate of over 100 per cent. This would be extremely high, even for a service industry which generally does exhibit higher labor turnover than other industries. In Wolfbein's (1952) study of job tenure of American workers, it was found that service workers, except domestic cleaners, had 2.0 years as their median number of years on their current job: men had a median of 2.9 years and women a median of 1.2 years. These data were compared with those of all employed persons in all industries where the median number of years on the current job was 3.4, with a range of 9.4 years to 1.2 years. These figures indicate that service workers generally do have shorter tenure on their jobs than do workers in other industries but it still does not account for the extremely high percentage of monthly labor turnover found in several departments at SBM.

The fact that the majority of the janitorial personnel at SBM are black may be one of the factors that contributes to its high labor turnover rates. Wolfbein (1952) found "Job tenure was consistently longer among whites than non-whites for both men and women." However, as Wolfbein is quick to point out, this is not necessarily a function of the race of the employees. He qualifies his original statement by saying, "The major reason for this disparity is the greater concentration of non-white jobs in casual or part-time work and in occupations with characteristically lower job stability." It has already been shown that service industries are generally characterized by shorter tenure than the average for other industries in the country.

It is not sufficient merely to state the monthly percentage rate of labor turnover in a company. A more detailed analysis is required in order to understand the constituents of the labor turnover and establish patterns of turnover in a certain time period. Although an annual labor turnover rate of 100 per cent may appear to be indicative of total organizational chaos, this is not always the case. Indeed, Maier (1955:569) points out, "Even when turnover is high, a large proportion of the employees are stable, whereas a minority is moving from one job to another." This indicates that some employees may be called turnover prone while others are relatively stable. Management's problem is to "weed out" the turnover prone employees and develop the means of attracting those who are likely to be stable. Scott and his associates (1941:501) summarize the preceding points by saying, "It is apparent that, although in the average company the great

majority of the employees may be permanently settled in their work, the labor turnover for the company as a whole may exceed 100 per cent."

In the first nine months of 1969, an attempt was made at SBM to analyze labor turnover at that company. The total number of terminations for the nine months was taken and for each terminator, the number of months' tenure with SBM was computed. In this way it was possible to understand at which stage of his career with SBM the new worker was most likely to leave. The results are summarized in Figure 1. The total number of separations for the nine-month period was 291 (184 male and 107 female). Figures 2 and 3 show the separations dichotomized by sex. There was found to be no significant differences between male and female patterns of separation.

From Figure 1 it may be seen that at SBM, 77 per cent of all labor turnover occurred in the first three months of employment with the company. For those employees who stayed with the company at least six months, the rate of labor turnover settled down. If an employee remained with the company longer than three months, it was likely that he would still be with the company after nine months. Employees with only one month tenure were more likely to leave the company than were employees with nine months' tenure. There is a strong relationship here, therefore, between turnover and length of service with the company. This seems almost to be a tautologous statement and yet it has important implications for management. As Maier (1955:569) points out, in a situation like this, "In order to replace a man who has been

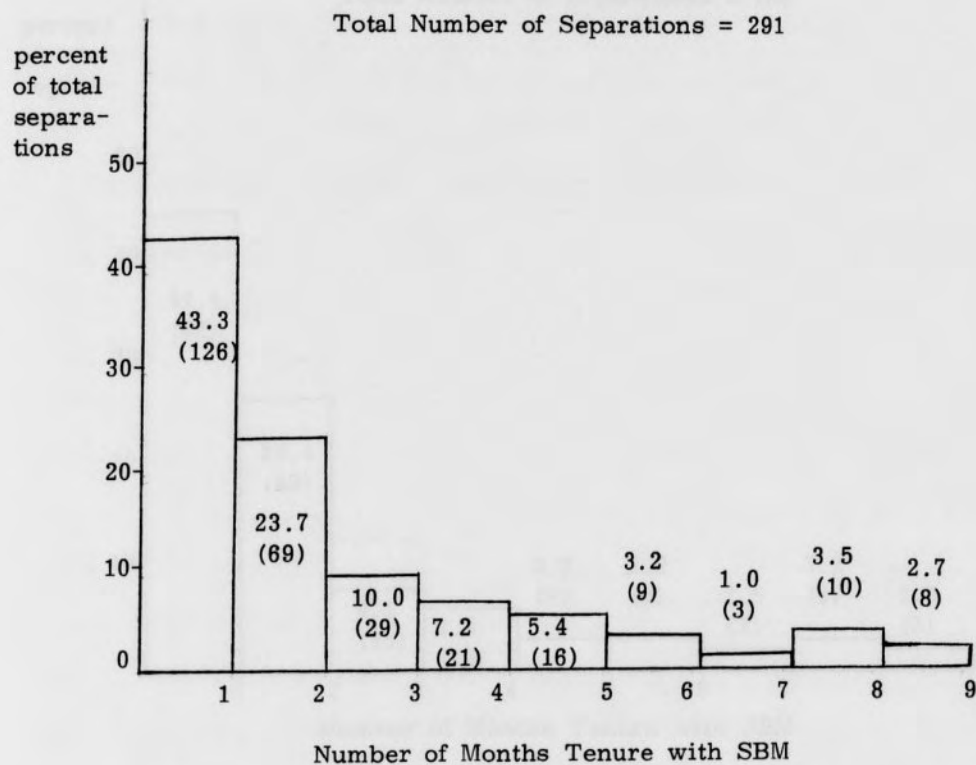


Fig. 1. Total Separations at SBM from January 1, 1969 to September 30, 1969 by Number of Months of Tenure with the Company.

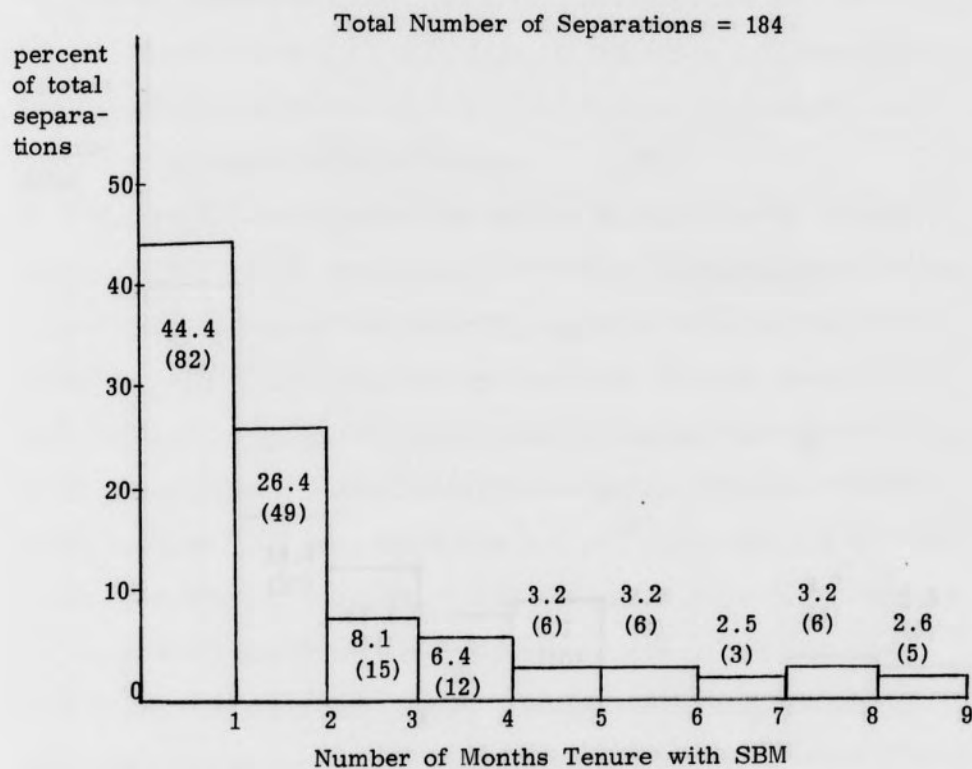


Fig. 2. Total Male Separations at SBM from January 1, 1969 to September 30, 1969 by Number of Months of Tenure with the Company.

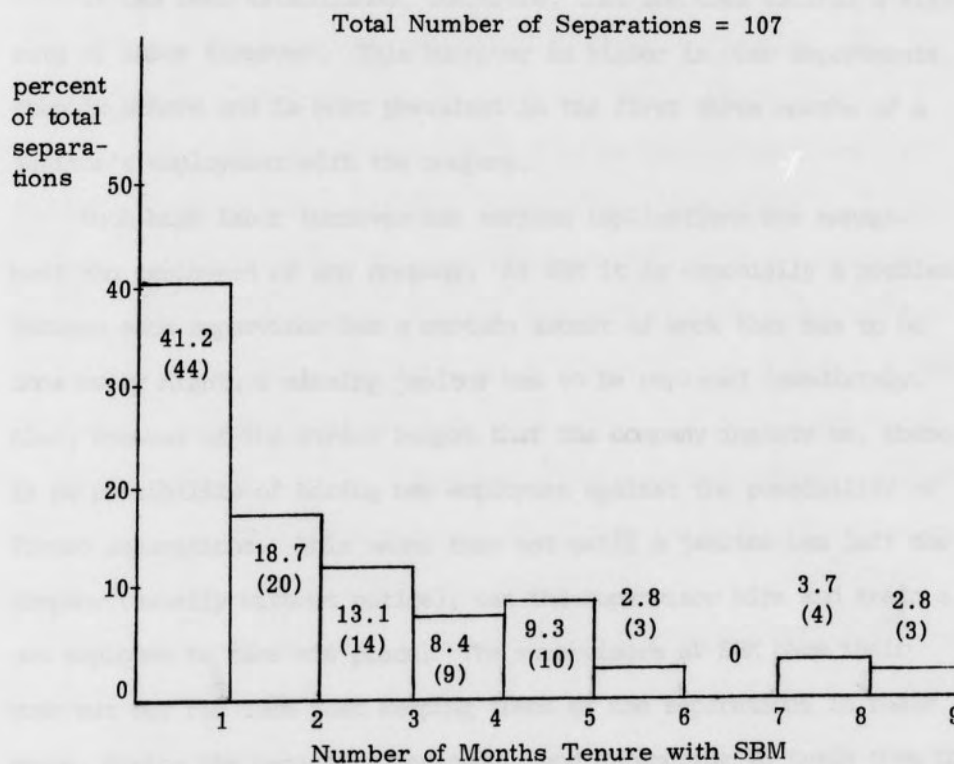


Fig. 3. Total Female Separations at SBM from January 1, 1969 to September 30, 1969 by Number of Months of Tenure with the Company.

in service for a year, there is a strong possibility that more than ten men will have to be hired to obtain another year's service."

It has been established, therefore, that SBM does exhibit a high rate of labor turnover. This turnover is higher in some departments than in others and is most prevalent in the first three months of a janitor's employment with the company.

