

TRADITION AND MODERNITY :
A Study of Factory Organization
in a New Territories Temporary
Industrial Area

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate the kind of analysis of social change which holds that traditional ideology constitutes an obstacle to economic development. A number of sociologists writing on China, for example Feuerwerker and Levy, have argued in part, that China failed to industrialize in the nineteenth Century because she lacked an ideology suitable for economic development. My attempt is primarily to understand the ways in which 'traditional' management values continue to be important in an industrializing Chinese situation especially given Feuerwerker's view that they constitute an impediment to rapid economic growth. I use as a case study an industrializing community in the New Territories of Hong Kong.

The thesis consists of three main parts: a) a study based on available literature of empirical types of 'traditional' and 'modern' industries structured according to four aspects: organization, labour relations, localism and use of business techniques; b) field work research in Kwu Tung, a small market and light industrial area in the New Territories, including investigation of the community itself and intensive studies of some factories with life histories of the factory managers; c) the third part is quantitative research with a structured questionnaire and attitude test.

My main argument is that traditional ideology does not necessarily constitute change and modernization, but may instead serve as an support for change primarily in terms of economic values and political legitimization. This support is particularly important in terms of the organizational structure and labour relations within the factory.

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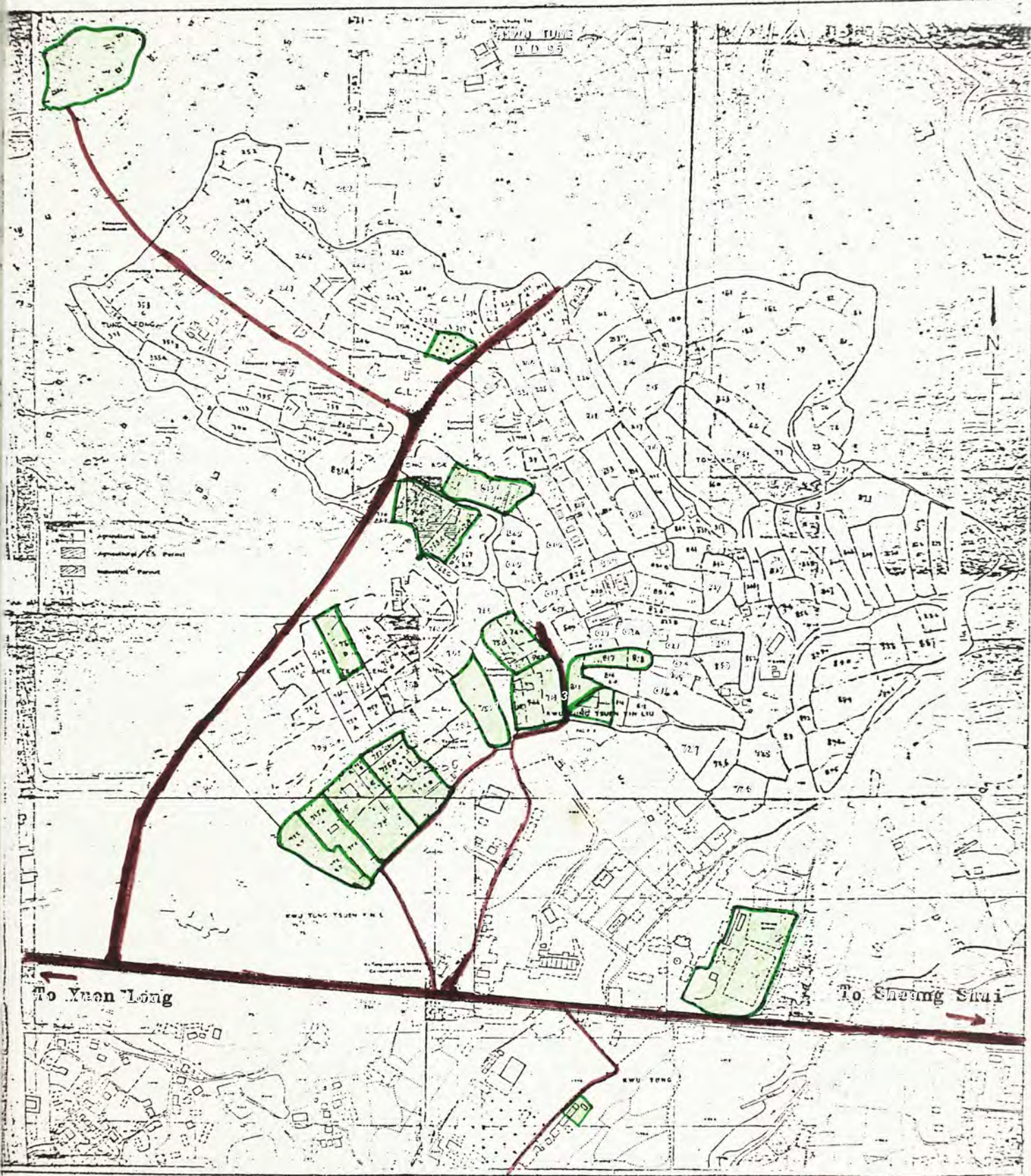
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Map of Kwu Tung - Temporary Industrial Area.

Factories

Roads

Scale: 1:124,200 ft to 1 inch

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Traditional-Modern Dichotomy

In classical sociology, social change was often conceptualized as a linear movement from a traditional past towards a modernized future. Such models of change basically assume that 'tradition' is an obstacle to change and modernization.

In the sociological analysis of Chinese society such a perspective may be illustrated by reference to the work of Feuerwerker. Feuerwerker, in his study 'China's Early Industrialization' tries to argue that the traditional Confucian ideology¹ in the late Ching Dynasty did not represent the type of ideology needed for the development of modern industries in China. It restricted the Chinese economy to the type referred to by Weber as 'politically orientated capitalism' (which is considered by Weber to be different from and antecedent to industrial capitalism).

1.1.1.2 Weber's definition of Capitalism

According to Weber, "capitalism is present wherever the industrial provision for the needs of a human group is carried out

1. Traditional Confucian ideology can be characterized by humanism, by its emphases upon the ethical, the intellectual (primarily with relation to life and activity), the aesthetic, and the social (not necessarily in that order of importance), without any aversion to material welfare and the normal enjoyments of life - and with an inner tranquillity of spirit that pervades life in both prosperity and adversity, a tranquillity born of a sense of harmony with Nature and one's fellow men. See G. A. Moore ed. The Chinese Mind, 1967, p.7

by the method of enterprise, irrespective of what need is involved. More specifically a rational capitalistic establishment is one with capital accounting². Weber further differentiates capitalism into 'politically orientated capitalism' and 'industrial capitalism'.

1.1.1.2.1 Political Capitalism

Politically orientated capitalism refers to situations where the opportunity exists, and is taken, to obtain profitable exchanges by, for example, providing loan support to politicians, financing their wars and so on. Or as in the case of tax-farming schemes, plantation economies and such like, the capitalist may take advantage of the profit opportunities made available to him by the structure and sanctions of political authority.³

1.1.1.2.2 Industrial Capitalism

Industrial capitalism was exemplified in situations where continuous productive enterprises sought to exploit a market situation, making use of a capital accounting techniques in the process.⁴

1.1.1.2.3 Rational and Irrational Capitalism

Weber differentiates rational and irrational capitalism. 'Rational' capitalistic behaviour "is always that a calculation of

2. Max Weber, (tr.) Frank H. Knight, General Economic History, Free Press, 1950, p.275

3. Eldridge ed. Max Weber, 1972, p.33

4. Ibid.,

capital in terms of money made, whether by modern book-keeping methods or in any other way, however primitive and crude. Everything is done in terms of balances: at the beginning of the enterprise an initial balance, before every individual decision a calculation to ascertain its probable profitableness, and at the end a final balance to ascertain how much profit has been made So far as the transactions are rational, calculation underlies every single action of the partners."⁵

It is important, as Eldridge points out, to recognise that Weber did not claim that rational industrial capitalism was identified with modern capitalism: "Capitalism and capitalistic enterprises, even with a considerable rationalization of capitalistic calculation, have existed in all civilized countries of the earth, so far as economic documents permit us to judge. In China, India, Babylon, Egypt, Mediterranean Antiquity and the Middle Ages, as well as in modern times."⁶

1.1.2 Prerequisites of Capitalism

Weber's concept of 'political capitalism' characterizes the economic situation of late Ching China as described by Feuerwerker. The modern-type enterprises started in China in the later part of the Ching Dynasty failed to develop into a genuine 'industrial revolution' according to Feuerwerker, and therefore failed to transform the Chinese economy as a whole into a modern, industrial one, because China lacks the prerequisites for modern capitalism that Weber describes - prerequisites such as:

5. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, pp.18-19

6. Ibid. p.197

- (a) free labour (or as Weber puts it, the existence of a "propertyless class compelled to sell its labour services to live"),
- (b) the appropriation of all physical means of production as disposable property of autonomous private industrial enterprise and,
- (c) freedom of the market from 'irrational' limitations of trading in the market (such as class factors affecting the purchase of commodities or labour),
- (d) a rational technology, as for example, is implied in the mechanization of production,
- (e) a framework of calculable law such that an industrial organization can depend upon calculable adjudication and administration,
- (f) the commercialization of economic life such that commercial instruments may be used to represent share rights in enterprises and property ownership.⁷

But the question is, is the absence of such values and institutions quite the obstacle to economic development say, measured in terms of a steady growth of per-capita income, that Feuerwerker argues they were in the case of late Imperial China's failure to 'modernize'.

1.1.3. A Contrasting View: The Traditional-Modern Dichotomy Reconsidered

1.1.3.1 Weber's 'Form' and 'Spirit' of Capitalism

Weber has drawn a distinction between the 'form' of modern capitalistic enterprise and the 'spirit' of modern

7. Max Weber, General Economic History, pp.238-239

capitalism which is relevant here.

1.1.3.2 The Spirit of Modern Capitalism

To those who accept as a guide to their own conduct the idea of increasing one's capital as an end in itself and out of a sense of duty (an ethical imperative) Weber attributes 'the spirit of modern capitalism'. It is a spirit which also characterizes labour. When, in an individualistic way, the workman calculates how he can maximize his earnings and will respond to economic incentives (designed to improve his productivity) to the best of his ability whilst at the same time manifesting a sense of responsibility towards his work and a specific willingness to work hard and systematically. It is also a spirit which characterizes an entrepreneur who accepts the pursuit of money as being virtuous in itself and systematically organizes himself and his productive resources to that end. Moral values such as honesty, thrift, frugality, punctuality and hard work all lead to the promotion of economic gain.

Traditional spirit, in contrast, is exemplified by the worker and the employer who simply wish to earn sufficient money to enable them to carry on living in a way which, for them, is already established and acceptable. Changes in ways of working or in the character of market relationship (with customers and fellow competitors) are seen as undesirable and, given this kind of orientation, are resented and resisted.

By separating the 'form' from 'spirit' of modern capitalism Weber is able to suggest first that non-capitalist types of production systems, although they will most likely be dominated by a

traditionalist spirit, may in fact be imbued with the spirit of modern capitalism. Conversely, a capitalistic form of enterprise (that is enterprises carried on by private entrepreneurs by utilizing capital to make a profit, purchasing the means of production and selling the product)⁹ can in some cases still be characterized by a traditional spirit.¹⁰

Weber's notion of 'spirit' embodies a number of different components or dimensions. One of these, and the one I propose to examine most closely in my thesis is ideology. In particular what is generally termed in the literature on industrial sociology 'business ideology'.

1.1.3.3 Concluding Remarks

If Feuerwerker's analysis is correct then we would expect the 'spirit' or 'business ideology' of (say) 1900 China corresponded more or less to the 'form' or economic structure of that time. In a 1975 variant of 'Chinese society' (i.e. Hong Kong), given all the technological changes and western inspired social change that have occurred, especially since 1945, those business norms, values and institutions of 1900 China which continue to be present can legitimately be labelled as constituting a distinctly traditional spirit or traditional management of 'business ideology'. By this I mean that, ideally, in 1975 the economic structure should associate with new norms and values which support the new form of economic structure.

9. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, p.64

10. Eldridge ed. Max Weber, p.41

But, as I shall show later, much of this 'traditional' spirit is still in existence in the business world. It would therefore seem that such traditions need not necessarily inhibit the development of new forms of economic structure. In another context J.R. Gasfield argues that there are manifold empirical variations in the relation between traditional forms and new institutions and values, variations whose possibilities are either denied or hidden by the polarity of the traditional-modern model of social change (such as that used by Feuerwerker). He further argues that tradition and modernity have been used as explicit ideologies operating in the context of politics in new nations.¹¹ J. Abegglen, in his study in Japanese factories, also demonstrates that changes have taken place selectively in Japan, and that these changes have been such as to leave unchanged the underlying basis of social relationships, rather than penetrating to the roots of the social system. The changes have been built up from the kind of traditional social relationships pre-existing in Japan.¹² Tradition, then can become a potent set of values, norms, and institutions utilizable in the process of 'economic development'.

My thesis, then, is primarily an attempt to understand the ways which 'traditional and neo-traditional' management values continue to be important in an industrializing Chinese situation - especially given Feuerwerker's view that they are impediments to rapid economic growth. I use as a case study an industrializing community in the New Territories of Hong Kong,

11. J.R. Gasfield, 'Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change', AIS, Vol. 72, 1966-1967

12. J. Abegglen, The Japanese Factory - Aspects of its Social Organization

and attempt to understand how and why traditional values, norms and institutions are useful as contemporary economic resources rather merely constituting 'archaic survivals'.

1.2 Management Ideologies: Industrial Organization and Change

1.2.1 Various Perspectives - Introduction

It is often argued that in the industrialization process, one necessary condition for successful industrialization was the interpretation of authority in the relationship between employers and workers. That is, the imposition of managerial authority is the primary concern of the studies of 'business ideologies' or 'management ideologies'. In previous studies, there are a variety of perspectives and definitions of management ideologies. Here I review this work and examine some of their more important arguments.

1.2.1.1 Various Perspectives

Bendix defines ideologies of management as "attempts by leaders of enterprises to justify the privilege of voluntary action and association for themselves, while imposing upon all subordinates the duty of obedience and the obligation to serve their employers to the best of their ability".¹³

John Child, in his study in British management thought, argues that 'British management thought' was a comprehensive body of knowledge - somewhat wider in scope than the management 'ideologies' which had been the subject of previous studies.

13. R. Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry, 1956, John Wiley and Sons, p.xi

Although the concept of 'management thought' cannot be given precise boundaries, it is normally distinguishable from the less clearly and less sophisticated notion of 'business ideology', from more specific and rigorous contributions of a primarily academic nature, and from personal view held by the general run of practising managers.¹⁴

Nichols defines 'business ideologies as being "..... about power and that they consist of those patterned and selective self and structural representations put forward by businessmen which pertain to its distribution."¹⁵

Sutton et al. in their book 'American Business Creed' defined ideology as "any system of beliefs publicly expressed with the manifest purpose of influencing the sentiments and actions of others."¹⁶

David Rogers and Ivan Berg have summarized the different approaches to the study of business ideologies into two main categories:¹⁷

First. The neo-Marxist approach and the 'new competition' approach of such writers as A.A. Berle and David Lilienthal. The first group has an interest theory of ideology, and they hold a view of the small businessman as a rational, political, and economic man.

14. Child, British Management Thought, p.24

15. Theo Nichols, Ownership Control and Ideology, 1969, p.228

16. Sutton et al. American Business Creed, Cambridge, Mass. 1956

17. David Rogers and Ivan E. Berg, Jr., 'Occupation and Ideology: the Case of the Small Businessman', Human Organization, Vol.20 no. 3

Second. The social-psychological approach of Sutton and his associates who use a more complex psychological analysis of the determinants of the small businessman's ideology. Roger and Berg have presented another approach to the study of the small businessman's ideology by investigating into the 'objective opportunities' the small businessman faces and to establish a link between his objective opportunities and his ideas about them. Thus they focus on how the small businessman sees his world in terms of the opportunities presented to him by that world.

Concluding Remarks

Although there is considerable variety in all the above definitions and approaches to the study of management ideologies they are in fact common in one aspect, that is they are all, to some degree concerned about the implimentation of authority.

A. Fox's remark on ideology can serve as a conclusion to this section. Fox says, "management seeks to propagate an ideology which justifies its behaviour, legitimizes its rule, evokes loyalty and commitment on the part of lower as well as higher participants, and serves a support for those norms and values which are congruent for its goals."¹⁸ Fox goes further to point out that there are three purposes of management ideology:

- (a) it is at once a method of self-reassurance,
- (b) an instrument of persuasion, and a
- (c) technique of seeking legitimation of authority.¹⁹

18. Alan Fox, A Sociology of Work in Industry, 1971, London, p.124
 19. Ibid., p.126

There are, of course, also variations in the different perspectives outlined above. For example, Bendix's definition stresses on the exercise of the authority and the justification of it, while Sutton and his associates stress those publicly expressed beliefs (that is the open publications and speeches of the businessmen) which have the manifest purpose of influencing the sentiments and actions of others.

There are some more important differences, too, between Nichols' approach and those of Bendix and Sutton. One of these is closely related to certain methodological problems and it concerns the fact that those other definitions do not delimit the term business ideology to ideology of businessmen. In Bendix and Sutton's case, the ideology or 'creeds' considered consists of statements not put forward exclusively by businessmen themselves. Thus they have attempted to equate the ideology of businessmen with apparently representative historical shifts in the literature of management of equate the former with the opinions of major business theories, whether they be businessmen or not. Indeed Child has felt bound to state it as possible that what he termed 'British management thought' was "never in fact wholeheartedly accepted by most practising managers."²⁰ (My emphasis)

20. John Child, British Management Thought

1.2.1.2 Theories of Management Ideology and Industrial Change

As I have stated in the previous section: all economic enterprises have in common a basic social relation between the employers who exercise authority and the workers who obey. And all ideologies of management have in common the effort to interpret the exercise of authority in a favourable light. But to what extent and in what ways theories or ideologies of management change when the industries themselves change? Bendix attempts to come to grips with this problem when he separates ideologies of management into enterpreneurial ideologies and managerial ideologies, the first is representative of the early phases of industrialization and the second the phase when economic enterprises are fully developed (that is when control and ownership of industries separates). Bendix has also noted that over the past two hundred years, managerial ideologies in Anglo-American civilization have changed from an ideology of traditionalism to laissez-faire, to 'Social Darwinism' and finally to the 'human relations' approach.²¹

Bendix indicates that the historical legacy of ideas might also play something of an independent role in fashioning current thought. I agree that when one talks about an ideology, it is necessary to specify the referent, that is the social context about which an individual or aggregate of individuals has a set of ideas. As Marx put it 'men make their own history', but they do not "under circumstances directly given and transmitted from

21. Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry

the past"²². Bendix also adopts this idea: ideologies of management can be explained only in part as a rationalization of self-interest, they also result from the legacy of institutions and ideas which is 'adopted' by each generation much as a child 'adopts' the grammar of his native language.²³

But a question still remains untouched here, and it is the question I am interested in, that is: what ideas, or values are transmitted, and why? How do these ideas or values function in a new industrial setting? In my examination of these problems in a 'Chinese' context it is necessary to begin with Chinese history and the study of so called 'traditional' Chinese management ideologies.

1.2.2 Chinese Traditional Management Ideology

1.2.2.1 Weber and the Confucian Ethics as Rational Adjustment to the World

Embryonic capitalism began in China around the time of late Ming Dynasty (1577 - 1620)²⁴ and the attempt to introduce modern industry began in the decade of the 'Tung-Chi Restoration' (1860) with the modernization of armaments.²⁵ Traditionally, merchants in China were simultaneously devalued and needed. The low valuation of mercantile activity was in part a reflection of the role of commerce in an agricultural society in which the

22. c.f. David Roger and Ivan Berg, Jr., 'Occupation and Ideology: the case of the Small Businessman', Human Organization, Vol.20 no. 3

23. Bendix, 'Industrialization, Ideologies, and Social Structure', ASR, Oct. 1959, Vol. 24, pp.613-622

24. Teng To, Ts'ung Wan Li Tao Kan Lung Kuan Yu Chung-Kuo Tzu-Pan Chu-I Meng-Ya Shih Ch'i Ti I Ko Lun Cheng.

25. A. Feuerwerker, China's Early Industrialization, Chapter One

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dominant values were these of the Confucian gentry-official. As Weber states: "Confucianism was the status ethnic of prebendaries, of men with literary educations where characterized by a secular rationalism. If one did not belong to this cultural stratum he did not count. The religious (or if one wishes, irreligious) status ethnic of this stratum has determined the Chinese way of life far beyond the stratum itself."²⁶ And Feuerwerker has concluded that such traditional values and institutions in late Imperial China were a barrier preventing economic development.

More specifically, Weber's point is this: the Confucian ethic could be clearly seen as a barrier to development when compared with other major world belief systems. Confucian rationality, for example, involved rational adjustment to the world, whereas Puritan rationality involved rational mastery of the world. According to Weber, nothing conflicted more with Confucian ideals of scholarship and gentility than the Puritan's view of himself as God's instrument for rationally transforming and mastering the world. The Confucian ethic, given its wide spread influence in society, lay at the back of a set of traditional managerial values and practices which Feuerwerker considers as barriers to economic growth in a Chinese setting. I consider below some of these traditional values and norms.

1.2.2.2 Chinese Traditional Managerial Ideology and Practices

1.2.2.2.1 Salt Merchants

Let us first look at the salt merchants. They were in

26. Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber, p.268

fact salt monopolists, closely linked to the bureaucracy and therefore they were as unable as the majority of the bureaucracy to play a positive role in developing China's economy. Their accumulation of capital was, in addition, large only by standards of an agrarian economy. This aspect of Chinese domestic commerce and trade was irrevocably linked to the bureaucracy - the carrier of the Confucian ethic.

1.2.2.2 Compradors

Even those compradors of the late Ching Dynasty, such as Tong King-sing, Hsu Jun and Cheng Kuaz-ying who played major roles in the earliest industrial undertakings, stuck firmly to traditional ideas and values. These men, despite their participation in foreign trade, their residence in the treaty ports, and their association with foreigners, were never wholly free of the past. They were, in the first place, assimilated to the traditional official system, holding official rank and usually the title of expectant 'Tao Tai'. Feuerwerker has pointed out that the inducement was small for those merchants who had accumulated funds from the export of tea and silk, the distribution of foreign imports, or from customs banking and the like to put their wealth into textile mills, shipping, or mines. On the one hand they were attracted by the prestige of owning land. On the other hand high returns could be realized from investing in usury, native banks and pawnshops. Etienne Balazs describes how the merchants of traditional China spent their accumulated capital: ".... they indulged in eccentricities and expensive hobbies, dogs, horses, music and women; they owned beautiful pleasure

gardens; they became bibliophiles collectors, and art connoisseurs; they patronized and subsidized scholars on a lavish scale and held veritable literary salons. Dozens of famous literatii were their guests and proteges. And it is certainly a fact that, even allowing for the not entirely voluntary contribution of 41 million taels to the imperial treasury (for the emperor's personal expenses) during the second half of the 18th Century, their mode of life, clan solidarity, and expenses for education diverted most of the accumulated capital to noneconomic uses."²⁷

1.2.2.2.3 The Kuan-Tu Shang-Pan Industries

Let us look at another example to show the operation of traditional ideologies and associated practices - the Kuan-Tu Shang-Pan system. It has been argued that the industrial enterprises of Sheng Hsuan-huai, an early industrialist in Ching Dynasty who started the Kuan-Tu Shang-Pan system (official Supervision and Merchant Management), did not expand to realize economies of scale. His profit was a product of his family loyalties, in combination with such considerations as the actual great risk involved in new ventures. Two other ways in which Sheng's ties to his family might have adversely affected the operation of his enterprises. First, 'his undertakings could hardly have escaped the pervasive nepotism in public and private office', and second, 'ritual mourning obligation for a close relative could provide the pretext for the removal of a key official from posts he had held for many years and which he was uniquely qualified to fill is again illustrative of the dominance

27. Etienne Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy pp.39-54

of kinship values even at the possible expense of the rational pursuit of economic activity.²⁸

1.2.2.2.4 Chu Ching Yuan's "Guide Book for Traders"

In the traditional Chinese business traders always emphasized personal cultivation of the Confucian standard. Honesty, kindness, contentedness, and righteousness were values that they had used for generations. Chu Ching Yuan's "Guide Book for Traders,"²⁹ was compiled according to different versions of this kind of book in early Ching Dynasty. I will quote from it here in order to illustrate the managerial ideologies of the traditional traders.

"Keep to your own honesty, and don't be greedy, you will be a steady businessman. If (you) are greedy of what other people have, you will be trapped into misfortune.

"Those who are bad in family management. Although he may have talent and ability, he will still be useless.

"Those who have virtue but no technical (talent) knowledge are worthy but those who have talent but no virtue are no good.

"High profit is not my profit, low profit is my profit.

"In trade or in lending money, take only 2 - 3% of interest. (This is normal and traditional.)

"Don't be risky, nine out of ten are still dangerous odds."

28. A. Feuerwerker, China's Early Industrialization, p.86

29. Chu Ching Yuan, 'Chiao Cheng Chiang-Hu Pi-Tu', Shih Huo Pan Pan Yueh Kan

1.2.2.2.5 Pawnshops

Another business on which there is material to illustrate traditional values and norms is the pawnshop trade. In a directory book of pawnshops in the Ching Dynasty of about 1885³⁰, concerning the regulations of this business and teachings to the apprentices in pawnshops, there is again considerable emphasis on self-cultivation, on contentedness, on hard-working and on humility. Ethics like 'to get the worst of a situation is in fact advantageous' that is 'a fall into the pit, a gain in the wit'. Labour relations are clearly built upon the realization of the necessity of co-operation between the owner and the worker.

Regulations are not strict because the owner who has capital has to rely on the industriousness of the worker, and without the workers' contribution, it is impossible to do business. Risk taking is again not advised in this business, but honesty and economy are virtues which are encouraged.

1.2.2.3 Feuerwerker's Parson's Inspired Critique of the above Ideologies and Practices as Barriers to Development

Feuerwerker argues that the modern-type enterprises started in China in the latter part of the Ching Dynasty failed to develop into a genuine 'industrial revolution' because China failed to develop an institutional breakthrough. The inertia of an imperial political system and Confucian ideology, plus the base of a society founded on prescientific intensive agriculture all contributed to

30. Yang Lien-hsing Chi, 'Tien Yeh Hsu Chih', Shih Huo Pan Yueh Kan

China's inability to modernize. As Feuerwerker concluded, "one institutional breakthrough is worth a dozen textile mills or shipping companies established within the framework of the traditional society and its system of values."³¹ His analysis of the failure of traditional Chinese society to industrialize can be summarized in the following points:

- (a) low status accorded to the merchant in traditional Chinese society,
- (b) negative or passive attitude of the government towards economic activity,
- (c) preservation of the time-honoured agricultural economy,
- (d) the ethic of traditional Chinese pre-occupation with dividing a static economic pie - the agrarian surplus - among landlords, merchants, and officials,
- (e) the diffuse and particularistic considerations such as kinship ties and overriding obligation to family and clan in business management,
- (f) the political weakness and disunity of China continued on into the Republican era,
- (g) inadequate capital accumulation - the savings potential of the agricultural sector of the economy was hardly touched at all as a possible source of industrial capital,
- (h) technical backwardness.

In short, we may summarize Feuerwerker as arguing, in part, that the

- (1) general Confucian ideology
- (2) particularistic, traditionalistic ideologies and

31. A. Feuerwerker, China's Early Industrialization, p.242

practices (of kinship-obligation ties, for example) represent barriers to economic growth.

Feuerwerker's analysis seems well done, and appropriate given the kinds of materials he was working with and the kinds of problems he set for himself. However, it is my impression that this model is too static, monolithic and ideographic. That is, based on my own experience of having lived in Hong Kong, together with what we know about the possible variety of empirical forms, it seems at least possible that traditional beliefs or ideologies can accommodate new organizational forms or practices. Thus it seems possible that Hong Kong provides an excellent opportunity -- to examine empirically the relationship between 'Chinese' business ideologies and other phenomena.

Let us now look at the Hong Kong situation and see whether or not these 'traditional' barriers have in fact been barriers to Hong Kong's economic growth.

1.2.3 Hong Kong Evidence - in Contrast to Feuerwerker the Compatibility of 'Traditional Management Ideology' and Rapid Techno-econ Development

1.2.3.1 Hong Kong's Economic Development

Hong Kong is one of the world's top 20 trading 'nations'. With little over 4 million inhabitants, it exports more than India, which has 140 times its population. In per capita terms, it is among the top ten traders in the world. The percentage of the total active population involved in manufacturing is the highest

in the world, and the contribution of manufacturing output to gross domestic product places Hong Kong as No. 2 in the world, behind only West Germany. In short, in a community that is predominantly 'Chinese', there has been very rapid economic growth over the past twenty years.

1.2.3.2 Economic Agents - Industries in Hong Kong

Where does this miracle of development come from? J. England shows that in 1968 Hong Kong workers had longest working day and the longest working week of city dwellers in South-east Asia: 52% worked 10 hours a day or more, and 58% worked 7 days a week. "Capital," he concludes, "does grow fat at the expense of labour."³² By 1969, nearly half the total labour force still employed in traditional sector. The economy exhibits a dualism which is unlikely to disappear quickly. England divides the Hong Kong business firms in three categories:

- (a) small privately-owned Chinese firms,
- (b) large privately-owned Chinese firms,
- (c) large western joint-stock companies.³³

I consider the third category - modern and western business firms - to be firms managed primarily according to a modern capitalistic ideology, and I accordingly restrict my attention to the first two types in the following discussion.

In category (a), almost all these firms are family-owned and managed, with proprietor/manager frequently working side by side with the workmen. There is no management hierarchy, no

32. J. England, 'Industrial Relations in Hong Kong' in Keith Hopkins ed. Hong Kong - The Industrial Colony, 1973, Hong Kong Reprinted, p.208

33. Ibid., p.223

formality, and communications between worker and employer are personal and easy. England had pointed out that the values of a pre-industrial society persist in certain of the traditional trades where piece-rates are based upon customary rather than market calculations.³⁴

The large private Chinese firms are family-owned, the top management is almost exclusively Shanghainese and usually linked by family ties. These are among the most experienced industrialists in the Colony with a family experience of running large-scale factories.

1.2.3.3 The Feuerwerker Thesis Re-examined

Feuerwerker argues that various Chinese traditional values, norms and institutions represent barriers to economic growth.

Given Hong Kong's economic growth, the question to ask is: whether or not these traditional values, norms, and institutions still exist. If they do, then it is probable that Feuerwerker is wrong about their necessarily being barriers to development.

1.2.3.4 Evidence

Sik-nin Chau argues that Hong Kong's growth is the result in part of Confucian and Mencian teachings.³⁵ He states "..... in almost all cases (the manufacturing enterprises), are operated as family concerns. Bearing in mind the fundamental importance

34. Ibid., p.224

35. Sir Sik-nin Chau, 'Family Management in Hong Kong', FORUM

of family to the Chinese, it will be seen that harmony, order and authority in the enterprise presented no problems." Chau even quotes the Mencian saying that 'some labour with their minds, and some labour with their strength. Those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them". To apply this to business units, he continues, "there were those who governed and there were those who were governed, each according to his ability but all having an equal interest in the success of the operation. Acceptance of the established order, as advocated by the Confucian school, made it possible for persons of diverse origin to fit into a family pattern. Adjustments were smoothly effected and mental illness was not apparent."

Decision-making in Chinese firms, then, tends ideally to be patriarchal and autocratic, control is centralized and delegation minimal. In a community where the principle of diversion of labour and obedience to superiors are traditional, such an autocratic system not only caused no dissension but is the accepted norm. Traditionalism, then, is a positive economic resource.

Obviously, there are also 'western', 'modern' business ideologies promoted in Hong Kong. There are readily available articles about modern effective management, professional management, quality control, etc. in periodicals such as 'Forum', 'Hong Kong Manager' and 'Hong Kong Trade Bulletin'. They even talk about business responsibilities and high sounding notions like 'business should take its responsibility to assist in improving the standards

of living very seriously, but also realistically (or 'it is the responsibility of every businessman to have at heart the education of the nationals of the country.'³⁶).

It is interesting that in the last decade, there has been a new awakening to the validity of past culture and the possibility of adopting western management philosophies and techniques to blend with them. It has developed a young 'plural-culture', accepting western ideology and life-style within the greater framework of a very ancient culture, and developed its own brand of management.

