

JLU

NEW PATHS. SINCE 1607.

JUSTUS-LIEBIG-



UNIVERSITÄT
GIESSEN



Federal Ministry
for Economic Cooperation
and Development



MICHAELA FINK / REIMER GRONEMEYER / HANNA RÖSSNER

LABOUR TURNOVER AND ABSENTEEISM IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY: CAUSES AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

LITERATURE REVIEW WITH A FOCUS ON ETHIOPIA



Hawassa Industrial Park factory sheds, Hawassa

Cover photo: Factory in the Bole Lemi Industrial Park, Addis Ababa

MICHAELA FINK / REIMER GRONEMEYER / HANNA RÖSSNER

LABOUR TURNOVER AND ABSENTEEISM IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY: CAUSES AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

LITERATURE REVIEW WITH A FOCUS ON ETHIOPIA

Supported by the Federal Ministry for
Economic Cooperation and Development (Germany)

First Edition, February 2021

List of Abbreviations

ABA ROLI	American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative
CETU	Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions
EHRC	Ethiopian Human Rights Commission
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTP II	Ethiopia's Growth and Transformation Plan II
IFETLGWTU	Industrial Federation of Ethiopian Textile, Leather and Garment Worker Trade Union
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPDC	Industrial Park Development Corporation
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
WHO	World Health Organisation
WRC	Workers Rights Consortium

CONTENT

1. INTRODUCTION	3
2. SUMMARY	5
3. ETHIOPIA	8
Overview	8
Globalisation, Industrialisation and Development	8
Women in Ethiopia	10
4. ETHIOPIA'S TEXTILE INDUSTRY	11
Overview	11
Work Force	12
Work Culture /Work Ethics	14
Working Conditions, Wages and Labour Rights / Labour Practices	14
5. COVID-19	
AND THE TEXTILE SECTOR	21
COVID-19 in Africa	21
The impact of COVID-19 on the textile industry	23
COVID-19 and the Ethiopian textile industry	24
6. LABOUR TURNOVER (AND ABSENTEEISM) FROM THE PERSPECTIVE	
OF ORGANISATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY	28
7. LABOUR TURNOVER (AND ABSENTEEISM) IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY	35
Bangladesh	35
Sri Lanka	41
India	46
Myanmar	48
Pakistan	50
Indonesia	51
Lesotho	51
Kenya	52
Ghana	53
Namibia	53
Ethiopia	54
8. CONCLUSION	64
9. BIBLIOGRAPHY	65

1. INTRODUCTION

This literature review was written in the context of a research project investigating the causes of labour turnover and absenteeism as a major challenge in the relatively young textile industry in Ethiopia. The three-year project (2020–2022) based at Giessen University (Faculty of Social Science and Cultural Studies) is funded by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (Germany). The background to the funding is the Ministry's Special Initiative on Training and Job Creation that has been designed to foster growth in enterprises to help create jobs.

The following review presents the state of research on labour turnover and absenteeism in the textile and garment industry with a special focus on Ethiopia. Without claiming to be exhaustive, research and other documents and sources were included in the evaluation.

Ethiopia, though remaining one of the least urbanised countries in the world, has taken impressive actions to transform the state into a more industrialised nation (The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2010; Gebre-Egziabher/Yemeru, 2019). Several industrial parks have been built in recent years throughout the whole country (Cepheus Research and Analytics, 2019). The textile sector is one of the sectors subsidised heavily by the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) I and II, which is one measure to enhance Ethiopia's productivity, including that in manufacturing capability (Diriba et al., 2019). The Ethiopian government aims at turning the country into an economic hub for textile exports in Africa and has been growing the sector enormously (Barrett/Baumann-Pauly, 2019; Cepheus Research & Analytics, 2019; Salingré, 2018; ABA ROLI, 2017: 3; Khurana, 2018). The industry furthermore is expected to provide employment for hundreds of thousands and, thus, improve people's living conditions and contribute to the socio-economic development of the country (The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2010).¹

While one reason manufacturers and investors shift their focus in the textile sector to Ethiopia and away from East-Asia is the improved work safety in terms of infrastructure and higher working standards in general, another major reason is the extremely low wages and the lower production costs involved (Barrett/Baumann-Pauly, 2019; ABA ROLI, 2017; Diriba et al., 2019; Staritz/Whitfield, 2019: 704; Beatrice et al., 2019). There are several reports on poor working and living conditions for workers in Ethiopian textile and garment factories (Salingré, 2018; Francis, 2017; WRC, 2018; ABA ROLI, 2017; Barret/Baumann-Pauly, 2019; Mitta, 2019; Jegu, 2019).