Such high labor turnover has serious implications for management and employees of any company. At SBM it is especially a problem. Because each supervisor has a certain amount of work that has to be done every night, a missing janitor has to be replaced immediately. Also, because of the strict budget that the company insists on, there is no possibility of hiring new employees against the possibility of future separations. This means that not until a janitor has left the company (usually without notice), can the supervisor hire and train a new employee to take his place. The supervisors at SBM have their work cut out for them just keeping track of the separations in their group, hiring the necessary personnel, and attempting to train them to do the work in the shortest possible time.

Another problem that arises due to the rapid turnover of personnel is that there are no set procedures for hiring new personnel. As has already been pointed out, when a supervisor loses a man, the nature of the work is such that he has to be replaced immediately. Very often the supervisor is not aware that he has lost a man until that man fails to turn up for work. The janitor's work may be able to be covered by others in the group for perhaps one night, but after that a replacement has to be found. The supervisor often finds himself in the position of

having to call into the main office on the evening that one of his janitors fails to turn up for work and hire whoever happens to be applying for work that particular evening. Hiring practices are, therefore, to put it mildly, haphazard. Generally speaking, all applications are processed through the main office. Prospective employees call into the office and fill in an application form. If someone is needed that evening he may be hired immediately. If not, his application is put on file and he may be called if a vacancy occurs later. However, because it is often important to hire a new employee at very short notice, supervisors often resort to more informal hiring practices. One of his janitors may have a brother or a daughter who is willing to help out, or a friend who needs an extra job. A supervisor usually gets to know which members of his work group may be called on to help out if somebody else lets him down.

The high rate of labor turnover at SBM also causes problems among the office staff, who have to make up the payroll and keep records on every employee even if he only stays with the company as little as one week. Just as an example of the amount of work this entails, SBM sent out 1,500 tax statements (W2 Forms) for 1971, while their average work force for the year was only 500.

Just from the few examples cited here, it may be seen that the high rate of labor turnover causes many administrative, supervisory and management problems at SBM.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

As outlined in Chapter I, a two-stage analysis of the labor turnover problem was attempted at SBM. First, a statistical analysis of application blank-type independent variables was undertaken in order to establish which variables were positively related to long tenure and which to short tenure. This analysis was concerned with characteristics of individuals which could be associated with long or short tenure at SBM. From this analysis it was hoped to establish some selection and hiring criteria for the company. Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5 were to be tested using this method.

Second, an analysis of the work situation at SBM was carried out in order to establish which factors were conducive to short tenure and which to long tenure. Hypotheses 1 and 2 were to be tested in this way. This stage of the analysis involved participant observation, non-participant observation and formal and informal interviews in order to understand the organizational factors.

It was hoped that the application forms filled out by all SBM personnel at the time of employment could be used to supply the information needed for the first stage of the analysis. The application blank used by SBM is reasonably extensive and contains most of the information necessary to test Hypothesis 3: age, sex, marital status, previous employment record including hours worked and pay received at

the primary job, number of dependents, address and education. However, a problem arose in that SBM does not keep all the application forms for personnel who no longer work for them. There is no definite rule concerning this but it seems that unless it is expected or hoped that the exiting employee is likely to return to SBM at some future date, his application form is discarded and no records kept. Application forms of the personnel still employed at SBM are kept on file but a casual perusal of these revealed that in most cases, the form was not completely filled out. So an analysis of the application blank information, even for long-tenure employees, would not have revealed sufficient data.

It was decided, therefore, to compile a questionnaire containing all the relevant independent variables and to administer this questionnaire to a sample of long-tenure employees (personnel who had been working for SBM for at least nine months in March, 1972), and a sample of short-tenure employees (personnel who had worked for SBM for less than three months during the period from June, 1971 to March, 1972). The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix I. The questionnaire was designed specifically as a mailed questionnaire and as such contains a small number of questions, all of which were factual and required little or no thought. No open-ended, attitude questions were included as it was thought that this would lengthen the questionnaire and contribute to the respondents' reluctance to cooperate. All the questions were worded as simply as possible as it was anticipated that some of the respondents would be unable to read or would have difficulty with a more complicated questionnaire.

The two samples were gathered from the records at SBM. It was hoped to arrive at a long-tenure group of about 100 and a short-tenure group of about 100 personnel. (This is the sample size recommended by Inskeep, 1970). However, only 87 personnel could be found who had been with the company at least nine months in March, 1972. The whole group was, therefore, included in the analysis. From the records, it was found that 151 ex-employees had been with SBM for less than three months during the period from June, 1971 to March, 1972. All these employees were included in the analysis, as it was thought that the response rate would be much less for janitors who no longer worked for the company and, therefore, who felt no compulsion to assist the company in any way than it would for employees who were still on SBM payroll and who might feel some pressure on them to cooperate. It was hoped, for this reason, that most of the long-tenure group would respond to the mailed questionnaire and that the two final samples would be somewhere in the region of 80 respondents in each of the two groups.

The questionnaires were mailed to the two groups along with an explanatory letter from the president of the company in which he asked for their help, told them what he was hoping to achieve from the study and offered them the chance of a prize if they returned the questionnaire in the stamped, addressed envelope provided before a certain date. The question of offering some incentive for returning the questionnaire was debated. It is true that often offering a prize of this sort biases the questionnaire responses because respondents will fill out the questionnaire carelessly or even inaccurately just to qualify for the reward. However, in this particular case, it was thought that

the questions were so factual that little could be done to distort the responses even if the participants were eager for the prize. The respondents were given a period of two weeks to return their completed questionnaires.

The response from this first attempt at data collection was so poor (about 10 per cent for both groups) that a second and third attempt had to be made. It was decided, after the first attempt, to approach the two groups in different ways. The short-tenure group who no longer had any contact with SBM were approached the second time by an interviewer (black, male and female students) who called at their homes and asked for their cooperation. The interviewers were told to reassure the respondents as to the anonymity of their responses and to explain again what the study was attempting to accomplish. The problem at this second stage of data collection was not so much people refusing to cooperate as it was the interviewers' inability to contact a large number of the sample. In many cases the respondents had moved since they worked at SBM and so the address from the files was inaccurate. An attempt to trace those ex-employees who had moved through the use of the city directory was not very successful. It appeared that a large number of the individuals in this sample either did not ever bother to register their new addresses or they moved so often that the address in the city directory was incorrect. Out of the original 151 group of short-tenure employees, 47 were contacted and responded, 41 were contacted and refused to respond, and 63 were never contacted due to incorrect addresses.

The long-tenure employees of SBM were contacted, after the first attempt at mailing the questionnaires, through their supervisors. The supervisors knew about the study already as they had been interviewed informally before the questionnaires were mailed. They were asked for their help in distributing and collecting the questionnaires from those long-tenure employees who were in their work groups. They were also asked to explain again to their subordinates the purpose of the study and to reassure them that their responses would be treated confidentially. This procedure was attempted twice. Out of the original 87 personnel in the long-tenure group, 37 responded and 50 refused to cooperate; all were contacted.

The final sample consisted, therefore, of 37 long-tenure employees and 47 short-tenure employees. This still represents a very poor response rate and, as such, may constitute an unrepresentative sample. However, it was decided to go ahead with the analysis of the data as planned with the sample available, trying to keep in mind its drawbacks and the unknown effects the biases might have on the results.

The questionnaires were coded (see Appendix II). Occupation of the respondent and the respondent's spouse were coded using Hollingshead's (1957) occupational classification scale. Addresses were coded according to their distance from the town center, as it was the commuting distance from the area of work that was thought to be a relevant variable. The data from each respondent was then transferred to a card. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) canned program was used to process and interpret the data. First, a frequency distribution was obtained and then the independent variables were all

cross-tabulated with the performance criterion, tenure. Other cross-tabulations were obtained holding certain of the test variables, such as sex, constant. The Chi-square test was used to test the null hypothesis of no difference between the short-tenure and the long-tenure groups.

The examination of the organizational factors at SBM which could be associated with short or long tenure of employed personnel took a different form. Hypotheses 1 and 2 were tested by means of extensive observation, both participant and non-participant, and formal and informal interviews with SBM personnel. First, all the supervisors and the two managers were asked to attend a short meeting, at which time the objectives of the study and what it would entail were explained, and their cooperation and suggestions invited. Appointments were then made with each of the six supervisors for a personal interview at a later date. After this meeting, notes were made on what had happened as well as any suggestions made by the supervisors.

At the interviews with the supervisors a few personal details were first accumulated, such as, length of tenure with SBM, primary occupation, tenure at the primary occupation and number of janitors on their particular route or building. The interviews then generally evolved into discussions concerning SBM, with the supervisors giving their personal opinions as to improvements which the company might consider making in order to improve the work situation for the employees. The interviews were planned as informal discussions. However, certain questions were worked into every discussion. Each supervisor was asked, (a) what were the main complaints he heard from

his subordinates, (b) in his opinion, what were the main reasons for employees leaving SBM, (c) which kind of person did the supervisor believe stayed longest on the job and which were the best workers, and (d) what changes at SBM would make his job, as a supervisor, easier. Detailed notes were taken throughout the interviews, with an attempt made at getting down verbatim quotations from the supervisors.

These interviews fulfilled the dual purpose of (a) establishing some degree of rapport with each supervisor and gaining his confidence and cooperation, and (b) gaining insight into the factors which might prove to be significant and might be looked at for future stages of the study.

The interviews were followed by periods of observation at each of the routes and buildings. One evening was spent with each of the six supervisors, the object being to observe what the supervisors' jobs consisted of and to see exactly how and under what conditions the work was carried out. The supervisors were asked not to deviate in any way from their normal schedules, and they were not given any advance warning of the observer's presence. A point was made of asking each supervisor personally if he would object to being accompanied that particular evening. On the way to the first building each supervisor was assured that the observer was in no way acting in an inspection or supervisory capacity but that this was thought to be the best way of getting to know exactly how the business was run. In fact, this assurance was not necessary in any case, as the youth (relative to the supervisors) and obvious ignorance concerning the company procedures of the observer put the supervisors at ease.

This experience was extremely valuable because, as well as fulfilling its primary function of acquainting the researcher with the fundamental aspects of the work situation, it also provided a means of getting to know the supervisors better and understanding the problems they came up against in the normal run of the job. No notes were taken during the periods of observation but a detailed description of the evening's events was written immediately after leaving the supervisors.