So, it would seem that what we have to look at in the social organization of Hong Kong's factories is not traditionalism, especially traditional managerial ideologies as barriers to growth. Instead we have to look for the ways in which so called 'traditional' and 'modern' elements are combined together. In this respect, I am inspired by Majorie Topley's idea that "people do not usually turn to western ideas because they come to believe them more 'true' than the traditional ones. Rather, they find effective in some circumstances and some Chinese practices for similar reasons. People may move in and out of Chinese and western traditions, at least the present time, the effect is the proof - if it works it is true."³⁷

36. Sir Sik-nin Chau, 'Business Responsibilities in a Developing Country' Forum, Vol.2 March 1962 p2.

37. Topley, M. 'Is Confucius Dead', Far Eastern Economic Review, 58(12), p561-563 (Dec.21, 1967).

1.3 Conclusion

In order to gain evidence about which aspects of 'traditional' ideologies and practices still exist in industries in Hong Kong, I have undertaken research in Kwu Tung, a small market and light industry centre in the New Territories of Hong Kong.

There is a total of sixteen factories in this community. I have interviewed all the sixteen factory managers and a number of the foremen and workers in these factories. I have also undertake intensive case studies of nine of the sixteen factories and have collected life histories of certain key individuals. After finishing my preliminary field work I interviewed all the managers by means of a structured questionnaire which included an attitude test. This research material is supplemented by data taken from available literature. This library material has been used to construct empirical types of 'traditional' and 'modern' industries structured according to four aspects. These aspects are:

- (a) organization
- (b) labour relations
- (c) localism
- (d) use of business techniques and attitudes towards innovations.

These dichotomized empirical types are followed by an attempt to 'logically' construct a 'mixture type' (see Chapter Three).

The results of my findings are presented in Chapters four and five. They support my general hypothesis that traditional values

and norms still exist to some extent in all factories in the community, that 'traditional' and 'modern' practices can exist side by side in a factory; and that a factory manager can at the same time hold both 'traditional' and 'modern' ideologies.

2.1 Introduction

The New Territories are comprised of the mainland portion of the Colony, between the city of Kowloon in the south and Sham Chun River in the north. In 1971 the New Territories contained a population of about 693,915 and included a land area of approximately 365 square miles.¹

The limited amount of building land left in Hong Kong Island and Kowloon for urban settlement and industrial development has forced both Government and private investors to turn to the New Territories to help solve the Colony's pressing problems stemming from mass immigration and its rapid industrial development. Traditional Chinese markets have become transformed into industrial cities with populations of over 200,000 as in the case of Tsuen Wan, and in other instances completely new industrial cities have been built up from mere reclaimed land - as has occurred in Kwun Tong.

Anthropological interest in the traditional Chinese villages of the New Territories, and the rapid urbanization of the traditional Chinese markets has diverted academic attention away from the numerous small industrializing communities that in some parts of the New Territories, at least, have been formally designated by Government as Temporary Industrial Areas. Too much attention has been focused on supposedly two completely different social structure - one which

1. Hong Kong 1975, Hong Kong Government Press, 1975, p.189

is associated with a 'modern-urbanized' way of life, and the other which is more 'rural' and has retained much of its traditional culture.²

My research site, Kwo Tung, is one of these intermediary type, small, Temporary Industrial Areas. It has been in existence for approximately fifty years during which time it has developed from being a purely agricultural area settled by a few immigrants into a market and industrial area which, together with its hinterland, has a population of approximately 30,000. The actual market and industrial area itself has not been 'urbanized' to any great extent and the population distribution of the hinterland is relatively dispersed. The rapid urbanization of the market-cum-industrial area was prevented by objections on the part of the local traditional Hau lineage villages on the grounds that this development would spoil the good geomantic setting position of one of their ancestors' graves³. The Kwo Tung area is a part of the wider marketing and political community centered on the large nearby market town of Shek Wu Hui, where the Sheung Shui Rural Committee has its office.⁴ Its historical development may be rather arbitrarily periodized into three periods ...
..... 1925-1960, 1960-1970, 1970 to present. The first period is characterized by the initial settlement of the area by a few businessmen, the second period by the establishment of traditional

2. Thus simplistic views of the New Territories such as that of Potter have to be rejected. His assertion that the New Territories "... are one of few remaining places where traditional Chinese villages and towns still exist in a state approximating to their traditional pre-communist forms of the New Territories" seems grossly inaccurate to me. (Potter J., 'The Structure of Chinese Rural Society in New Territories' in Agassi and Jarvie, Hong Kong.)

3. For a brief account of the Hau Lineage-Villages in the area, see Baker, H.D.R., 'The Five Great Clans of the New Territories' JHKERAS Vol.vi, 1966.

4. Baker, H.D.R., Sheung Shui - A Chinese Lineage-Village, gives background information on the market town of Shek Wu Hui.

industries such as the soy-sauce factories, and the third period by move-in of technologically more modern manufacturing industries.

The expansion of the area as a market and the development of local industry has more or less occurred simultaneously. In my description of the historical development of Kwu Tung I have therefore included material relating to both the market and industrial aspects of its expansion.

2.2 1925-1960: The Early Immigrants

According to some of my more elderly informants, approximately 50 years ago there was a tobacco farm in Kwu Tung which belonged to a leading Hong Kong Eurasian family, the Ho Tungs. The farm included a 'cottage' tobacco factory where the tobacco was dried, preserved and cut. The factory was situated immediately behind a small market called Yin Liu Kui, literally 'The Tobacco Cottage District'.

Thus the earliest immigrants were in fact tobacco farm labourers and when the farm closed down, before the Japanese occupation, some of these labourers settled in Kwu Tung. They became vegetable farmers, renting land from the local dominant lineage - the Hau villages. In addition there appear to have been five families who immigrated into Kwu Tung at about the same time as the tobacco farm closed down. One of the families, the Cheungs, established a business in the nearby intermediate market town of Sham Chun.⁵ The men in the family looked after the Sham Chun shop, while the women grew rice and vegetables in the fields around Kwu Tung. Another family were the Chans who

5. Baker, Sheung Shui, also provides material on the market-town of Sham Chun.

became tenant farmers of a Hau lineage village until the son in the family, growing tired of being politically and economically tied to the Hau, gave up tenant farming and in 1950 established a business on one of the roads running between the two standard market towns of Yuen Long and Shek Wu Hui.

This represented the beginnings of the commercial development of Kwu Tung. A number of the other people in the area also gave up farming and set up small scale businesses, ranging from the sale of saw dust (for fuel), fire wood, poultry food, fertilizer, and kerosene. As their businesses prospered a number of restaurants were established and Kwu Tung, by the end of the 1950's, was a thriving marketing centre.

Following the Great Leap Forward in China, there was massive immigration into Hong Kong. Kwu Tung's population increased enormously, and the simple social division between the Hau lineage-villages and the early immigrant families was destroyed by a number of associations and organizations established by newly arrived immigrants. These associations were primarily structured along ethnic lines and expressed their mutual antagonisms in a number of ways, including, in particular, setting up their own versions of the local Festival dedicated to the Goddess of Mercy. Kwu Tung is noted throughout the Sheung Shui district for both its Cantonese/Hakka and Teochiu versions of the Goddess of Mercy Festival.⁶

6. For a more detailed description of this process see M. Palmer, 'Politics, Ethnicity and Religion' (Unpublished research paper, 1974)

2.3 1960-70: The Initial Industrial Development

The first industries to develop in Kwu Tung were 'traditional' industries. By 'traditional' industry I refer to those types which had existed in China for a number of centuries with a more or less unchanged technology. One particularly distinctive characteristic of these industries is that they require a large space in which to operate and, therefore, cheap land. This is especially true of the wine factories and, for example, the soy-sauce factories which have to have an extensive area for drying out the beans.

Kwu Tung, like many other parts of the New Territories, was well suited for this kind of development. The land was not too close to the local traditional villages to raise many geomancy objections nor was it too close to the larger market towns and therefore prohibitively expensive. Much of the land development - the conversion of paddy fields and fishponds into building land - was undertaken by land investors and construction companies from the nearby market-town of Shek Wu Hui. It seems that the factories were sublet rather than sold. For example, at present, the Mandarin Gloves Factory pays a rental of \$2,400 per month and the Shanghai Soap Factory \$1,500 per month. Both leases are for a period of twenty years.

However, by the late 1960's, the pressure for industrial accommodation in the urban areas of Hong Kong Island and Kowloon forced industrialists there to consider alternative locations. By 1970 the kinds of industry being established in Kwu Tung reflected this pressure - they were much more 'modern' in technology and much more space intensive.

It should be noted that, in absence of a clearly defined industrial policy on the part of the New Territories Administration, the industrial-commercial development of settlements such as Kwu Tung was piece-meal and ad-hoc in nature. Some degree of systematic planning of the community was introduced with the designation of Kwu Tung as a Temporary Industrial Area in 1972. A Temporary Industrial Area is an area where a number of factories have been established without any prior Government planning. The existence of these areas has been accepted by the New Territories Administration who agree to tolerate them providing certain basic safeguards concerning pollution, fire-risk, etc. are undertaken by the factory owners. They are regarded as temporary in the sense that the Government expects them to move to properly developed layout areas near the main market-towns when industrial land in these areas is made available to them.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

The development of Kwu Tung has two major dimensions. One is the development from a purely agricultural base to an industrial community. The other is the development of the market itself from one or two small shops by the road side into a small market centre for several traditional villages and the immigrant communities. One important factor facilitating these developments is the geographical setting of Kwu Tung. It is situated in the centre of the several traditional Hau Villages like Ho Sheung Heung, Kam Tsai Village, Yin Kwong Village and Ping Kwong Village. It serves a

good meeting place for these villages but at the same time is out of their traditional control, while the people in Kwu Tung being immigrants, are socially more marginal, cannot live off 'unearned' income such as rent and are therefore forced to make a success of their commercial or industrial enterprises.

CHAPTER THREE EMPIRICAL TYPES IN BUSINESS

3.1 General Introduction

3.1.1 Changes in Ideology

In his seminal study of changes in management ideology, Bendix has divided the past two hundred years in Anglo-American civilization into four major stages.¹ At the inception of industrialization in England an ideology of traditionalism prevailed which Mill called the 'theory of dependence'. According to this view the labouring poor are children, who must be governed, who should not be allowed to think for themselves, who must perform their assigned tasks obediently and with alacrity, and who must show deference to their superiors. These beliefs formed the basis of the presumption that the dependence of the poor and the responsibility of the rich are the valid moral rules of the social order.

In the course of industrial development, these ideas were gradually modified. As the ideal of responsibility of the rich was increasingly rejected by the advocates of laissez-faire, the dependence of the poor was turned from an inevitable into a self-imposed fate. It was asserted that by abstinence and exertion, the poor could better their lot. In short, status was a matter of achievement rather than ascription.

By the end of the 19th Century, in England and even more so in America, Social Darwinism had become a dominant ideology. The

1. Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry, 1956, p.435-436

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Social Darwinist principle invokes that success in the competitive struggle proclaims the employer's fitness and thereby their entitlement to govern; an alternative justification was that their special contribution to national wealth justified their leadership.

Now recently, in the United States, the focus has been upon 'human relations'. That is, a 'modern', 'socially conscious' private enterprise system which, by its success and creative dynamism, its professional orientation of social responsibility as against the old 'exploitative, harsh capitalism', and its enlightened concern with 'human values', justifies management in their appeal for social support.

At a more empirical level, the changes of management ideology are probably not nearly so clear cut as those demonstrated by Bendix. If one views these types from a cross-cultural perspective then significant variations in ideology development patterns can be identified. In Japan the manager's legitimacy has rested heavily on the persistence of feudal and family values which shaped industry as they shaped other institutions (Abegglen, 1958). Alan Fox also points out that "even in Western societies the force of tradition and custom can endow managers with legitimacy in the eyes of their subordinates."² So the literature suggests that traditional values have, at least in their form, lingered on during the process of industrialization. Some of these traditions which are given emphasis in the literature include the unchallenged control that may exist within long-standing family firms and which in particular stress a paternalistic model of management-labour relations. Other

2. Alan Fox, A Sociology of Work in Industry, 1971, p.40

traditional ideas which can be found in Hong Kong in modern factories include the worship of patron gods. For example, the worship of Kuan Kung (who was a General in the Three Kingdom Dynasty) and Fu Ti, the Earth God, are commonly found in modern business and industrial plants.

3.1.2 The Dimensions

As demonstrated by Joseph Gusfield³, it is incorrect to view traditional societies as static, normatively consistent, or structurally homogeneous. The relations between the traditional and modern do not necessarily involve displacement, conflict or exclusiveness. 'Modernity' does not necessarily weaken 'tradition'. Both tradition and modernity form the basis of ideologies and movements in which the polar opposites are converted into aspirations, but traditional forms may supply support for, as well as against, change. In this chapter, I want to outline two ideal types of industrial units, i.e. one traditional and one modern. This outline is based on the literature of empirical findings of a number of industrial sociologists. In addition, I construct another intermediate ideal type which is a mixture of 'traditional' and 'modern' enterprises. This mixture model of 'traditional' and 'modern' enterprises is not only a logical construct, for there are enterprises in Hong Kong which do empirically approximate to this type. Thus in Hong Kong, one can find many examples of industrial firms which adopt modern business techniques, but in their organizational

3. Gusfield, J., "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change", in American Journal of Sociology, 72, 1967

structure, are family owned and managed in paternalistic ways.

I propose here to concentrate on four dimensions of the activities of the industrial unit. These are: organizational structure, labour relations, localism, and the use of technology/business techniques - in particular, attitudes to innovation. These four aspects cover most of the activities of a typical businessman, and will to a certain degree reflect his ideology of business. I discuss these aspects in greater detail below. In general these four aspects will be used as dependent variables to show the role that 'traditional' and 'modern' ideology plays in business. I would expect that in a traditional factory the organizational structure would be much more informal, and the division of labour would be more diffused while in a modern factory the division of labour would be more specific. There would be more formal rules governing the behaviour of the workers in a modern factory and there would be more informal rules or norms in traditional factory. I would also expect that a traditional businessman would be local oriented and more conservative in his attitudes towards say technological, organizational and financial innovations.

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3.1.2.1 Organization

The term 'organization' refers to a set of stable social relations deliberately created, with the explicit intention of continuously accomplishing some specific goals or purposes.⁴

4. A.L. Stinchombe, "Social Structure and the Invention of Organizational Forms", in T. Burns ed. Industrial Man, p.5

To achieve its goals, the organization has to perform many tasks and to co-ordinate the activities of its members. It then usually provides a differentiated structure so that different members or subgroups of members will perform different tasks and assume different responsibilities in a co-ordinated fashion. History has demonstrated the change of industrial organizations, from the individually operated establishment to family firms or in due course a partnership with his son and sons in the 19th Century Europe, then the formation of a partnership between two or more individuals who were not related. It is the rise of the corporate form of organization in business that has brought about the increasing bureaucratization of economic life, and it is the extent to which this form of organization prevails that is the effective measure of that bureaucratization.⁵ So, differences in the internal industrial organization of modern plants with traditional plants is the main concern of this section.

3.1.2.2 Labour Relations

Labour or industrial relations refers to the relations between an enterprise and its employees within industry and among the employees themselves.⁶ Labour relations involves a transaction or bargain between a buyer and a seller of labour. In its simplest form the employer agrees to pay the employee so much in wages for so many hours of work a week or for so many pieces of work completed. In its more advanced form the transaction would also cover the payment of overtime, the granting of holidays, annual leave and sick leave and the provision of canteens and medical, housing and retirement benefits.

5. LaPiere, Social Change, 1965, p.418
 6. Dore, British Factory-Japanese Factory, 1973, Chapters 5, 6, & 7

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An integral element of labour relations is attitude towards work. The employer not only wants work done but he typically wants it done efficiently and economically. The employee on the other hand may want intrinsic rewards instead of extrinsic rewards of work.⁷ For example, in Hong Kong, a lot of university graduates may prefer teaching jobs instead of joining the business circle, though they may have a better future in terms of money. But they may think teaching may give them more satisfaction.

Other important dimensions of labour relations include, for example, working conditions and transmission of information within the industrial unit. For example, one has to examine the extent to which working conditions are designed to ensure workers' safety, health and welfare.

In short, the term labour relations covers a number of possible arrangement between employer and employee, ranging from a simple single dimensional contractual agreement to 'buy' labour to a multidimensional relationship involving a whole complex of arrangements.

3.1.2.3 Localism

Localism is used here to indicate the social activities of the businessmen. By social activities, I mean activities including commitment in voluntary associations, commitment in the business circle as well as among their friends and relatives.

7. Alan Fox (1971), op.cit. p.10-22

By localism, I mean the orientation of the businessmen towards the local community and its development as opposed to the urban areas of Kowloon and Hong Kong, and even the wider markets of Europe and America. These orientations can be conveniently divided into economic and non-economic. In business, for example, do the factory owner and manager actively try and create local demand for their products, or are they reliant on larger contractors and exporters? A modern enterprise is not likely to just limit its business to domestic markets, but will look for international markets where possible.

In non-economic aspects, do the factory owner and manager identify themselves as a member of the local community, or do they regard the wider community of Hong Kong and the international business community as socially and politically more significant? The relationship between localism, 'tradition' and 'modernity', in particular in colonial situations, is summarized in the following passage:

"Industry was for long almost as definitely restricted by historical factors. Throughout the medieval period handicraft was tolerated only in the towns. Some industries alone flourished in the rural districts, especially in mountainous regions where conditions for the development of agriculture were poor. In the mercantilistic period there were in addition direct attempts, particularly by Great Britain, to prevent the development in the colonies of manufactures other than those of local importance. These artificial limitations were superimposed upon natural obstacles to rational distribution of industry; in the North American colonies, for example, all industrial development was confined to the narrow coastal strip where the original settlement was concentrated. Complete freedom

of movement for industry was effected everywhere at a rather late date."⁸

3.1.2.4 Business Techniques - General Attitudes to Innovation

The application of techniques and technology in industry is the fourth indication that I use in my research to demonstrate the extent to which an industrial unit is 'traditional' or 'modern'. Business techniques such as the accounting system, the use of profits, sale techniques, etc. are all considered here as non-material techniques. By material techniques, on the other hand, I refer to the use of machinery in particular, but also, in more general terms, to the use of labour which can reflect the entrepreneurs' attitude towards innovation.

3.1.3 Summary

I will use (a) organization, (b) labour relations, (c) localism, and (d) use of business techniques and technology as indicators in my classification of modern and traditional industrial ideologies and practices. In addition to using these dimensions to identify the extreme types, I attempt to construct a model which logically represents a mixture of the two types - the particular industrial organizational values and norms which remain as 'traditional' rather than become transformed is the focus of this thesis and the logical mixture model provides a point of comparison for the various empirical mixtures encountered in the field research.

8. Herman Schumacher, 'Location of Industry' Encyclopaedia of Social Science, p.585

3.2 Organization: Formal

3.2.1 Introduction: Dimensions of Formal Organization to be Examined

Under the heading of formal organization, I propose to examine the following dimensions:

- (a) status (the rights of different work groups in the organization)
- (b) role (the obligations of the workers and administrators to one another)
- (c) functions (both individual and departmental)
- (d) structure (the internal structure of the industrial organization)
- (e) knowledge (here the emphasis will be mainly on the managerial groups and the extent to which their knowledge of the business they are engaged in is acquired from outside the organization or internally, that is by experience achieved by working inside the organization)
- (f) sanctioning (for example: the laying off or discharging of workers)⁹
- (g) recruitment and training (the ways by which recruitment and training are carried out)
- (h) size
- (i) informal relations against formal relations

In sum, this section is concerned with the major aspects of the formal organizational structure of factories.

9. See Smelser, Sociology of Economic Life, p.38, for a summary of the social resources available to the entrepreneurs to control the behaviour of employees through their use of sanctions. I have focused on the negative sanctions of discharge and lay-off because the current economic recession has enhanced the use of these forms of depriving sanctions.

3.2.2 Modern Types

(a) Status

In general terms status refers to 'the individual's position in the hierarchy of prestige and influence that characterizes every community or association' (Misbet, 1967). In more particular terms we are concerned with the special privileges and honour that the administrative body enjoys. In the hierarchy of an organization, these people occupy positions of greater responsibility and they enjoy a higher status. In modern theories of industrial organizations the ideas of status differentiation has gained wide currency and in fact has come to be applied to whitecollar and managerial employees as well as to the assembly line. "The middle-class employee of the corporation - white-collar or managerial - is treated as more than a contractual hand. He possesses status as well as contract, for the corporation has begun to assume rather broad obligations towards him, regardless of his value to - or even his performance in - the company. The member of a contract system is regarded simply as an employee, whose contract with his employer lasts as long as he does his job. The member of a status system is regarded as a person: the benefits he receives stem less from his performance as an employee and more than his status as an individual."¹⁰ As Harrymon Maurer points out, "...the idea of status was designed to describe the legal system of feudal times, but the conditions for a status system include long tenure and low turnover; and corporations today seem to be encouraging long-term employment, just as their employees are more accepting a lifetime commitment to a single employer."¹¹

10. A. Hacker, 'Politics and the Corporation' in Michael Gilbert ed. The Modern Business Enterprise, 1972, p.413

11. Ibid., p.414

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John H. Goldthorpe and his associates emphasize the occupational status differences between white-collar and manual wage workers in England

"..... we would suggest that once they become the occupants of high-paying jobs, our affluent workers have not infrequently found themselves in a further social situation of a kind likely to reinforce their instrumental outlook on their work: that is a situation of 'status incongruency'. This would derive from the fact that while in many cases they have affiliations of some kind or other with white-collar society, and certainly had the level of income required to sustain a white-collar standard of living, they were nonetheless still of generally lower status in occupational terms. They remained manual wage-workers, in fact - and often in jobs of an inherently unattractive kind - as a condition of their relatively prosperous existence."¹²

(b) Role

From the structural standpoint, industrial societies are by far the most complex that have ever existed. This is true both of the roles individuals fill and of the groups of which these roles are a part. Nowhere is the more evident than respect to occupational roles: the United States Department of Labour has identified more than 20,000 different kinds of jobs.¹³

In examining industrial roles we are confronted with a number of different theories of organization. Minimally we must examine at least two types - the mechanistic and the organic type.¹⁴ In

12. John H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, Frank Bechhofer, J. Platt, The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, Cambridge, 1968, pp.158-159

13. See Dictionary of Occupational Titles (Washington: 1965) Vol.1 p.xv

14. Burns T. and Stalker G.M. (1961), The Management of Innovation, Tavistock Publications.

the mechanistic type, "the problem and tasks which face the concern as a whole are, typically, broken down into specialisms. Each individual carries out his assigned task as something apart from the real tasks of the concern as a whole; it is as if his task were the subject of a sub contract. 'Somebody at the top' is responsible for seeing to the relevance of his work to that of others, and to the needs of the concern. The technical methods, duties and power attached to each post are precisely defined, and a high value is placed on precision and demarcation."¹⁵ The organic type, later called 'organismic' (Burns 1963) is adapted to unstable conditions when new and unfamiliar problems continually arise which cannot be broken down and distributed among the existing specialist roles. There is therefore a continual adjustment ^{of} tasks; interaction and communication (information and advice rather than orders) occurs across any level as required and reliance on the normal hierarchy processes is rejected in favor of going out and getting things done.

Specialization of roles is an inevitable concomitant of 'modern' organization (efficient or inefficient), and the problem is not 'how to specialize' but 'how to specialize efficiently'.

(c) Function

i. Individual

The function of the individual in an industrial organization also becomes differentiated under modern industrial specialization. It was Henry Ford who undertook the mass

15. Burns, 'On the Plurality of Social Systems' in Michael Gilbert ed. The Modern Business Enterprise. p.114

production of his famous Model T Automobile in 1914 and thereby began a development which has gradually spread to the production of all but the more esoteric of art goods. Under the conditions of a modern assembly line a worker may still be a skilled worker, but he is no longer a craftsman - he can no longer exercise personal judgment in the performance of his task. Moreover, as productive operations are subdivided and routinized, they become susceptible to increasing mechanization until, as is so often the case today, a working man no longer does the work - he starts and stops the machine that does the work for him. Under this system, workers as well as those involved in the control of workers, in supply of raw materials, in the disposition of finished product etc., become functionaries.

ii. Departmental

In a discussion of the indexes of bureaucratization, Bendix points out that "the most useful, single index of the internal bureaucratization of economic enterprises is the proportion of salaried employee in the occupational structure of a country"¹⁶. From 1895-1950, the A/P ratio¹⁷ in the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, and Sweden has increased and the increase has been most marked in the United States and Sweden.¹⁸ Bureaucratization can be interpreted as the increasing subdivision of the functions which the owner-managers of the early enterprises had performed personally in the course of their daily routine. These functions are divided here into labour

16. Bendix (1956), op.cit. p.211

17. 'A' stands for administrative employees and 'P' for productive employees

18. Bendix (1956), op.cit. p.216

management, technical staff work, administrative management, and mercantile functions of purchasing, sales, and finance. As the work involved became more extensive and complex with the development of economic enterprises, during the Industrial Revolutions and after it came to be delegated to subordinates both with regard to selected aspects of the entrepreneurial function proper. During the initial growth, many of these functions may be taken up by subcontractors. Subcontracting typically involved a contract between a merchant enterprise and one or several subcontractors, in which the latter obliged themselves to deliver a given quantity of goods at a stipulated quality and price. The organization of labour and sometimes also of production was left to the subcontractors. "But today", says Bendix, "subcontracting in this sense has disappeared completely from industries which require heavy capital investments, the concentration of operations in single plants and highly technical as well as long-run planning of production. Most of the functions which the subcontractors performed have been assigned to separate departments, and the immediate foreman of the workers has retained only the function of direct supervision."¹⁹

(d) Structure

In analysing the organizational structure of industry most authors in this field refer to departmental division of labour (horizontal differentiation), the hierarchical differentiation

19. Bendix (1956), op.cit. p.213

(vertical differentiation), and functional aspects in the plant. Size is typically positively related to departmental division of labour and hierarchical differentiation. In other words, the larger the size the higher would be the degree of structural differentiation, along both horizontal and vertical dimensions, in industrial units.²⁰ Cultural factors may also be considered as variable. Thus in Hong Kong whether the factory is owned by a Chinese or non-Chinese or by a member of one Chinese-ethnic group rather than another, and the educational background of the proprietors etc., may influence the organizational structure of the industrial units.²¹

Seen historically, we find the lowest degree of structural differentiation in the traditional single proprietor of an industrial plant where the owner-manager 'keeps his fingers in all the functional pies' of the management. There may be some degree of differentiation in the partnership or family business. The top manager who is generally the head of the family, is not operative in the sense of 'rolling up his shirt sleeves' and getting into the actual operations as in the case of the small firm. Operative functions are left to the department heads, but each head, has a special relationship with the others and a family sense of responsibility in the conduct of his affairs.

It is the rise of corporate form of organization that has brought about the increasing bureaucratization of economic life. An entrepreneur or group of entrepreneurs was able to form a company and sell shares which did not obligate those who purchased them

20. See Rance Lee, 'Organizational Size, Structural Differentiation and the Man at the Top in E.K.' 1972, Social Research Center

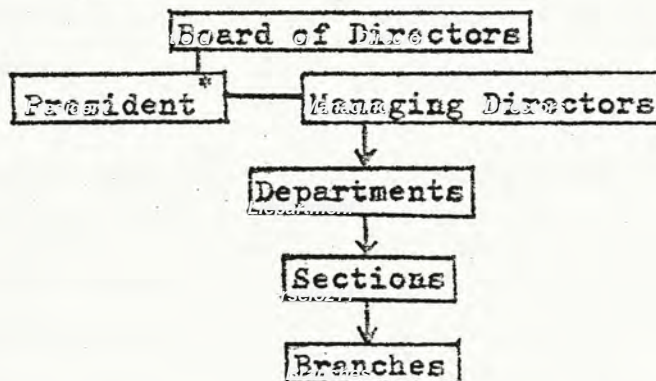
21. Victor Mok, 'The Organization and Management of Factories in Kaun Tong' 1973, Social Research Center

beyond the amount of their investments. Thus it became possible for a large number of individuals to pool such sums which they could reasonably afford to lose without jeopardising the remainder of their holdings and without becoming in any way personally responsible for commitments made by the company.

By its very nature, the corporation brought about a partial if not total separation between the owners of the company and those who operated it and to that extent depersonalised the organization; and in time the managers of companies were almost as much hirelings of the corporation as were the 'common' labourers.

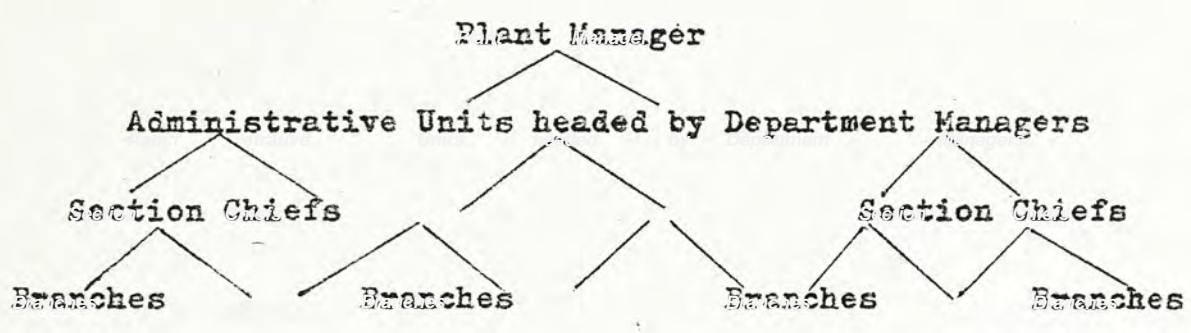
Take the case of a Japanese firm manufacturing electrical equipment.²² The main office is located in Tokyo. There are 7,000 employees in the firm and 500 of them work in the main office. We can find the separation of staff (the main office) and the line (the local plants). The structure is shown in the chart below:

Chart of the Main Office



* The functions of the President are largely concerned with political relations and with representing the firm to outside organizations and persons.

Chart of Factory Level



From worker to president there are nine major hierarchically arranged statuses.

(e) Knowledge

An outstanding characteristic of modern industry is its widespread use of exact knowledge. Science and industrial production are separated yet related aspects of industrial civilization. As Wilbert Moore puts it:

"It is the utilization of science for technical organization and industrial production that has given modern industry its economic superiority over other systems of production. Whether this system ultimately 'better' than traditional handicrafts cannot be scientifically determined. What is of importance here is that a distinct body of culture, namely, technology, has been of profound importance in shaping the character of modern industry."²³

In modern industrial plants management and ownership are separated. The management of the business becomes more and more specialized and requires a corpus of specialized knowledge. This knowledge in turn demands a long process of training in order that it may be acquired by the potential managers. The employment of University graduates in managerial posts in modern industrial plants

23. Wilbert Moore, 'The Attributes of an Industrial Order', in S. Nassau and W. Form ed. Man, Work and Society, 1962, p.92

is considered here to be an indicator of the increased use of 'exact' knowledge.

Of course, I do not mean that the in-work training is not important. In fact, in 'modern plants' graduate entrants usually undergo a period of in-service training. As described by Dore, English Electric was one of the earliest British firms to begin a systematic central recruitment of university graduates.²⁴ Most of the graduate entrants had a standard programme for the first six months. In the first 3 months the training emphasis was on (i) cost-consciousness, (ii) time-consciousness, and (iii) profit-consciousness. The following 3 months of 'mixed group' projects was an attempt to learn how to work with 'difficult' specialists.

In Japan, the emphasis upon recruiting graduate for managerial posts is even more marked. Take for example Hitachi.

"Of the 305 men who in 1967 occupied departmental chief positions and head office section chief positions only 9 had not been either to a university or to one of the pre-war technical high schools of quasi-university status."²⁵

In Hong Kong, the tendency toward using more and more university graduates in industry and commerce is also increasing.

As Espy concluded:

"The industries of Hong Kong have a wonderful record of achievement and are the foundation of our economy. Their continued profitability and growth is absolutely essential. However, this development can be assured only if we can overcome the many difficulties which now prevent us from making effective use of our university graduates."²⁶

24. Ronald Dore, British Factory-Japanese Factory, 1973, p.44

25. Ibid., p.46

26. John Espy, 'The Graduate in Industry', Far Eastern Economic Review 13 May, 1965, pp.335-339

(f) Sanctioning

Norms which regulate relations between superordinate and subordinate may be upheld by shared values. Characteristically, however, organizational leaders discover that they cannot rely on consensus alone to ensure the very high degree of social order and predictability of behaviour that they deem necessary. Power fills the gap, though in modern industries, managers are aware of the negative responses which tend to be generated by the use of power, and they try to minimize this by promoting and strengthening authority relations.²⁷

Therefore, in modern industries, cases of sanction, (such as laying-off a worker or discharging him), are solved by written regulations. If workers fail to fulfil the required norms as expressed in written rules and regulations he may be fired - in a manner consonant with industrial law in general and the immediate worker-employer contractual relationship in particular.