Just like in other countries, the textile and garment sector in Ethiopia has to deal with high rates of labour turnover and absenteeism, which harm the sector's productivity (Barret/Baumann-Pauly, 2019; Caria, 2019).² From the perspective of the (mostly international) managers, the reason for these high rates is often attributed to the "mindset" of the predominantly female workforce (the "operators") (Feldt/Klein, 2016). One thing is certain: If the industry wants to stay competitive and keep growing, measures need to be taken urgently.

- 1 The ambitious goal of the Ethiopian Government is to create 350,000 jobs in the textile industry by 2022 (Rasche, 2018: 35). However, new crises such as COVID-19 or the current political conflicts could move this goal even further away.
- 2 Research distinguishes between "turnover" and "turnover intention" as well between "voluntary" and "involuntary resignation" (through organisationally internal or external factors). Pertinent research counts the following factors as determinants of turnover (and absenteeism): management style, demographic variables (high age, marriageable age etc.), wages, organisational culture/justice, stress at the workplace, job satisfaction (see for example Belete, 2018).

To the best of our knowledge, there are only few studies particularly focusing on the phenomenon of labour turnover (and absenteeism) in the textile and garment sector in Ethiopia (Hailu, 2016; Kumar, 2011). A few more studies could be identified which address the issue in some part of their analysis (Belete, 2018; Gebremeskela et al., 2019; Feldt/Klein, 2016; Barrett/Baumann-Pauly, 2019; Oya, 2019). Those studies partly incorporate cultural factors.

After an **introduction** (chapter one) and a brief **summary** (chapter two) of the report, **chapter three** provides a more general chapter on Ethiopia, highlighting the most important information on the country, and offering insights into globalisation, industrialisation, and development in Ethiopia; including an overview of the role of women historically and more recently. **Chapter four** provides extensive information on the textile industry in Ethiopia. After offering an overview, it sheds light on the workforce, the work culture or work ethics, which can be seen as a synonym for “mindset”, and provides detailed insights into the working conditions and labour rights of the Ethiopian workers.

Adapting to the current exceptional state worldwide in the light of the COVID-19 outbreak, this report cannot disregard the situation of COVID-19 in Africa, in Ethiopia and, particularly, how the Ethiopian textile industry is affected by it. Hence, **chapter five** compiles the most important pieces of information on the current situation.

Extensive literature research was conducted on the issue of labour turnover (and absenteeism) in the context of organisational psychology study. **Chapter six** presents a comprehensive synopsis of current debates in this area of research.

Considering Ethiopia to be a relatively young actor in the global textile industry, in **chapter seven**, the report continues with detailed studies of the phenomena of turnover (and absenteeism) in different countries (like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka) where the sector has a longer history. The studies reviewed provide implications for practice, which might help study the situation in Ethiopia. As already stated, literature and research on labour turnover (and absenteeism) in the Ethiopian textile industry are rather limited. Still, those few existing studies, two in particular, will be elaborated at the end of chapter seven. **Chapter eight** is a brief conclusion that summarises the key drivers of labour turnover and absenteeism in the Ethiopian textile industry, and identifies the need for further research. **Chapter nine** lists all works cited grouped by the different chapters.

2. SUMMARY

The **Ethiopian textile and garment industry** is part of the government's plan to develop Ethiopia into a fully industrialised country by 2025 (Diriba et al., 2019) as industrialisation is seen to be a key driver for the transformation into a middle-income country (Oquaby, 2015 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 7). According to the World Bank (2020), "Ethiopia's economy experienced strong, broad-based growth averaging 9.8% a year from 2008/09 to 2018/19, Ethiopia's real gross domestic product (GDP) growth rebounded to 9% in 2018/19".³ However, the success of the economic development is set back by steady population growth. On top of this, the Ethiopian Economics Association estimates that the COVID-19 pandemic might slow down the economic growth by up to ten percent. Depending on the pandemic duration, poverty in the country could increase significantly (Yevondwossen, 2020).

Nevertheless, both, a more technologized agricultural sector and an industrial sector shall contribute to sustaining economic development and, ultimately, secure social justice and increase the per capita income of Ethiopians (The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2010). Though poverty rates have significantly declined in recent years, economic development in Ethiopia is not inclusive and unemployment remains high even though the development of industrial parks has contributed to a slight reduction in unemployment by the creation of more than 70,000 jobs (Cepheus Research and Analytics, 2019). The World Bank (2017) argues that only this traditional path of creating jobs outside agriculture can lead to a structural transformation in the country (World Bank, 2017 in Renkel, 2019: 8). Thereby, the textile industry is a major driver of job creation.