Although some of the janitorial staff were met during these periods of observation, no attempt was made to talk to any of them at any length, partly because the supervisor was always present at this stage and partly because time was limited and the supervisors did have a schedule to keep. It was decided that interviewing a small number of the janitorial staff was an essential part of this study. Each supervisor was asked to recommend for interview one member of his group who had been with the company longer than a year and who was a good worker. The rationale behind this criterion was that the janitors would have had a great deal of experience with the company, would have seen many people leave for varying reasons, and would be able to talk objectively about the drawbacks of working for SBM. Due to the limitations of time, only four long-tenure employees were interviewed. The procedure followed was for the janitor and the interviewer to work together during the evening while they talked about SBM and the job. At first it was thought that the janitors' time schedules were so strict that they did not have any time at all to stop work and answer questions. Insisting on this formal method of interviewing might have produced more extensive notes, but it

would have incurred the hostility of the janitors because, in effect, they would have been paying to be interviewed. The method adopted did not allow for the taking of notes during the interview. However, it had advantages in that it enabled the janitors to point out exactly what their work entailed and what parts of it they objected to; it helped establish confidence in the interviewer, and enabled her to get an overall picture of the kind of people the janitors were. The time spent by the janitors answering questions was compensated by the little help they got with their work that evening. Two men and two women were interviewed in this way. A description of the events of each evening was written immediately after leaving the janitors.

In the general process of collecting data, arranging for interviews and meeting appointments, a great deal of time was spent at the main office in downtown Greensboro. Informal discussions with the two managers, the office staff and the president of the company contributed to the accumulation of information concerning SBM.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The discussion of the results of the research will be divided into two sections. First, the contribution made to the organizational hypotheses (1 and 2) by data collected by observation and interviews with SBM personnel, and second, the results of the analysis of the questionnaire data and how it refutes or supports the demographic hypotheses.

Part I. Organizational Hypotheses

Repetition of the hypotheses of the study (Chapter I) is made here for the sake of convenience.

Hypothesis 1.--Labor turnover is negatively associated with the degree of financial and personal security the employee perceives the job is offering him. Financial and personal security would be measured by (a) financial remuneration, (b) security benefits, (c) efficiency of the training program, and (d) likelihood of layoff.

Hypothesis 2.--Labor turnover is negatively associated with the extent to which the workers' social or human needs are satisfied by the job. Social and human needs would include (a) the chance to work in small groups rather than as an isolated individual, (b) the opportunity to set their own targets or for group autonomy in work decisions, (c) close contact and communication between the worker and his supervisor and higher management, and (d) worker identification with company objectives and norms.

This part of the study employed data generated by the less formal methods of observation and interview. The first set of interviews was held with six supervisors. The results of the interviews will be reported separately for each supervisor, followed by a synthesis of their content.

Supervisor A.--At his primary job, Supervisor A is a press mechanic and has been employed by one company for nineteen years. At SBM he has supervised a building and an average of 20 janitorial personnel for two years. Supervisor A reported that he could not complain about a turnover problem. This is borne out by the statistics on labor turnover collected for March and April, 1972 (see Table I, p. 28). He believes the job of a supervisor is very important. A supervisor needs to be "diplomatic," to show concern for the people who work for him. He finds that his janitors complain most about being hurried on the job. As was pointed out in Chapter II, costs are kept to a minimum by assigning a certain time to each area to be cleaned, the janitors being paid only for that time regardless of how long the job takes them, or could take them. According to Supervisor A, this is a major source of irritation for the janitors: "It irritates people if they have to hurry and don't have time to do a good job." He says, "We can't do the job without the people," and yet sometimes the costs seem to be more important. Pay is cited as another major source of grievance among his janitors. As there is no statutory wage policy at SBM, workers never know when or if they are ever going to qualify for a raise. Supervisor A recommends that janitors be hired at the minimum wage but be able to look forward to a raise if they do their job well over a period of time. To illustrate this point, Supervisor A pointed out that recently the time allowed each

cleaner every evening at this particular building had been cut from four hours to three and a quarter hours. This represents a pay cut, as the same amount of work had to be done in less time and, therefore, for less pay. One janitor quit over this change and all the others in the work group were discontent.

Supervisor A likes to be responsible for hiring his own work group. There are several characteristics that he has learned from experience to look for when hiring future personnel. He believes that these characteristics typify a worker who will stay with the company:

- a) "Someone who has been recommended by one of the people already working in the group will usually be reliable.
- b) Men and women over 30 and under 50.
- c) Well-dressed people--not fashionable or 'faddish.'
- d) Married men or women who have a settled family life will usually be responsible employees."

The most important aspect of the supervisor's job, he believes, is to try to keep his employees at the job. To do this, Supervisor A tries always to show his janitors respect. He always calls them "Mr." or "Mrs." rather than by their first names. He tries to retain his janitors by giving them every chance to improve their work and enjoy their jobs, by telling them exactly what their jobs entail, and by keeping them in touch with how they are doing during the first few weeks. If their work is not good, Supervisor A will tell them, in the belief that the employee will improve his performance on his own.

Supervisor A has close contact with all his group. By being with his supervisees all evening he is able to establish close relationships with them. A revealing glimpse of Supervisor A's personality is gotten

from his statement at the end of the interview: "I let them (the janitors) know at the beginning that I am a Christian and a Deacon at my Church and that I will behave in that way towards them."

During the period of observation spent with Supervisor A it was noticed that there was a very friendly atmosphere in the building among the janitors. There was a small room on the ground floor of the building where supplies were kept and where the janitors checked in with the supervisor every evening. It was here that any special instructions for the evening were given to individual janitors and where the janitors knew they could find the supervisor at the beginning of the evening if they had any questions or complaints. This group of SBM employees had their own time clock. Other employees on other routes or at other buildings had to check in to the main office by telephone when they began work. However, at Supervisor A's building this procedure was not followed. In short, this supervisor and his work group were relatively independent of the main office and the two managers.

The cohesiveness and relative autonomy of this work group is illustrated by the fact that the janitors let their friends in the same building know if they were not going to be in on a particular night, rather than their supervisor or the managers at the main office. Also, if the supervisor is short of cleaners one evening, there are a couple of the cleaners who have friends or daughters or sisters who will come to work to fill in for an evening at hardly any notice. At this building there is very little risk of being totally let down by a cleaner without any notice. The cleaner will send word if he

will not be in to work and will even sometimes arrange for a substitute for himself. The supervisor is never completely left in the lurch. Supervisor A is able to say of his group, "They almost supervise themselves."

Another factor that makes this particular group reasonably autonomous is the procedure of communication between the janitors and the building representative who has to check that the work is being done correctly. On other routes and at other buildings, if any employee at the building holding a contract with SBM has a complaint about the work standards or wants some special attention paid to one aspect of the job on a particular night, he calls the main office at SBM and speaks to one of the managers. The manager then has to pass the communication on to the supervisor who then has to inform the janitor concerned. At Supervisor A's building, however, there is a special book kept in the supply room where the building employee leaves messages for the supervisor concerning any work that needs doing or any complaints that he has heard. Similarly, the supervisor can write messages to the building representative, explaining why one area was not given the necessary attention on a particular evening or when he will be able to get to work on a job that the representative has indicated needs doing. This method cuts out any interference by the managers and makes for ease and efficiency of communication between the cleaners and the contract holders. According to Supervisor A, the method works very well.

Supervisor B.--Supervisor B is a supervisor at his primary job and has been with the same company for 23 years, 13 as a supervisor. At SBM he supervises a building and about nineteen men and women

janitors. From his general experience with the company, he believes that women tend to stay longer on the job than men and that students, male or female, do not stay long on the job.

One of his main complaints about the company is that it takes about two weeks to train a cleaner so that the work is done well, even longer for a floorman, and that by the time they are trained they often leave. Despite this fact, Supervisor B does not believe that seniority raises would be a good incentive for employees to stay with the company; rather, he believes that a system of merit raises could be introduced as incentives for the workers to do good work. Merit raises would be more successful for the company because, in Supervisor B's opinion, it is more important to encourage good cleaners and floormen than to keep bad or mediocre ones.

One of the complaints he hears most often from his group is about pay. Supervisor B sympathizes with this complaint and believes that good workers are worth more to the company than they are receiving at present. For example, he would like to see a good floorman get \$2.00 per hour rather than the minimum wage that he is now receiving.

The building supervised by Supervisor B is not as conducive to the formation of a cohesive work group as is the building of which Supervisor A is in charge. There is no office that can serve as a meeting place for all the group; the employees do not have their own time clock. Each employee must call into the main office to check in every evening.

Complaints and special instructions are received at the main office by one of the managers, who then communicates with the supervisor and

makes sure that the instructions are carried out. During the period of observation, the manager arrived early in the evening with a list of things to be done that evening or about which there had been complaints. He discussed these things with the supervisor, and they decided how best to approach the problems in the time available to them. After the manager had left, the supervisor made it clear to the cleaner and the floorman, whose schedules he was having to rearrange, that this was none of his doing and that he had his own ideas about the complaints and about the manager's ideas on how the work should be done. The supervisor had his own schedule by which he attempted to make sure that all the work necessary was accomplished regularly. Interference from the manager disorganized this schedule and probably meant that the work scheduled for that evening would have to be either hurried or ignored altogether, resulting in further complaints another evening.

Supervisor C.--Supervisor C's primary job is as a staff and juvenile counselor, a job he has held for five years. At SBM he supervises a route and about eighteen janitors. Supervisor C is only a part-time supervisor as he spends about half his time as a regular floorman. His route is, therefore, smaller than those of the other supervisors.

From his experience with the company, he believes that older men and women, particularly older women, tend to stay longer on the job because they tend to be more settled. Younger people do not stay very long as they usually just need a little extra spending money and try out the job for a short period of time. His impression is that women who stay a long time with the company tend to be older than the men who stay.

Supervisor C believes that the major complaint he hears from his janitors is about pay. Some of the really loyal, long-tenure cleaners do not complain and yet the supervisor believes they have every right to do so. Some of the cleaners on his route have been with the company for over three years and they have only just got a five cents raise above the minimum. Others who are joining the company for the first time are getting paid more than that as a starting wage. The fact that there is no standard wage policy for all employees tends to discriminate against those employees who have been with the company for a long time. Supervisor C believes that a floorman should start at a higher wage rate than a general cleaner. A good floorman is a valuable asset and his job should be considered as a skilled one. The floor is the most important part of any building as it quickly becomes apparent if it is neglected. A good floorman is able to tell just by looking what treatment a floor needs at any particular time.

Concerning the workers' major reasons for leaving SBM and the major causes of discontent on the job, Supervisor C finds that the time factor tends to be complained about a great deal. For example, one of his buildings consists of a large area of office space full of desks and office equipment. The time allowed to clean this area was cut by half an hour. One cleaner had been responsible for the whole area and was having to accept a wage cut when the change was made. Time cuts are administered by the management at SBM and the supervisors have little if any influence in these decisions. The cleaner, who had been working at this particular building for over a year, left after the change was made. When one of the managers intervened and attempted to

improve his work habits, the cleaner was upset and left immediately. Since then, no cleaner has stayed at this building longer than a month. It is clear to the supervisor that either there is not enough time allocated for this building or that more than one cleaner is necessary in order to do a good job in the building in the time allocated. However, this is not considered by the management and complaints about the standard of work and difficulty in keeping cleaners at this building continue. During the period of observation with this supervisor, one of the managers arranged to meet the supervisor at this particular building and told him what work needed especially to be done as complaints had been received again. The supervisor was resigned and said that there was nothing he could do as he just could not get cleaners to stay at this building. Some new cleaners had left after one evening when they realized what a tremendous amount of work they would be responsible for. Others left after they had received complaints from the management regarding the quality of their work and when they realized that they were not able to do a better job in the time allocated to them. According to Supervisor C, in order to do a good job of cleaning this building, the janitors have to put in extra unpaid time of their own. "This is abusing a good employee, taking advantage of his desire to do good work."