(g) Recruitment and Training

The role of recruitment, or selection, is associated with organizational control. If an organization could recruit individuals who would conform on their own accord, or could educate its members so that they would conform without supervision, then there would be no need for control. Many social scientists argue that the role of recruitment deserves special emphasis; the liberal-humanist tradition which prevails in the social sciences tends to underplay

27. Alan Fox (1971), op.cit., p.54

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its importance and to stress that of socialization. Actually, various empirical studies indicate that a small increase in the selectivity of an organization often results in a disproportionately large decrease in the investments required for control.²⁸

As I have indicated in the above section on 'Knowledge', Dore's study has shown that General Electric was one of the earliest British firms to begin a systematic central recruitment of graduate students for managerial posts. The Japanese firm Hitachi recruits centrally for managers and has done so since the Second World War.²⁹

In the case of General Electric, those who are selected spend two years as managerial trainees. During those two years it used to be the practice to put all non-technical graduates into a relatively humble supervisory position in the production shop. But, in more recent times they spend most of their formative probationary years in accounting departments --so as to acquire cost-consciousness.³⁰

For other workers, English Electric recruits at five levels: technicians, skilled men, clerical workers, semi-skilled operators, and labourers. All these are done through the personnel department. In one branch of English Electric semi-skilled operators have to have a formal one-week training course. Formerly, semi-skilled operators had been taught informally on the job by a foreman or pool-leader. There are in-service training for management and supervisory like foremen etc., and there are training courses (single-purpose) for middle managers.³¹

28. K.J. Scudder, 'The Open Institution', Annals of the American Political and Social Science (1954), 239, pp.80-82

29. R. Dore (1973), *op.cit.*, Chapter 2

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

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It may be concluded that, in most 'modern' industrial plants, recruitment and training is departmentalized and formalized.

(h) Size

In a survey of factory organizations in Kwun Tong, R. Lee's findings demonstrate that in Hong Kong Chinese entrepreneurs are more likely than the non-Chinese ones to establish small sized units with non-bureaucratic or relatively undifferentiated structures. The reason, Lee argues, is primarily the scarcity of capital and the lack of modern managerial knowledge of the Chinese entrepreneurs.³²

Generalizing from the European and American industrial revolutions it can be said that typically the form of business associations changes from single proprietorship to partnership and to joint-stock company. With the change in ownership pattern, there is an associated change in size of the organization. The joint-stock company makes possible the large capital outlays that are necessary for full exploitation of industrial technology. Large scale capital investment projects such as railways, steamship lines, steel mills, etc. Galbraith even points out that "..... the most obvious requirement of effective planning is large size."³³

It can be assumed here, then, that in 'modern' enterprises, the size is usually larger than that of 'non-modern' enterprises.

32. Rance Lee (1972), op.cit., p.4

33. J.K. Galbraith, 'The Corporation' in The New Industrial State, 1971, revised edition, Chapter 7, pp.72-85

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(i) Informal versus Formal Organization

Systematic focus on the terms 'formal' and 'informal' applied to organizations, began with the work of Barnard (1938)³⁴ and this distinction was supported by the empirical findings of Roethlisberger and Dickson³⁵ in their analysis of informal activity among workers (1939). Following Roethlisberger and Dickson, the term 'formal organization' is used here to refer to those patterns of interaction prescribed by the rules and regulations of the company as well as to the policies which prescribe the relations that obtain, within the human organization and between the human organization and the technical organization.³⁶

Great emphasis has been placed on the merits of the informal by Deming, Roethlisberger, Mayo, Whitehead, Komans and others. One executive values the informal because it can be absorbed into the daily routine without official notice. The term 'informal organization' is used here to refer to the actual personal interrelations existing among the members of the organization which are not represented by, the formal organization.³⁷

It seems that in most 'modern' industries, there is a confused middle ground where new formal and informal action are obscurely initiated. M. Dalton has suggested some important steps and mechanisms that connect the formal and informal and enable them to maintain ongoing action. These are (1) official meetings,

34. C.I. Barnard, Functions of the Executive, 1938, pp.65-123

35. F.J. Roethlisberger and J. Dickson, Management and the Worker, 1939, Chapter 7

36. *Ibid.*, p.566

37. *Ibid.*

(2) command from high levels for unofficial action from below,
(3) informal requests from below for the right to engage in specific
unofficial actions, (4) transition roles, (5) recourse to prefigured
justifications, (6) the use of 'two-way tunnels', and (7) adoption
by the formal - acknowledged or not - of unofficial widespread
practices that have proved their worth or have become an accomplished
fact.³⁸

38. Melville Dalton, Men Who Manage, 1959. p.227

3.2.3 Traditional Types

(a) Status

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth Centuries the mobilization and adoption of labour were seriously handicapped by the retention of a traditional way of life among the common people of England. On the other hand, the retention of the traditional master-servant relationship tended to facilitate labour management, whenever the early enterprises could take advantage of these partly authoritative ties in order to cut down labour turnover and increase efficiency.³⁹

Under the master-servant relationship, status is not differentiated. The labouring poor were considered as children. They must be disciplined. They must be guided and on occasion they might be indulged in.

This kind of master-servant relationship can also be found in the early phase of Chinese industrialization. Take for example the case of the Ta-Sheng Cotton Mill which was owned by Chang Chien, one of the leading Ching Dynasty industrialists. His workers had very long working hours, usually about 12 to 14 hours a day. There were about three hundred to four hundred regulations in the factory. Regulations such as the workers had to obey the Kang-tau (the head worker), otherwise they will be punished or discharged. Punishments were in various forms including 'biting the palm', 'being arrested and paraded around the factory', etc. There was a private court also in the factory.

39. Bendix (1956), op.cit., p.60

40. Chang Pen Shu, Lun Chang Chien Shih Yeh Huo Tung Ti Mu Ti, Ching Chi Yen Chiu, 1966, Ti I Ch'i, pp.44-48

(b) Role

In his analysis of traditional industrial undertakings in Hong Kong, England notes:

"Almost all these firms are family-owned and managed, with the proprietor/manager frequently working side by side with the workmen, there is no management hierarchy, no formality, and communications between worker and employers are personal and easy."⁴¹

Nicholas C. Owen also states that:

"Employees in the 'traditional' sector often engage a worker without any arranging beforehand exactly what the worker will do, his wage rates or hours of work."⁴²

In describing the traditional work habits in the case of England and Bendix argues that the routine of the domestic industrial workers' work entailed an unwriting adaptation to a variety of tasks and to an irregularity of performance which were incompatible with the specialization and machine-driven regularity of factory work.⁴³

In traditional industries, the role structure is multi-functional. Through evolution, typically it changes to several more specialized structures.

(c) Function

i. Individual

Traditionally, skilled work was performed at a leisurely pace or in spurts of great intensity, but always at the discretion

41. Joe England, 'Industrial Relations in Hong Kong' in Hopkins, ed., Hong Kong: An Industrialized Colony, 1971

42. N. Owen, 'Economic Policy', in Hopkins (1971), *Ibid.*, p.151

43. Bendix (1956), p.38

of the individual worker. The skilled worker was trained to work accurately on individual designs. In the case of England, in handicraft production, each individual owned his own tools and was responsible for their care. Skills were handed down from generation to generation and, consequently, were subject to considerable individual variations.⁴⁴

Thus in traditional industries, where specialization is not so intensive the individual has more control of his products, and in turn has more functions vis a vis participation in the organization.

ii. Departmental

In the tradition case, differentiation of departments is relatively insignificant. Many of what are nowadays called 'departmental pattern' of the textile cottage industry in England. The free-lance merchants who were out of the control of guilds, and frequently, in violation of laws regulating the production and marketing of goods, obtained bulk fibers (linen or wool), had them spun into yarn by a cottage (who usually received as compensation for his labour, a portion of the yarn that his household had produced), had the dyeing done by another cottage, the weaving by still another, etc.⁴⁵

Some sub-contractors, or 'middlemen' had several 'underhands' whom he employed and trained and disciplined. They made contracts with the entrepreneurs and they were responsible

44. Ibid., p.204

45. LaPiere (1965), op. cit., p.289

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for part of the production in the industrial plant.

Sub-contractors existed before 1949.⁴⁶ And even nowadays in Hong Kong, this system still exists to a considerable extent in the construction industry.

(d) Structure

As I indicated above in the section on modern types, traditional industries differ from modern industries in terms of both size and formality in structure. The traditional industries are relatively smaller in size, and less differentiated in both hierarchical and departmental structures.

Clifford Geertz has illustrated the organizational structure of a hat manufacturing factory in Indonesia like this:

"The factory is owned by two young men, both members of important Moslem commercial families, one a twenty-five-year-old tailor, the other a twenty-three-year-old textile-trader, and employs seven tailors (also all young men and all pious Moslems) on five machines owned, borrowed, or rented by the proprietors."⁴⁷

This is an illustration of a factory which is at a very preliminary stage but still different from the 'traditional craftsman' form of production. Its organization is simple and small and less formal in structure.

46. Ching Feng, 'Chung Kuo Min-Tzu Kung Yeh Tzu-Pen Chia Ti Pa Chia Yu Po Hsich Wen-Ti, Li Shih Yen Chiu, 1966, Vol.1

47. Clifford Geertz, Peddlers and Princes, pp.64-65

(e) Knowledge

Traditionally, occupation is inherited, transmitted from generation to generation. The knowledge of a certain business or occupation is acquired by experience.

Let us look at the early industrialists in China. In the late 19th Century and early 20th Century, Chinese industrialists were mainly drawn from the following sources:

First, Bureaucrats, Landlords, Merchants and Compradors who became industrialists. Of all the textile factories which were established before 1913, six were opened by government officials (kuan-liao), eleven by landlords and three by merchants. From 1914-1922, the textile industry in China underwent considerable expansion of the investors in new textile industries in this period, 17.1% were compradors, 55.2% were merchants, there were very few landlords involved in the industry by this time.

Second, The small handicraft industrialists, small peddlars or apprentices and shopkeepers of the first category of industrial investors discussed above, most of the industries were large scale industries which did not go through the handicraft stage of production because the bureaucrats, landlords compradors had accumulated large amounts of capital, and used this to import machines from abroad. But these second set of industrialists had to go through the stage of handicraft production before they could be successful. For example, in the wood work industry (using only a minimum of machinery), most of the capitalists were themselves carpenters. In the leather industry (partial using machines), 2/3 of the industrialists were carpenters. In 1913, among the founders of eleven engineering and

and machine factories, 80.2% of them were handicraftsmen and apprentices. By 1913, among the founders of 411 of these factories 75.7% were also from apprentices and handicraftsmen.⁴⁸

Third, the accumulated capital of adventurous and opportunistic business activities. But these capitalists still invested in industries that they had learned by experience.

(f) Sanctioning

At the early phase of industrialization, Bendix concluded that:

"the creation of an industrial work-force implies for the worker a more or less drastic separation from the traditional setting of his previous economic activities and his subject to the authority of an employer's will involves work-conditions requiring disciplines which contrast sharply with the work-discipline of the peasant or craftsman."⁴⁹

Norms which regulate relations between superordinate and subordinate and subordinates in traditional industries are more of the nature of social norms shared by the people of the same culture. For example, in the Chinese pawn shops, we can find regulations such as the following:

(i) No one is allowed to smoke opium inside or outside the pawnshop. Offenders will be discharged.

(ii) No one is allowed to hang around outside doing nothing (Chu T'ung Jen Wu Hsu Tsai Wai Yu Tang). No one is allowed to go for prostitutes. Offenders will be discharged.

48. Shang-hai Min-Tsu Chi-Ch'i Ch'ang Kung Yeh, Shang-hai Shih Kung Shang Hsing Cheng Kuan Li Chu, Shang-hai Shih Ti I Chi-Tien Kung Yeh Chu Shih-Liao Tsu.

49. Bendix (1956), op.cit., Chapter 2

(iii) Apprentices are not allowed to leave the pawnshop.

If their family have problems that need them to go home; they must ask for half a day or a whole day off, and must be accompanied by a supervisor from the shop. When they come back, they must also be accompanied by a member of their family. They are not allowed to go alone.⁵⁰

In short, we can conclude that in traditional industries, sanctioning is concentrated in two aspects:

- (i) Implementation of authority which involves strict work-disciplines, and
- (ii) the norms in regulating the behaviour of the workers are more of the nature of social norms.

(g) Recruitment and Training

In his research on the history of Chinese businesses in Singapore, Wong Chi-lin describes the apprentices and workers relation to the employers as 'semi-feudal' relations of production. He listed three characteristics:

(i) An apprentice can enter a shop or a factory because he has a kinship connection with the employer or he is from the same native place of origin as the employer. If not, then he must be introduced to the employer by a friend or a relative of the employer.

(ii) After being recruited into the factory, the apprentice's relation with the employer is expressed in a number of idiomatic ways: sometimes it is 'father and son' or 'small brother and elder brother'

50. Yang Lien Sing Chi, Tien Yeh Hsu Chih, Shih Hoo Pan Yueh K'ian

relationships, sometimes it is considered as an 'apprentice and master' relationship, and sometimes it is employer and worker relationship but among all these relationships, the relationship of father or big brother (Fu Hsiung) and son or little brother's relationship is predominant. In other words, kinship ideology is used in an attempt to convert an essentially specific relationship into a multiplex one. The role of a son or a little brother is the most important idiom. The employer has also several roles, the role of a 'father' or 'elder brother' being the predominant role.

(iii) Therefore, the relationship on both sides is not controlled by a contract, but by Chinese traditional ethics and norms. Although the master (and usually the employer) seemingly accepts the duties of paternalism, he fails to treat the apprentice with what Wong Chi-lin terms 'fatherly love' or 'brotherly love'. That is, in practice he fails to systematically, intensively and patiently, and whole-heartedly teach the apprentice his skills and experience. To the apprentice, one way to learn the trade is to 'steal the skill', the other way is to express an above average attitude of obedience and 'filial piety'; furthermore, this kind of obedience and piety has to be extended to the kin of the master - to his wife and sons in particular.⁵¹

In traditional industries, there is no centralized recruitment and training systems - training was sometimes taken up by sub-contractors and nepotism was a key recruitment norm.

51. Wong Chih Lien, Ma Hua She Hui Shih Tao-Lun, 1971 pp.31-32

(h) Size

As indicated earlier, size is associated with the differentiation of hierarchical and departmental structures of an industrial organization. But 'size' is a relative concept. Of course, in the traditional situation, we would not expect to find the multi-national industrial organization of to-day. But even so in the material about traditional Chinese industries, we can find instances of factories employing more than 1,000 workers. For example the iron industries in early Ching Dynasty in Kwantung, Fo Shan were well known for producing Chinese cooking pans. Chu Ta Chun described the industry like this:

"Concerning melting iron, pig iron is put into the furnace. The fire is burning red. When the iron is ready, it is poured out. One man will hold it by a pair of tongs, two or three men will hammer it. More than ten young boys will fan their fans. While they are fanning, they sing. Then the iron is made into iron sheets. There are more than thirty melting industries. There are several thousand men in this business."⁵²

(i) Informal versus Formal Organization

Formal organization is considered as an organization that has been deliberately established for a certain purpose. In order to achieve its goals, the rules the members of the organization are expected to follow, and the status structure that defines the relations between them (the organizational chart) have not spontaneously emerged in the course of social interaction but have been consciously designed

52. Chu Ta Chun, Kwang Tung Hsin Yu, Chung Hua Sho Chu, Vol.15 p.410

a priori to anticipate and guide interaction and activities.⁵³

In the traditional industrial unit, the social organizational ethic usually dominates the formal organizational ethics. Take for example the Chinese businessmen in Malaya. According to Wong Chih-lin, the Chinese economic groups, even in the present day, still maintain native origin and kinship relations as a basis for their organizational norms. That is, the employers only employ their kin groups, or people from the same native origin. The relation between the employer and the employed is not a 'worker and employer' relationship, but a distorted 'father and son' relationship. Wong concluded that this kind of what he terms 'father and son' (or 'master and servant', 'master and slave') relation of production is a great barrier to institutionalization and rationalization of rational capitalist management.⁵⁴

3.2.4 Modern and Traditional Types Compared

The preceding survey of mainly western oriental literature on industrial organization, combined with some material on Chinese industrial/commercial units can be summarized in the following table.

Dimensions	Modern Type	Traditional Type
(a) Status	rising status of the white-collar intermediary status group.	master-servant relationship. Status is polarized

continued overleaf

53. Peter Blau & R. Scott, Formal Organization, p.5

54. Wong Chih Lien, Ma Hua She Hui Shih Tao-lun, pp.27-30

(b) Role	differentiated and clearly defined	multi-functional, diffused
(c) Function i. individual ii. departmental	functionaries, less control over the plant bureaucratization, greater departmental differentiation	have more control of production and products limited differentiation within the plant, many of the functions are taken up by subcontractors
(d) Structure	more formal and complex	informal and simple
(e) Knowledge	willingness to use scientific knowledge	emphasis on 'personal experience'
(f) Sanctioning	emphasis on formally legitimized norms, action taken in accordance with written regulations and contracts	emphasis on communal values and norms which are applied in a particularistic arbitrary way
(g) Recruitment and Training	systematic and departmentalized. e.g. personnel departments	nepotism is important in recruitment, training is by apprenticeship
(h) Size	'relatively large'	'relatively small' (in particular in the Hong-Kong Situation)
(i) Informal vs. Formal	basically formal, but tends to be 'mixture' of formal and informal	less formal with much greater emphasis on what Nisbet terms 'community'

3.2.5 Logical Mixture Type

The above dichotomy between modern and traditional types of formal organizations needs to be supplemented by an intermediary ideal type lying between the two extremes. 'Ideal Types' are conceptualizations that are based on observations of reality and designed to institute comparisons. They do not necessarily exist empirically, but may be constructed by abstracting the characteristics of the behaviour under analysis to a local extreme. The purpose of this construction is purely methodological and heuristic. It serves as a basis with which to compare this logical construction with my empirical findings.

Although at the empirical level the various blends of traditional and modern forms may well be expected to be manifold, in ideal type form the mixture can again be expressed in a relatively simple, tabular form:

Dimensions	Mixture Type
(a) Status	Rising status of technicians and technically skilful workers. Status differences not so polarized.
(b) Role	Some division of labour, but most of the time workers operate as a group.
(c) Function i. individual ii. departmental	Limited machines, and in a large extent controlled by manpower. Some departmental differentiation, but mainly concerning production. No personnel departments

continued overleaf

(d) Structure	A formal structure does exist, but in practice this formal structure is frequently over-ruled by informal values and norms.
(e) Knowledge	Special training and 'personal experience', both emphasized.
(f) Sanctioning	Formal regulations to govern employees' behaviour for important issues only - for example, theft.
(g) Recruitment and Training	Some short training period for workers. Recruitment is managed by factory manager or owner himself, not by a specifically differentiated personnel department.
(h) Size	Medium-sized, 50-199 employees.
(i) Informal vs Formal	Mixture of formal and informal, but informal relations such as Kan ching are used for business relations.

3.3 Labour Relations

3.3.1 Informal Organization

3.3.1.1 Individualism versus Collectivism

In discussing the notion of 'individual' in a formal organization, we immediately find on the one hand, the discrete, particular, unique, singular individual person with a name, an address, a history, a reputation. On the other hand, when the attention is transferred to the organization as a whole, or to remote parts of it, or to the integration of efforts accomplished by coordination, or to persons regarded in groups, then the individual loses his preeminence in the situation and something else, non-personal in character, is treated as dominant. In such situations, we ask, "What is the character of an individual's participation in this situation?" Here I shall discuss these situations in their three major dimensions: (a) Within the executives, (b) Within the employees, (c) Between employees and executives.

(a) Within executives. A variety of both sociological researchers and practising executives have commented on the effects of organization on the executives. Barnard, for example, cryptically refers to "certain effects of formal organizations which tend to disintegrate the personality"⁵⁵. Silberston⁵⁶ implies a similar tension in pointing to "resilience under the condition of adversity" as the vital quality in executives. Roscoe pictures the executives as "confronted with situations complicated by pro and con factors,

55. C.I. Barnard, Function of the Executive, Harvard University Press 1938, p.122

56. Aubrey Silberston, Education and Training for Industrial Management 1955, p.6

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particularly intangibles"⁵⁷. Stryker⁵⁸ analyses executive turnover in terms of a desire to "escape the politics in their companies" as well as the "pressures developed by clashing personalities"

In 'modern' industries, it is easy for an executive to fall into the situation of total submergence and loss in the organization. The editors of the industrial magazine Fortune quote an executive who hints at how the tightrope between individual and organization should be walked. "The ideal," he says, "is to be an individualist privately and a conformist publicly - if you can pull it off."⁵⁹

(b) Within employees. Argyris summarizes the impact of the formal organization principles on the individual, and concluded that there are some basic incongruencies between the growth trends of a healthy personality and the requirements of the formal organization. He argues that if the principles of formal organization are used as ideally defined, then the employees will tend to work in an environment where: i) they are provided control over their workaday world; ii) they are expected to be passive, dependent, subordinate; iii) they are expected to have a short-time perspective; iv) they are induced to perfect and value the frequent use of a few 'skin-surface', 'shallow abilities'; and v) they are expected to produce under conditions leading to psychological failure.⁶⁰

57. E. S. Roscoe, Organization for Production, Richard D. Irwin, 1955, pp.402-403

58. P. Stryker, A Guide to Modern Management Methods, McGraw Hill, 1956, p.250, & 261.

59. Fortune, the editors of the Executive Life, Doubleday and Co., 1956, p.76

60. Chris Argyris, 'Personal vs. Organizational Goals', Yale Scientific (Feb. 1960) pp.40-50, See also Robert Dubin ed. Human Relations in Administration, p.87

The resultants of this lack of congruency are frustration, failure, short-time perspective and conflict, and the employees may create specific (informal) behaviour such as:

- 1) leaving the organization
- 2) climbing the organization ladder
- 3) manifesting defence reactions such as day dreaming, aggression, ambivalence, regression, projection, etc.
- 4) becoming apathetic and disinterested toward the organization, its makeup and goals...
- 5) creating informal groups to sanction the defense reactions and apathy, disinterest and lack of self-involvement
- 6) formalizing the informal groups
- 7) evolving group norms that perpetuate the behaviour outlined in items 3, 4, 5 and 6 above
- 8) evolving a psychological set that human or nonmaterial factors are becoming increasingly unimportant while material factors become increasingly important
- 9) acculturating the youth to accept the norms discussed in items 7 and 8.⁶¹

(c) Between employees and executives. We noted that the relations between workers and their supervisors has been a matter of central concern to industrial sociologists of the 'human relations' school because they believe that supervisory 'style' is a key determinant of worker motivation and morale. Typically it has been argued by exponents of this approach that supervisors who are 'employee-orientated' and who maintain a high level of informal interaction

61. Ibid. p.88

with the men in their charge will in this way create 'positive sentiment' among their men and encourage worker attitudes and norms of behaviour of a kind favourable to managerial objectives.⁶²

A certain amount of evidence has been produced, chiefly in the United States, which can be used to lend support to this point of view. Most notably, Walker, Guest and Turner, in their studies of supervisor-worker relations in American car assembly plants, have collected data of various kinds which show that where a high rate of informal interaction occurs between foremen and their subordinates, men tend to be more favourably disposed towards supervisors (and also, it seems, towards the company) than where the rate of such interaction is low. Indeed, these authors have suggested that in cases where work-tasks are intrinsically unrewarding, this positive connection between interaction and sentiment may prove to be a particularly strong one.⁶³

3.3.1.2 Class Interest versus Business Interest

Throughout the course of modern industrialization the conventional entrepreneurial image of the 'worker' was exceedingly simple. For example, according to the Puritans, they were idle and dissolute and hence lacking in virtue. But in the course of the 1920's and 1930's the worker was to become the subject of scientific tests, whose attitudes and aptitudes had to be taken into account by management.

62. See W.R.F. Maier, Psychology in Industry (Boston 1955) Chapter 6 'Supervisory Leadership'.

63. A.N. Turner, 'Interaction and Sentiment in the Foreman-Worker Relationship', Human Organization, Vol.14, no.1, 1955;
C.R. Walker, R.H. Guest and A.N. Turner, The Foreman on the Assembly Line, Cambridge, 1956.

By the 1930's the awareness of worker as 'human beings' was widespread among American employers. Failure to treat workers as human beings came to be regarded as the cause of low morale, poor craftsmanship, unresponsiveness, and confusion. Workers wanted to be treated "not as servants, but as cooperators, which is indeed their true status".⁶⁴

The growth of industry had brought to the fore a concern with the effect of attitudes and feelings upon the work performance of the employee. But this concern could not reduce the pressure that prompted managers to regard workers as a factor of production.⁶⁵

The conflict of class interest and business interest in modern enterprises could be characterized in four basic types illustrated by Fox (1971). These are:

"The first involves only individuals. This is most likely to be found within the management hierarchy, and so arise out of struggles for power and status. The second involves management and a lower participant who is not a member of a collectivity. This arises typically from an individual seeking redress of a grievance or being punished for some infraction of a norm. The third is between a collectivity or one of its members and a manager or management group. The fourth involves conflict between collectivities over such issues as job rights, union membership or union jurisdiction."⁶⁶

In traditional industries, the conflict is more direct between workers and owners.

64. Bendix (1956), op.cit., p.294

65. Ibid. p.296

66. Fox (1971), op.cit., p.140

3.3.1.3 Authority

Following Weber, we may distinguish three types of authority. The three types are distinguished according to the kind of legitimacy that they ^{lay} claim to. Legitimacy may be based on: 1) rational grounds, 2) traditional grounds, 3) charismatic grounds. In this section, I examine the particular type of authority which is implemented in industrial organizations in order to regulate the relationships of the superordinates and the subordinates.

Traditional authority. By traditional authority, Weber means authority resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them. Bendix's work allows us to illustrate this kind of authority in industry existing in nineteenth Century Russia. Workmen in Russian factories were at the same time landowners, who are not factory workmen by profession; the wages they earned in factories were only an accessory to what they received from their agricultural labour. As a result, labour turnover is very high. In order to stabilize the supply of labour and control the conduct of the workers, it was common practice for employers to build barracks for their workers.

"Efforts were made to curb labour mobility by long-term wage contracts and by penalizing workers who left before the expiration of such contracts. The employers sought to control the conduct of workers by the imposition of fines or other penalties in case they violated the standard rules against shortages, defective production, or being late to work. In addition, however, the employers attempted to control every detail of the worker's life, partly because he lived on the premises of the factory and partly because necessity and tradition gave to labour relations the

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character of a household discipline. Fines were imposed in case of absence from the factory barracks at certain prohibited hours. Visitors could not be received if their stay exceeded the 'length of an ordinary visit'. Workers were forbidden to put pictures on the walls of their rooms."⁶⁷

Similar kinds of autocratic and traditional authority were common in China during the late Ching Dynasty. In the mining industry, the number of workers were large and in scale, the degree of development was more advanced than those industries in the urban area. But, "... here, besides the strict control by the feudal government, feudalistic exploitation and suppression is still in ruling position in the internal production structure."⁶⁸ For example, the copper mining industry in Yunnan was well developed and large in scale. But feudalistic exploitation was serious.

"In all the districts of Yunnan, all metal factories have their regulations. The leaders are divided into seven headmen (chiang). Whenever a factory is opened, the seven headmen will come together to set up the regulations. The more regulations, the more serious is exploitation."⁶⁹

The kind of fines and other negative sanctions invoked were very much traditional.

"All the miners are governed by the headworker. When beaten by a stick it was called tiao zi, being tied up is termed xuan. The rules are harsh, the punishment is serious."⁷⁰

In order to prevent riots by the miners and workers, there

67. Bendix (1956), op.cit. pp.181-182

68. Fan Pe Ch'uan, 'Chung Kuo Shou-Kung-Yeh Tsai Wai Kuo Tzu-Pen-Chu-I Ch'in Ju Hou Ti Tsao Yu Ho Ming Yun', Li Shih Yen Chiu, Ti Era Chi, p.93

69. Lin Tse Hsu, 'Ch'k'an K'uang Ch'ang Ch'ing Hsing Shih Hsing K'ai T'sai Che', Lin Wen Chung Kung Cheng Ping Chi, Yun Kwei Tsou Kao, Chuao 9

70. T'an Ts'ui, Tien Hai Yu Heng Chih Chuao 2

was a guarantor system in every mine. The mine owner, who held a license from the government had to "..... record daily the names of the day workers, their age and appearance, the native origin. This record has to be checked by the district magistrate's office every three months."⁷¹ This kind of authority, then, involves the total control of the individual.

Rational-legal authority. Rational-legal authority is viewed as a relationship in which the superordinate is perceived by the subordinate as having the right to make decisions which must be accepted as binding.⁷² Weber defines 'legal authority' as legitimated by a formalistic belief in the supremacy of the law whatever its specific content. The assumption is that a body of legal rules has been deliberately established to further the rational pursuit of collective goals. In such a system obedience is owed not to a person - whether traditional chief or charismatic leader - but to a set of impersonal principle. These principles include the requirement to follow directives originating from an office superior to one's own, regardless of who occupies this higher office.⁷³ It is one in which the subordinate extends 'consent' to the order-giving role of the superior, i.e. he legitimaizes thenorms governing this relationship. In this quest for legitimacy, "ideologies are pressed into service in the hope of promoting agreement on these values. They are aimed not only at subordinates but also at the wider society in the belief that, if they succeed in modifying expectations of subordinate behaviour at work, social pressures of various kinds will help

71. Chung-Kuo Tzu-pen Chu-I Ming Ya Wen-Ti T'ao-Lun Chi, Hsu Pien

72. Fox (1971), op.cit. p.34

73. Peter Blau, 'Critical Remarks on Weber's Theory of Authority', in Dennis Wrong, ed. Max Weber, 1970, p.150

to induce acceptance by the subordinates themselves."⁷⁴ One aspect of the process of promoting the legitimacy of this principle may be the propagation of the idea that the contract of employment is based on free consent between parties of equal legal status. This of course, could only happen in capitalist societies when there are free labour markets. To the extent that employees can be induced to accept propositions of this sort they will legitimize the employer's order-giving role and thereby perceive it as authoritative.

Charismatic authority. According to Weber, the values that legitimate 'charismatic' authority, define a leader and his mission as being inspired by divine or supernatural powers. The leader, in effect, heads a new social movement, and his followers or disciples are converts to a new cause.⁷⁵ The position of the charismatic leader, thus rests on an identification between leader and the led of such a kind that he is able to crystallize, articulate, and shape the practical expression of normative aspirations among his followers. Once again, cultural components are obviously important: 'In a society where expertise per se commands great respect, managers may be able to justify their rule by demonstrating efficiency and superiority of judgment, even where subordinates feel no great enthusiasm for the objective being pursued.' When charismatic authority becomes routinized it is transformed into one of two different types; it may crystallize into a traditional system or, more often, become bureaucratized into the legal authority of a

74. Fox (1971), op.cit. p.39

75. Peter Blau & R. Scott, op.cit. p.30

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formal organization.

3.3.2 Contractualism versus Paternalism

(a) In modern Industries

In his description of industrial relations in the large joint-stock western firms in Hong Kong, England argues that the prevailing attitude of these firms towards their workers is one of paternalism.

"The firms provide by Hong Kong standards, an impressive number of fringe benefits, such as free or subsidized accommodation; free medical treatment for workers and in some cases for dependents; paid-sick-leave; long paid holidays (18 days); canteen and social club facilities; and in one or two cases education for worker's children."⁷⁶

It is not surprising why England refers to this kind of system as paternalism when we look at the literature on modern industrial units in Britain. When comparing the 'British factory' and the 'Japanese factory', Dore⁷⁷ demonstrates that the welfare system in English Electric schemes is on a voluntary, contractual basis. These underlying assumptions are quite different from those of Hitachi (the Japanese firm), which Dore categorises as having paternalistic relations. For example, "the Bradford factory has some twenty-seven company-owned flats and houses available, at more or less economic rents, for employees moving into the district. The welfare department also tries to get into corporation housing. But this represents a supplementary reserve of assistance in a situation where the basic principle is that a man's housing is his

76. Joe England (1971), op.cit. p.228

77. Dore (1975), op.cit. Chapter 8

own affair. Hitachi, by contrast, operates on the principle that the company must take the prime responsibility."⁷⁸ The basis of the British scheme, in other words, is the reciprocity of the contract. An employee who contributes his(own individual, private) ideas to his employer can expect to share in the resultant profits proportionately and is entitled to complain if he does not get his rights. As Abegglen says,

"Stated positively, the Western system emphasizes the impersonal exchange of job services for cash reward. Responsibility for living and health standards is an individual problem for each worker."⁷⁹

Thus in modern enterprises, the labour relations is relatively more contractual.

(b) In Traditional Industries

The type of paternalism described by Joe England in the large joint-stock Western firms in Hong Kong is different from Chinese traditional paternalism. Of course, elements of Chinese traditional paternalism have become institutionalized in these firms' social structure: "The Taikoo Dockyard, for example, a subsidiary of Butterfield and Swire, in 1967 provided subsidized housing for over 2,000 of its workers, 60% of the total; ran a school for 1,966 children of employees; and provided a Dockyard surgery and family medical clinic; a welfare centre with cinema and a swimming pool."⁸⁰

78. Dore (1973) op.cit. pp.202-203

79. Abegglen (1958), op.cit.,p.66

80. Joe England (1971), op.cit. p.228

Nevertheless, the kind of paternalism practised by the western firm is still more contractual in nature, and where certain social responsibilities are accepted by the company, they are usually those which in many countries like the U.K. and the U.S.A. have been taken up by the government.

Traditional paternalism, which is still practised in many Chinese retail businesses^{es} in Hong Kong shows a quite different picture. In most of the retail businesses (e.g. Chinese medicine shops), much of the workers' social identity is directly involved with his work. The workers live and have meals in the shop. Most of them have just four days holidays per month, with a longer holiday in the Chinese New Year. All these holidays and other fringe benefits are not fixed in a contract signed by both the employer and the employee. If, for example, a worker asks for leave to go back to China (which often happens because many of the workers have families in China), there is no fixed long leave. Everything depends on 'mutual trust' between the owner and the worker. The holiday may be ten days, or it may be twenty days in length. Every month, the workers receive a small amount of hair-cut money. By the end of the year, they may receive a bonus, but again the amount is not fixed. All depends on the owner and his personal dictates. The nature of the social relationship between the owner and the workers is most important.

This can be seen in the case of Japan where traditional paternalism is also still practised and is also quite different from the modern contractual fringe benefits system provided by a 'modern' firm. For example in a small silk factory near Tokyo, the factory

has 30 looms and 19 employees (15 women)⁸¹,

"The factory, the worker's living quarters, and Mr. Watanake's home are all enclosed in the same compound.....He (the owner) provides care, advice and counsel for his workers and finally - arranges or assists in the arrangement of their marriages. The girls enter the plants immediately after middle school graduation, serve a three year apprenticeship, and then, usually after two additional years of work, marry."

This kind of factory, Abegglen argues, is not a 'sweat shop' and the girls are not 'slave labourers'.

3.3.3 Conclusion

Here again, we can summarize this section in tabular form.

Dimensions	Modern	Traditional
Individual versus Collectivism	more collective-oriented. Individual tends to be submerged into the organization	more individual-oriented. Individual has more freedom
Class Interest versus Business Interest	The conflicts are more complicated. Collective bargaining is possible	The conflict between workers and owners is more direct and unmediated
Authority	tends to be rational-legal based	tends to be more traditional based
Contractual versus Paternalism	relatively more contractual	relatively more paternalistic

81. Abegglen (1958), op.cit. pp.27-28

3.3.4 Mixture Type - in tabular form.

Dimensions	Mixture Type
Individual versus Collectivism	Individual is not totally submerged in the organization, because bureaucratization is not very high.
Class Interest versus Business Interest	The conflicts of workers and owners could be compromised in the goal of achieving economic benefits by both parties. Trade Unions are not powerful, and collective bargaining is not significant.
Authority	Sometimes rational-legal, sometimes traditional - i.e. the legitimating basis of authority is not clearly defined.
Contractual versus Paternalism	Less paternalistic, but contracts may still be verbal, and to a certain extent rely on 'mutual trust' and 'mutual-respect'.

3.4 Localism

3.4.1 Introduction

Following Merton (1957), who first introduced the terms 'localism' and 'cosmopolitanism' as reference orientations, these concepts denote a scale of social experience and participation ranging from one's immediate social network to the broader national society. Localism, as defined by W.C. Roof⁸², "is a product of limited experience and narrow horizons, but more precisely, the term as used in sociology implies the use of one's immediate community as a reference group."

In my discussion here, I divide localism into geographical and social relational in the orientation towards a community and orientation to the reference groups in the community. What the distinction calls attention to, essentially, is the varying degree to which local loyalties may predispose a person's perceptual, cognitive, and evaluative responses. The orientation towards kinship relations or clans, or traditional ethnic groups are, of course, in this localism.

I shall further divide my focus into 'business' and 'non-business' attitudes. This separation is relatively arbitrary and is used here for analytical purposes only.

3.4.2 Modern Type

3.4.2.1 Business

In contemporary Hong Kong, selling techniques are no longer



82. Wade Clark Roof, 'Religious Orthodoxy and Minority Prejudice: Causal Relationship or Reflection of Localistic World View' in AJS, 80, Nov. 3, 1974, pp.643-664

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limited to narrow social relationships. The market for industrial products is world wide. The connections with the buyers is no longer limited to personal initiative or individual firms. Associations like the Hong Kong Trade Development Council help to promote the market of Hong Kong products and to obtain higher prices.

In short, it can be said that rational-legal based organizations have been established in Hong Kong to facilitate the sale of Hong Kong products overseas. The existence of such institutions, which ideally conduct trade in a universalistic way, may be considered indicative of 'modern' trading relationships.

3.4.2.2 Day to Day Management

(a) Recruitment

In a modern industrial plant, knowledge and skill are the criteria for recruitment. For example in Japan, a degree from a good university is the ticket of entry into managerial ranks. Nepotism is limited by methods like: 1) all new employees are subject to the same tests and interviews, 2) public advertising for vacancies, i.e. open competition.

I cannot say that there is absolutely no nepotism in modern industrial organizations, but in theory, at least, nepotism is limited.

(b) Promotion

When Dore is comparing the promotion systems in English Electric and Hitachi, he finds that English Electric does not have a distinction between ranks (e.g. captain) and functions (e.g. company commander). All titles refer to functions. As for promotion proper,

Dore says "to functionally higher positions such as foremen, superintendent foremen, chief clerk, etc. - the prospects for shop-floor and clerical workers are much the same in both the British and Japanese firms and the criteria for promotion - skills and personal qualities - are similar,"⁸³ and the only difference is that Hitachi's personnel department has extensive dossiers and records of earlier merit ratings for each of the possible candidates for a foremanship. The recommendations of the immediate shop superintendents and department managers can be, therefore, and in fact are checked and possibly questioned at a higher management level before appointment are made.

3.4.2.3 Social Responsibility

In modern industrial societies, charity is not limited to the development of a local setting, but rather of more general societal concern. Many of the business elite in Hong Kong publically stress their sense of social responsibilities and high sounding notions are used, like 'business should take its responsibility to assist in improving the standard of living very seriously, but also realistically for it is the responsibility of every businessman to have at heart the education of nationals of the country.'⁸⁴ More specifically, "it is the manufacturing industries in Hong Kong that have the potential to provide employment for this large group of young men and women, and industrialists are made aware of the importance of finding the right balance of mechanisation in equipping and

83. Dore (1973), op.cit. p.67

84. Sir, Sik-nin Chow, 'Business Responsibility in a Developing Country', FORUM, Vol.2, March 1962, p.2

re-equipping their factories and employment opportunities for this mass of young men and women.

Coupled with the utilization of manpower is the need for private enterprise to shoulder a responsibility to itself as well as to the community for planning and co-operating with government and other bodies in establishing balanced education programmes. Private enterprise must contribute financially and otherwise to educational institutions and should take particular interest in ensuring the provision of adequate technical and higher education."⁸⁵

3.4.3 Traditional Type

3.4.3.1 Business

In traditional Chinese business, particularistic social relationships are one of the most important factors in trade. The term Chiao Ching (connection and friendship) is most commonly used to refer to this type of economic activity. The following quotation from the Golden Wing⁸⁶ indicates how this social relationship is used in obtaining economic benefits.

"The (Government) salt office did not totally monopolize the salt trade, but it set up several regulations and published them so that the people could follow the new order. At that time Third Go (the third brother), who was teaching both at Hwanan Girls' College and at Yinghwa College, went over one day to talk over the matter of the salt trade with one of his friends who had become the General Secretary of the salt office. The result of the

85. William C.C. Kung, 'Justice and Human Rights - Responsibilities of the Business Sector.'

86. Lin Yueh-hwa, The Golden Wing - a Sociological Study of Chinese Familism, London

consultation was that Third Go became a wholesale dealer, buying salt from the government office and transporting it to Hockow, whence it was distributed to different stores for retail sale."⁸⁷

Another characteristic of traditional Chinese business, from the Chin Dynasty on, is the role of the Ya Hsing - the agent. He acted as a middle man between the buyer and the seller, and was responsible for judging the price of the commodities. His reward is a certain amount of service charge plus a commission from the dealing.⁸⁸

In contemporary Hong Kong, the job of Ya Hsing is taken up partly by the import and export firms. The small traditional industrial firms, who have no direct connection with overseas buyer or sellers, are almost wholly reliant on larger contractors or local import and export firms.

3.4.3.2 Day to Day Management

(a) Recruitment

In 1968, the Labour Department had conducted a detailed survey of the labour force. The survey allowed itself some acid comments on the state of affairs in the factories run on 'traditional lines'. No minimum skills are required of trainees who are recruited through friends or relatives. Instructions are given on the 'watching Nelly' principle, and "the skills required vary in direct proportion to (the trainee's) intelligence and the willingness and ability of

87. Ibid., p.167

88. Chia Teng Fang Tso, Wang Hsing Shui I, Ching-Tai Tsun Chen Ti Ting Chi Shih, Tung Fang Hsueh-Poo, 23 Chuao, 2 Hao

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craftsman to teach and explain."⁸⁹ I suppose nepotism was widespread in China. Olga Lang remarks that,

"Providing relatives with jobs is considered a more natural and inescapable duty than lending them money or helping them in other ways. Several people interviewed in Peiping, Shanghai, and Tientsin who declared that they would rather lend money to friends and strangers than to relatives took for granted that the best available job must be offered first to one's kin."⁹⁰

Besides nepotism, traditional guilds were an important factor in recruitment. Guilds were barriers to recruitment and to the system of free labour market.

If a peasant wanted to sell his labour to the handicraft industries, in the late Ching Dynasty, they would immediately face the barrier of the guilds. Some guilds even refused people from other districts entry into a certain industry, and they also limited the number of apprentices. An apprentice would be recruited when one was promoted.⁹¹ In the porcelain or ceramic art industry in Ching Te Chen, the recruitment of workers was not free. Each employee had his definite employer, and he was not allowed to work in other factories. Among the two groups of workers, the Tu Chang Group and the Pou Yeung Group, "they all had their own leaders".⁹²

In short, in traditional societies, recruitment is relatively closed.

89. See L.F. Goodstadt, 'Riding the Crest' F.E.E.R. Jan. 16, 1969 pp.119-122

90. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, Yale University Press, 1968, p.181

91. Chung-Kuo Chin-Tai Shou-Kung-Yeh Shih-Liao, Ti I Chuao, p.181, 188, 192

92. Lan Pu, Ching Te Chen Tao Lu, Tao Wu Fang Lich, Chuao 4, p.7

(b) Promotion

Besides nepotism, another interesting characteristic in promotion in the pre-1949 Chinese businessmen was to expand their affinal relationship.

"According to our research, in mechanical engineering industry in Shanghai before the liberation, among the 31 head-workers who were promoted from apprentices, five of them were later to become son-in-laws of the capitalists, and one of them had already married, but the capitalist made his daughter marry him as a second wife."⁹³

There was a promotion system in most of the traditional Chinese business. The posts are fixed, and the criteria of promotion is based on personal rather than impersonal criteria. For example, in pawn shops, the lowest class is apprentice whose job is multi-functional. ^{After} The period of apprenticeship, one is promoted to the third class counter-man, San Kuei, then the second-class counter-man, then first class counter-man, Tau Kuei, and the last or more senior post will be Chao Feng. A worker may remain a whole life as third class counter-man and never be promoted."⁹⁴

3.4.3.3 Social Responsibility

In traditional Chinese industries, charity is always related to guilds of different handicraft industries and religious festivals. It is local in the sense of geographical as well as social. For example, in Su Chou and other places, the guilds were always related to their religious practices and charity activities. In the old

93. Wu Cheng Ming, 'Chung Kuo Tzu-Chan Chia'i Chi Ti Chan Sheng Wen-Ti, Tsung Ying Pien (Pu Yeh Cheng), Tan Chi, Ching Chi Yen Chiu, Ti 9 Chi. pp.53-59

94. See Ma Chung Yuan, Hung Ssu Feng, Taiwan

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days, each industry or business had their own protection god. For example, the carpenters worshipped Lu Pan, shop makers worshipped Knei Ku Tzu, candle makers worshipped Kuan Kung, etc. When it was the birthday of these gods, they would celebrate. These kind of festivals is always a good fund raising situation. "The guilds were interested in charity activities, because they wanted to promote a mutual-aid spirit among the members."⁹⁵

In Su Chou many guilds used 'charity' as their first important activities, and many even formed a guild merely for the reason of mutual-aid. Paint industry wanted to 'promote mutual-aid spirit among the members, and promote charity therefore, we organize this Chi Te Kung Suo."⁹⁶ The copper wire industry formed the Tsun Jen Kung Suo in order to "worship Wu Ti's holy statue, and build a funeral house and a cemetery."⁹⁷

Lau Yun Sing, in his study of guilds in Su Chou, concludes that one of the characteristics in Ching Dynasty guilds is to unite people of the same native origin or of the same industry to promote charity and religious practices. It may be quite similar to the 17th and 18th Century England that charity was organized by the church, like charity schools and sunday schools.

In short, social responsibility in traditional societies is local (in geographical or ethnic sense) orientated.

95. Liu Ying Cheng, 'Shih Lun Ching-Tai Su-Chou Shou-Kung-Yeh Hsing Hui', Li Shih Yen Chiu, 11 Chi. pp.21-24

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

3.4.4 Summary

I summarize this section on localism with a comparative table of 'traditional' and 'modern' variables.

Dimensions	Modern	Traditional
Business	international trade, market world wide	limited to narrow social relationships, market is limited to local places
Day to Day Management (a) Recruitment (b) Promotion	based on knowledge and skill based on skills and merit	nepotism, closed recruitment based on person rather than impersonal criteria
Social Responsibility	more society orientated	emphasis on ethnic groups, solidarities, 'local', community orientated ties

3.4.5 Mixture Type in Tabular Form

Dimensions	Mixture Type
Business	Willing to accept international trade, but limited in ability to deal directly with overseas buyers/sellers, has to depend on middleman (including import-export firms)
Day to Day Management (a) Recruitment (b) Promotion	Based on 'knowledge' gained from working experience (rather than formal training agents such as schools), nepotism still exists, but is limited Based on working experience and personality
Social Responsibility	Not limited to ethnic groups or small community, but not very active in participating in 'wider' society

3.5 Business Techniques

Business techniques here are to be confined to three aspects, namely accounting system, use of profit, and sales techniques. These techniques, of course, will not cover all the business techniques used by businessmen, but they are only relatively more crucial ones.

3.5.1 Modern Types

3.5.1.1 Accounting System

It can be assumed that any business or firms has as one of its goals profit. The achievement of this goal is linked to some sort of standard accounting procedures for determining profit and loss. R.M. Cyert and J.G. March summarize that the demands for two things: 1) demands for accumulating resources in order to distribute them in the form of capital investments, dividends to stock-holders, payments to creditors, or increased budgets to subunits, 2) demands on the part of top management for favourable performances measures.⁹⁸

In modern societies, accountants have become a special profession. In Britain, there is the Chartered accountant.⁹⁹ In Hong Kong there are professional accountant offices. These accountants are responsible to make up a balance-sheet of the firm for the government taxation and for shareholders.

To review Weber again, a framework of calculation is one of the prerequisite of capitalism. Therefore the modern accounting system is an important aspect of modern business.

98. R.M. Cyert and J.G. March, 'Organizational Goals', in A Behaviourial Theory of the Firm, Prentice-Hall, 1963, pp.26-43
99. J.P. Netti, 'Consensus or Elite Domination: The Case of Business', Political Studies, Vol.13, 1965, pp.30-44

3.5.1.2 Use of Profit

In a modern industrial plant, profit used in consumption usually includes the following items:

- (a) To labour wages, salaries and directors fees,
- (b) To capital dividends, interest,
- (c) To the state corporation tax.

But besides this, re-investment is the most important item.

The 'plowing-back' of the undistributed profits becomes the chief form of investment. But this also depends on the density of investment. If the competition in a certain industry is strong and marginal profit turn-over is small, industrialists will turn to find other sources for their investment.

Industrialists always look for other sources for their surplus. They will find industries that are less competitive or other places that could lower the cost of production. That is why industrialists from U.S.A. and Europe will invest their money in countries in South East Asia, where the cost of labour or raw material is cheaper.

3.5.1.3 Sales Technique

The modern and larger firms are more able than the small to afford expenditure on advertising its products, which tends to increase its share of the market and its output and leads to further growth.

In fact, advertising, branding and 'sale appeal' packing are in main reasons for product differentiation in monopolistic competition. Ultimately, they represent the real difference between it and perfect competition. They create consumer loyalty

and a separate little market for each branded product. Real or imaginary differences between 'partial substitutes' in the group are pointed out to the consumers. The consumers who will travel miles for his favourite brand of petrol, frozen peas, detergent, or beer really thinks that it is a different product, not just a different brand.

3.5.2 Traditional Types

3.5.2.1 Accounting System

The traditional Chinese account is different from the modern account. In most 'traditional business' the most important account book is the daily account, or 'income-payment' account. This method is based on daily balance and monthly balance (Jih Ching, Yueh Chieh). The account book is divided into two sections with a double line drawn across the middle of the book (see figure). The upper section records the income, and the lower section records the payment. So this method is also called 'up income, low payment' (Shang Chin Hsia Chih). It starts with the first day of the year and ends by the last day of the year according to the Chinese Calendar. By this method, one can immediately know the amount of capital (cash) in the firm.

There is another account book called classified account (Fen Lui Pu). It is basically a daily account, but is classified into different topics; like wages, licence fee, electricity, rent, food, etc. Another item will be on payment to raw material, dated according to payment of the bills. And then another item for income.

First day of First Moon	
The amount left from last year \$ _____.	Payment of the day \$ _____
To day's income \$ _____	
<u>Balance of the Day</u>	
End of the month: the amount credited from last month. \$ _____	
income of the month \$ _____	Payment total of the month \$ _____
<u>Balance of the month.</u>	

Income

Payment

There may be another account keeping all the records of raw material bought called 'Lai Huo Po'. Some shops or firms have also a credit book keeping records of credits to other firms.

3.5.2.2 Use of Profits

The consumption of profits is basically similar to the modern industries, and covers all the necessary consumptions for the survival of the firm. When a firm makes a profit in a year, the first thing is to distribute interest of the partner's capital before red profit. The interest of the original capital invested is called 'Lao Pun Si', 'the old capital interest'. If there is still a profit left, then it comes to divide the 'red profit' or to give a bonus to the employees.

In traditional Chinese business, the profit was usually divided. Take for example the 'Family Industrial Company', a company which invested in a varieties of manufacturing industries in the early years of the Republic of China (around about 1918), the reinvestment was 10% of the profit. Capital interest was 16% high.¹⁰⁰

3.5.2.3 Sales Techniques

In traditional Chinese business, reputation was the most important thing. An old firm means a good firm. The older the firm, the better its name is. Lo Gi Ho, the old name, is a guarantee to its sales, and to its competition in the market. There is a legend

100. Tien Hsu Ngo Sheng, Kung Shang Yeh Chih Tu Ngou Toun, Wu Chen Nien, Ping Yin, Yeh 3.

about a knife shop in Peking, the name of the shop was Wong Ma Tzu, the brand of the knives that shop produced was also Wong Ma Tzu. Later and on, this brand became very popular. Other knife shops also began to use the same brand. In the street, there were more than ten shops that had their size boards written, 'The True Wong Ma Tzu Knife Shop', 'The True True Wong Ma Tzu Knife Shop', 'The Very True Wong Ma Tzu Knife Shop'.

Although this may be a legend, it shows how important hsin yung is. Reputation means sales.

Besides hsin yung, gift giving was a traditional sales technique. For example, in rice shops, a gift of a chicken or a bottle of wine was usually given to clients at the end of the year, while gifts like calenders, were common in the New Year.¹⁰¹

Traditional advertisements are common in the forms of wall posters and big characters written on the walls or hillsides.

101. Ibid., Wu 20

3.5.3 Summary in Tabular Form

Dimensions	Modern	Traditional
Accounting System	New, western accounting system	Traditional Chinese accounting systems
Use of Profit	Percentage of profit re-invested large	Profit is divided up and distributed to owners almost totally. Percentage of profit re-invested small
Sales Technique	Advertising important	Advertising not important. 'Reputation' is important

3.5.4 Mixture Type in Tabular Form

Dimensions	Mixture Type
Accounting System	Can be both western and traditional Chinese, e.g. use the western accounting system for monthly account and traditional Chinese system for daily account. Or, alternatively, use the western system as the domain system and traditional Chinese system for petty cash accounts.
Use of Profit	Reinvestment increases if profit increases, and business is good. Reinvestment be limited if business is not good.
Sale Techniques	Accept the idea of advertising, but also value reputation at the same time.

3.6 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have demonstrated from empirical examples the 'traditional' and 'modern' industries in terms of four dimensions. I have also constructed a 'mixed' type of 'traditional' and 'modern' industrial unit. Although it is logically possible to illustrate a mixed type as I have done above, a further question remains unsolved, i.e. empirically, how does a mixed type usually manifest itself, and how does one explain this pattern? In other words, if it is compatible to have 'traditional' and 'modern' ideologies and practices of industries mixed, in what aspects does this 'mixed' type usually exist? This is the central problem of my research, and it constitutes the main question for my discussion in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR FINDINGS - GENERAL*

4.1 Background4.1.1 Introduction

I have used the following biographical aspects to outline the personal background of the managers in the factories in Kwu Tung: sex, age, native origin, work experience, seniority in the factory, education level, knowledge of English, management training and father's occupation. A knowledge of an individual's personal background will help us to understand his business ideology.

First of all, some preliminary remarks about the term 'manager' are necessary. During fieldwork most of my 'employer' informants were the factory managers - most of the owners were not readily available for interviewing except in one case where the factory manager is himself one of the owners. Secondly, most of the people I did interview do not hold a formal position with the title 'factory manager'. They identified themselves as the ones who occupied the highest positions after the owners. They usually referred to themselves as 'the responsible man'. The delegation of power from the owners to them for the responsibility and control of all administrative and productive work in their factories they felt justified their use of this term.

4.1.2 Findings

Of the sixteen factories in Kwu Tung, there is only one which has a female manager. The age distribution of the managers

* There is an explanation on the methods used in this research in the Appendix at the end of this chapter.

ranges from twenty-four to seventy-four. Half of them are over fifty years old. It may be interesting to note that in all the three medium-size factories (i.e. employing 50 to 199 employees)¹, the factory managers are under fifty years old. All the managers, except one, are from Kwangtung Province. Nine of them are from the so called 'Three Districts', that is, Nan Hoi, Poon Yu, and Shen Da districts. Five of the six managers of soy sauce factories are Nan Hoi people, although to what extent they actually use ethnicity to form an ethnic group monopoly in this industry is unknown to me.

Fourteen of the sixteen respondents started to work full-time at an age below twenty-one, and nearly half of the managers have been in the kind of business they are in now for more than twenty years.

Table 4.1

age at which started to work	no. of factory managers
11 - 15	3
16 - 20	11
21 - 25	1
26 - 30	1

AGE AT WHICH THE FACTORY MANAGERS COMMENCED WORKING

-
1. Size of factory is simply defined as the total number of individuals working in a particular unit. For the classification of factories into 'small' and 'medium' see Eugene Staley & Richard Morse, Modern Small Industry for Developing Countries, 1963

Ten of the managers have been working in the factories they are in now for more than five years but only four of them have been with the firm for over fifteen years.

Six of the managers have worked in more than two firms, excluding the ones they are in, and six of them reported that they had only worked for one firm.

Table 4.2

Years in the business	No. of managers
1 - 5	4
6 - 10	0
11 - 15	3
16 - 20	2
21 - 25	1
26 - 30	0
31 - 35	1
36 - 40	1
41 - 45	2
46 - 50	0
over 50	2

NUMBER OF YEARS IN WHICH THE FACTORY MANAGERS HAS BEEN IN THE SAME TYPE OF BUSINESS

Only five managers said that they knew English, and two of these said they knew only a little. Only one of the sixteen managers had received management training, and this manager had undertaken his training in summer courses organized by the Y.M.C.A.

Three out of sixteen respondents have the same occupation as their father had. All the others have occupations unrelated to their fathers'.

4.2 The Attitude Test

4.2.1 General Introduction

This structured attitude test is structured to understand the orientations the managers have towards the political, economic, and social order. By 'orientations' I mean the organized set of attitudes, opinions, beliefs and values the managers hold. First, I am interested in the businessmen's ideas about their work situation, their ideas about the purposes and goals of their enterprises and the mode of organization and the prevailing forms of role relations. Second, I am interested in their ideas about various economic institutions in the wider society, i.e. big business, small business, labour, business associations, etc.

In order to gain some knowledge of the value structure and frame of reference of these managers, I took a series of statements about the business role of the businessman which had particular reference to three topics. Of course, these three topics do not cover all the aspects of the value structure and frame of reference of the managers. But the literature on business

Table 4.3

No. of firms they had worked for (excluding the present one)	No. of managers
0	1
1	6
2	3
3	1
4	1
5	1
6	0
over 10	2

NUMBER OF FIRMS THE RESPONDENTS HAD WORKED FOR

Five or 31.2% of the managers answered that they had relatives employed in the firm when they started working there. All their relatives occupied important positions in the firms.

In terms of education, there are only five managers who have been to secondary schools, and one has been to college in Taiwan. Fourteen of them received their education in China (including one in Taiwan) and two in Hong Kong.

Table 4.4

Education level	size of factory	
	medium	small
Traditional Chinese	0	4
Primary	0	6
Secondary	3	2
Post secondary	0	1

EDUCATION LEVELS OF THE RESPONDENTS

ideologies suggests that their values vis a vis these three topics will more or less accurately reflect the values managers hold in general.

4.2.2 The Topics

The topics presented are concerned with:

- a) giving information to employees
- b) dependence and independence vis a vis 'big business'
- c) the purpose and goals of industrial companies

Under each of these three topics, I have three statements.

Each of the three statements within each topic was designed to fit in with one of three broad conceptions about the role of business and businessmen. I term these 'traditional', 'laissez-faire' and 'long-term-company-interest'. The statements are:

a) giving information to employees

- 5) An employer should never give reasons for his decision to his employees. (Traditional)
- 7) Employees should be given informations about a firm so that they can be made to feel an important part of the team and thereby more co-operative. (Long-term-company-interest)
- 9) Not only does the provision of information serve no useful purpose, since employees do not want it, but its circulation may have deleterious results for the firm. (laissez-faire)

b) dependence and independence on big business

- 3) "To be a chicken mouth is better than being an extail"², and therefore, one should ignore, as far as possible, what other firms are doing. (Traditional)
- 1) Small firms should oppose to the control of the market by big business. (Long-term-company-interest)
- 6) Since the capital of small-scale industry is limited it is necessary to be dependent on big business. (laissez-faire)

c) the purpose and goals in industrial companies

- 2) It is undesirable to make major changes in a business simply to make profit because the business may not survive. (Traditional)
- 8) Profit is the one absolute in business. But in the interests of long-term survival every firm must gain the sympathetic understanding and co-operation of all people within its sphere of interest. (Long-term-company-interest)
- 4) A firm exists for one purpose only: to make a profit. Managers should not be concerned with social and moral issues. If they were, the country's economic position would be undermined and with it the welfare of us all. (laissez-faire)

These statements were mixed in the above numerical order when presented (See appendix I part II). For heuristic purposes it was hypothesized that any one businessman would make all three

2. This literally means that to be the proprietor of a small firm is better than to be an employee of a large firm.

of his choices in line with one, and only one of these 'ideological sets'. For example, it was predicted that if he chose the traditional item in one topic, he would proceed to choose similar items in the other two topics. Therefore, the ideal model for 'traditional', for example, would be questions 2, 3 and 5.

4.2.3 Validity and Reliability

4.2.3.1 Validity

This kind of structured attitude test has been used successfully by Nichols in his study of 'Business Ideology in a Northern City'³. He uses four topics, namely: (a) redundancy, (b) the purpose and goals of industrial companies, (c) giving information to employees, and (d) the role of the businessman in public life. He classifies his statements into 'laissez-faire', 'long-term-company-interest', and 'social responsibility'. He interviewed forty businessmen in six corporations. Of course, Nichols' particular study is quite different from mine, and as a consequence, for example, all the 'traditional' questions have been developed by myself, while the 'social responsibility' questions, as such, are not inapplicable⁴ in the way Nichols intended them to be (See below: Report)

4.2.3.2 Reliability

On the question of reliability, I have to admit that I do not have a large sample. In fact, even though I used the whole universe this still constitutes a very small number of cases.

3. Theo. Nichols, Ownership, Control and Ideology, London, 1969, Chapter XIV, pp.166-207

4. I use 'traditional' ideological sets instead of 'social responsibility' sets because the N.T. is still a newly industrialized area while England has a long history of industrialization and the social responsibility ideology covered by Nichols is a product of lengthy industrialization experience.

11

Secondly, I have not pre-tested my questionnaire because of shortage of time. I can only report what I have found in all the sixteen factories. One important fact to note about the attitude test is that all the respondents were interested in answering this part of the questionnaire, and they all willingly gave explanations for their answers.

4.2.3.3 Report

The total of the answers which agree with the 'traditional' ideological set is twenty-one, twenty-six with the 'laissez-faire' set, and thirty-one with the 'Long-term-company-interest' set.

The following table summarizes the findings. Here, in the table below, I have classified both the LF set and the LTCI set as 'modern', in order to dichotomize the ideological values of the businessmen into traditional and modern. The calculation is done by the number of traditional answers (excluding the 'disagree' and 'don't know' ones) over the number of LF and LTCI answers. The average is 0.253. I have classified those respondents who are 0.25 or under as 'modern' and those over 0.25 as 'traditional', i.e. in their answers, they have more of a tendency towards traditionalism in their answers.

From the bottom section of the table, we can see that on those topics concerning giving information to workers, there is a tendency to give less traditional answers, while in topics (b) and (c) the figures show that there is a tendency towards being more traditional. And in terms of business ideology as a whole, there are altogether nine modern managers and seven traditional managers.

Table 4.5

The factories	Giving information			Dependence on 'big business'			Goal of business			% of T/M M = LF + LTCI	Modern and traditional
	5	7	9	3	1	6	2	8	4		
1	-	LF	LTCI	0	T	LTCI	0	LF	LTCI	.17	M
2	T	LF	LTCI	0	T	0	0	LF	LTCI	.33	T
3	-	LF	0	-	-	0	T	LF	0	.25	M
4	T	LF	0	0	T	LTCI	T	LF	0	.6	T
5	0	0	LTCI	0	T	LTCI	T	LF	LTCI	.33	T
6	0	LF	0	0	T	LTCI	T	LF	0	.4	T
7	0	LF	0	0	T	-	T	LF	LTCI	.4	T
8	0	0	LTCI	0	0	LTCI	0	LF	0	0	M
9	0	LF	-	-	-	-	-	LF	0	0	M
10	T	LF	LTCI	0	0	0	0	LF	0	.25	M
11	0	0	LTCI	-	T	LTCI	0	LF	LTCI	.20	M
12	0	-	LTCI	0	T	0	T	LF	0	.5	T
13	0	LF	LTCI	T	LF	LTCI	0	LF	LTCI	.14	M
14	0	LF	LTCI	0	LF	0	-	LF	0	0	M
15	T	LF	LTCI	0	T	LTCI	0	LF	LTCI	.29	T
16	0	LF	LTCI	0	LF	0	T	LF	0	.2	M
% of T/M	8%			21%			15%				

FINDINGS OF THE ATTITUDE TEST

Abbreviations: T (traditional)

M (modern)

LF (laissez-faire)

LTCI (long-term-company-interest)

- (don't know)

0 (disagree)

4.3 Organization (Formal)

4.3.1 Ownership

Of the sixteen factories in Kwu Tung, six have been registered as Private Limited Companies. Five reported that they were family partnership factories. From the records in the Companies Registry Search, the Registrar General's Department, I discovered that two of the limited companies were family owned. Thus there are altogether seven family owned factories. The following table summarizes the ownership of the factories in the community.