Supervisor D.--Supervisor D is a cloth handler at his primary job and has been with the same mill for 25 years. At SBM he supervises a route and about fifteen janitors. He reported that he did not have a turnover problem on his route, a fact that is substantiated by the

statistics for labor turnover for the various departments in March and April, 1972 (see Table 1, page 28).

According to Supervisor D, the most frequent complaints from the janitors concern money. He believes that most of the janitors who work at SBM need the second job because they find it hard to make ends meet with the money from their primary occupation. For this reason, he feels that they are often dissatisfied with the money they get at SBM. Another frequent cause for complaint is the equipment the janitors use in their work. During the period of observation with this supervisor, two of the janitors asked him questions about "my vacuum" or "my dust-mop." It seems that such items of equipment become important to the cleaner and he or she finds it difficult to adapt to a different machine if the original has to be taken away for repairs. On the evening that the observation took place, Supervisor D was carrying a repaired vacuum cleaner in the trunk of his car and was planning to return it to one of his janitors who needed one. However, things did not go as planned because the maid in question refused to accept the repaired vacuum, saying that it was not the one that she had sent in originally, and that she particularly wanted that vacuum back. She made the supervisor promise to bring "her" vacuum the next night. The supervisor promised to do so.

It seemed that Supervisor D had exceptionally good relations with his group, as witnessed by his concern for their feelings about their equipment. He believed that the job of a supervisor was very important and he tried to treat his men and women in the same way he would have

liked to be treated himself: "If I am considerate towards them, they work well for me and stay with me."

Supervisor E.--Supervisor E is a machinist at his primary job and has been with the same company for the past 20 years. At SBM he supervises a route and an average of fifteen employees. As regards turnover on his route, Supervisor E says that it varies: sometimes he gets a steady work force, while at other times he has a great deal of trouble. From his experience with SBM he has formed certain ideas about the type of employee he would like to hire and the type that he is not interested in. According to Supervisor E, married men and women tend to work better and stay longer than single people, and workers over the age of 35 are usually better than young people. Two of his best maids are over 50. Married people over 35 years old are more settled in their private lives and will, therefore, be more settled on the job. Often men who get a low wage on their primary job need the second income of a moonlighting job, so they will stay with the company for a long time.

Most complaints heard by this supervisor concern either money or the work itself. He feels it is unfair when he sees some of his employees who have been with the company for nine years and are still getting the minimum wage, while new hirees are being started at five or ten cents an hour more. He blames this on the fact that there is no wage policy at SBM and raises are more a matter of good luck than merit or seniority.

Other janitors get dissatisfied and leave because they do not have the time to do a job well or to complete it. Many times,

Supervisor E claimed, the time allocated to do a particular cleaning job was not enough. Consequently, managers get complaints from the contract holders. Some of the janitors become offended by complaints about their work, especially when they know that they could do an excellent job if they were given enough time. It seems that SBM is losing some of the workers it would profit most from keeping just because some workers do not like to have to do a bad cleaning job.

Supervisor F.--At his primary job Supervisor F is a machinist who has been with the same company for the past nine years. At SBM he supervises a route and about sixteen workers. He says that he does not have a turnover problem on his route except at the airport, where turnover is very high. In the eight months preceding the interview, Supervisor F had lost about 22 janitors at the airport where the average number in the work group is six. Supervisor F gives several reasons for the situation at the airport being so bad. First, it is a long way out of town and, therefore, travel time is added to the actual job time. Second, the airport is open 24 hours a day, so that often the janitors find the work difficult to do because there are always people around getting in the way. This applies particularly to floormen, as it is almost impossible to wax or buff a floor without someone walking all over it before it is dry or clean. Third, there is a day crew of janitors from SBM who deal with the daytime cleaning at the airport. The two crews share the same equipment and this often causes problems. If the day crew misplaces or loses a piece of equipment, the night crew have to spend valuable time finding a replacement.

Supervisor F has established some hiring criteria based on his own experience. When he takes on a new employee, he looks for the following things:

- a) A man or a woman over 35 years of age.
- b) Someone who has been steady at other jobs. "A person who changes jobs frequently is not likely to stay with SBM for very long."
- c) Divorced or widowed men or women tend to stay with the company.
- d) Someone with a responsible marriage.
- e) Whether or not they are buying their home.
- f) Which part of town they come from.

The complaints that Supervisor F hears most often from his janitors concern pay and equipment. He believes that the company should work to establish some standard rules for wages. The janitors need to know what they can expect in the way of future benefits from the company. "At the moment everybody's getting something different for the same work," he says.

Supervisor F feels that some of the janitors believe that they are not valued because of the trouble they have getting the right equipment to do a proper job. Some of them get attached to a piece of machinery and it upsets them if they lose it when it gets repaired or if it is borrowed and not returned. Some of the floormen on this route get attached to their buffers. If they do not get the same one back when it goes away for repairs, they are upset and find it difficult to get used to a new piece of machinery. Often the work slumps because of this.

Supervisor F has good relations with his group. During the period of observation the supervisor did some of the work himself out at the airport because one of the janitors failed to show up for work. He believes that the supervisor should attempt to explain everything to his work group and let them know exactly what they have to do. He makes it a rule not to tell anyone to do anything--"I ask them, that's the cardinal rule." When a new man joins the group, Supervisor F tries to work with him for the first two nights to make sure that he knows what he has to do. Because the airport is such a big problem, Supervisor F finds that he spends most of his time there. This he feels free to do because people in the rest of the buildings on his route are very reliable and can supervise themselves to a great extent.

Summarizing from the interviews with the supervisors, there seemed to be consensus among them that the wage was the greatest cause of complaint among the janitorial personnel. Related to this was the impression gained from the supervisors of a general confusion about the rationale for raises. Examples were given on at least two separate occasions of maids who had been with the company for over five years and were still getting only about \$1.65 per hour, while people joining the company for the first time were sometimes getting \$1.70. Such inequity, when it becomes known, was often a cause for complaint. There exist no set procedures for assessing performance, reviewing wages or giving merit or seniority raises. One supervisor gave an example of two of the janitors on his route when he was appointed a supervisor for the first time who were getting \$2.00 per hour, yet nobody seemed to know why. When the supervisor is allocated to a route or a building, he is likely to

find many different levels of pay among workers doing the same kind of work and with the same number of years of tenure. The supervisors seemed to have no clear idea of whose responsibility it was to give raises, or to whom one should apply for a raise.

It appears that turnover at SBM is situational. The airport and the newspaper office are the chief offenders. Both these buildings have in common the fact that they are 24-hour businesses, so that the janitors have to work surrounded by people. This kind of situation also creates equipment problems which are frustrating for the cleaners. In addition, the airport is so far out of town that a job there is particularly unpopular.

In addition to the interviews and periods of observation with each supervisor, the third part of this stage of the analysis consisted of informal interviews with four long-tenure employees of SBM, two men and two women. As was outlined in Chapter III, the interviews were conducted informally while the interviewer and the interviewee worked together at the janitor's usual tasks. The two women were both from Supervisor F's route, one of the men was from Supervisor D's route, and one was from Supervisor A's building. Because of the conditions under which the interviews were held, no notes could be taken while the janitors were speaking; therefore, notes on the interviews were made as soon as possible after the interviews were held. Rather than reporting each one separately, the general content of all the interviews will be summarized here.

Both of the women interviewed worked together and were responsible for five buildings. They were not very communicative and it was

difficult to establish any kind of rapport with them. The fact that their supervisor was hovering around them all evening may have hindered communication. Both women had been with the company for about three years. They were friends on and off the job, and had established a routine in their work which was efficient and quick. Their supervisor considers them to be two of his most valuable cleaners. After the interview, the supervisor said that he would be surprised if much had been "got out of those two." Apparently, their commitment to doing good work prevents their talking a great deal, even to each other. Both the women had cleaning jobs during the day.

The second interview was held with one of the male cleaners on Supervisor D's route. He had been with the company for two years, and was getting paid \$1.70 per hour and said he knew he could get \$2.00 per hour for the same kind of work with another company. At his primary job he is not a cleaner but an Assistant Supervisor and has been with that company for about nine months. Before that he had been with another company for 20 years, until it closed down. He is married and his wife works during the day at a local mill. They are buying their home, a fact of which he was very proud.

The only real complaint this cleaner had regarding his work at SBM was the lack of time allocated to the cleaners for them to do a good job. According to Supervisor D, this cleaner is one of the best workers he has, he likes to do a good job, and is proud of his high standard of work. This was easily witnessed during the interview. The cleaner was allocated 45 minutes to clean each of his four buildings. He was paid, therefore, for three hours of work a night. This time

had to include the time it took him to drive from one building to another. The evening of the interview it took this cleaner, with the help of the interviewer, one hour to clean each of those buildings. The cleaner was ready to point out that it was impossible for one cleaner to completely clean any one of his buildings in 45 minutes. In order to do the required job of cleaning, up to a standard that meant that complaints would be kept to a minimum, the cleaner had to work for longer than the three hours per night that he is paid for. In effect, he is working overtime for no extra pay. This seems to indicate that SBM is taking advantage of conscientious workers, a fact that will not enable them to attract and keep that kind of employee.

There was a time, perhaps, when the conscientious worker would stay with the company out of loyalty, even if the pay was not very good. This fact was brought out in another interview which was with a floor-man at Supervisor A's building. He had been with the company "on and off" for about six years, and was a builder on his primary job. The main problem he believes is that, in the past, when the company was small and everybody knew that the management was only just able to meet its costs, the cleaners worked primarily out of loyalty to the company. They knew that the pay was not good, but this did not seem to matter because they knew that it could not be any better until the company grew. Now, when everybody knows that the company is making profits, it is not possible to get cleaners who will work for a little money out of loyalty to the company. The workers are only interested in the wages they can make now, and the wages at SBM are not

considered to be good. Some of the older workers still belong to the "loyal school", a fact which may account for their staying with SBM even when they say they know they could get higher wages with another company.

Part II. Demographic Hypotheses

Repetition of the hypotheses of the study (Chapter II) is made here for the sake of convenience.

Hypothesis 3.--Tenure on the second job is positively related to several individual characteristics. The independent variables to be considered in the correlation with tenure will include: age, marital status, commuting distance, education, primary occupation, tenure at primary occupation, hours worked at primary occupation, spouse's occupation, number and ages of children, home ownership status, major financial commitments, income from primary occupation.