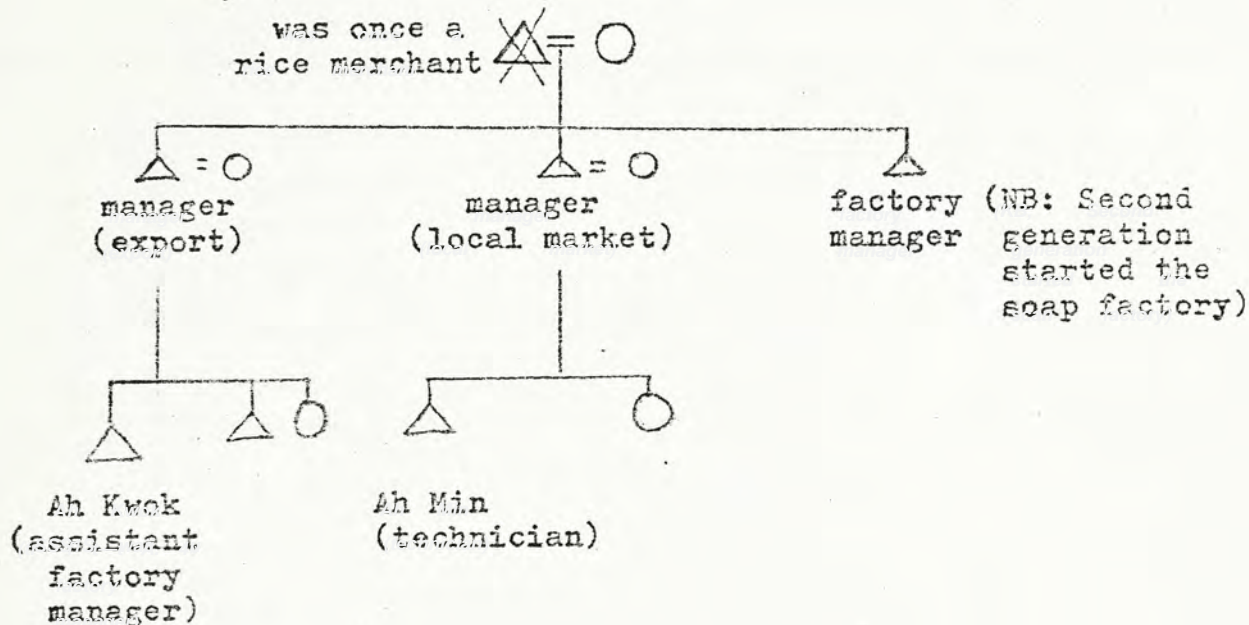
Table 4.6

Size (no. of employees)	Single Proprietor- ship	Partner- ship	Family Partner- ship	Private or Family Ltd. Co.
small (below 50)	2	3	5	3
medium (50-199)	0	0	0	3

OWNERSHIP OF KWU TUNG FACTORIES

In the family owned factories, responsibilities may be divided up between brothers, fathers and sons. Take for example, the soap factory, where various responsibilities are shared by three brothers and two of their sons in the following manner:

Table 4.7



THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES
IN A FAMILY OWNED FACTORY

Nine of the factories reported that the owners had commercial interest in other businesses. These included, for example, import-export, construction, soy sauce retailing, restaurants, etc.

4.3.2 Size

In determining the size of the factories, I will use the number of employees employed as a criteria instead of using capital. The reason for this is that in Kwu Tung, most of the factory buildings and land are bought instead of rented. The capital amount invested would be very different. Like for example, the soy sauce factories own large pieces of land, and the capital invested (including factory buildings and land) are mostly more than HK\$200,000 which could be classified into medium sized factories in terms of capital. But these factories are quite

labour intensive, and small in terms of workers employed. The following table summarizes the total area of the soy sauce factories:

Table 4.8

Factories	Total Area (sq.ft.)
Tai Yuen	36,154
Yu Woo	19,602
Ku Lee	16,522
Ju Lung	28,749
Tung Woo	26,554
Kwong Ta Lung	7,800

TOTAL AREA OF THE SOY SAUCE FACTORIES

Source of data: Tai Po District Office

At present, thirteen of the factories have under fifty employees, and accordingly only three can be classified as medium sized factories with employees from fifty to one hundred and ninety-nine. Nine of the factories have a quite constant number of employees every year. Two factories have dropped from the category medium-size to small-size starting as a result of the economic recession of 1974. One small soy sauce factory had over fifty employees during 1963-65 and also employed over two-hundred temporary piece-rate workers. So actually there are three small factories which were once medium or large-sized factories.

An examination of the association between ideology and size of factory has the following results:

Table 4.8a

Size	Ideology	
	Traditional	Modern
small	6	7
medium	1	3

$$\phi = 0.1$$

$$N = 16$$

IDEOLOGY BY SIZE OF FACTORY

The association between a respondent's ideology and the size of the factory in which he works is thus very low.

4.3.3 Organizational Structure

In terms of horizontal departments, six of the thirteen small size factories have only one department. That is to say, these factories operate as a single unit. The large-sized factories all reported that they had four departments. In comparison with the number of higher level executives, the figures are quite consistent.

Table 4.9

Number of departments	Number of factories
1	6
2 - 3	5
4 - 5	4
6 - 7	0
8 and above	1

NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS

Table 4.10

Number of higher level executives	Number of factories
1	5
2 - 3	5
4 - 5	4
6 - 7	1
8 and above	1

NUMBER OF HIGHER LEVEL EXECUTIVES

Table 4.11

Ideology

department	traditional	modern
1 - 3	6	6
4 or more	1	3

$$\phi = 0.2$$

$$N = 16$$

IDEOLOGY BY DEPARTMENTS OF FACTORIES

This result also shows low association - that is, the association of departmental differentiation with ideology is not strong at all.

In terms of level of management (vertical) the figures are quite different.

Table 4.12

no. of levels	no. of factories
1	0
2 - 3	7
4 - 5	9
6 - 7	0
8 and above	0

VERTICAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

(in no. of factories)

Table 4.13

levels	traditional	modern
3 or less	57 (4)	33 (3)
4 or more	43 (3)	66 (6)
	100%	100%

 $\phi = 0.6$

N = 16

IDEOLOGY BY NUMBER OF LEVELS OF HIERARCHY
IN PERCENTAGE

From the above table, we can see that there are more levels of hierarchy in modern factories and that the majority of traditional factories have only three or less levels of hierarchy.

4.3.4 Recruitment and Training

In terms of recruitment none of the factories has a personnel department. Recruitment is the responsibility of the factory managers and the owners. Most of the factories favour recommendations by friends and by the workers as a means of recruitment.

Table 4.14

Methods	for executives	for clerks	for workers
newspapers	3	5	1
recommended by friends	8	5	3
natives of same village	1	5	9
recommended by workers	4	5	9
wallposters	0	1	3

METHODS OF RECRUITMENT

For recruitment of workers, only the three medium-size factories reported that they use wall posters. If I re-group the above table into two categories: 'relatively open' and 'relatively closed'⁵, the figures shows clear that the factories favour 'relatively closed' recruitment.

Table 4.15

methods	executives	clerks	workers	Total (%)
relatively open	3	6	4	13 (27%)
relatively closed	13	10	12	35 (73%)
				100%

METHODS OF RECRUITMENT

For high level executives, all the sixteen factories reported that there was no formal training programme. That is to say all the executives are trained 'on the job'. For workers, two of the medium size factories have a training programme for new workers. Training is the responsibility of the foremen. The following table summarizes training in the sixteen factories in the community.

Table 4.16

Training	Employees	
	executive	workers
formal training programme	0	2
learn on the job	16	14

TRAINING IN THE FACTORIES

5. Julien Freund, in The Sociology of Max Weber (p.127), states that 'organizations may be either 'open' or 'closed' according to whether or not the members freely allow others to join."

It is interesting to note that in all the factories, there are no written contracts for either executives or workers. All recruitment 'contracts' are verbal.

4.3.5 Sanctioning

Five factories reported that they had formal rules governing the behaviour of their employees. Out of the five, three are medium-size factories. Two factories reported that they had no informal rules but all the others had informal rules. The two factories that reported they had no informal rules were medium-size factories.

Table 4.17

Rules	No. of factories
have formal rules	5
have no formal rules	11
have informal rules	13
have no informal rules	2

FORMAL RULES AND INFORMAL RULES IN THE FACTORIES

Table 4.18

Rules	Ideology	
	traditional	modern
have formal rules	1	5
have no formal rules	6	4

$$\phi = 0.42$$

$$N = 16$$

FORMAL RULES BY IDEOLOGY OF THE FACTORY MANAGERS

The association of ideology and having formal rules in the factories is only fairly strong.

The informal rules in the factories concern phenomena such as obedience, working hard, and theft. The punishment for deviance in these matters is typically a warning in the case of serious problem, and discharge if the worker still does not behave well after a few warnings.

Another question asked about sanctioning is "if a situation arises where a worker is in conflict with the proprietor, would you usually expect the other workers to be on the side of their colleagues or on the side of proprietor?" All the respondents answered "it depends on the situation" - in particular all replied that it would depend on which group had most reason on its side. Since all the managers answered in this way, it is difficult to tell whether or not they are all so 'fair' and all 'rational' in dealing with dispute situations. We could only come to know the basis of their judgments by an examination of particular disputes - and material on this sensitive has been difficult to obtain.⁶

4.3.6 Role

In response to the question "about how many hours do you spend at work during a regular week?", nine respondents said they worked forty-eight hours in a week, four of them less than forty-

6. During my research there was only one strike, which occurred in the gloves factory, and which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 5.

eight hours and three more than forty-eight hours. In correlation to their ideology, the association is very weak.

Table 4.19

working hours in a week	ideology	
	traditional	modern
48 or less	5	7
over 48	2	2

$$\phi = 0.07$$

$$N = 16$$

WORKING HOURS IN A WEEK BY IDEOLOGY
OF THE FACTORY MANAGER

Half of the respondents reported that they had to keep regular hours, and half of them reported that they did not have to keep regular working hours. In relation to their ideology, the finding shows that the association is quite strong.

Table 4.20

work schedule	ideology	
	traditional	modern
keeping regular working hours	1	7
not keeping regular hours	6	2

$$\phi = 0.6$$

$$N = 16$$

REGULAR WORKING HOURS BY IDEOLOGY
OF THE RESPONDENTS

On the problem of employer's sense of obligation to employee we asked "when you finished your formal job, are you expected to help others with their work?" Twelve of the respondents reported that they had to. Out of these twelve cases, eleven reported that this was on their own initiative while the remaining one reported that the workers expected it of him. When we asked the respondents what their formal job involved, most of them answered that they were responsible for everything in the factory. They are responsible for recruitment, for production, for solving disputes, etc. Their roles are not differentiated, and to a certain degree, we can say that their roles are multi-functional.

4.4 Labour Relations

(a) Individual versus Collectivism

Our assumption is that, in modern factories, workers would be more individualistic due to the detailed division of labour. On the other hand, in traditional factories, workers are more collective orientated. In approaching to this problem, we asked the question, "do you feel that most employees in your factory usually operate as a group or do they usually operate as individuals?" Thirteen factories reported that their workers operated as a group. The other three, which reported that their workers operated as individuals, are medium-size factories. It is quite clear here that size is an important variable in their different answers. But when we use ideology as an independent variable, the result is weak.

Table 4.21

workers' operation	ideology	
	traditional	modern
as a group	6	7
as individual	1	2

$$\phi = 0.1$$

$$N = 16$$

WORKERS' OPERATION BY IDEOLOGY
OF THE FACTORY MANAGERS

(b) Class Interest versus Business Interest

In this section, we asked the respondents whether they think that the workers feel they have much in common with the proprietors. Eleven reported 'yes', three reported 'no' and two said 'don't know'. But when we asked the respondents, "do you think that the company is exploiting the workers?" We find that thirteen reported that there is no exploitation, and only three reported that there was. In relation to the ideology of the respondents, the association is weak.

Table 4.22

opinion on exploitation	ideology	
	traditional	modern
no exploitation	7	6
have exploitation	0	3

$$\phi = 0.2$$

$$N = 16$$

IDEOLOGY BY OPINION ON EXPLOITATION

(c) Authority

In making decisions on important issues, eleven of the respondents reported that the owners made all decisions on important issues. Four reported that the factory managers made them, and only one reported that both the owners and the factory manager together make important decisions.

Table 4.23

people who make important decisions	no. of respondents
the owners	11 (68%)
the factory managers	4 (26%)
both	1 (6%)
	100%

DECISION MAKING IN THE FACTORIES

We further asked "if he/she is not there for some reason, what happens then?" Five or 31% reported that someone else made decision, nine or 56% reported that they had to wait for him/her to come back, and two or 13% checked the box 'other'.

Only one respondent reported that the proprietor gave direct instructions to the production workers. Two reported that the proprietor would give direct instructions some of the time and one reported 'seldom'. But twelve reported that the proprietor would never give direct instructions. Again, if we use ideology in relation to the production workers, the result is only fairly strong.

Table 4.24

instructions given by proprietors	ideology	
	traditional	modern
never	4 (25%)	8 (50%)
always or sometimes	3 (18%)	1 (7%)

 $\phi = 0.36$

N = 16

IDEOLOGY BY INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE PROPRIETOR
TO THE PRODUCTIVE WORKERS

(d) Contractual versus Paternalism

In this section, we examine several aspects of employer-employee relations, namely: meals, lodging, protective clothing, labour insurance, medical schemes, bonus, rights of workers and holidays.

The following tables sum up our findings on the provision of meals and lodging by the factories.

Table 4.25

provision of meals and lodging	meals	lodging
not provided	4 (25%)	2 (13%)
only for salaried staffs only	9 (56%)	9 (56%)
for everybody	3 (19%)	5 (31%)
	100%	100%

PROVISION OF MEALS AND LODGING

The figures show clearly that most factories provide meals and lodging for the workers. The major difference is that some of the factories provide meals and lodging for the salaried workers only, because they have piece-rate workers in their factory. According to the findings of my preliminary qualitative field-work in that community, many piece-rate workers in a factory (say) a soy sauce factory⁷, have the following sort of working day. In the morning, after they have looked after the family, to work in the factory for two or three hours, go home to prepare lunch for their family, return to the factory to work another two or three hours and then go home again for the evening meal. A piece-rate worker is typically a married woman.

The relation to the ideology of the managers with the provision of meals is weak:

Table 4.26

provision of meals	ideology	
	traditional	modern
not provided	2	2
provided	5	7
	$\chi^2 = 0.07$	N = 16

IDEOLOGY BY PROVISION OF MEALS FOR WORKERS

7. Their work typically consists of the least skilful tasks such as washing bottles or cutting ginger in pieces, etc.

Table 4.27

provision of lodging	ideology	
	traditional	modern
not provided	1	1
provided	6	8

 $\alpha = 0.05$

N = 16

IDEOLOGY BY PROVISION OF LODGING

The result for provision of lodging is nearly the same as for meals. Therefore, we can say that the association of ideology of the managers and provision of meals and lodging is not strong at all.

On provision of protective clothing, eleven factories reported that they did not provide them, and four reported that they are provided to those workers who needed them. The clothing provided were only aprons.

Fifteen of the factories reported that they had labour insurance for their workers. The only one that had no labour insurance was an engineering factory. According to my field-work notes, this factory has only six workers of which three are owners (and two of these owners are brothers). Out of the remaining three workers, two are apprentices.

None of the sixteen factories have a medical scheme. But eleven of them have paid sick-leave for the salaried employees, while one reported that it had paid-sick-leave for all workers. The other four reported that they would provide sick-leave to workers

if they were hurt during work.

For the bonus given to workers during the Chinese New Year, fourteen factories reported that they gave such a bonus to their workers, with only two not providing a bonus.

Table 4.28

provision of bonus	ideology	
	traditional	modern
provided	7	7
not provided	0	2

$$\phi = 0.33$$

$$N = 16$$

IDEOLOGY BY PROVISION OF BONUS IN CHINESE NEW YEAR

The association of provision of bonus with the ideology of the managers is only fairly strong.

Concerning the rights of the workers, we used the following aspects:

- (a) right to have a regular 'tea break'
- (b) right to have paid holidays (more than the six days minimum set by the Labour Department)
- (c) right to refuse night work
- (d) right to refuse to do a particular job
- (e) right to work in places they choose
- (f) right to have formal channels of complaints.

We find the results as follows:

Table 4.29

	rights					
	right a	right b	right c	right d	right e	right f
yes	11	12	2	5	2	8
no	5	4	14	11	14	8

RIGHTS OF WORKERS

When we try to test the coefficient of rights with the ideology of managers, we find the result is weak.

Table 4.30

rights of workers	ideology	
	traditional	modern
yes to the 6 rights	15	25
no to the 6 rights	27	29

$\phi = 0.1$ $N = 96$ (6 rights x 16 respondents)

RIGHTS OF WORKERS BY IDEOLOGY OF THE FACTORY MANAGERS

4.5 Localism

(a) Buying

In Chapter 3, I have already discussed that in a modern enterprise buying would be relatively more direct from the processors. In my findings, there are five firms that buy their raw material directly from the processors and eleven which buy their

raw material through middlemen.⁸ In relation to the ideology of the managers, we find that there is very very little association.

Table 4.31

techniques of buying	ideology	
	traditional	modern
direct	2	3
through middlemen	5	6

$$\phi = 0.1$$

$$N = 16$$

IDEOLOGY BY TECHNIQUES OF BUYING

(b) Selling

In terms of selling, more factories in this community tend to sell their products directly to the consumers, and this forms a strong contrast to buying.

Table 4.32

techniques	buying	selling
direct	5 (31%)	9 (56%)
through middlemen	11 (69%)	1 (6%)
both	0 0	6 (38%)
	100%	100%

TECHNIQUES OF BUYING AND SELLING COMPARED

8. 'Middlemen' as used here to refer to wholesalers, import export firms or agents.

(c) Day to Day Management

In this section, we have divided our discussion into the following three aspects: (i) people the managers seek advice from on business problems, (ii) recruitment (whether based knowledge or acquaintants, (iii) criteria for promotion. These three aspects are used to test whether the managers are 'local oriented' or not in their day to day management.

(i) Advice on business problems

On the first aspect, seeking advice on business problems, we find that only 37% of the respondents seek advice from their friends or relatives. The following table sums up our findings.

Table 4.33

	no one	kinsmen	friends	'relatives & friends'	others	depends	boss
no. of respondents	1	0	1	5	1	2	6
	(6%)	0	(6%)	(31%)	(6%)	(13%)	(38%)

ASK FOR ADVICE ON BUSINESS PROBLEMS

From the above table, we can see that 38% of the respondents ask for advice from their boss when they have a business problem. Although this is quite understandable because most of the respondents are employees themselves, and they would immediately think of the boss on business problem, this figure demonstrates that the delegation of power from owner to manager is still limited. Quite a large percentage of the respondents will ask their friends or

'friends and relatives'⁹ for advice. None of the respondents reported that they would seek advice from banks or Government people, which one would suppose in modern business would be common.

When we asked the respondents another question on, "when you are making a decision, do you take into account the opinion of a person who has long working experience or the opinion of a person who is higher in status?" 70% of the respondents reported that they would take into account the opinion of a person who has long working experience. Only 30% reported that they would take into account the opinion of a person in higher hierarchical position.

(ii) Recruitment

In analysing recruitment in this section we want to test whether recruitment is primarily based on the specialized knowledge a worker has or is based on personal acquaintance. We asked the respondents that when recruiting an executive or worker, what is the most important thing that they will look for, and what is the second most important thing. In contrast to this, we also asked what is the most unimportant thing that they look for and what is the second most unimportant thing. We assume that in modern industries recruitment will be based on a person's specialized knowledge, and in traditional industries, recruitment will be based on personal acquaintance. In our findings, none of the respondents checked criteria such as 'relative', 'lives in the

9. The term 'friends and relatives' here is used because, in common sense, people often use the term to refer to people they can count on, no matter he is a friend or a relative. This also shows that in Chinese culture people think that relatives and friends are those they can count on.

'same area', or 'from the same native place'. On the contrary, these criteria are often taken as the most or second most unimportant thing. The following table summarizes the findings.

Table 4.34

the most important quality	recruitment	
	executives	clerks or workers
working experience	13 (81%)	6 (38%)
willingness to work hard	2 (13%)	9 (56%)
personality	1 (6%)	1 (6%)
	100%	100%

MOST IMPORTANT CRITERIA FOR RECRUITMENT

In the above table, it is shown clearly that for executives, working experience is the most important criteria. For workers or clerks, willingness to work hard is a particularly important quality. Education seems never to have been treated important. 'Knowledge', in the eyes of the respondents, is not equated with education and in particular the educational level attained. His working experience means knowledge to them.

(iii) Promotion

Two out of sixteen respondents reported that they had a formal or regular scheme of promotion. When we further asked them if they had to promote certain workers then what would be the most important basis for the promotion. The finding shows

that 63% of the respondents favoured working experience, while only 19% reported personality as being important.

4.6 Business Techniques

(a) Accounting System

For accounting systems, we asked "what kind of accounting system do you use: western, Chinese, or both?" and the results were as follows:

Table 4.35

accounting system	no. of respondents
Chinese	8 (50%)
western	5 (31%)
both	3 (19%)
	100%

ACCOUNTING SYSTEM

In assessing whether or not there is an association between ideology and the use of accounting system, I combined 'western' and 'both' into one category. The result is as follows:

Table 4.36

accounting system	ideology	
	traditional	modern
Chinese	4	4
western or both	3	5

$$\phi = 0.13$$

$$N = 16$$

IDEOLOGY OF FACTORY MANAGERS BY ACCOUNTING SYSTEM

The result shows that the association of ideology of the factory managers and the accounting system used is weak.

When we further asked the respondents whether they settle their own debts by the Chinese New Year, ten reported 'yes', and six reported that they follow the financial year when 'balancing' their books. In testing whether there is any association between ideology holdings of the managers and the settlement of their accounts in Chinese New Year or in financial year, we find the result as follows:

Table 4.37

time of settlement of account debt	ideology	
	traditional	modern
by Chinese New Year	6	4
by financial year	1	4

$\chi^2 = 0.58$

$N = 15$

IDEOLOGY BY TIME OF SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNT

The result is fairly strong - there is a tendency for traditional factories to settle their accounts by the Chinese New Year instead of the financial year.

(b) Advertising

Concerning advertisement, we asked the respondents whether they spent money on direct advertising. 69% of the factories stated that they do not advertise their products, and 31% of the factories said they do spend money on direct advertising. The

result of the test of whether or not the ideology of the factory managers has any association with advertising is as follows:

Table 4.38

advertising	ideology	
	traditional	modern
have advertising	6 (38%)	5 (31%)
no advertising	1 (6%)	4 (25%)

$\phi = 0.32$

N = 16

IDEOLOGY BY ADVERTISING IN PERCENTAGES

The association is fairly strong. My findings also show that most of the advertising that is done is done in Hong Kong in international bulletins. Only one factory has adverttising specially done in specific overseas markets such as Indonesia, Singapore, and Malaysia. Twelve or 75% of the factories employ salesmen to obatin orders for their products from import-export firms or retail shops.

4.7 Concluding Remarks

From the quantitative findings in this chapter, we may have noticed that the association of ideology holdings of the factory managers with the various aspects of practice is very weak. On the other hand, size has more association with factory organization. In fact, in the Kwun Tong studies, research undertaken by the Social Research Centre of the Chinese University has demonstrated that size is very important variable in determining the factory organization of Kwun Tong.

To leave the problem of ideology and action aside, we can still find that 'traditional' and 'modern' practices exist in these factories side by side.

In general, most of the factories fall into the 'mixed type' instead of falling into the two extremes of traditional and modern. It is quite possible for a factory that is traditional in organization and in labour relations and is local orientated, to adopt new business techniques. The use of new business techniques will bring them more profit, but need not necessarily disrupt the authority structure in the factory.

In order to illustrate my findings in more detail, the following chapter is used to illustrate two extreme case studies which most nearly approximate the 'modern' and 'traditional' types.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER FOUR

Explanation of the research

The research itself consisted of two parts: field-work and structured questionnaires including an attitude test. I began my study of the Kwu Tung community in the summer of 1974, when I was involved in a group project studying local festivals in the New Territories. We began that project with an intensive case study of the Goddess of Mercy Festival which was centered in Kwu Tung. It was from that time that I began thinking about local manufacturing industries and building up my relationships with local leaders of Kwu Tung, although I also undertook some preliminary work in another Temporary Industrial Area in Tai Po District called On Lok Tsuen. It is partly on the basis of some of this work that I believe my Kwu Tung findings can be replicated for many of other New Territories' Temporary Industrial Areas.

(a) Field-work

I was engaged in field work, library research, for about one and a half year (during which time I also had considerable teaching responsibilities here at the Chinese University of Hong Kong). This involved initially an investigation into the history of the area (because there is no written history of any sort about the community). Subsequently this branched out into other aspects of local festivals, and local voluntary organizations. However, in this work my main focus has been on the factories. Of the sixteen factories in the community, I have been able to undertake

nine intensive case studies. In those nine factories, I also informally interviewed many times the factory managers, the engineers, the foremen, and some workers. These interviews were very wide ranging and involved an inquiry into the general attitudes of my informants on the goal of their businesses, their attitude towards their workers, and general opinions about wider society (including information on their political attitudes). This work also covered details about the organizational structure of the factories, the production processes, and labour relations. At this time I also collected life histories of the entrepreneurs and the early immigrants in the community.

In order to cross check the data collected from my informants in the field site, I have checked through a variety of records at Tai Po District Office, the records in the Census Department, records in the Company Registry's Office, and read daily the New Territories page of the 'Overseas Chinese Daily'.

(b) The Structured Questionnaire

After gaining some knowledge about the community generally and the factories specifically from my field work, in combination with my reading, general ideas for a thesis topic emerged. It was on the basis of these fairly unspecific hunches and more or less well articulated hypothesis that I made up a structured questionnaire which consists of eighty-one questions (Appendix I). The questionnaire is structured around the following aspects:

- 1) background of respondents
- 2) organizational structure of their factories

- 3) labour relations in their factories
- 4) the extent of a respondents' involvement in the local community
- 5) use of business techniques

These aspects, with the exception of the first, are designed to find out the actual practices of the entrepreneurs in their factories as they see them and in combination with my own observations. The practices of the entrepreneurs will reflect, to a certain extent, the ideologies they hold. My interest is specifically centered to finding out the role that traditional or modern ideology plays in business activities.

(c) The Attitude Test

The attitude test, which I have discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five was designed to find out the subjective value sets or ideology of entrepreneurs. It consists of nine statements taken from the literature both Chinese and English on business ideology. I call this a test of the subjective ideology of the entrepreneurs because ideology and action may not have a one to one correspondence. For example in his study of factories in Kwan Tong, Victor Mck has found just such a differentiation between ideology and action among local Chinese entrepreneurs. In his report, he stated that,

"practice is necessitated by environmental change and adjustment must be immediate if survival is involved, whereas the adjustment of the basic ideas may take a longer while. The better educated person in a system built upon traditional ideas, the more likely is he permeated by the cultural heritage of Confucianism which

looks down upon profit-seeking. These values may fade away temporarily in their busy hours of profit-making, but they will come back to the foreground when confronted with a question on basic attitudes. In fact, the more one becomes successful in business, the more he can afford letting these deeply implanted values surface. There is nothing incompatible about different things at different times"¹.

Ideology and action, in the simple Marxian sense, are consistent since ideology shapes the ways in which men perceive, think, feel, and etc. From my personal experience, this is too ideal a picture. Empirically, it is difficult to find a person who can always act according to only one 'ideology'. I would rather say that in certain situations people act in a certain way and is governed by a certain ideology they held. But in another situation, they may act in another way and at the same time adopting another 'ideology'. This theme will be discussed at greater length in the concluding chapter.

1. Victor Mok, 'The Organization and Management of Factories in Kwan Tong', p.16, Social Research Centre, 1973

CHAPTER FIVE FINDINGS - TWO CASE STUDIES

5.1 Introduction

In the first part of this chapter I present life histories of two managers from Kwu Tung. One of the managers - Miss 'A' most nearly approximates in the way she runs her factory with the 'modern' type of management, while the other - Mr 'B' - most nearly approximates to the 'traditional'. These life histories both serve as a supplement to my more detailed and quantitative analysis of the factories in Kwu Tung given in the previous chapter and at the same time, enable me to illustrate in terms of the life-careers of these two particular individuals, the general cultural background of the managers in the community.

Miss A is the manageress of a glove factory which employs about one hundred and twenty workers. Her factory differs in many respects from the soy sauce factory of Mr. B. Not only in their management styles are these two factories different, but the personal biographies of the two managers also form a very strong contrast.

5.2 Miss A

"I am now twenty-four years old. I am from a very common family. I was born in Hong Kong. My father is a bus driver. My mother is a housewife." Miss A and the rest of her family live in a typical worker's house, which is about 700 sq. ft. in area. Miss A has two younger sisters and one younger brother - she is

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the oldest child in the family. All her brothers and sisters attended high school. Miss A told me that when she was in primary school, the family lived in Kowloon. They moved to Shaung Shui when she was studying in high school. When I asked about her educational level, Miss A said, "I am a high school graduate only. After high school, I worked for two months as a nurse. But my mother objected to my being a mere nurse. Fortunately, at the same time, this glove factory advertised for a secretary. I applied for the position and was accepted. I started to study accounting at night in a commercial school."

In Hong Kong there are many high school graduate girls who go to study in a commercial school where they learn standard commercial skills such as typing, shorthand, book keeping and accounting. They are typically employed by the large firms in Hong Kong and Kowloon. If they are ambitious they try to obtain as much as experience and knowledge as they possibly can about the business. Some of these then look for a better jobs in the small firms in the New Territories. When I mentioned this to Miss A, she agreed with my impression and added that many of her own school mates had obtained 'good' jobs in the New Territories on the basis of the training they obtained from the firms in the urban sector. But when I asked her whether any had gained as high a position as she had, she immediately said, "My position is not high at all. There is only one person in the office - me - and I have to do everything!"

Miss A has been working in the glove factory since 1970 when it was established in Kwu Tung. It is a private limited company. The ownership has changed several times, but Miss A has remained working in the factory and my impression is that she has become more and more important. Her increasing indispenability seems to result from her detailed knowledge of every facet of the factory's management. The present two owners were in the construction industry previously and had no experience in glove production at all when they purchased the company. They therefore relied on Miss A. Her decisions are usually accepted without question - although Miss A reminded me that on 'important issues' she always discussed the matter with the two owners before taking action. "They are the owners after all," she said.

Miss A spends most of her leisure in studying books about accounting. She has also been a part-time accountant for two other glove factories. Whenever she saw a new design or a new sample in the other two factories, she would ask them for details about it. "This is the way I improve my knowledge in this business. They usually tell me their knowledge of producing a new design or sample."

When I asked her to evaluate her class position, Miss A replied, "I've never thought about it, I think I am just a very ordinary person, a high school graduate. What's the use of identifying oneself as belonging to a certain class. Even if one proves one belongs to the upper class, what is the use of it? Class is only a name. I am just an ordinary person."

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When I raised another question about her political opinions and in particular her ideas about Hong Kong's position in the world, she said, "I don't know. I never care. I never read the political page in the newspapers. I am totally uninterested in it. I have no religious beliefs. I think the most important thing in life is family. I have little brothers and sisters, and I want them to get as much education as they can."

Miss A's mother herself emphasised that Miss A was a very filial daughter. Miss A contributes most of her monthly income to the family.

At one point I asked Miss A whether she would be interested in starting a factory owned by herself as well as managed. She said, "Yes, if I've got the chance. But I will not accept a partner. I will do it all on my own. It's very troublesome to be involved in partnership."

5.3 Mr. B

Mr. B is the factory manager and Shih Fu of a soy sauce factory. He has been working with this firm since he came to Hong Kong in 1951 from mainland China. He is now 69 years old and has been in this industry for fifty-three years. His upbringing is traditional Chinese and he learned his skills through an apprenticeship.

Below is the life history of Mr. B as he told it to me when I visited him on only the third occasion. Since he enjoys talking it required much less prompting to elicit information from him and I have tried to present this translated material in very

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much the same order and style as he conveyed it to me.

Mr. B, "I was born into a farmer's family in 1906 in Nan Hai district, Kwangtung, China. My family was not a rich family. When I was a boy I had to help my parents in the paddy-fields.

"I went to school at about the age of twelve. It was a small school with only twenty students, all from my own village. The school was situated in the ancestral hall. There was only one old teacher. I started by studying the Book of Three Characters (San Tzu Ching) and later on studied the Book of Proverbs (Cheng Yu Kao). I studied for about half a year but then had to stop, because my parents wanted me to help them in farming. I was quite strong and I could do a full man's job by the time I was fourteen.

"I happened to join the soy sauce business when I was sixteen. I had a cousin who owned a soy sauce factory in Kui Shih Chiao in Pan Ju, the district next to ours. My father recommended me to him when he came back to the village for the Chinese New Year. I started as a messenger boy (Hau Sheng). I had to do everything, such as sweeping the floor, serving the customers, and buying little things for anyone who ordered me to buy them. I lived in the factory. It was during these times that I learned most. In the old days, if you were willing to learn, the Cheung Kwei, the accountant¹, would teach you. I learned calculation and a lot of characters.

1. The traditional equivalent of an accountant.

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"When I was twenty-six years old, I was promoted to be a Shih Fu. That was very rare of course. People criticized me because I was too young to be a Shih Fu. But others said both my Shih Fu and myself were very courageous. It was courageous for me to be a Shih Fu and it was courageous for my Shih Fu to promote me. To be a Shih Fu, one has to know so much, such as all the different sorts of sauces, wines, preserved fruits and so on. I tell you one really has to know the complete process. The most important skill, however, is the colouring of the soy sauce. This skill is really a product of your experience.

"My Shih Fu liked people who were willing to learn, and he liked people who did not care about having to work too hard, who did not care working day and night, night and day. Whenever my Shih Fu ordered me to do any kind of work I would finish it - no matter how difficult it was. And of course I had to be loyal. In the old days, the Shih Fu usually worried about the fact that if he taught you all he knew you would go away to work in another factory. But my Shih Fu was also one of my cousins. This made some difference. At the beginning, my Shih Fu also hesitated to teach me. It all depended on myself - I had to watch him in all he did (i.e. 'to steal the skill from him'). Later on, I learnt how to judge the colour of soy sauce.³ My Shih Fu was a real expert though. He would know when the beans were ready even when he was lying in bed. He did not have to look at the boiler. He

3. When soya bean, the raw material for soy sauce, is cooked, it turns into a brown colour. To judge whether the colour is good or not is an important process in the production of soy sauce.

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"I was promoted to be the cook the next year when I was seventeen. I was Ta Tsa² by the time I was eighteen or nineteen. By the age of twenty, I was promoted to be the assistant Shih Fu, i.e., the assistant 'master'. According to the tradition of this business, one is not yet qualified to be an assistant at such an early age as twenty. It is considered much too young. But I was really strong and willing to work hard. In those days I was never tired and could carry a hundred catties of soy sauce or beans at a time. In one day I could carry two hundred buckets. We used to cook five large boilers of beans a day. One boiler holds 400 buckets. When the beans were cooked, my Shih Fu filled the buckets, and I had to carry them to the big jars in the garden. I could carry them all by myself, because I wanted to learn, and the only way to learn was to be obedient to the Shih Fu and this showed him just how hard I was prepared to work. If the Shih Fu wanted me to wake up at three o'clock in the morning, I had to get up at three o'clock. Sometimes I even had to get up at two o'clock in the morning. We cooked the beans at night, and they would be ready by sunrise. Business was good in those days. Silver was pouring in. But wages were not very good. For the messenger boys, it was 80 cents of silver a month. The second hand (Erh Shou, the assistant Shih Fu) was paid 7 dollars plus $\frac{1}{4}$ dollars beneficence. 11 dollars of silver was quite good. One could buy a lot of things. One could buy several hundred catties of rice. Rice cost about 2 dollars for a hundred catties at that time.

2. Ta Tsa is in fact an ordinary worker whose work is not specified.

could know when it would be ready just by the smell. When he said it was ready, then we had to carry on again. When I was young I never got tired. After a hard day's work, I could still walk a few miles to watch a Chinese opera. Nowadays, people can no longer work that hard!

"I was once both a Shih Fu and a salesman. Being a salesman in China thirty years ago was very different from being a salesman in Hong Kong to-day. I looked like a 'Santung robber'. With a pair of leather slippers, a bag, and an umbrella, I would walk from one district to another. I came to Hong Kong much of the time. I walked all day down from Tai Ping, Wan Li Sha and to Pao An district.⁴ When I got all the business orders and received the money (in silver), then I took a small steam boat to Hong Kong. I had a special 'silver' jacket (Yin I) with many pockets for holding the silver. Then I had to cover this with another coat. No matter how hot it was, I could not take off my coat, because I might be robbed.

"When I arrived in Hong Kong, I had to change all my clothes and had to put on a pair of cloth shoes. I had cousins who were wholesalers in Hong Kong. We exported vinegar, bamboo shoots, black beans and preserved olives. We used boats to transport our products to Hong Kong. But in Canton, we also had a retail market."

4. Pao An or Hsin-An (or Sun On in Cantonese) is a county of Kwangtung Province. Britain took over about three fifths of it, which constituted the New Territories.

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Mr. B seems to enjoy his work. Although socially, he is not active in the community, some of his friends are Kwu Tung people. All his friends are old friends that he has known for over 10 years. He spends most of his leisure time sitting in the tea houses and playing Mahjong.

It is interesting to see how a man brought up and trained in the above manner regards his workers in the contemporary situation. When I asked him whether there is any difference between workers now working in his factory and workers who worked with him in the old days in China, he told me that his present workers are not as hard working as worker in the old days. "Now, we have to change our principles. Slowly and slowly we have to catch up with the world trends. We cannot do things in the old way now. For example, take working at night. I have to almost apologetically explain to the workers that I require this of them at most only four times a month, and that they get more holidays than any of the other factories."

5.4 Formal Organization: The Glove Factory

5.4.1 Ownership

The glove factory was founded in Kwu Tung in 1970. In 1972 it was registered as a private limited company with nominal capital of \$100,000 divided into 100 shares with \$1,000 for each share. Towards the end of 1974, the total number of shares taken up was 300 owned equally by two share holders who lived in the local market town of Shek Wu Hui.

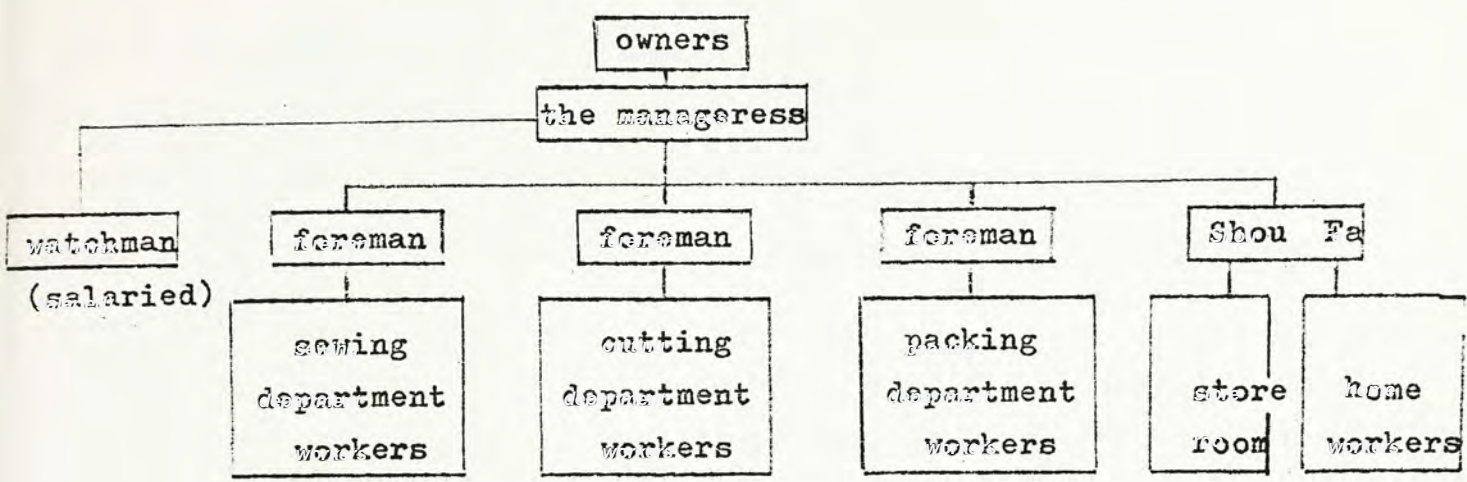
5.4.2 Size

The glove factory employs 120 workers of whom eight are salaried workers. The remainder are piece rate workers. The maximum workers they have ever employed is about 180 and this was during 1972-1973 economic boom. The factory never employs temporary workers - not even in their busy seasons.

5.4.3 Organizational Structure

In terms of the horizontal structure, the factory is divided into four departments, namely: the office (which is the administrative body), the cutting department (including cutting leather and cloth material), the sewing department, and the packing department which is situated on another floor and which includes the process of ironing, checking and packing. Each glove has to be turned over, and sewn on the under side. This process is done by home workers.

Vertically the factory is divided into four levels, namely: the owners or proprietors, the manageress, the foremen and the workers. There are three foremen: one female foreman for sewing department, one male foreman for the cutting department (there were only male workers in the cutting department), one for packing department. There is a Shou Fa - the 'collector'- who is in fact the storeroom keeper who collects and records the finished or semi-finished products and distributes raw material to the piece rate workers. He is the one who is in charge of the home workers. Their organizational chart is as below:



The owners seldom personally direct the workers. Formally, any decisions they want implemented have to go through the manageress and the foremen before reaching the workers. All important orders are given in written form. Actual practice does not seem to vary much from these formal norms.

5.4.4 Recruitment and Training

There is no personnel department. Miss A is responsible for recruiting workers. They sometimes advertise for vacancies in the local newspapers but more often they use wall posters which are put up in Kwu Tung and Shek Wu Market. Sometimes they also spread the news for vacancies among workers and ask them if they have friends who would like to work in the factory. All applicants have to be interviewed by Miss A. There are no written contracts - the agreement is only a verbal one. In other words, the management-employee relationship depends on the mutual trust existing between the worker and the factory management. Skilled workers, who have had experience working in other glove factories, can be asked to work on the day immediately following the decision to hire them. But for unskilled worker, they charge him/her a \$20 training fee.

After six months, this \$20 will be refunded. I noticed during my field-work that in some other similar gloves factories in Kowloon and the New Territories the training fee is \$50, and some even charge as high as \$100. When I asked Miss A why her factory charged so little, she said,

"We are also thinking of charging more and lengthening the time of refund. I have found that some workers went to other firms as soon as they finished the training period and have learned the skill. Our training is much stricter than many other factories. If they make a mistake, we will tell them to re-do it again."

Training is the responsibility of the foremen. Training usually takes about a week, but much depends on the individual worker. Some of them take only 3 days - after which they can be on their own and earn their own money, since they are piece-rate workers.

5.4.5 Sanctioning

On the window overlooking the shop floor, there is a copy of rules and regulations. This copy of rules consist of 17 rules for all workers, and 5 specific regulations for the cutting department workers and 5 regulations for the sewing department workers. The first general rule states "Work starts at 8 a.m. At 1 p.m. it is time off for lunch. Work starts again at 2 p.m. and lasts to 7.30 p.m. (4 - 4.30 p.m. is time for tea break." Some of the rules are obviously serious rules and while others are minor ones. Serious ones include for example:

'Rule 2. No one is allowed to be late to work or to leave early. No one is allowed to leave the factory without a good reason.'

'Rule 6. For those who have not asked for permission, and who have not reported to work for 2 days, they will be considered as having automatically resigned.'

'Rule 10. No one is allowed to fight or to gamble in the factory.'

A minor one, on the other hand, is:

'Rule 9. No one is allowed to talk during office hours or to joke around.'

At the end of the whole list, it is stated,

"The above stated rules and regulations should be respected. Offenders will be discharged or punished, depending on the situation, and will not be compensated by the factory."

When I enquired about lay-off during economic recession, Miss A told me that they did not have to lay-off workers when business was not good. She said that when there were not enough order from their buyers, they would give less work to the workers. Less work means less income for the piece-rate workers. So either the workers will go away to find other jobs or they remain in the factory with less income and wait until the situation improves. But for workers in the cutting department, there is a regulation which states that during production surplus period, workers will be given only 40 dozen pieces of raw material a day. In case of there being no raw material to give to the cutters, then the cutters

are given \$10 a day for the first 10 days. During these 10 days, the workers still have to report to work. After 10 days, there will not be any compensation and the factory will give the workers two days notice that they can go to find other jobs.

The wages of the piece-rate workers is determined by comparing rates with other firms. If there is a new sample, the new sample will be given to the foremen to estimate the time taken in producing one piece. Then it will be given to a worker to try because the time taken by the foremen may be shorter than that taken by ordinary workers. If they find out that more time is taken to finish one piece of the new garment, they will raise the wages for the new products. Two years ago, there was a strike in the factory. The event broke out when the management attempted to introduce a more complex production method but refused to raise the remuneration rate. The workers tried to bargain with the management but the owners refused to raise the wages. The next day, a strike was organized. However, only 40 workers joined in the strike and the remaining workers continued to work. The strike failed after three days, and the workers returned to their work.

5.4.6 Role (Obligation)

Roles in the glove factory are quite well defined. There is a fixed time schedule for work, and work expected is indicated clearly. The manageress, Miss A's is perhaps the least specifically defined, involving as it does, accounting, typing (there is no

clerk employed), buying raw materials, and trying to find buyers which on occasions includes entertaining them in the Hong Kong and Kowloon urban area. This is often done after office-hours. Miss A told me that she did not like this sort of entertaining, but that it was her obligation and responsibility to do so.

"I don't like it at all. I wonder why they like to talk business at dinner tables, in night clubs and ballrooms. If I talk business, I would like to talk in the office. But what can I do? They all like it!"

5.5 Formal Organization: The Soy Sauce Factory of Mr. B

5.5.1 Ownership

The soy sauce factory moved to Kwu Tung in 1961. It is a family partnership business and was founded before the Second World War. Originally sited in Tsuen Wan, it moved to Kwu Tung to take advantage of the greater space and cheaper land available there.

5.5.2 Size

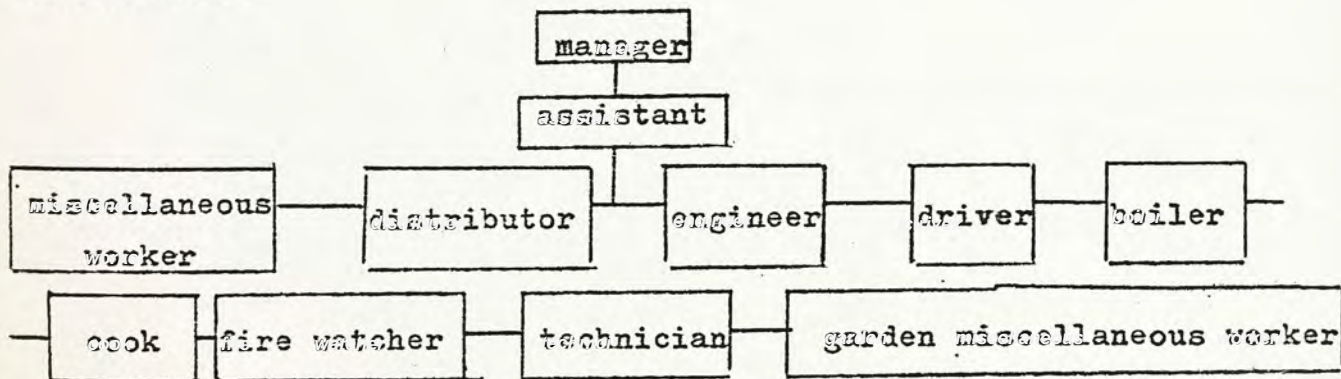
Size is provisionally defined here in the simple sense of the number of workers employed. In Mr. B's factory, there are only eight workers and this is the maximum number of workers ever employed in the factory. In addition, Mr. B usually employs one temporary day worker to wash bottles during their busy season towards the end of the lunar year. All the other eight workers were monthly paid long term workers.

5.5.3 Organization Structure

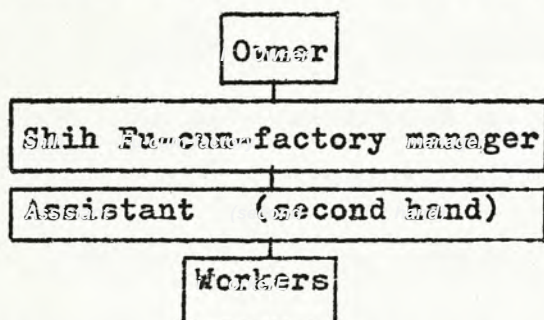
In terms of formal organization, the soy sauce factory can be considered as divided into 2 departments, namely: the office, which is in fact a retail shop in Tsuen Wan, and the factory itself. The proprietor working there, received buyers' orders and communicated directions to the factory by means of the telephone. In the factory itself, there is no differentiation at all. That is to say, the whole factory is a unit in which there is no departmental division of labour. This, of course, does not mean that all workers in the factory are doing the same kind of work - merely that the factory is not formally divided into structured departments. In Mr. B's words, "We don't have any specialized departments. We just undertake the orders from the office. There are only eight of us here. We can only do what is urgent first."

In terms of vertical differentiation, the factory is divided into 4 levels, namely: the owners, the Shih Fu (i.e. Mr. B, who is in fact also the factory manager), the assistant Shih Fu, or second hand, and the workers.

On the first occasion I visited Mr. B, I noticed an organization chart hanging on the wall in his office. His chart was as below:



That chart must have been drawn when the factory was first founded. It would seem that now, due to the economic recession, the actual organization is simpler than the one portrayed on the chart. A more realistic organizational chart would be as follows:



The owners never give instructions to the workers directly. Mr. B has complete control in production matters. It is important to note that orders and directions are given in verbal form and not written form at all levels.

5.5.4 Recruitment and Training

Six out of the eight workers in Mr. B's factory have been working there for more than 10 years. For recruitment, Mr. B has to ask for the approval of the owners. Most of the workers recruited were recommended to Mr. B by friends or relatives. As Mr. B said, "We never use wall posters or newspaper advertisements. People recruited through newspaper advertisement will not work long. They are not reliable."

There is no written contract. Everything is based on verbal promises. There is no training programme. Indeed a new worker is always taught by the older workers and by Mr. B himself.

5.5.5 Sanctioning

In the soy sauce factory, there are no formal rules or regulations governing the behaviour of the workers, but there are informal rules or social norms such as, for example, that a worker should work and be obedient. The disobedient and lazy may be discharged. In his interview with me Mr. B told me of one worker who was employed as a cook. He was discharged because Mr. B found out that he was a heroine addict. There have been no disputes according to Mr. B and everyone gets along well. To be a good worker, one should not have any dispute with the manager or owner. Mr. B summed up the worker's situation with this maxim: "It is very simple. The boss needs my labour, and I need the boss for food. That's all!"

5.5.6 Role (Obligation)

Roles in Mr. B's soy sauce factory seem to be more ambiguous. Although there is ideally a clearly defined role for each worker, in actual practice, the division of labour is insignificant. Workers are expected to help others when they have finished their own work. There is no fixed time schedule for work but there are informal norms. Workers typically start work at seven in the morning and have their first meal at 10 a.m., then until 1 p.m. rest again for lunch, and usually work until 3 - 4 p.m. If there is more work to do than usual they then stay on until early evening and will be provided with a meal. Their work also depends on a number of variable factors such as the weather. On rainy days

there is very little work. However, as mentioned early, on four times a month the workers do have to work all through the night because the production process involves having to boil the beans at night. There is no overtime pay for this 'overtime' work.

Mr. B's work basically involves production and control on the one hand, and management of accounts on the other. He is the Shih Fu in the factory. He is particularly proud of the way he keeps all the soy sauce jars full all the time because the longer soy sauce is stored, the better its quality - he is thus in a simple way 'maximizing his use of available capital investment.'

Mr. B works hard and he expects his workers to work as hard as he does. On the wall in his office there is a couplet which reads, "Never let down the one who relies on you, and never let down the one who expects of you." This represents Mr. B's idea of what constitutes the most important work value in his organization.

5.7 Labour Relations: the Glove Factory

5.7.1 Individualism versus Collectivism

(a) Within Executives

The salaried executives (including the foremen and the recorder, the 'Shau Fa') in the glove factory seem to operate more as a group most of the time than as individuals. When I asked Miss A about the relationship among and between the executives, she replied in the following way:

"There is more solidarity among us. Say, if the cutting department is too busy, we will all go to help for the sake of the department head. If sometimes the store room is crowded with people asking for raw material, we will all help to solve that problem first. We are all quite co-operative. There are only a few of us, and if everybody only cares for their own problems, then it will be as if there are not enough people for the factory to work."

When I went further and asked whether there was conflict between members of the executives, she said,

"We are all colleagues. We work for money, not for 'chi' (conflict). With those whom you can get along well with, you just get along with them well, those you can't get along well with, just say 'hello'. There is no need to make the situation worse - that's the way it is, isn't it?"

(b) Within Employees

Although among the piece-rate workers there seems to be indicators of institutionalized informal co-operation - such as peer groups - the basis of their work relations is one of institutionalized competition. Each worker has his/her assigned place to work and they all work hard, because the more they work, the more they get paid - and given the existing socio-economic structure in the Colony the more one earns the more status one acquires in the eyes of one's peers. There is no minimum wage - and the strike of two years ago mentioned above indicates a lack of sense of solidarity as worker interest group opposed to the management.

(c) Between Employees and Executives

Miss A agreed that there were a number of differences between the workers and the executives. But she was at pains to emphasize that there is no conflict between the two groups as such. The difference is not one of remuneration because the skilled piece-rate workers often earns more than the foremen. Instead the difference is in the rank and privileges that the salaried executives enjoys, such as, for example, paid tea breaks - the tea break is an unpaid optional for the piece-rate workers.

5.7.2 Class Interest versus Business Interest

In response to my questions Miss A agreed that there was differences between the proprietors and the workers. But she was opposed to the idea that there was 'exploitation' in the factory. It was an interesting interactional situation when I asked Miss A this question about exploitation. Her mother was present and her mother instinctively interrupted and answered my question saying that of course there must be 'exploitation'. If there was no exploitation, the proprietors would not make any profit. But Miss A disagreed with her mother, defining the situation differently by saying,

"The proprietors establishes a factory. There is no rule that the workers have to work and the proprietors have to employ workers. It is simply a mutual agreement. However, if the boss promises to pay a certain amount of wages but later refuses to pay that amount, then this is exploitation. Otherwise, there is no exploitation. The proprietor pays wages, and if you agree to work for those wages, then you work. It all depends on your own decision. Of

course, the proprietor invests money in the business, and he is entitled to have his profit. It's quite fair."

This kind of argument epitomizes the ideology of the manager(ess) of a 'modern' factory with 120 workers. It was quite a common response in my interviews with 'modern' entrepreneurs and is very similar to the 'laissez-faire' attitude of the nineteenth Century entrepreneurs in the European industrializing situation.

5.7.3 Authority

The glove factory is characterized by its delegation of authority - although this delegation of authority is quite different from that presented in the literature on the modern complex organization for the case here is simpler. First, the proprietors will not command the workers directly. Their instructions have to go through Miss A, the manageress, and the foremen. Second, all important decisions are promulgated by formally written pronouncements instead of by oral instructions. Although decision-making in this factory is not formulated by meeting held by the proprietors and representatives from all levels, it is formulated by a meeting of the proprietors and Miss A. Miss A probably knows every aspect of the operation in detail for she gets feedback from the foremen - as I have described above, the executives operate as a loosely knit group. Miss A is the expert in the factory and I would have expected that her decisions would be valued by the two proprietors. But when I raised this question with Miss A, she answered me this way,

"Sometimes this is the case, but I cannot say that all my decisions are accepted by the proprietors. Different people think differently, you know. In important decisions,

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we always discuss things together. First, you have to understand that I am not the owner. The owners invested their money in this factory, I have to ask them for their opinion. For example, if I find a new market for our products, I have to ask the owners whether they agree or not to explore this market. If they agree, then I will send samples to our buyers."

5.7.4 Contractual versus Paternalism

There are no meals provided in the glove factory. There is no dormitory for the workers except for the watchman. There is no protective clothing. There is no medical scheme in the factory, but there is labour insurance for all workers. If a piece-rate worker is ill, he/she can apply for sick leave provided that he/she can obtain a registered doctor's certificates. Paid sick leave is not given for piece-rate workers, and the unpaid *leave* should not take more than one week, with the exception of serious cases. There is no bonus or double pay for the workers or the salaried executives at the end of the year. In busy seasons, however, there is a kind of financial perk given to the piece-rate workers. Their 'financial perk', known as cheung kam, 'encourage money' is given to those who can finish producing a certain amount of gloves per day. Its purpose, obviously, is to encourage hard work, and, as such, is also directly serving the factory's interest, and cannot really be considered to be a system of welfare or demonstration of concern for the workers.

Rights of workers. While, as I indicated above, the workers do have the right to take regular tea break from 4 - 4.30 p.m.,

this is only a paid break for the salaried staff and is an unpaid option for piece-rate workers. They do not have the right to refuse night-time work, and if they have some personal problem requiring them to take leave they must submit a written application to the office. This kind of leave should not exceed two days in any one month. The workers have the right to refuse to do a particular job but they do not have the right to work in a place of their choice in the factory. All working places are assigned by the factory. There are no formal channels for complaints, but if the workers wish they can make complaints to the owners, verbally.

Holidays. There are four days' holiday per month which are usually given on Sundays. Piece-rate workers, of course, receive no pay for these holidays.

The Labour Department has set a minimum standard of six days paid-holidays for all workers annually. In this factory there are seven days paid-holidays in one year. But the piece-rate workers are paid only \$10 a day for these holidays. These holidays usually fall at Chinese New Year (three days), the New Year (one day), the Ching Ming Festival (one day), the Dragon Boat Festival (one day), and the Mid-Autumn Festival (Two days off - but only one day paid).

During these holidays, there are no organized activities. Two years ago, there was an organized picnic for the workers who, however, felt that the factory charged them too much for the occasion. Thus the factory has given up the idea of organizing 'social' activities for the workers.

5.8 Labour Relations in the Soy Sauce Factory

5.8.1 Individualism versus Collectivism

There are only eight workers in the soy sauce factory, and there is one Shih Fu (Mr. B, who is also the factory manager). In a small factory of this nature, it is easier for the workers to operate as a cohesive group. The difference between the executive and the workers, and the difference between workers themselves are insignificant. Division of labour is quite ambiguous and not well defined. As Mr. B described the situation:

"Here, there is no differentiation into departments. Anyway, we just work together to finish the work of that day. We will do the more urgent things first. The eight workers do everything, there is no division of labour. Even a new worker who does not know how to do a certain job can always ask me how to do it and then do the job."

Most of the workers in Mr. B's factory have been working there for more than ten years and all consider themselves as life-long friends.

5.8.2 Class Interest versus Business Interest

Mr. B agreed that there was difference between the proprietor and the workers. But he disagreed with the idea that there was exploitation in the factory. He told me that wages in the factory was quite high. Most workers got about HK\$700 - \$800, with food and lodging provided. "Even though the workers have to work at night sometimes, I do explain to them that it's only four times a month. I suppose my factory has more holidays than

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any other factories. I will not say it is exploitative situation. One has to remember that phrase 'the proprietor needs me for my labour, and I need the proprietor for his food.'

5.8.3 Authority

The soy sauce factory is quite authoritarian in decision-making matters. First, in matters concerning production in the factory, Mr. B makes all the decisions. He is the Shih Fu and he is the expert in production problems. He can direct and give instructions to the workers on the spot. He knows everything in detail and this enables him to control everything. But on matters concerning selling and buying, he has to contact his boss, who gives him his instruction over the telephone. For example, if the factory needs more beans, Mr. B can just telephone to the owner in the Tsuen Wan retail and wholesale shop saying that he needs such and such an amount of soya beans. If his boss receives an order from a retailer for, say, a hundred bottles of soy sauce, he will just telephone Mr. B in the factory. Secondly, all important decisions are promulgated by oral instruction.

5.8.4 Contractualism versus Paternalism

(a) Meals

Meals are provided for the workers in the soy sauce factory. The first meal is taken at 10 a.m. after three hours of work in the morning. Lunch is at 1 p.m. and dinner at 6 p.m. There is a cook for the factory. Twice a month, there are the traditional

Chinese special business feast called jo nar. In Mr. B's factory, jo nar is held on the usual days of the second and sixteenth days of every lunar month. There are special feasts also on the birthday of their patron god, the Mar Tai, which is on the 26th day of the eighth lunar month. Special feasts are also provided on all the traditional Chinese Festivals and at the Chinese New Year.

(b) Lodging

There are dormitories on the second floor of the factory building. All the workers live there. Some of the workers who have families in Hong Kong go back to the family home during their holidays. But those who still have families in mainland China, go home only once a year, and they seem to regard the factory as their 'second home'.

(c) Protective Clothing

No protective clothing is provided.

(d) Labour Insurance

The proprietor in the soy sauce factory has purchased labour insurance for all the workers. But, according to Mr. B, there have been no accidents and therefore to date no claims made.

(e) Medical Scheme

There is no medical scheme, but if a worker falls ill he is given sick leave. If he is hurt during working hours, the factory will also pay for the medical treatment.

(f) Bonus/Double Pay

There is the traditional bonus paid to all workers at the Chinese New Year. The amount of bonus is dependent on the profit made by the factory.

(g) Rights of Workers

The workers in the factory do not have the right to have regular tea breaks. They can, however, go out of the factory to eat when hungry. There are no formal time limits, but there is a mutual understanding that the workers will not spend too much time for their tea-break if the factory is busy. During slack periods they may dwell much longer in the restaurants.

The workers do not have the right to refuse night time work and there are no exceptions unless an individual falls ill. They do not have the right to refuse to do a particular job. They are supposed to do what Mr. B orders them to do. As I have indicated above, the division of labour here is not well defined. Workers do not have the right to work in a place of their choice and there are no formal complaint channels - although they can always complain to Mr. B immediately if they have a problem.

(h) Holidays

Six days paid holidays are given per month and holidays given for all the Chinese Festivals and the birthday of the patron god. During the Chinese New Year, there are at least four days holiday. This can sometimes extend to six or seven days depending on which day is the auspicious day for restarting work in that particular year.

5.9 Localism in the Glove Factory

5.9.1 Business

(a) The majority of the raw material is bought directly from overseas processors. Most of their raw materials (leather) is imported from U.S.A. and Canada. They usually ask a leather factory in nearby Sheung Shui to process the leather prior to its use in the glove factory, although sometimes they also order ready-processed leather from Japan.

(b) Selling. They have direct overseas contracts for the sale of their products. The majority of their products is sold to England, Canada and Australia. They obtain the relevant particulars - such as the address of their potential buyers - from trade associations and Government institutions such as the Hong Kong Trade Development Council. Typically the factory sends samples and price lists to these firms, and, after receiving an order, ships their products by container.

(c) General position of the business in the community. The factory was established in Kwu Tung in 1970 only. Both Miss A and the two owners lived in Sheung Shui and most of their activities are Sheung Shui orientated. They seldom participate in the local community activities.

(d) Day to day management

(i) Advice on business problems. On business problems, Miss A said she would always talk to the owners first before taking any action. She said that she was also an employee, and the owners should be responsible for financial problems. But when I asked her

the question "when you are making a decision, do you take into account the advice of a person who has long working experience or that of a person who is of high status in the firm?" She said she would take into account the advice of a person who has long working experience.

(ii) Recruitment. On the recruitment of executives Miss A stated that working experience was the most important consideration and 'having new ideas' was the second. But with reference to recruiting a worker she said 'willingness to work hard' was the most important criterion and personality was the second most important criterion. She quite firmly stated that criteria such as 'same native place', 'living in Kwu Tung' are unimportant in recruitment decisions.

(iii) Promotion. There is no formal or regular scheme of promotion in the factory. But if a certain foreman resigns, then Miss A said she would consider either promoting a worker or recruiting a foreman from outside. If they have to promote a worker in the factory to fill that vacancy, she said that the most important factors are personality and seniority. She told me that working experience was certainly the first criterion. "If a person has no working experience, one doesn't consider him at all."

5.9.2 Non-Business

In terms of non-business activities, the glove factory is quite detached from the community. The two owners and Miss A live in the local market town of Sheung Shui/Shek Wu Hui, and the

social activities of the two owners are market town orientated rather than Kwu Tung orientated. They have, for example, never participated in the Goddess of Mercy Festival in Kwu Tung and have never even purchased the opera seat shares.

The three friends that Miss A spends most of her time with after work are her schoolmates whom she has known for more than ten years. All these friends live in Kowloon, and their occupations are not related to Miss A's business in any way whatsoever.