Hypothesis 4.--Tenure on the second job is positively related to the need for a permanent second income in order to meet regular household expenses, either because the primary wage is low or because the primary wage is low in relation to the number of dependents in the family.

Hypothesis 5.--Tenure on the second job is positively related to a general disjunction between family income and family aspirations, resulting in the need for a second income. High level of aspiration will be indicated by the family's expenditure on luxury items, such as washers, dryers, freezers, dishwashers, color television, stereo or automobiles. Whether the family owns or rents its home could also be taken as an indication of its general level of aspiration.

The final sample consisted of 84 individuals, 47 short-tenure employees and 37 long-tenure employees. Of these 84 individuals, 39 were female and 45 male. There was found to be a very strong relationship between sex and tenure, indicating long-tenure employees to be more likely to be female than male, as shown in Table 2. This result is contrary to what might have been expected from reading previous studies on job tenure. As discussed in Chapter I, men generally have longer tenure than women (Wolfbein, 1952). Also, in a service industry such as SBM men have been found to have a greater median number of years of tenure than women (Wolfbein, 1952). It is possible, however, that the case would be different for black men and women.

TABLE 2

TENURE BY SEX

Sex	Tenure	
	Long	Short
Male	14	31
Female	23	16

Chi-square = 5.49, df = 1 ($p < .001$), N = 84

The relationship between tenure and age of employees was also examined. The eight coded age divisions for question 2 and question 21 (see Appendix II) were reduced to two categories: (a) 17-39 and

(b) 40 and over, in order to remove empty cells and to create two age groups as close as possible to the same size. The results of this cross-tabulation are shown in Table 3. An extremely strong relationship between age of employee and tenure is indicated. Long-tenure employees are more likely to be over 40 years old, whereas employees with short tenure are more prevalent in the age group 39 and under. This corresponds with what has been reported in the literature. Wolfbein (1952) reported that tenure reaches a peak when the worker is over 45 years old.

TABLE 3
TENURE BY AGE

Age	Tenure	
	Long	Short
17-39	10	36
40 and over	19	10
Chi-square - 14.37, df = 1 (p < .001), N = 75		

From the literature on characteristics of moonlighters, it might be expected that the permanent moonlighter (long-tenure moonlighter) would have a greater number of dependents than would the transient or short-tenure moonlighter. Number of children was one of the independent variables that was cross-tabulated with tenure in order to examine the relationship.

Again, the given categories for number of children in the family were recoded. The number of children reported by the respondents ranged from 1 to 9. Originally, the actual number reported was coded (see Appendix II). These nine categories were reduced to three: (a) 1-2 children, (b) 3-5 children, and (c) 6 or more children. It was believed that these three categories represented three family types: (a) a small family, (b) a medium-sized family, and (c) a large family.

From Table 4 it may be seen that the relationship between number of children and tenure failed to reach significance at the .05 level. However, if the categories for number of children are recoded yet again to distinguish between a small family of one or two children and families with three or more children, a significant relationship emerges between family size and tenure.

TABLE 4
TENURE BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number Children	Tenure	
	Long	Short
1-2	8	17
3-5	15	12
6 and over	7	4
Chi-square = 4.26, df = 2, ($p < .10$), N = 63		

Table 5 indicates that the long-tenure employee tends to have three or more children in the family, whereas the short-tenure employee may have either a small family (1 or 2 children) or a larger family (3 or more children). This result partially supports hypothesis 4 in that long-tenure employees need a second income in order to support a larger number of dependents than the short-tenure employees.

TABLE 5
TENURE BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of Children	Tenure	
	Long	Short
1-2	8	17
3 or more	22	16

Chi-square = 4.05, df = 1 ($p < .05$), N = 63

The relationship between tenure and ages of the children was examined in order to clarify, perhaps, the above findings. In order to differentiate between the family head who was supporting young children who were still totally dependent upon him or her and the family head who no longer had the responsibility of dependent children, question 6 was recoded. Three types of family were then differentiated in this way: the family where all the children were under 18, the family where all the children were over 18, and the family where some

children were under and some over 18. The results are summarized in Table 6.

TABLE 6

TENURE BY AGES OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY

Ages of Children	Tenure	
	Long	Short
All under 18	11	28
All over 18	13	4
Some under and some over 18	4	1
Chi-square - 13.66, df = 2 ($p < .01$), N = 61		

From the table it may be seen that the short-tenure employee tends to have children who are all under 18. The long-tenure employee may have children who are all over 18 or all under 18. This might be explained by the fact that when a family has children under 18 years old, they are most likely still living at home and the parents want to be at home in the evening in order to be with the children. It would be expected that this would apply more to female than to male employees, as it is usually the women who are responsible for looking after the children.

The relationship was examined between the independent variable, education, and the performance criterion, tenure. The original categories for years of education completed (as reported in Appendix II), were recoded into four new categories: (a) last grade completed was seven or

less, (b) last grade completed was eight, nine, ten or eleven, (c) graduated from high school (finished grade twelve), or (d) attended college (graduated or not). The results are reported in Table 7. The table indicates that there is no significant relationship between tenure and level of education for this particular group.

TABLE 7
TENURE BY EDUCATION

Last grade Completed	Tenure	
	Long	Short
7 or less	7	5
8 - 11	13	14
12	7	18
Attended college	5	8
Chi-square = 3.82, df = 3 (p < .30), N = 77		

The relationship between tenure and number of years' tenure on the primary job was next examined. Again, in order to make the results more comprehensive, the categories from the original code sheet were recoded to form three new categories: (a) less than 12 months' tenure on the primary job, (b) more than 1, but less than five years' tenure on the primary job, and (c) five or more years' tenure on the primary job. The range reported by the respondents was from under one year of tenure to over 20 years' tenure on the primary job. The results are reported in Table 8.

TABLE 8

TENURE BY YEARS OF TENURE ON THE PRIMARY JOB

Years of tenure on primary job	Tenure	
	Long	Short
less than 1	4	12
1 - 4	9	18
5 or more	16	5

Chi-square = 12.31, df = 2 ($p < .01$), N = 64

The table indicates a very strong relationship between tenure at SBM and tenure on the primary job. Employees with long tenure at SBM are more likely to have spent five or more years at their primary job. Employees with short tenure at SBM tend to have spent less than four years or less than one year at their primary jobs.

Supportive of this finding was the strong relationship found between tenure and the number of moonlighting jobs the employees had held in the previous two years. It would be expected that the long-tenure moonlighters would have held fewer second jobs than would the short-tenure moonlighter.

From Table 9 it may be seen that the long-tenure moonlighter has held fewer second jobs in the previous two years than has the short-tenure moonlighter. The data from Tables 8 and 9 contribute to

the image of the long-tenure or permanent moonlighter as being a generally steadier employee than the short-tenure moonlighter, as demonstrated by his pattern of tenure on his primary job and at his moonlighting activity over a period of two years.

TABLE 9
TENURE BY THE NUMBER OF EVENING JOBS
HELD IN THE PAST TWO YEARS

Number of evening jobs held in past two years	Tenure	
	Long	Short
1	25	24
2	3	13
3	1	0

Chi-square = 6.40, df = 2 ($p < .05$), N = 66

This suggestion is supported by the responses to the question asking the employees what was the longest time they had ever held a second job (question 21, see Appendix I). The question was aimed at determining patterns of moonlighting activity for the short and the long-tenure employees, the hypothesis being that the long-tenure employees would generally spend longer at any second job than would the short-tenure employees. The results are reported in Table 10. The results indicate that the long-tenure employee, to a greater extent than the short-tenure employee, spent between one and two years

TABLE 10
TENURE BY LONGEST MOONLIGHTING JOB HELD

Number of Years	Tenure	
	Long	Short
Less than 1	1	18
1 - 2	23	14
Chi-square = 16.59, df = 1 (p < .001), N = 56		

at a second job rather than less than one year. The results were recoded into two new categories: (a) eleven months or less, and (b) between one and two years.

No significant relationships were found between tenure and marital status, spouses' occupation, commuting distance, daytime employment, primary occupation, hours worked at primary job, wages from primary job, home ownership, other financial comments, frequency of moonlighting or age when moonlighting activity began.

However, when age and sex were held constant later in the analysis, significant relationships did emerge between tenure and marital status and tenure and daytime employment.

From the initial cross-tabulations, therefore, it may be concluded that tenure is significantly related to several of the independent variables: sex, age, number of children in the family, ages of children in the family, tenure at the primary job, number of evening

jobs held in the previous two years, and longest time any one moonlighting job was held.

The sample was then divided on the basis of age and sex in order to see if the findings already reported might be conditional on either or both of these test variables. Age and sex were chosen as the two control variables because, from previously established theory and from the results of this study, they have been found to be the most important predictors of tenure. Sex and age were controlled for all the other variables. Only those where the relationship was changed when sex or age were controlled or where a new relationship emerged are reported here.

Controlling for sex, the relationship between age and tenure remained the same but with an interesting variation. From Table 11 it appears that the strong relationship between age and tenure is true of female employees only. Women over 40 years old are much more frequently long-tenure employees than are men over 40, or than are women under 40. The relationship between tenure and age does not reach significance for men although the direction is the same.

The relationship between the ages of the children in the family and tenure was also re-examined, controlling for sex. Again, the relationship changed slightly when male and female employees were differentiated, although the direction of the relationship did not change.

The third group of employees who had children both over and under 18 was omitted here as the important distinction was thought to be

TABLE 11
AGE AND TENURE BY SEX^a

Age	Sex	
	Male	Female
17 - 39	21 (28) ^b	22 (18)
40 and over	47 (15)	86 (14)
Chi-square = 1.88 (NS) N = 43		Chi-square = 12.69 (p .001, N = 32)

^aPercentage long tenure.

^bThe number in parentheses is the base for the percentage.

between those families that were entirely free of dependent children and those that still had all their children dependent upon them. The relationship established originally was maintained: those employees with all their children over 18 years old were more frequently long-tenure employees than those who still had dependent children at home. However, Table 12 indicates that women employees whose children were all over 18 were more frequently long-tenure employees than were men whose children were all over 18.

The relationship between tenure and whether or not the employee was employed during the day was re-examined holding sex constant. No significant relationship had emerged from the original cross-tabulations between tenure and whether or not the janitors were employed during the day (see Table 13). However, a relationship did emerge when a distinction was made between male and female employees. The results are

TABLE 12
AGES OF CHILDREN AND TENURE BY SEX^a

Age of Children	Sex	
	Male	Female
All under 18	20 (20) ^b	37 (19)
All over 18	57 (7)	90 (10)
Chi-square = 1.88 (NS), N = 27		Chi-square = 5.49 (p < .02), N = 29

^aPercentage long tenure.