5.10 Localism in the Soy Sauce Factory

5.10.1 Business

(a) Buying. The soy sauce factory purchase their raw material through the wholesalers and import-export firms. They have been dealing with the same firms or wholesalers for over ten years.

(b) Selling. The soy sauce factory sells its produce directly to retailers and restaurants. All their products are for the local (i.e. the Colony) market only.

(c) General place of the business in the community. The factory has been in Kwu Tung for fourteen years, and it is one of the earliest factories established in Kwu Tung. Its position is of course quite important in the community.

(d) Day to day management.

(i) Advice on business problems. When I asked Mr. B the question "if you had a general problem in your business, who would you ask for advice?" he answered immediately that he would ask his boss. When I asked him the question "when you are making a decision, do you take into account the advice of a person who has

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long working experience or that of a person with a higher status in the firm?" he answered that he would take into account the person who has working experience. It is quite clear that Mr. B values working experience and respects the hierarchical structuring of authority. The factory belongs to his cousins, and accordingly if he has any business problems, he will certainly talk to them first before taking any action.

(ii) Recruitment (knowledge versus acquaintance). In recruitment for an 'executive', Mr. B said working experience was the most important consideration and willingness to work hard was the second most important asset. In recruitment for a worker, he made willingness to work hard the most important quality and working experience as the second most important. In both cases, he stated that 'education' was least important a consideration, and 'same native place' the second most unimportant. It seems quite obvious that experience is equated with knowledge in this kind of industry. Everything depends on 'experience' and not on objective measurements. For example, ability to assess the correct temperature and the correct colour of the soy sauce, are both said to depend on one's experience in the working process. Mr. B acquired his through working experience, and he continues to make judgments about technical matters primarily on the basis of his personal judgment and 'feel' about the situation. There are two workers in his factory who are relatives of the owners. When I asked Mr. B what was the basic reason for their being employed, he said they are more co-operative - i.e. he could trust kinship tied employees better.

(iii) Promotion. There is no formal or regular scheme of promotion in the factory. However, there is what might be called a quasi-promotion system; that is, to increase a worker's salary and to give him more important work to do. Mr. B himself said that this did not constitute promotion per se. And again the most important criteria for increasing a worker's salary in this way is his working experience and his willingness to work hard.

5.10.2 Non-Business

Mr. B is, to a certain degree, quite Kwu Tung orientated. He has been known to a number of people in the community. Most of his best friends, those that he spends most time with after work, are in Kwu Tung. One is the engineer of the soap factory situated next to Mr. B's soy sauce factory and who has himself been living in Kwu Tung for thirteen years. And his two other close friends are his colleagues working in his factory. They spend most of their free time playing Mahjong together.

Mr. B, however, has never been a member of any of the local community organizations and he has never been involved in the organizations of any festival. Nevertheless, every year, he does buy shares of the Goddess of Mercy Festival in Kwu Tung and he does invite his owners, his buyers or other friends to his factory to have a feast during the Festival, and to watch the Festival opera after the feast.

5.11 Business Techniques - Glove Factory

5.11.1 Non-Material

5.11.1.1 The Accounting System

Miss A is responsible for keeping the accounts of the factory. She uses a modern style accounting system. She does not understand the old traditional Chinese style of keeping accounts. Every year the accounts have to be audited by a certified accountant and they are required to make up a detailed balance-sheet for taxation purposes.

5.11.1.2 Use of Profit

The net profit in the factory goes entirely to the two owners. There is no bonus for the worker and there is no system of yearly wage increments. When I asked Miss A why the two owners took all the net profit, and did not reinvest it in the factory, she told me that "first, this is a limited company. If you want to increase your capital, you have to go and register it. Secondly, the profit rate on invested capital in this business is not great. It is about 1% to 1.5%. So, it is not financially very wise to invest too much capital into this plant."

5.11.1.3 Credit

The factory usually extends credit to its purchasers for a period not exceeding ninety days. They grant credit by means of the D.A. (document against acceptance) system. They settle their account according to the financial year, not by the end of

the Chinese New Year. Thus, there is no practice of calling in and paying off one's debts in the month preceding the Chinese New Year, as is the traditional Chinese accounting practice.

5.11.1.4 Sales Techniques

The factory has never advertised its products. There are no salesmen employed. They sell their products directly to buyers overseas. They first obtain the addresses of possible buyers from the Hong Kong Trade Development Council. They then send their price lists to these potential buyers. If they receive a reply, then they bargain further, and send samples, etc. to them. All this work is done by Miss A alone. The factory seems to have already built up a good reputation in certain overseas markets and so now they sometimes receive orders direct from their buyers.

5.11.2 Material

Most of the machines in the glove factory are imported from Japan and China. The total capital now invested is about HK\$300,000. The total invested capital in machinery is about HK\$100,000 - that is one third of the total investment.

5.12 Business Techniques - Soy Sauce Factory

5.12.1 Non-Material

Mr. B uses the traditional Chinese accounting system. The business is a family owned business, and therefore most of the profit goes to the owner, except a small proportion which is re-

invested in the factory, and a 1 - 2% bonus or salary increment for the workers..

Credit is extended to local purchasers. The period of credit is not fixed, but is usually about two months. Sometimes it may take half a year or even one year to recover the sum advanced. They have to recover all the credit that they have advanced by the end of a lunar year. That is, as indicated earlier, they do not follow the new financial year but rather traditional lunar year.

The factory has never advertised for their products, but they do employ three salesmen in the wholesale shop in Tsuen Wan. These salesmen typically go to retailers and get them to place their orders. This include going to restaurants, too, for the restaurants are major purchaser of their products.

5.12.2 Material

The total capital invested in this factory is about HK\$500,000 and the total money invested in machines is about \$10,000, i.e. about 2% of the total capital. This shows that the factory is quite labour intensive.

One interesting point about the machines they use in the factory is that they do not differ much from the machines used in China even as early as the Ming Dynasty. The drawings of the machines contained in a book written by Sung Ying Sing and Tin Kung Hoi Mu, in 1637, do not appear to be very different from the machines used in Mr. B's soy sauce factory (See pictures overleaf).

5.13 Concluding Remarks

This chapter gives us a general, overall, picture of a 'relatively modern' and a 'relatively traditional' factory in the community. I am not saying that everything in Mr. B's factory is traditional because Mr. B holds traditional ideologies. I would rather say Mr. B has to use, more often, traditional ideas and values to justify his practices in order to make his factory function effectively. Traditional ideology here does not constitute a barrier to the survival and change of this factory, but instead change is justified by traditionalism. In other words, traditionalism is used as a support rather than a barrier for change.

6.1 Feuerwerker's Hypothesis Reviewed

Feuerwerker, in his seminal study of 'China's Early Industrialization', concludes that China's industrialization in the Ching Dynasty failed because it did not meet one of the imperatives of industrial modernization. That is: it did not achieve an ideological breakthrough. Feuerwerker has demonstrated in his work the numerous obstacles the Kuan-tu Shang-pan industries faced, and argues that the major barriers to the successful institutionalization of modern industrial organization included,

- (1) general Confucian ideology, and
- (2) particularistic, traditionalistic ideologies and practices.

Feuerwerker's hypothesis, then, includes the assertion that traditional ideologies constitute obstacles to modern industrialization and economic development. This kind of argument is shared by a number of sociologists writing on China. Levy, for example, approached the inability of China to modernize in much the same way as Feuerwerker. Social change is conceptualized as a linear movement from a traditional past to a modernized future, with ideological change being considered as a necessary condition of such a development.

6.2 'Traditional' and 'Modern' Practices Exist Side by Side in Factories

According to my findings from Kwu Tung, Feuerwerker's hypothesis is open to doubt. Traditional ideologies still function

in the factories, and seem relatively compatible with a 'modern' technological base. In fact I have found that modern ideologies can exist in a traditional factory and traditional ideologies can also exist in a modern factory. The empirical situation is far more complicated than Feuerwerker has argued.

I have found that modern ideologies such as attitudes towards the application of modern machinery, the use of new sales techniques (e.g. advertising in international trade bulletins and overseas), readiness to adopt new technological innovations and methods when faced with business problems and so on are found in factories where the organization is still essentially traditional, such as, for example, those factories which are family-owned, where labour relations are paternalistic, where there are no formal rules, where all contracts are verbal, and where the division of labour is diffuse rather than specific. On the other hand, I also find evidence of traditional ideologies in modern organizations which are differentiated in departments and hierarchical levels, where the division of labour is specific, where there is regular working hours for the workers, etc. In these factories there is nevertheless worship of the patron gods, Kwan Kung and Tu Ti. In fact in all sixteen factories, 'tradition' was minimally present in the existence of these patron gods, in the 'closed' pattern of recruitment (73% of the factories), the absence of a formal training programme for the workers, and in the relatively authoritarian decision making structure.

The example of the soap factory may be used to illustrate this. The factory is one of the largest soap factories in Hong Kong. It belongs to the Hong Kong Federation of Industries. In the office of the factory, one can see a picture of one of the owners shaking hands with a recent Governor of Hong Kong in front of the factory's

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show room at an industrial exhibition. The owners, who are all from one extended family, are socially active in the urban sector, especially among the business circles, where the factory has a Government contract for about two million pounds of detergent to be used for washing public swimming pools. However, the majority of its products are exported.

In terms of machines, this factory has an investment of about \$800,000. This is 53.33% of the total capital. The production process is automatic or semi-automatic, except in the packing section. Packing is done totally by hand.

With respect to other techniques, such as the accounting system, the factory uses both Chinese and western systems. There is a clerk who is responsible for transforming all the Chinese accounts into western. In terms of organizational structure and labour relations, the factory falls into our 'traditional' type. The factory is family-owned and is managed by three brothers and two of their sons. They refer to themselves as the 'hsiang-ti-pan', the 'brothers group' (for division of responsibilities in this factory, see Chapter 4). In the main office, which is situated in the urban sector, there are four salesmen who are responsible for contacting the import-export firms, and gaining orders from these firms. All exporting is done through import-export firms.

Labour relations in this firm approximate to our 'traditional types'. All the workers except those female piece-rate workers in the packing section, operate as an undifferentiated group, i.e. their role is not clearly specified. The workers have an obligation

of helping others when they have finished their assigned work of the day. They all have to find some work to 'occupy themselves' during office hours. There is no personnel department. When the factory needs more workers, the owners inform their workers, who recommend their 'friends or relatives'. There is no formal written contract between the factory and the workers - everything is done on a verbal basis. The workers receive a bonus at Chinese New Year (although this bonus is not standardized). Food and lodging are provided by the factory.

6.3 Traditionalism is used as Support in the Sphere of Values and Political Legitimation

In our Kwu Tung findings, the association between ideology and actual practices is weak in most aspects. This leads us to the conclusion that ideology of a person does not necessarily correspond to his practices. Geertz is right, when he states in his study of 'Peddlars and Princes' that,

"In any case, the employment of highly generalized dichotomous concepts, of holistic types, to describe these broader processes, in the light of our still confused and uncertain understanding of them and of their interrelations with the much better conceptualized processes of economic rationalization, would seem premature. It obscures the very differences we want to investigate in the hope of eventually arriving at some more solidly founded general regularities."¹

1. Geertz, Peddlars and Princes, p.145

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It may not be very correct to use highly generalized dichotomized concepts like 'traditional' and 'modern' and try to conclude that 'traditional' ideology is a barrier to change, because this simply denies the specific and contextual character of events. Gusfield has argued that the tendency to pit tradition and modernity against each other as paired opposites tends to overlook the mixtures and blends which reality displays. And above all, it easily becomes an ideology of anti-traditionalism, denying the necessary and usable ways in which the past serves as support, especially in the sphere of values and political legitimation, to the present and the future.²

In terms of values, there are several concepts that are particularly common among the factory managers. The first is reputation, (Hsin yung). This concept covers a number of areas, such as reputation for the product involved (whether or not the products are good, reliable and welcomed by consumers), reputation for settling debts (whether one pays his debts on time), etc. A very detailed description of hsin-yung can be found in De Gloppe's article 'Doing Business in Lukang'. He states that, "Hsin yung refers to an individual's or a firm's reputation, reliability, credit rating. It is the most important thing in business, a firm's most valuable asset. People say that to start a business one needs capital, but capital isn't enough. One must have hsin-yung, and to have hsin-yung reputation with some set of people such

2. Gusfield, 'Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change'.

as the other members of one's trade. Similarly, when a business fails, as often happens, the failure is described as the result of a loss of hsin-yung"³

The second unit idea of value is working experience. Working experience to the entrepreneurs or factories means practical knowledge. They all value working experience. Whether a person has good education from school is something that does not really matter. Instead the most important quality is working experience. If someone has working experience, it is taken to mean that he has the skill and knowledge of a particular business.

The third concept is hard work. This implies that a worker is willing to work hard on his own initiative, not through extrinsic sanctioning. Hard work, Ch'in-li or Ch'in-lao, is a concept that has long been established in China. A worker who has finished his own job is expected to find something else to do instead of wasting the time. His willingness to do other things beside his own work are indicative of his own initiative in working hard.

Another important idea is that of denying the existence of exploitation. Most of the managers that I interviewed are employees themselves. But most of them deny that there is exploitation in their factories. They all say it is fair for the workers. To quote Mr. B again, "The boss needs me for my labour, and I need the boss for food." They all considered that this is a fair exchange.

3. Donald R. De Glopper, 'Doing Business in Lukang', in Willmott ed. Economic Organization in Chinese Society, 1972

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In terms of legitimation, traditional ideology is often used internally in the factories to justify the authority of the owners and management bodies. This often happens in situations of discharging or laying-off workers. For example in Mr. B's factory, a heroine addict was discharged. The reason given was that he was not 'Chang Gin', that is, not well behaved, and unambitious. One can immediately sense paternalism in this kind of legitimation, and this is precisely the kind of situation where traditional ideas, norms or values legitimate the management's decisions.

Another example which may be used to illustrate the importance of the relationship between traditional values and authority is the power structure in the factories themselves. Miss A's factory, the 'modern' factory, and Mr. B's factory, the 'traditional' one, may be used to illustrate this point. Although I find many differences between the two factories, on all important matters, especially those concerning finance, both Miss A and Mr. B have to consult their owners. Miss A has to consult the owners of the glove factory if she receives new orders from a client. If the two owners say 'yes', then she will take action. In case they say 'no', she will just have to leave it. Mr. B faces the same kind of problems. Whenever Mr. B wants to recruit a new worker, he has to have the opinion of the proprietor. In both cases, one so called 'traditional' factory and one so called 'modern' factory, we can still find the close control by the owners. The delegation of power to the management is very limited on all crucial matters.

This kind of close control of management is of course symptomatic of a traditional authority hierarchy.

In short, paternalism, as a traditional ideology, is used to legitimize the over-ruling power of the owners. The factory managers will never consider themselves to be part of the control body in the factory, but instead consider themselves more as employees. As Miss A told me, "The business belongs to my bosses. Of course I have to consult them."

6.4 Summary

I conclude that traditional ideology is not a barrier to change and modernization, but may well serve as a support primarily in terms of economic values and political legitimation. This support is particularly important in aspects of organizational structure and labour relations.

Modern, western, ideologies and practices are accepted most readily in the case of business techniques. Modern ideas become mixed with traditional ideas to form a 'plural-culture' and there has evolved a new brand of management. This brand of management makes use of both the old, 'traditional' ideas and 'modern', western ideas in operating its factories.

There is always the possibility that the findings for Kwu Tung are specific, but my general impression is that they could be repeated throughout the vast majority of Hong Kong's industrial units, including those found in the Urban areas. Furthermore, if my analysis is correct, then there is little chance that those

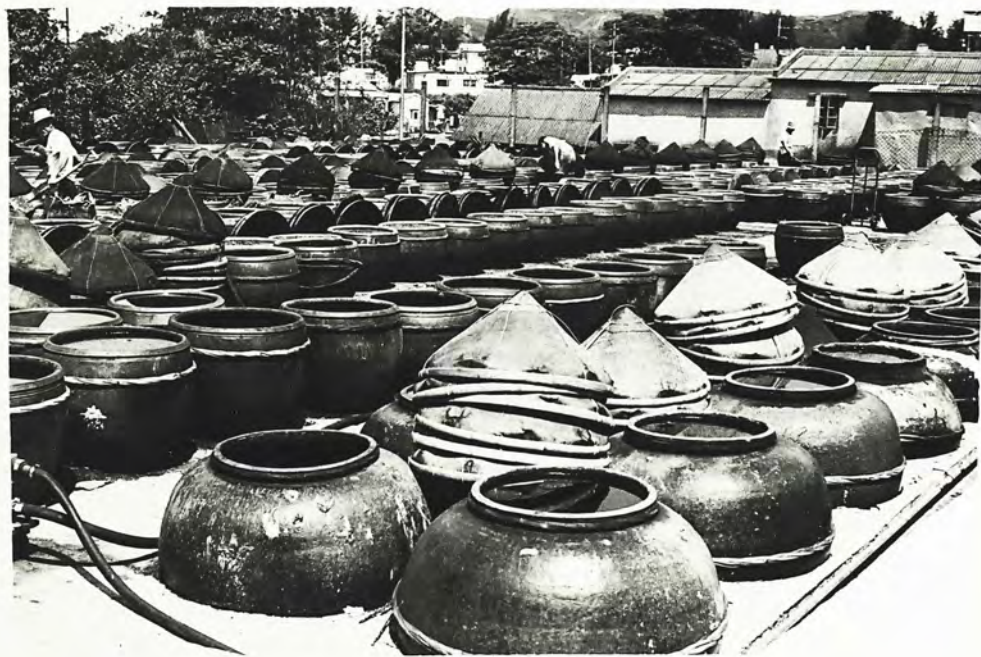
dimensions of traditional ideology still functioning in the factory will simply 'die away' as industrialization proceeds. They will be retained as long as managers and owners find them useful, and the past twenty years in the New Territories demonstrate that managers and owners do still find them useful, even in conditions of rapid technological change, in particular in terms of legitimizing their political control and in defining some of their most important economic concepts.

Appendix

Appendix 1 Illustrations



The market of Xmu Tung.



Big jars for holding soy sauce.



A cutting machine in the gloves factory—with the shrine of Kuan Kong on the wall.



The sewing department in the gloves factory.



Formal regulations in a soy sauce factory



Formal regulations found in Miss A B factory.



Part of the soap factory



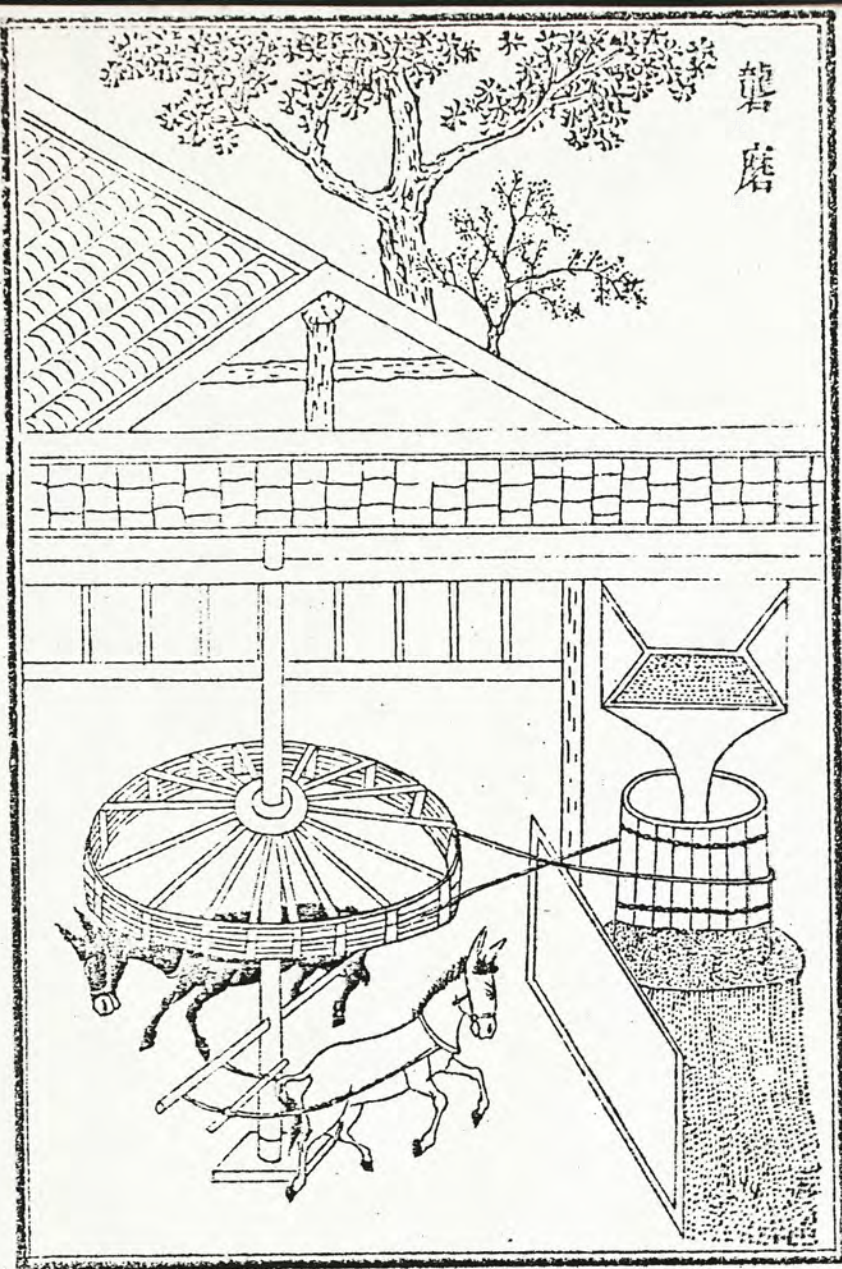
A machine for moulding bricks.



Machines in a soy sauce factory

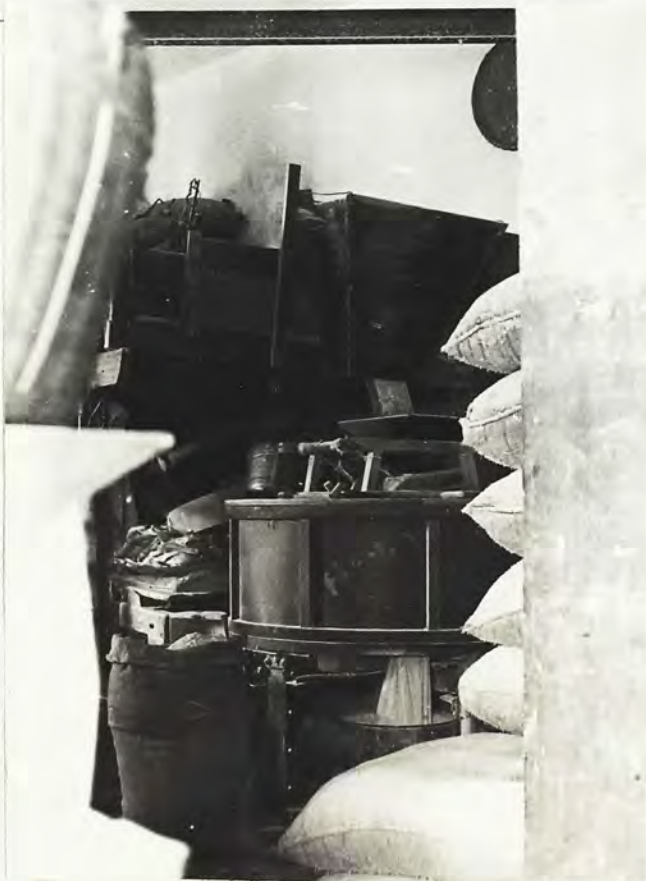


The soap factory.

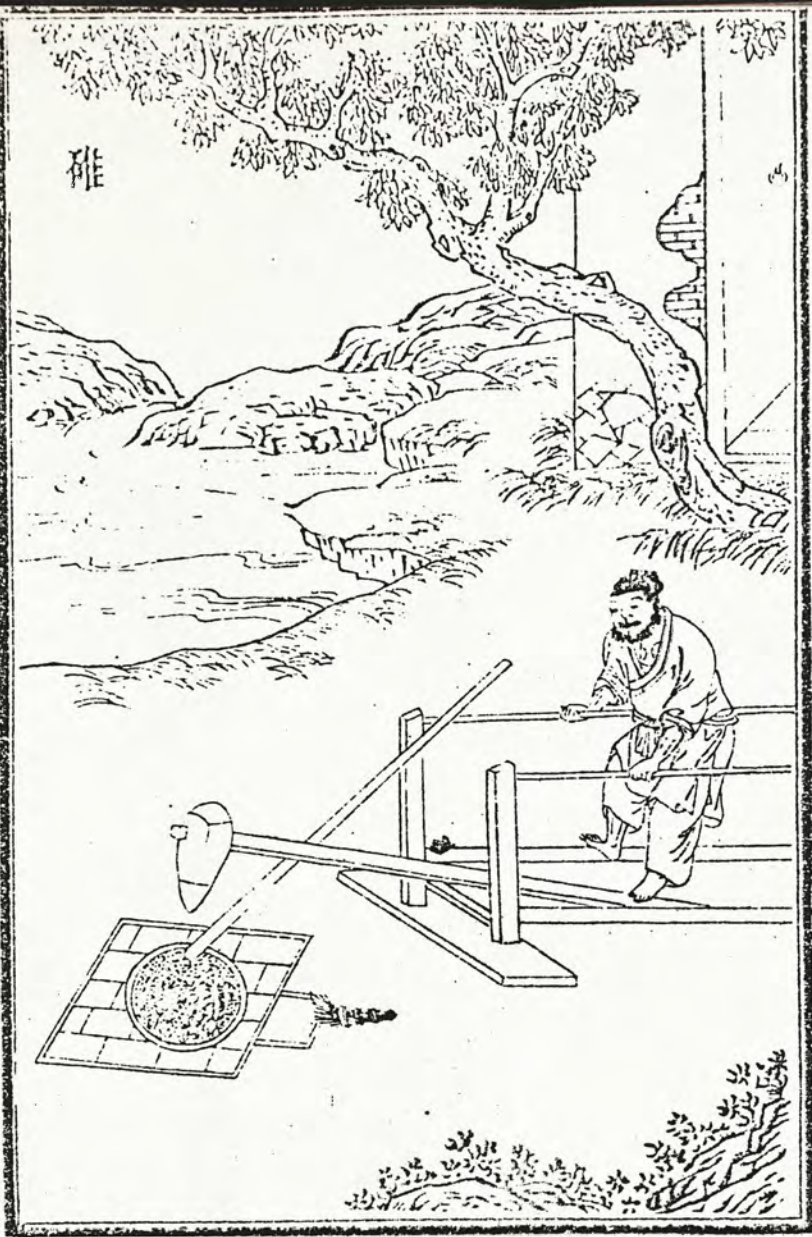


一一一

A classical grinding machine---from Tien Kung Kai Wu, 1637.



A modern grinding machine found in the flour mill.



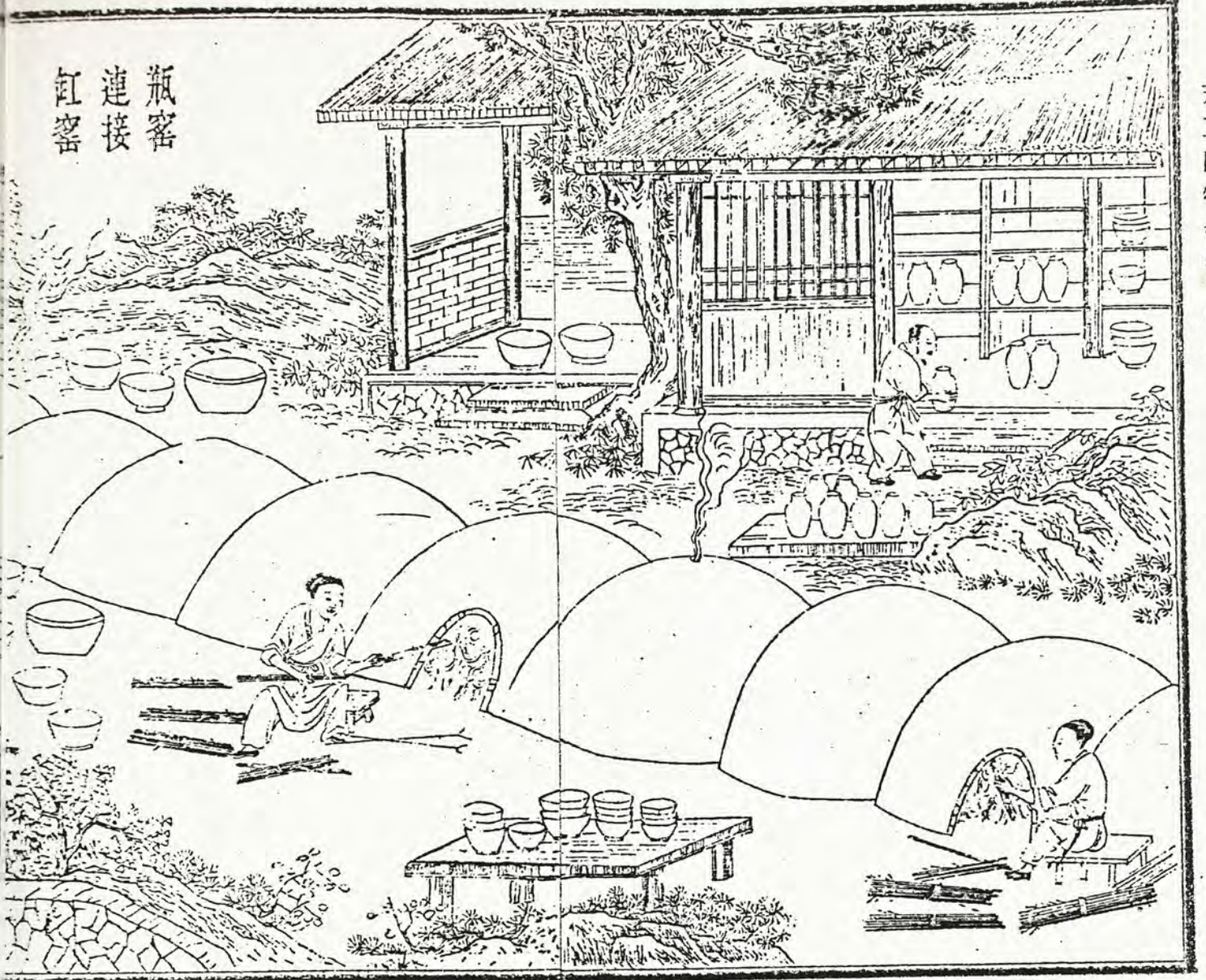
A pestle, worked with the foot, used to hull rice

Tien Kung Kai Wu
(1637)



A modern machine for hulling rice, driven by a motor.

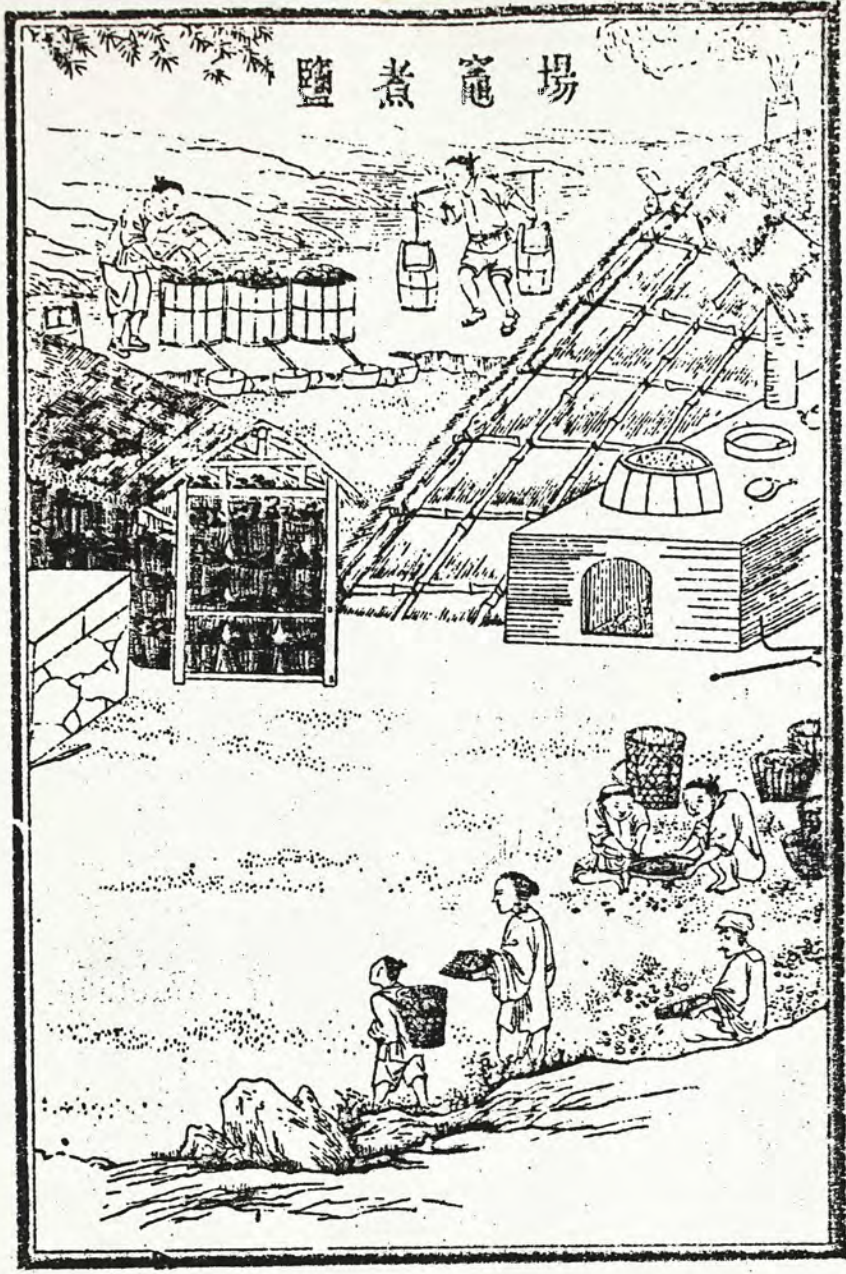
瓶密
連接
缸密



A kiln --- Tien Kung Kai Wu



A brick kiln in the brick factory.