^bThe number in parentheses is the base for the percentage.

TABLE 13
DAYTIME EMPLOYMENT BY TENURE

	Tenure	
	Long	Short
Employed during day	30	32
Unemployed during day	5	15
Chi-square = 2.49, df = 1 (p < .10), N = 82		

shown in Table 14. The figures indicate that although the relationship between tenure and daytime employment is not highly significant for male employees, it is significant for female employees.

TABLE 14
DAYTIME EMPLOYMENT AND TENURE BY SEX^a

	Sex	
	Male	Female
Employed during day	34 (38) ^b	71 (24)
Unemployed during day	14 (7)	31 (13)
Chi-square=		Chi-square=
.36 (NS),		4.00 (p < .05)
N = 45		N = 37

^aPercentage long tenure.

^bThe number in parentheses is the base for the percentage.

Long-tenure employees are more frequently employed during the day than are short-tenure employees, especially the women. However, women who are unemployed during the day are also more frequently long-tenure employees than are men who are unemployed during the day. In short, women employed or unemployed during the day are more likely than men to be long-tenure employees.

No other significant differences were found between male and female long and short-tenure employees.

The sample was then dichotomized according to age, one group being 39 or younger and the other, 40 or older. Controlling for age in this way, the relationship between sex and tenure was re-examined. Table 15 presents the results. The data indicate that the

TABLE 15
SEX AND TENURE BY AGE^a

Sex	Age	
	39 and under	40 and over
Male	21 (28) ^b	47 (15)
Female	22 (18)	86 (14)
	Chi-square= .09 (NS), N = 43	Chi-square= 3.31 (p .05) N = 29

^aPercentage long tenure.

^bThe number in parentheses is the base for the percentage.

relationship originally found between sex and tenure exists to a greater extent for those employees aged 40 and over than it does for employees 39 or younger. For employees aged 40 and over, there is a significant difference between males and females concerning length of job tenure. For employees under 40, there is no significant difference between men and women. These data duplicate to a certain extent those presented in Table 11 (p. 74).

Although a relationship was not found between marital status and tenure from the original cross-tabulations (see Table 16), or when sex was controlled, a significant relationship did emerge when age was held constant.

It appears from Table 17 that long-tenure employees, aged 39 or younger, are more likely to be unmarried than married. This

TABLE 16

MARITAL STATUS BY TENURE

Marital Status	Tenure	
	Long	Short
Married	24	31
Unmarried	13	16

Chi-square = .02, df = 1 (NS), N = 84

TABLE 17

MARITAL STATUS AND TENURE BY AGE^a

Marital Status	Age	
	39 and under	40 and over
Married	11 (28) ^b	70 (21)
Unmarried	39 (18)	50 (8)

Chi-square= Chi-square=
 3.59 (p < .05), .42 (NS)
 N = 46 N = 29

^aPercentage long tenure.

^bThe number in parentheses is the base for the percentage.

relationship is not true of those long-tenure employees aged 40 and over. Over the age of 40, both long and short-tenure employees are more likely to be married than unmarried. In short, there is no significant relationship between marital status and tenure for those employees aged 40 or over. A significant relationship does exist, however, between marital status and tenure for those employees aged 39 or younger.

Re-examination of the relationships between independent variables and tenure, controlling for age, did not produce any other significant relationships. A part of the problem, when age or sex was held constant, was that the sample size was so small that when it was dichotomized there were often zero or very low values in many of the cells. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that not all respondents answered all questions, resulting often in a much reduced sample size than should have been expected. An example of this is found in question 14, "How much do you get paid there (at the primary job) per hour?" (See Appendix I). Thirty-seven of the 84 respondents refused to answer this question. This refusal to answer certain questions points to the overall sensitivity of the respondents. Despite personal and written assurances that all the information they gave on the questionnaire would be anonymous, many of them were suspicious and reluctant to divulge any personal information.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Hypotheses 1 and 2 were tested by relating the characteristics of the six routes or buildings--as determined by interviews with the six supervisors, with janitorial personnel and by observation--to the degree of labor turnover experienced by the different departments (see Table 1, p. 28). This was done in order to establish whether or not certain organizational characteristics of SBM can be said to be related to high labor turnover.

There was strong evidence to support Hypothesis 1, from the observations at SBM and interviews with its personnel. Both the supervisors and the janitors interviewed mentioned pay as being their most severe grievance with the company. The actual rate of pay was complained about, but, even more, the absence of automatic pay increases for seniority or merit. Janitors could derive no sense of financial security from their jobs with SBM because they could not look forward to pay increases even if their work was excellent. Efficient workers tended to be discriminated against in the sense that they often put in extra hours for which they were not paid. Inefficient workers felt no incentive to improve their job performance as they knew that they could not earn a pay increase through efficiency even if they tried. The only seniority benefit offered by the company is a two-week paid vacation for those employees who have been with the company for four

years. Obviously this incentive was relatively ineffective, for so few janitors remained with the company long enough to qualify.

The introduction of a company-wide wage policy would help alleviate many of these complaints concerning inequity, low pay and lack of financial incentive or security. However, it would not alleviate the problem of lack of time to do a good cleaning job. Even if the janitors were to get twice as much per hour as they are getting now, some conscientious janitors would still have to put in extra time for no extra pay in order to complete their cleaning assignments to their satisfaction. Across-the-board pay increases would not help increase the standard of work at all. In fact, it might have the effect of even further reducing incentive among the cleaners to do a good job.

The underlying problem that causes most of the complaints and dissatisfaction with the company is the fact that the time quota allowed for the buildings is very often inadequate, which means that the cleaners either keep to the time limit and do a poor job, or they manage to do a good job by exceeding the time limit and thus reducing their pay per hour worked. SBM employees cannot feel secure in their jobs if they know that at any time one of the managers may cut the time he is allowed on a building to the extent that he can no longer complete the necessary work in the time for which he is being paid. Perhaps if the supervisors were to have more influence in deciding the time necessary to clean a particular area, there would be fewer arbitrary decisions of this type made. After all, the supervisors are

in closer contact with the actual cleaning work than any other group in the company: they are the people best qualified to decide whether or not it is possible to clean a certain area in a certain time.

When janitors who have been with the company for three years complain about the difficulty of finishing their jobs in the time they are given, it is probable that new employees faced with an area to clean and a time limit in which to do it, find the situation practically impossible. There is usually little or no effort made to actively train new employees. Each supervisor has his own method of introducing a new employee to the work. In all cases the supervisors mentioned that they tried to take time to show a new employee how to do the job and the special things that have to be looked out for in any situation. However, a new employee often finds himself alone in a building with no help other than having been told the fundamental principles of the work and how much time is allowed for the area. This kind of situation is not conducive to feelings of satisfaction and security.

From Figure 1 (p. 32), it was determined that most separations at SBM occurred in the first three months of the employee's tenure with the company. An extremely high 43.3 per cent of all separations occurred in the first month. These statistics illustrate the fact that new employees tend to be overwhelmed by the amount and standards of work expected of them when they first join the company. Even though the supervisors did attempt to introduce new employees to the necessary work, to a very great extent the new employee was literally on his own as soon as he began working for the company. The introduction of

some standard training period prior to the new employee's total responsibility for cleaning a building might help to alleviate these feelings of dissatisfaction and insecurity that the new employee is at present feeling.

Hypothesis 1 was supported, therefore, by observation and interviews to the extent that employees expressed dissatisfaction concerning pay, seniority benefits, time limits and general company policies. Factors which create dissatisfaction are also likely to be those which cause labor turnover, as Vroom (1964:Chapter 6) points out.

From Table 1 (p. 28), it was established that departments B, C, and F were the ones with the highest labor turnover rates. Department E had a moderately high mean monthly labor turnover rate, which was a combination of a zero labor turnover in one month followed by a 19 per cent turnover rate the next. When the six departments were to be ranged in order from the one exhibiting the highest to the lowest labor turnover rates, the following order appeared: F (highest), C, B, E, A, and D (lowest). The two departments at the top of the list are the two that have as part of their operations a 24-hour business. Supervisor F is responsible for cleaning the airport buildings which are open and busy all night, and Supervisor C has to organize the cleaning of the newspaper offices which are, again, open and busy all night. Both these supervisors were aware that these two buildings were their main cause of labor turnover. The airport has the additional drawback of being nine miles from downtown and, therefore, requires a long journey to and from work. Both the supervisors said that they

could not complain of high labor turnover among their other janitors working in other buildings.

No relationship could be established between labor turnover and whether a supervisor was in charge of a route or a building. Hypothesis 2 assumed that employees who had the opportunity to work in small groups would turnover less often than would employees who had to work on their own all evening. Employees who work in a building rather than on a route have more opportunity to work with a group. However, the two buildings, B and A, were not both found to have the lowest turnover rates. During the period of observation, it was found that Supervisor A's building did have more group autonomy than any other building or any route. It was believed that this was produced by a combination of several factors: (a) the employees at this building have their own time clock, (b) they have an office which serves as a meeting place, and (c) they are made relatively independent of management interference due to the operation of a two-way notebook for the contractors and the supervisor, through which any necessary communication may be made. Supervisor B's building did not have these facilities and a group cohesion was felt not to exist among the employees at this building. None of these facilities exist for employees on routes, where often the janitor will not even see anyone from one end of the evening to the next, not even his supervisor. Hypothesis 2 is supported, therefore, to the extent that in the one situation where the employees have a degree of autonomy and group identity, labor turnover is low.

However, Supervisor D's route has the lowest turnover of all and, as far as observation could reveal, no conditions conducive to group formation or group identity existed on this route. The fact that was obvious on this route was the very close relationship which existed between the supervisor and his work group. All of the workers on this route worked individually, with no contact with other janitors on the route during the evening. The only personal contact they had was with the supervisor. The only way to describe Supervisor D's attitude towards his job and towards his janitors would be "paternal." He was the one who was least cooperative as regards urging his janitors to fill out the questionnaires and he was the one who has a reputation with the managers for continually asking for new equipment and, in fact, hoarding things like vacuum cleaners and buffers. He saw his main task as a supervisor as being protective of his workers. Coupled with what another supervisor had said about the best employees being sensitive, Supervisor D's success with his janitors would make sense. He did not ask his janitors to fill out the questionnaires because he knew that it might upset them, he did not laugh at the maids' demands for a particular vacuum cleaner or buffer, but went to great lengths to get the right equipment to them, even if it made him slightly unpopular with the managers. Supervisor D seemed to be the most employee-oriented of all the supervisors.

Although no attempt was made to find an objective measure of employee or production orientation of the supervisors, from the

interviews held with them, it seemed clear that all the supervisors, with the possible exception of Supervisor B, were employee-oriented to a greater extent than they were production-oriented. All of them except Supervisor B made reference to the necessity of treating their work group with consideration and with respect. Supervisor B was the only white supervisor in the group. This in itself may have had some effect on the way in which he treated his workers and the closeness of the relationship he was able to develop with them.