天工開物卷上 作 錄

Big boilers in a salt mine--Tien Kung Kai Wu.

一六四

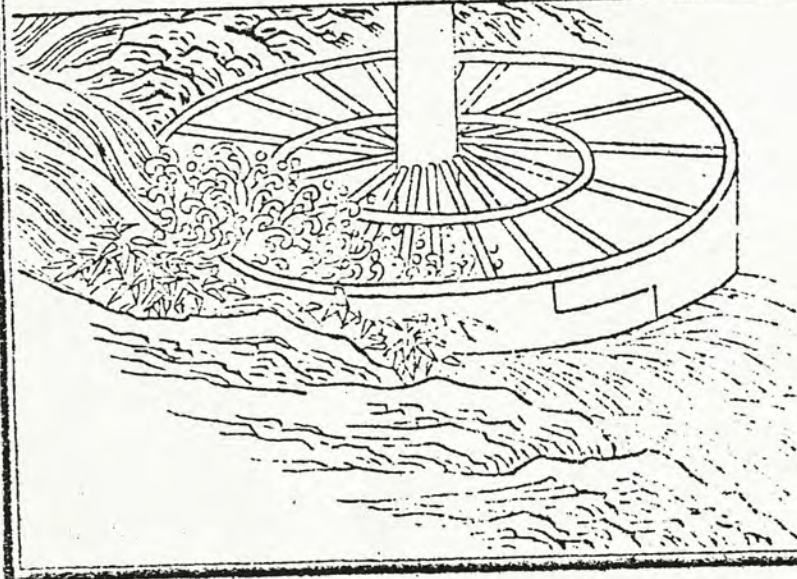


Big boilers in the soy sauce factory.

水磨

天工開物卷上 碎磨

A grinding machine driven by water power.



一三〇



A grinding machine driven by a motor in Mr.B's factory.

天工開物卷中 陶埴

煤炭燒
磚窑



A brick kiln--
coal is used as
the main fuel.

二〇四



A brick kiln--Vietnamese style.
(coal is used as the main fuel)

Appendix 2

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE TERMS USED IN TEXT

<u>in Mandarin</u>	<u>in Cantonese</u>	<u>in characters</u>
Chang	Cheung	張
Chang-chien	Cheung Hin	張譽
chiang kuei (a shopkeeper)	cheung kwai	掌櫃
chao fêng	ch'iu fung	朝奉
Cheng Kuan-ying	Ching Koon Ying	鄭官應
Chi Tê Kung Suo	Tsâap Tak Kung Shòh	集堂公所
chiang (headman)	cheung	長
chiang chin (bounties in money)	chéung kam	獎金
chiao ch'ing (friendship)	kaan ts'ing	交情
chin chih pu (income payment account)	tsun chi pó	進支部
Chin Ts'ien Ts'un (Kam Tsim Village)	Kam Ts'in T'suen	金錢村
ch'in lao	k'an ló	勤勞
ch'in li	k'an lík	勤力
Ching Tê Chên	Kíng Tak Chàn	景德鎮
Chiu Lung (Kowloon)	Káu Lūng	九龍
Chou Ksi-nien (Sik-nien Chau)	Chau Sèk Nín	周錫年
Chu Ch'ing-yüan	Kuk Ts'ing Uén	鞠清遠

in Mandarinin Cantonesein characters

chu t'ung jên wu hsü tsai wai
yu tang
(no one is allowed to hang
around outside doing nothing)

chue tung yān mǒ hui
tsóoi ngái yau tóng

諸同人毋許
在外游蕩

Ch'ao Chou

Ch'iu Chau

潮州

Ch'êng Yu K'ao
(Proverbs)

Shing Ũe Haáu

成語考

ch'i
(conflict or anger)

hei

氣

êrh knei
(second class counter-man)

î kwai

二櫃

êrh shou

î sau

二手

fên lui pu
(classified account)

fân lui pó

分類部

fu hsiung
(elder brother/father)

foô hing

父兄

fu tse jên
(responsible man)

foô chaak yān

負責人

Ho Shang Hsiang

Hōh Shēung Heung

河上鄉

Ho Tung

Hōh Tung

何東

Hou

Hau

候

hou hsien
(messenger boy)

hau shaang

後生

Hsiang Kang Tao
(Hong Kong Island)

Heung Kong T'ó

香港島

Hsin Chiai
(New Territories)

San Kaai

新界

hsin yung
(reputation)

shun yung

信用

hsing chieh hsien sheng
(salesman)

hang kaai sin shaang 行街先生

<u>in Mandarin</u>	<u>in Cantonese</u>	<u>in characters</u>
Hsü Jun	Ts'ui Yun	徐潤
hsuan	huen	榷
hung li (red profit)	hung lei	紅利
jih ch'ing yueh chieh (daily balance and monthly balance)	yat ts'ing uet kit	日清月結
K'e Chia (Hakka)	Hakk Ka	客家
Ku Tung (Kwu Tung)	Koo Tung	古洞
kuan liao	koon liu	官僚
Kuan Kung	Kwaan Kung	關公
kuan tu sheng pan (official supervision and merchant management)	koon tuk sheung paan	官督商辦
Kuan T'ang (Kwun Tong)	Koon T'ong	觀塘
Kuan Yin Tan (Goddess of Mercy Festival)	Koon Yam Taan	觀音誕
K'uang Tung Jên (Cantonese)	Kwóng Tung Yán	廣東人
Kuei Ku Tzu	Kwai Kuk Tsz	鬼谷子
kung t'ou (headworker)	kung t'au	工頭
lai huo pu (raw material account)	loi foh po	來貨部
lao pên hsi (original capital)	loh poon sik	老本息
lao tzü hao (old established firm)	loh chi ho	老字號

in Mandarinin Cantonesein characters

Lín Shih Kung Yeh K'ui
(Temporary Industrial Area)

Làhm Sih Gùng Yihp Keui 臨時工業區

Liu Yung-ch'êng

Lāu Wíng Shíng 劉永成

Lu Pan

Lò Paan 呂班

ming
(name)

mēng 名

Nan Hai

Nāam Hoi 南海

ní ch'iu ngo lí, wu ch'iu ní
shih

nei k'au ngoh lík,
ngoh k'au nei shik 你求我力
我求你食

(the boss needs my labour,
I need the boss for food)

Pan Ju

P'oon Uē 潘禺

(Poon Yu)

Píng Kang Ts'un

Píng Kwong Ts'uen 丙崗村

(Ping Kwong Village)

P'ou Yang

Poh Yeung 鄱陽

(Po Yuan)

pu fu jên suo to, pu fu jên suo
—wang —

pat fôo yān shoh t'òk,
pat fôo yān shoh mōng 不負人所托
不負人所望

(never let down the one who
relies on you and never let
down the one who expects from
you)

san kwei

saam kwai 三櫃

(third class counter-man)

San Tzǔ Ching

Saam Chî Kaang 三字經

(Book of the Three Characters)

shang chin hsia chih

sheung tsun hā chi 上進下支

(up income, low payment)

Shên Chen

Sham Chan 深圳

Shên Chen Ho

Sham Chan Hoh 深圳河

in Mandarinin Cantonesein characters

Sheng Hsüan-hüai

Shîng Suen Waai

盛宣懷

Shih Ch'iao

Sẏ K'iu

市橋

shih fu

sẏ foō

師傅

(a master-workman)

Shih Hu Hsü

Shék. Ōō Hui

石湖莊

(Shék Wu Hui)

shou fa

sau faat

收發

Shun Tê

Shún Tak

順德

(Shen Da)

Su Chou

So Chau

蘇州

(Su Chou)

Sung Ying-hsing

Sung Ying Sing

宋應星

(Sung Ying Sing)

Ta Hsing Sha Ch'ang

T'ai Shaang Sha Ch'ong

大生紗廠

ta tea

ta tsaap

大茶

Ta Yo Chin

T'ai Yeuk Tsun

大躍進

(Great Leap Forward)

t'ai p'ing

t'ai p'ing

太平

T'ang Ching-hsing

T'ong King Shing

唐景星

tiao tzü

t'iu tsz

條子

t'ien kung kai wu

t'in kung hoi mat

天工開物

t'ou kuei

tau kwai

頭櫃

(first class counter-man)

tso ya

tso nga

做牙

ts'ai

ts'oi

才

(knowledge)

T'san Jên Kung Suo

Ts'uèn Yän Kung Shoh

存仁公所

Tu Ch'ung

To Ch'eung

都昌

in Mandarinin Cantonesein characters

Wang Ma-tzu

Wōng Mā Tze

王府子

Wen Li Sha

Māan Lēi Sha

萬里沙

Wu Ti

Mō Tai

武帝

ya hsing
(agent)

ngā hang

牙行

Yen Kang Ts'un
(Yin Kwong Village)

In Kwong Ts'uen

燕崗村

Yen Liao Ch'ü
(Yin Lao Kui)

In Liū K'ui

烟寮區

yin i
(silver jacket)

ngān i

銀衣

yu ch'ang shih chung
(parade around the factory)

yau ch'ong shi chung

遊廠示眾

Yuan Lang
(Yuen Long)

Uēn Lōng

元朗

Yun Nan

Wān Naam

雲南

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Wu Ch'eng-ming, 'Chung kuo tzu ch'an chiai chi ti ch'an chêng wen

ti, ts'ung ying p'ien "pu yeh ch'êng" t'an ch'i'

Ching chi yen chiu, ti 9 ch'i

吳承明，「中國資產階級的產生問題，從影片
《不夜城》談起」
經濟研究，第九期。

Appendix 3 QuestionnaireBackground

Name of Agency _____

1. Name _____
2. Sex _____
3. Age _____
4. Position _____
5. What is your native place? _____
6. Where were you born? _____
7. How old were you when you first started to work full time?
 _____ Age in years
8. When you first started to work, what was your father's occupation?

9. How old were you when you first came into this kind of business?
 _____ Age in years.
10. How old were you when you started to work in this company?
 _____ Age in years
11. How many companies have you worked for until now?
 (excluding this one) _____
12. When you first started working for this company, did it employ any
 of your relatives?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', who were they? _____
 (check whether the relative held effective control of the
 company)

12. _____ Close relative held effective control
 (Ctd.) _____ Distant relative held effective control
 _____ Effective control not held by any relatives but
 relatives employed
 _____ Effective control not held by any relatives
 and no relatives employed.

Schooling and Education

13. Did you happen to have attended school?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes' a) In what place did you go to school?

_____ China

_____ H.K.

_____ Not applicable

_____ Both H.K. and China

b) What was the type of school you last attended full time:

_____ Traditional Chinese

_____ Primary

_____ Secondary

_____ Post secondary

_____ Not applicable

c) Have you ever studied abroad?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ Not applicable

13. If 'Yes' where? _____
(Ctd.)

14. (a) Do you happen to speak English?

_____ Yes

_____ No

(b) Do you happen to read English?

_____ Yes

_____ No

15. Have you ever had any management training?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes' when? _____

Where? _____

What kind? _____

16. How is the business owned?

_____ 1) one person

_____ 2) partnership

_____ 3) family partnership

_____ 4) joint-stock ownership

_____ 5) private or family Ltd. Co.

16.

(Ctd.)

If 2) and 3) ask: a) Which relative now share the management?

 Don't know

 Not applicable

b) How is the responsibility divided up?

 Don't know

 Not applicable

17. Does the proprietor(s) have a commercial interest in any other business?

 Yes

 No

 Don't know

If 'Yes' what are they?

18. How many people are employed in this factory?

19. How many higher level executives (including the proprietor manager and department head, engineers and technicians) are employed in the factory?

20. What was the maximum number of workers employed in your factory?

_____ persons.

What year is that? _____ year.

21. What was the maximum number of temporary workers that you ever employed in your factory?

_____ persons

_____ year

22. What was the maximum number of temporary workers that you employed during the busy season last year?

23. What was the minimum number of temporary workers that you employed during the busy season last year?

24. How many major divisions or departments are there in your factory? (horizontal)

25. How many levels of management are there in your factory? (vertical)

(Space for organizational chart)

26. When are this business founded?

Year _____ 1925-1959
 _____ 1960-1969
 _____ 1970-present
 _____ Don't know

27. When was the factory set up in Kwu Tung?

Year _____ 1925-1959
 _____ 1960-1969
 _____ 1970-present
 _____ Don't know

Was the business founded in Kwu Tung?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If moved to Kwu Tung: what was the main reason?

_____ a) cheaper rent or land

_____ b) easier to employ workers

_____ c) labour cheaper

_____ d) more space here

_____ e) others (specify)

_____ f) don't know

_____ g) not applicable

28. Does your business have any branches?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', Is the factory in Kwu Tung the main factory or a branch?

_____ Main

_____ Branch

_____ Not applicable

If 'Branch', Where is the main factory located?

_____ H.K.

_____ Overseas

_____ Not applicable

If 'Main', Where are the branch factories located?

_____ H.K.

_____ Overseas

_____ Both in H.K. and Overseas

_____ Not applicable

29. Where do you live?

_____ Kwu Tung

_____ Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Other places

30. Are you a member of any community organizations?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', What are those organizations?

_____ Kwu Tung based only

_____ Sheung Shui Kui based

_____ Sheung Shui Kui & other places

_____ Kwu Tung and other places

_____ Only other than Kwu Tung or Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Not applicable

31. Have you ever been involved in the organizations of any festival since you start working in Kwu Tung?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', Which festival?

_____ Kwu Tung based only

_____ Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Sheung Shui Kui & other places

_____ Kwu Tung and other places

_____ Only other than Kwu Tung or Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Not applicable

32. Do you ordinarily buy shares in the Goddess of Mercy Festival?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', How many shares did you buy this year?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

_____ Not applicable

33. Do you happen to regularly give money to support any particular charity?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', Which particular charity?

_____ Kwu Tung based only

_____ Kwu Tung and Sheung Shui

_____ Kwu Tung and other places

_____ Only other than Kwu Tung

_____ Others

_____ Not applicable

34. Name the 3 people (other than those of your immediate family) that you spend most time with when you are not working?

(1) Name _____

a) How long have you know him? _____ years

_____ Not applicable

34. b) Where does he live?

(ctd.)

_____ Kwi Tung

_____ Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Other places

_____ Not applicable

c) Where does he work?

_____ same factory

_____ Kwi Tung but not the same place you work

_____ Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Other place

_____ Not applicable

d) What is his occupations?

_____ Same business as the respondent

_____ Related to the business of the respondent

_____ Not related business

_____ Not applicable

e) How did you meet him? (e.g. through work, through another friend, schoolmate)

_____ Business connection

_____ Kinship connection

_____ Native place

_____ Not-applicable

_____ Other (specify) _____

34. (2) Name _____

(Ctd.)

a) How long have you known him?

_____ years.

_____ Not applicable

b) Where does he live?

_____ Kwu Tung

_____ Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Other places

_____ Not applicable

c) Where does he work?

_____ Kwu Tung

_____ Kwu Tung but the same place you work

_____ Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Other places

_____ Not applicable

d) What is his occupations?

_____ Same business as the respondent

_____ Related to the business of the respondent

_____ Not related business

_____ Not applicable

34. e) How did you meet him? (e.g. through work, through another friend, schoolmate)
(Ctd.)

_____ Business connection

_____ Kinship connection

_____ Native place

_____ Not applicable

_____ Other (specify) _____

(3) Name _____

a) How long have you know him?

_____ Years

_____ Not applicable

b) Where does he live?

_____ Kwu Tung

_____ Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Other places

_____ Not applicable

c) Where does he work?

_____ Kwu Tung

_____ Kwu Tung but the same place you work

_____ Sheung Shui Kui

_____ Other places

_____ Not applicable

34. d) What is his occupations?

(Ctd.)

_____ Same business as the respondent

_____ Related to the business of the respondent

_____ Not related business

_____ Not applicable

e) How did you meet him? (e.g. through work, through another friend, schoolmate)

_____ Business connection

_____ Kinship connection

_____ Native place

_____ Not applicable

_____ Other (specify) _____

Other (specify)

35. From where do you buy your raw material?

_____ 1) Mainly directly from the processor in

_____ H.K.

_____ Overseas

_____ 2) Mainly through middle men in

_____ H.K.

_____ Overseas

_____ 3) No consistent procedure

If 1) or 2), How long have you been dealing with them?

_____ years

_____ not applicable

36. Are your products mainly exported or mainly sold on the local market?

	Through Middlemen	Directly to Con.	Both	N.A.
_____ Export	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____ Local	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____ Both	_____	_____	_____	_____

How are they sold?

37. If you had a general problem in your business who would you ask for advice?

- _____ 1) No one
- _____ 2) Kinsmen
- _____ 3) Friends
- _____ 4) 'Relatives and Friends' (親戚朋友)
- _____ 5) Others
- _____ 6) Depends

If 'Depends', Ask questions on what?

38. What kind of methods do you use in recruitment?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
就業介紹機構	同鄉	朋友	朋友介紹	員工介紹	報紙廣告	街招	親戚	其他

Higher Executives	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Clerks	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Production Workers	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- * 1. Recruitment organizations
 2. Natives of same village
 3. Friends
 4. Recommended by friends
 5. Recommended by workers
 6. Newspapers
 7. Wall posters
 8. Relatives
 9. Others

39. If you want to recruit an executive, what is the most important thing that you look for? What is the second most important thing?

	most important	2nd most important
_____ a) age	_____	_____
_____ b) work experience	_____	_____
_____ c) education	_____	_____
_____ d) willing to work hard	_____	_____
_____ e) relative	_____	_____
_____ f) personality	_____	_____
_____ g) lives in the area	_____	_____
_____ h) same native place	_____	_____
_____ i) recommended by a friend	_____	_____
_____ j) has new ideas	_____	_____

What is the most unimportant thing? What is the second most unimportant thing?

	most unimportant	2nd most unimportant
_____ a) age	_____	_____
_____ b) work experience	_____	_____
_____ c) education	_____	_____
_____ d) willing to work hard	_____	_____
_____ e) relative	_____	_____
_____ f) personality	_____	_____
_____ g) lives in the area	_____	_____
_____ h) same native place	_____	_____
_____ i) recommended by a friend	_____	_____
_____ j) has new ideas	_____	_____

40. If you want to recruit a worker or clerk, what is the most important thing that you look for? What is the second most important thing?

	most important	2nd most important
_____ a) age	_____	_____
_____ b) work experience	_____	_____
_____ c) education	_____	_____
_____ d) willing to work hard	_____	_____
_____ e) relative	_____	_____
_____ f) personality	_____	_____
_____ g) lives in the area	_____	_____
_____ h) same native place	_____	_____
_____ i) recommended by a friend	_____	_____
_____ j) has new ideas	_____	_____

What is the most unimportant thing? What is the second most unimportant thing?

	most unimportant	2nd most unimportant
_____ a) age	_____	_____
_____ b) work experience	_____	_____
_____ c) education	_____	_____
_____ d) willing to work hard	_____	_____
_____ e) relative	_____	_____
_____ f) personality	_____	_____
_____ g) lives in the area	_____	_____
_____ h) same native place	_____	_____
_____ i) recommended by a friend	_____	_____
_____ j) has new ideas	_____	_____

41. Is there any formal or regular scheme of promotion in your business?

(1) For executives?

_____ Yes

_____ No

(2) For workers and clerks?

_____ Yes

_____ No

42. What is the most important basis for promotion in your business (What is the second most important basis?) (What is the most unimportant, what is the second most unimportant?)

<u>Important</u>			<u>Unimportant</u>	
most important	2nd most important		most unimportant	2nd most unimportant
_____	_____	a) age	_____	_____
_____	_____	b) work experience	_____	_____
_____	_____	c) education	_____	_____
_____	_____	d) willing to work hard	_____	_____
_____	_____	e) relatives	_____	_____
_____	_____	f) personality	_____	_____
_____	_____	g) lives in the area	_____	_____
_____	_____	h) same native place	_____	_____
_____	_____	i) has new ideas	_____	_____
_____	_____	j) seniority	_____	_____

43. How many relatives or clansman or the proprietors are employed in your business?

If any, ask: What do you think was the basic reason for him/them being employed?

- _____ 1) trustworthy
- _____ 2) capable
- _____ 3) cooperative
- _____ 4) business-minded
- _____ 5) responsible
- _____ 6) experienced
- _____ 7) a relative
- _____ 8) others
- _____ 9) not applicable

44. Is there any training programme in your factory or do employees learn on the job?

(1) For executives?

- _____ training
- _____ on the job

(2) For workers?

- _____ training
- _____ on the job

45. When you employ an executive do you give him a written contract or is it done on verbal basis?

_____ Written

_____ Verbal

_____ Both

46. Do you expect your executives to have a general knowledge about most of the features of your business or only those directly related to the job?

_____ General knowledge

_____ Specific knowledge

_____ Does not matter

47. Do your factory have any formal rules governing the behaviour of your employees?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes' (a) Could you give me some examples:

1) _____ (serious)

2) _____ (intermediate)

3) _____ (minor)

If 'Yes' to (a), (b) Do the rules specify some kinds of punishment?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ Sometimes

_____ Not applicable

47.
(Ctd.)

If 'Yes' to (b), What punishment attaches to someone who breaks regulations in 1), 2) and 3)

1. _____

Not applicable _____

2. _____

Not applicable _____

3. _____

Not applicable _____

48. Could you give me a couple of specific cases of one of your employees being punished formally?

49. Do your factory have any informal rules governing the behaviour of your employees?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', Could you give me some examples. (Interviewer should ask about sanctions).

Not applicable _____

Labour Relations

50. Does your factory have labour insurance?

_____ Yes
 _____ No
 _____ Some

51. Does your factory have a medical scheme which covers illness?

_____ Yes
 _____ No

If 'No', If any one of your workers felt ill, would your company do any thing to help him?

_____ Yes/or sometimes
 _____ No
 _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', 1) What would the company do for the employees?

If 'Yes', 2) Does your company provide paid sick leave for employees?

_____ Not applicable
 _____ Only for executives and salary staff
 _____ For everyone
 _____ Depends on the circumstances (specify)

52. Does your company provide meals for its employees?

- _____ No
- _____ For salaried staff only
- _____ For everyone

53. Does your company provide accommodations for its employees?

- _____ No
- _____ For salaried staff only
- _____ For everyone

54. Does your company provide protective clothing for its employees?

- _____ No
- _____ To everyone who needs it
- _____ It depends (specify)
- _____
- _____

55. Does your company pay regular bonuses at Chinese New Year?

- _____ No
- _____ To everyone who needs it
- _____ To salaried employees only

If 'Yes', On what is the total amount of bonuses paid out based?

Not applicable _____

55. If 'Yes', On what is the amount of an individual's or particular employee's bonus based?
(Ctd.)

- _____ Criteria bonus
 _____ Double pay
 _____ Double + criteria bonus
 _____ Double pay + beneficience
 _____ Not applicable

56. What kind of accounting system do you use; western or Chinese or both?

- _____ Western
 _____ Chinese
 _____ Both

If 'Both', 1) What do you use the western system for?

2) What do you use the Chinese system for?

57. Does your company normally extend credit to purchasers?

- _____ Yes
 _____ No

If 'Yes', Is the credit system different from the local market than it is in the export market?

- _____ Yes
 _____ No
 _____ Not applicable

57. If 'No', What is the normal credit period?

(Ctd.) _____ days

If 'Yes', What is the normal credit period in the local market?

_____ days

What is the normal credit period in the export market?

_____ days

58. Does your company try to settle its own debts by Chinese New Year?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ It depends

If 'It depends', On what does it depend?

59. Does your company spend money on direct advertising?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', Is most of your advertising done in H.K.?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'No', Do you do any advertising in foreign countries?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ Not applicable

59.

Where is most of your advertising done?

(Ctd.)

_____ Place

_____ Place

If 'Yes', What kind of techniques do you use for advertising?

_____ (1) on Radio

_____ (2) on T.V.

_____ (3) in local Newspaper or Magazines

_____ (4) with Wall posters

_____ (5) Writing on hill side

_____ (6) International trade bulletines

_____ (7) Others (specify) _____

_____ (8) Not applicable

60. Does your company employ salesmen to contact middlemen?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', How many _____ persons

What kind of technique do they generally use?

61. Does one person in your company usually negotiate for the purchase of raw materials?

_____ Yes

_____ No

61. If 'Yes', Who is this?

(Ctd.)

How does he ensure that he gets the best price?

62. Roughly how much capital is there invested in this factory?
(i.e. value now)

HK\$ _____

63. If your company makes a profit at the end of a year how will this be spent?

What proportion on:

- 1) Re-investment in some plant _____ %
- 2) Interest on the capital _____ %
- 3) Red profit _____ %
- 4) Investment in some other plants _____ %
- 5) Bonus for employees _____ %
- 6) Increase of salary for employees _____ %
- 7) Other specify. _____ %

Total: 100%

64. Roughly how much money altogether is invested in machines in the factory?

HK\$ _____

65. Do you feel that most employees in your factory usually operates as a group or do they usually operate as individuals?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'No', 1) How do you account for this?

2) Do the salaried worker operate as a group?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ Not applicable

3) Do the worker operate as a group?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', 1) Could you give me some example of how the factory operate as a group?

2) Do you feel that there is more solidarity among the salaried employees than the workers or is it about the same?

_____ More among salaried employees

_____ More among workers

_____ About the same

_____ Not applicable

66. A) If a situation arise where a worker was in conflict with the proprietor, would you usually expect the other workers to be on the side of their colleagues or on the side of the proprietor?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Depends
- _____ Don't know

If 'Depends', And on what will it depend?

B) If a situation arise where a salaried employee was in conflict with the proprietor, would you usually expect the other salaried employees to be on the side of their colleagues or on the side of the proprietor?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Depends
- _____ Don't know

If 'Depends', On what will it depend?

67. A) Do you think that the worker feel they have much in common with the salaried employees?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Don't know

67. B) Do you think that the workers feel they have much in common
(Ctd.) with the proprietor?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Don't know

C) Do you think that the salaried employees feel they have much
common with the proprietor?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Don't know

68. A) Do you think that the company is exploiting the salaried
employees?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Don't know

Why do they say that?

69. A) Who is in your company makes decision on the important issues?

B) If he/she is not there for some reason what happens then?

- _____ 1) Someone else makes decision
 - _____ 2) Waits for him/her to come
 - _____ 3) Others (specify) _____
-

70. Does the proprietor give direct instructions to the production workers?

- _____ 1) Always
- _____ 2) Often
- _____ 3) Sometimes
- _____ 4) Rarely
- _____ 5) Never

If other than 'Always', How many people will these instructions have to go through before they finally reach the production workers?

_____ (numbers)

71. In what form are important orders given in your factory?

- _____ 1) Extremely oral
- _____ 2) Most oral and some written
- _____ 3) Some oral most written
- _____ 4) Extremely written
- _____ 5) Depends

If 'Depends', On what does it depend?

72. When you are making a decision, do you take into account of a person who has long working experience or a person in higher hierarchy?

- _____ 1) experienced person
- _____ 2) person in higher hierarchy
- _____ 3) both
- _____ 4) others (specify) _____

73. About how many hours do you spend at work during a regular week?

_____ hours a week

Do you have to keep regular hours?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', What are they? _____

If 'No', Do you keep regular hours anyway?

_____ Yes

_____ No

On what does your hours depend?

74. Could you give me some ideas of what your formal job involves that is what you are expected by the organization to do on a day to day basis?

75. When you have finished your formal job, are you expected to help others with their work?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', Who expects you to do this (the owners, workers) ?

_____ Own initiation

_____ Owners expect it

_____ Worker expect it

_____ Not applicable

76. Does people in your factory have a right to have regular tea break?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', How does this operate?

_____ 1) Only for salaried staff

_____ 2) For everyone

_____ 3) Salaried staff and optional for workers

_____ 4) Optional for everyone

_____ 5) Depends

_____ 6) Not applicable

If 'No', Do some people take tea break anyway?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', Under what circumstances do they take a tea break?

77. Does people in your factory have a right to have more than six days paid holidays, set by the Labour Department?

_____ Yes

_____ No

If 'Yes', How does this operate?

_____ 1) Only for salaried staff

_____ 2) For everyone

_____ 3) Salaried staff & optional for workers

77. _____ 4) Optional for everyone
 (Ctd.) _____ 5) Depends
 _____ 6) Not applicable

If 'No', Do some people take more than six days of paid holidays anyway?

- _____ Yes
 _____ No
 _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', Under what circumstances do they have the paid holidays?

78. Does people in your factory have a right to refuse night time work?

- _____ Yes
 _____ No
 _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', How does this operate?

- _____ 1) Only for salaried staff
 _____ 2) For everyone
 _____ 3) Salaried staff and optional for workers
 _____ 4) Optional for everyone
 _____ 5) Depends
 _____ 6) Not applicable

78.
(Ctd.)

If 'No', Do some people have the right to refuse night work?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', Under what circumstances do they have the right to refuse night work?

79. Does people in your factory have a right to refuse to do a particular job?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', How does this operate?

- _____ 1) Only for salaried staff
- _____ 2) For everyone
- _____ 3) Salaried staff and optional for worker
- _____ 4) Optional for everyone
- _____ 5) Depends
- _____ 6) Not applicable

If 'No', Do some people have the right to refuse to do a particular job?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', Under what circumstances do they have the right to refuse to do a particular job?.

80. Do the worker in your factory has the right to work in place they choose?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', How does it operate?

- _____ 1) Only salaried staff
- _____ 2) For everyone
- _____ 3) Salaried staff and optional for workers
- _____ 4) Optional for everyone
- _____ 5) Depends
- _____ 6) Not applicable

If 'No', Do some people have the right to work in place they choose?

- _____ Yes
- _____ No
- _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', Under what circumstances do they have the right to work in place they choose?

81. Do workers in your factory have any formal channels for complaints?

- _____ Yes
 _____ No
 _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', How does it operate?

- _____ 1) For salaried staff only
 _____ 2) For everyone
 _____ 3) Salaried staff and optional for workers
 _____ 4) Optional for everyone
 _____ 5) Depends
 _____ 6) Not applicable

If 'No', Do some people have any formal channels for complaints?

- _____ Yes
 _____ No
 _____ Not applicable

If 'Yes', Under what circumstance do they have formal channels for complaints?

Part II Attitude Test

1. Small firms should oppose the control of the market by big business.
2. It is undesirable to make major changes in a business simply to make more profit because the business may not survive.
3. "To be a chicken mouth is better than being an oxtail," and therefore, one should ignore, as far as possible, what other firms are doing.
4. A firm exists for one purpose only: to make a profit. Managers should not, be concerned with social and moral issues, if they were, the country's economic position would be undermined and with it the welfare of us all.
5. An employer should never give reasons for his decisions to his employees.
6. Since the capital of small-scale industry is limited it is necessary to be dependent on big business.
7. Employees should be given informations about a firm so that they can be made to feel an important part of the team and thereby more co-operative.
8. Profit is the one absolute in business. Put in the interests of long-term survival every firm must gain the sympathetic understanding and co-operation of all people within its sphere of interest.

Agree	Disagree	Don't Know

Part II Attitude Test (Ctd.)

Agree	Disagree	Don't Know

9. Not only does the provision of information serve no useful prupose, since employees do not want it, but its circulation may have deleterious results for the firm.

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