The results from the analysis of the questionnaire data were severely limited by the low rate of response to the mailed questionnaire and to the follow-up attempts. Neither the short-nor the long-tenure groups in the final sample is necessarily representative. However, the lack of response does convey some quite important information concerning this population. Of the original 151 group of short-tenure employees, 47 were contacted and responded, 41 were contacted and refused to respond, and 63 were never contacted due to incorrect addresses on their files. Of the original 87 group of long-tenure employees, 37 responded and 50 refused to cooperate. This information is summarized in Table 18.

The large number of the short-tenure employees who were not even contacted says something about that group. Not only were the addresses they gave to SBM no longer the correct ones, which might be explained in terms of its having been almost a year since some of this group had had any contact with SBM, but their new addresses were not listed in the city directory. Either all 63 had left town or they were not in the

TABLE 18
 QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE OF SHORT
 AND LONG-TENURE EMPLOYEES

Response	Tenure	
	Long	Short
Responded	47	37
Refused	41	50
Not contacted	63	0
Total	151	87

habit of registering their addresses for the city directory. The situation for long-tenure employees was quite different: even where the addresses given by the long-tenure employees were no longer current, the correct addresses were easily traced through the city directory. It could be hypothesized from this information that a large proportion of the short-tenure group were part of a relatively transient and unstable population.

Of all those who were contacted, there was found to be no significant difference between long and short-tenure employees regarding whether or not they responded to the questionnaire. This is shown in Table 19.

The refusal rate of the short-tenure employees was expected, as this group no longer had any contact with SBM, in many instances had only been employed by the company for a few weeks, and probably felt no

TABLE 19
RESPONSE RATE BY TENURE FOR ALL
EMPLOYEES CONTACTED

Response	Tenure	
	Long	Short
Responded	47	37
Refused	41	50

Chi-square = 2.07, df = 1, (p < .20), N = 175

obligation to help the company with this project. However, the very high refusal rate of the long-tenure employees is harder to understand. This group consisted of employees who had been with the company at least nine months and, in many instances, several years. Even when personally approached by their supervisors, and asked to cooperate with the study, and reassured as to the anonymity of their responses, a majority of them still refused to fill out the questionnaire.

The main reason for this may be found in a comment by one of the supervisors during a conversation held with him concerning his work group. He said, "It seems to me that our best people are sensitive." He elaborated on this by explaining that they are, above all, proud of their work and of themselves. They will leave the company if they feel that they have been insulted even if their fears are groundless. He gave several illustrations of this fact which had occurred in his own

work group. One female cleaner left the company after several years because one evening the camera-eye in the bank she had been cleaning had been left on and she thought that the management was checking up on her to see how she behaved on the job. She just walked out as soon as she noticed it, after leaving a note for the management. Another woman left the company when her name appeared in the company newsletter. She was mentioned because she had been working for the company three years and it was their policy to honor long-tenure employees by publishing their names. Apparently, this cleaner did not like the publicity, and so she left. Yet another female cleaner left when a photographer arrived unannounced one evening with instructions to take her photograph for the company identification cards. The woman was embarrassed because she had not had her hair done and so left. The supervisor used these illustrations to show that it was practically impossible to predict how employees were going to react to any company moves. Even the very best intentions may be misinterpreted by these employees because they tend to be very suspicious of any kind of managerial interference. The supervisor said that he thought his most important and most difficult job was to establish a relationship of trust with his work group and to create the impression that he was working for them rather than against them.

This overt sensitivity and suspicion could explain why the response to the questionnaires was so poor. The employees saw it as another move by management to check up on the employees, so they refused to cooperate. This analysis of the reasons for the high rate of refusal among long-tenure employees helps establish certain characteristics of the

long-tenure employees at SBM and, although it is only conjecture, it is supported by impressions gained during observation and interviews with the employees.

The data collected were limited, due to the sensitivity and suspicion of long-tenure employees and the inability to contact transient short-tenure employees.

From the questionnaires, certain of the independent variables were found to be significantly related to long tenure with SBM.

Sex.--Women are more likely to be long-tenure employees than are men.

Age.--Employees aged 40 and over are more likely to be long-tenure employees than are those between the ages of 17 and 39. Tenure was found to be positively associated with age: as age increases, the likelihood of being a long-tenure employee also increases.

Number of children.--The long-tenure employee is more likely to have three or more children in his family than he is to have one or two children.

Ages of children.--The short-tenure employee is more likely to have all the children in his family aged under 18 than he is to have children who are all over 18.

Tenure on the primary job.--Long-tenure employees are more likely to have spent five or more years at their primary job than are short-tenure employees who tend to have less than four years' tenure at their primary jobs.

Number of evening jobs held in the past two years.--The long-tenure employee has held fewer evening jobs in the past two years than has the short-tenure employee.

Longest moonlighting job held.--The long-tenure employee has generally held a second job for between one and two years, whereas the short-tenure employee tends never to hold a moonlighting job for more than one year.

From the analysis holding sex constant, three significant relationships emerged. First, women over 40 years old are more frequently long-tenure moonlighters than are men over 40 years old. Although the positive relationship between age and tenure was still evident for men, it was more pronounced for women. Second, women whose children were all over the age of 18 were more often long-tenure employees than were men whose children were all over 18. Again, the relationship between length of tenure and ages of children in the family was maintained in the case of male employees, but was more pronounced in the case of the women. Third, there was a relationship for women, but not for men, between tenure and whether or not the SBM employee had a job during the day. Long-tenure female employees were more likely to have jobs during the day than they were to be unemployed.

One additional significant relationship emerged from the data when age of the employees was held constant. For those employees aged 39 or less, a significant relationship was found between marital status and job tenure. Long tenure employees aged 39 or younger tended to be unmarried, whereas short-tenure employees in the same age group tended to be married. This relationship did not exist for those employees over the age of 40, where both short and long-tenure employees were more likely to be married than unmarried.

These results provide SBM with some criteria for future hiring policy. The variables that have been found here to be related significantly to tenure can be used to create a weighted application blank to further facilitate the selection of personnel who are most likely to remain with the company.

Hypothesis 4 was supported only in part. The expected relationship was found between tenure and the number of dependents in the family. That is, the moonlighter with three or more children was more likely to be a long-tenure employee than was the moonlighter with only one or two children. However, tenure was not found to be related to the need of the moonlighter for a permanent second income in order to meet regular household expenses due to the insufficiency of the primary wage. No relationship was found between tenure and primary wage. However, this question was so poorly answered that it is possible that a relationship of some kind does exist despite the inability to identify it.

Hypothesis 5 was not supported by the data from the questionnaires. No relationship was found between tenure and family aspirations as measured by ownership of luxury items, such as washers, dryers, freezers, dishwashers, color televisions, stereo, and automobiles. Neither was a relationship found between tenure and home ownership.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Both of the approaches used in this study, organizational and demographic, have provided some insights into the causes of and possible solutions to high labor turnover in organizations.

Both of the original organizational hypotheses, developed from previous studies and established theory, were supported. The scientific management approach to organization theory leads us to expect that longer tenure, resulting from increased job satisfaction, would result from greater attention being paid to employees' physiological and security needs, as represented by wages and training programs. This study did establish that the employee's main source of complaint was his wages. Also, from a statistical analysis of labor turnover in the company over a nine-months period (see Figure 1), it was shown that 77 per cent of all separations occurred in the first three months of employment. Coupled with this is the fact that there is no provision made for the gradual initiation of a new employee into the company by means of a vestibule training program, or a period provided in which the new employee can work at a slower pace or in a smaller area than is expected of an old employee. This leads to the conclusion that, during the first few weeks of employment, some form of training is necessary in order for the employee not to feel insecure in his new situation.

Although some studies (e.g., Seidman and Watson, 1940) report that pay is not as important a consideration to employees as are the more social aspects of their jobs, in this particular organization pay cannot be written off as not being a major source of dissatisfaction. The job with SBM is a second job for most of the employees. It is assumed here that not many people take a second job simply in order to meet friends, find variation or novelty in life, gain recognition, or find something they like to do. In fact, it is likely that not many people would take a second job if they were not forced financially to do so. In this particular type of work--moonlighting--pay, therefore, is a primary consideration. However, discussion with the employees seems to indicate that it is not the actual rate of pay that is the major source of dissatisfaction. Rather, it is the fact that there are no provisions for wage increases at various stages of employment. In short, there is no financial incentive for the employee to stay with the company.

The second major source of grievance at SBM was time allocation for jobs. This is closely related to pay grievances because, by limiting the time allowed for a job, management is in effect limiting the amount an employee can be paid. Any cut in time allotment is, therefore, a pay cut. Thus financial insecurity is a feature of jobs at SBM, for at any time management can reassess the time allocation at a building and, as a result, the employee at that building may have to take a pay cut.

Since pay and time allocation emerged as the two main grievances or causes of dissatisfaction among employees, it may be concluded that in this type of organization, where most of the employees are moonlighters, it is essential that management pay attention to such security and physiological needs of the employees, for, in a situation such as this, they could be prepotent motivators.

The second organizational hypothesis, which emphasizes the satisfaction of social and human needs of employees as being important in promoting employee satisfaction with the organization, stems from human relations theory. Tenure was assumed to be related to such employee satisfaction. Social and human needs of the employee include: (a) the chance to work in small groups and achieve a degree of group autonomy, (b) supervision by an employee-oriented supervisor, (c) provision for personal target setting, and (d) participation in decisions on the organization of work. Some association was found between the degree of group cohesiveness and autonomy, and labor turnover. However, the most important factor here seemed to be the relationship between the supervisor and his supervisees. The most cohesive and autonomous work group did have a low rate of labor turnover, but not the lowest. The lowest rate was found in the group whose supervisor was the most employee-oriented.

Both scientific management and human relations organizational principles were found to be related to labor turnover in this situation. However, it appears that the scientific management principles were the more important indicators of employee satisfaction. The organization

studied was distinctive in three major respects: (a) it was a service industry, (b) it employed moonlighters, and (c) most of the personnel were black. This study contributes to the theory of labor turnover in that it shows that even in an organization with such specialized characteristics as SBM, previously established correlates of turnover have been found to be valid performance predictors. Specific to industry type, the study shows that in an organization whose personnel are almost solely moonlighters, physiological and safety needs tend to play the most important part in employee satisfaction with the organization, although the satisfaction of social and human needs can also be significant motivators.

The hypotheses of the study stemming from demographic theory (Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5) proved to be sufficiently realistic to justify meaningful suggestions relative to the design of a new application blank for differentiating between prospective long-tenure and short-tenure applicants. In fact, each of the test variables found to be predictive of long tenure--age, sex, number of children, ages of children, tenure on the primary job, number of evening jobs held in the past two years, longest moonlighting job held, marital status, and daytime employment--can be used as the basis for additional hypotheses about tenure. Obviously, success here hinges on the availability of good data on the dependent variable, tenure. For instance, good records on labor turnover over a substantial length of time will be needed to check the efficacy of changes in hiring criteria based on the prediction variables of this study.

Certain recommendations aimed at reducing labor turnover, based on this research, have been made to the management of SBM (see Appendix III). Since samples in this study are small, recommendations must be as tentative as the research conclusions on which they are based. However, these recommendations can, and should, be made to serve as the basis for further research on the phenomenon of tenure.

In summary, this study has developed several new hypotheses about occupational tenure, tested them, discovered variables significantly associated with tenure, suggested new job application blank content, and pointed the way to additional research in the area. All of this has been done in the context of moonlighting, with all such a phenomenon implies relative to organizational conformity and atypicality.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Are you a man or a women?
Man _____ Woman _____
2. How old are you?

3. Are you married?
Yes _____ No _____
4. What job does your husband or your wife do?

5. How many children do you have?

6. What are their ages?

7. What is your address?

8. What was the last grade you completed at school?

9. Are you employed during the day?
Yes _____ No _____
10. Where are you employed?

11. What job do you do there?

12. How many years have you worked there?

13. How many hours a week do you work there?

14. How much do you get paid there per hour?

15. If you were earning twice that amount, would you still like to work a second job? Yes _____ No _____
16. Do you own or rent your home?
Own _____ Rent _____
17. Which of the following items do you have at home?
Color TV _____ 1 car _____
Washer _____ 2 cars _____
Dryer _____ Freezer _____
Stereo _____ Dishwasher _____
18. Since you left school, how often have you held two jobs at the same time?
All the time _____
About half the time _____
About one-fourth the time _____
Only once or twice _____
19. How many event or night jobs have you held in the past two years?

20. What was the longest time you ever held one second job?

21. How old were you when you first took a second job?

APPENDIX II

CODE SHEET

Column Number	Variable Number	Question Number	Code
1, 2, 3	Identification Number	-	-
4	1	-	1=long tenure, 2=short tenure
5	2	1	1=male, 2=female
6	3	2	1=17-19, 2=20-24, 3=25-29, 4=30-34, 5=35-39, 6=40-44, 7=45-49, 8=50 and over
7	4	3	1=yes, 2=no
8	5	4	1=7=Hollingshead's Occupational Scale, 8=housewife, 9= student
9	6	5	punch actual number up to 8, 9=9 or over
10	7	6	1=all under 18, 2=all over 18, 3=some above and some below 18
11	8	7	1=within 2 miles of town center, 2= within city limits, 3=out of town
12	9	8	1=grade 7 or less, 2=8, 3=9, 4=10, 5=11, 6=12, 7=some college, 8=graduated from college

Column Number	Variable Number	Question Number	Code
13	10	9	1=yes, 2=no
14	11	11	1-7=Hollingshead's Occupational Scale, 8=housewife, 9=student
15	12	12	1=less than 1 year, 2=1-4 years, 3=5-9 years, 4=10-14 years, 5=15-19 years, 6=20 or more years
16	13	13	1=less than 20 hours, 2=20-29 hours, 3=30-39 hours, 4=40-49 hours, 5=50 or more hours
17	14	15	1=\$1.60 or less, 2=\$1.60-\$1.69, 3=\$1.70-\$1.79, 4=\$1.80-\$1.89, 5=\$1.90-\$1.99, 6=\$2.00-\$2.49, 7=\$2.50-\$2.99, 8=\$3.00-\$3.49, 9=\$4.00 and over
18	15	15	1=yes, 2=no
19	16	16	1=own, 2=rent
20	17	17	1=checked, 2=blank
21	18	17	1=checked, 2=blank
22	19	17	1=checked, 2=blank
23	20	17	1=checked, 2=blank
24	21	17	1=checked, 2=blank
25	22	17	1=checked, 2=blank

Column Number	Variable Number	Question Number	Code
26	23	17	1=checked, 2=blank
27	24	17	1=checked, 2=blank
28	25	18	1=all the time, 2=about one half the time, 3=about a quarter of the time, 4=only once or twice
29	26	20	1=less than 3 months, 2=3-5 months, 3=6-8 months, 4=9-11 months, 5=12-14 months, 6=15-17 months, 7=18-20 months, 8=21-23 months, 9=24 or more months
30	27	21	punch actual number
31	28	22	1=17-19, 2=20-24, 3=25-29, 4=30-34, 5=35-39, 6=40-44, 7=45-49, 8=50 or over

APPENDIX III

RECOMMENDATIONS

From this research several guidelines have been developed for improving conditions at SBM and for selectively hiring personnel in order that labor turnover might be reduced. However, the research has not attempted to determine by how much labor turnover might be reduced or how effective the measures recommended might be. The first, and most important recommendation this study makes, therefore, is that if and when changes are initiated at SBM in accordance with the conclusions of this report, a continuous effort be made to determine how effective the changes are in comparison with the situation as it stood before the changes were made.

The main task of management at SEM is now to develop a weighted application blank to provide the supervisors and the managers a quick and efficient device for screening prospective employees. In conjunction with this, it is recommended that all application and hiring procedures at SEM be standardized so that both supervisors and managers know exactly where to go to find a new employee and can see at a glance what chances there are for this employee to remain with the company. At present the procedure is so haphazard that, as one of the managers pointed out, there are completed application forms scattered in many different places throughout the office. Some set procedure is needed for the

filing of application forms of current employees, terminated employees and applicants. Applicants may be filed according to the date of their application and their suitability for employment dependent upon their application blank score.

The application blank may be designed to contain only those items that have proved to be related to future tenure at the job, plus any necessary information such as name, social security number, address and telephone number. A sample application blank containing all the items thought necessary or found to be relevant is shown in Figure 4.

Compared to the application blank at present being used by the company, the new one is very short and should not take more than five minutes to fill out. Managers should check to make sure that every question has been answered as this is essential if the correct score is to be given to the applicant.

Weights may be attached to each question so that the applicant that has all the characteristics that have been found to be positively related to long tenure will have a high score and the applicant that does not have these characteristics will score low. No attempt is made here to develop the weights for each question. Once developed, an attempt should be made to establish whether or not the application blank is in fact enabling management to discriminate between the prospective short or long-tenure employee. In addition, the items on the application blank should be reviewed regularly--about every five years--in order to ensure that the items are still the correct ones to use in a selection procedure of this type. As the labor market changes and the

1. Name _____
2. Address _____
3. Telephone number _____
4. Social Security number _____
5. Male _____ Female _____
6. Age _____
7. Married _____ Unmarried _____
8. Number of children _____
9. Ages of children _____
10. Do you have a job during the day?
Yes _____ No _____
11. If yes, how long have you worked there? _____
12. Have you worked a second job in the evenings before?
Yes _____ No _____
13. If yes, how many evening jobs have you held in the past two years?

14. If yes, what was the longest time you ever held a second job?

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU ANSWER EVERY QUESTION
ON THIS SHEET

Fig. 4.--Sample Application Blank

conditions within the company change, so the factors that discriminate between the long and short-tenure employee will also change. In order for selective hiring to continue to be effective, follow-up studies should be undertaken at regular intervals.

From the analysis of the organizational factors connected with employee satisfaction and tenure it has been determined that several improvements could be made at SBM. The most frequent grievance concerned pay. Steps could be taken to increase employee satisfaction with their pay and with the wage policies at SBM. Even if new employees were hired at the minimum wage rate, they should be able to look forward to a pay raise after a specified period of time, if their work is considered by their supervisors to be satisfactory. Some of the supervisors suggested a six-month period of assessment, after which a satisfactory employee should warrant a pay increase of perhaps ten cents an hour. At intervals after the first six months, employees should be considered for pay increments as long as their work continues to meet the necessary standards. Perhaps every year after the first six-month assessment, the employee could become eligible for a pay increase of ten cents an hour. The management of SBM would obviously have to work out exactly what could be afforded and how the policy could be managed. It is merely recommended here that steps be taken to standardize the wage policy of the company and provide some means of economic incentive for employees to stay with the company. A standardized policy of this type would also help dispel some employee dissatisfaction that at present is caused by inequity in the departments and insecurity regarding pay increases.

The second major cause for complaint concerned the time allocation for cleaning assignments. It is recommended that in future greater efforts be made to ensure that the time allocation for a particular cleaning job is adequate. This may be accomplished by taking into account the supervisors' opinions regarding the time necessary to clean an area. The policy of cutting the time allowed for a cleaning job should be stopped completely, at least when it entails changing the routine of a cleaner. If changes of this type are really necessary the new time allotment should be made when a new cleaner takes over the area. If the time cut means that the current cleaner has to reduce the time he spends on a job while still trying to accomplish the same amount of work at the same standard, it has an extremely derogatory effect on that cleaner and results in increased dissatisfaction with the company, if not complete resignation. More cooperation is required between the managers and the supervisors who are in closest contact with the employees and with the actual job of cleaning.

In many instances it seems that the managers intervene in a situation, without the knowledge or support of the supervisors and in this way create hostility and dissatisfaction. This was observed to be true in the case of complaints or special instructions from the contract holders to SBM. These complaints usually went straight to the main office, bypassing the supervisors. The managers then had to pass on the complaint to the supervisors and the janitors. This procedure created tension between the janitors and the managers, the janitors and the supervisors and the supervisors and management. Such intervention also

had the effect of hindering the development of feelings of autonomy and cohesion among the work group. In the one situation where such management intervention was able to be kept at a minimum due to the operation of a means of two-way communication between the supervisor and the contract holder, an autonomous, cohesive and stable work group did develop. It is recommended, therefore, that managers learn to keep their intervention to a necessary minimum and to always intervene through the supervisor, rather than directly communicating with the janitors.

The supervisor appears to be the most important employee at SBM as regards the curtailment of labor turnover. The supervisor has the most contact with the janitorial employees. Very often the supervisor is the only other employee that the janitor comes into contact with during the evening. It would seem that an "employee-oriented" supervisor is the most successful as regards encouraging employees to stay with the company. Although no objective measure was made of "employee" or "production" orientation, from observation it would appear that all of the supervisors at SBM are "employee oriented" to a greater extent than they are "production oriented" although some of them are more "employee oriented" than are others. The practice of promoting to supervisor employees who have previously been janitors is perhaps the main contributing factor to the supervisors "employee" orientation. The management should take greater advantage from the experience of these supervisors and take their opinions more into account when decisions concerning their janitors have to be made.

It is also recommended that an attempt be made to introduce some form of training or introductory period for new employees. This could take the form of a formal vestibule training period or a period during which the new employee is helped and trained by an experienced janitor actually on a job. This could have the effect of diminishing the total load of responsibility the new employee is at present faced with as soon as he is employed. The new employee would then have a chance to establish his confidence and knowledge concerning the job he will have to do and will feel more secure in the job, knowing he is doing well.