Foreign investors have shifted to Ethiopia, because, firstly, the wages in Ethiopia are substantially lower than those paid to textile workers in South-East Asia and, secondly, because the industry and infrastructure is newer, hence, buyers hope to fulfil *Western* labour standards easier (Barrett/Baumann-Pauly, 2019; ABA ROLI, 2017; Diriba et al., 2019; Staritz/Whitfield, 2019: 704). A further advantage for the investors is the provision of industrial estates for the new businesses by the Ethiopian Government. These estates have their own wastewater treatment plants and provide reliable electricity. Massive factory halls are available for lease to investors (Rasche, 2018: 35).

Considering the **workforce**, the fact that 80% of Ethiopians live in rural areas of the country cannot be disregarded as this is where most (female) workers (80 percent of workers are female) are recruited from (Francis, 2017: 3; Oya, 2019). The workers frequently struggle to adapt to the new work cultures and work ethic as they encounter a problematic clash of the two realities of agrarian and industrialised life (Rasche, 2019: 37). It is further stressed that many workers do not consider their involvement in the industry a long-term employment and often rather see it as a stepping-stone to set foot in the economic centres or to start their studies (Peou, 2016 & Tran, 2013 in Oya, 2019: 675). The "mindset" and "work ethic" of the workers are often criticised by the (mostly foreign) managers as we know both from our own research and from literature (Oya, 2019: 674; Thomson, 1967: 90-93 in Oya, 2019: 675). From the perspective of the managers, the low wages of the workers can be justified by the fact that the workers are unskilled, but also by what they see as a problematic work ethic. Oya (2019: 675) stresses the importance of "social norms and cultural adaption [...] for the incorporation of women in factory work"; he strongly believes that "gendered socio-cultural 'clashes' are worth considering" (Oya, 2019: 675).

3 "The World Bank in Ethiopia": <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ethiopia/overview>.

The workers' complaints relate mainly to what they consider inadequate pay, which they agree is not enough to cover their living costs. Besides the low pay, workers complain, for example, about mistreatment and unfair treatment at work, about spoiled food and about insecurity on their way home from work (Mitta, 2019).

Feldt and Klein (2016: 109) present an interesting thesis by saying that "the mentality and culture of the workforce, which currently hampers effective industrial upgrading in terms of productivity and quality, may hold the key to catalyze social upgrading in the Ethiopian textile industry in the long run".

COVID-19 brings many new challenges to the textile factories. Due to order cancellations and safety regulations, many workers were challenged by income cuts in the two-month period of March/April (International Labour Organisation, 2020b). Internationally, 10% of workers have already been dismissed and the industry expects to be forced to dismiss another 35% in case current trends continue (Anner, 2020: 2).⁴

Looking at the phenomena of **labour turnover and absenteeism** from the perspective of organisational psychology, many different studies could be found, however, almost exclusively conducted in the Global North and in the context of skilled labour. Turnover, for example, is analysed as the final stage of a process in some studies; others identified that turnover results from different types of shocks, which can be negative, positive, or neutral. Possible moderators such as the different types of psychological contracts, the state of the psychological contract, job embeddedness, employee well-being, and organisational tenure have been analysed. Correlations between the three withdrawal behaviours lateness, absenteeism, and turnover were evaluated, which lead to the realisation that these correlations are not very strong. Furthermore, it was observed that human resource practices have an enormous impact on employee retention. In case of the Ethiopian textile industry, this should be studied extensively.

In order to understand the phenomena better in context outside of the Global North, in the context of unskilled labour and in the textile industry, studies conducted in the countries Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, Myanmar, Pakistan and Indonesia offered interesting findings. The most important factors were found to be around the payment, compensation more generally and recognition, the working conditions, human resource practices, the social image of the job, and off-the-job factors such as accommodation. Here it is important to mention that different studies confirm that human resource practices can have a positive effect on job satisfaction and organisational commitment, which would ultimately reduce absenteeism and turnover.

The literature specifically on the Ethiopian textile industry is still rare, however, some studies have been thematising the issues of labour turnover and absenteeism in some way. At Hawassa Industrial Park, for example, a study found out that "annual attrition levels in the Hawassa factories have improved but still run from 60 percent to 120 percent (the latter meaning there's more than complete turnover in just one year)" (Barrett, 2019; study from Barrett/Baumann-Pauly, 2019).

Another study found that at Shints ETP Garment PLC, the turnover rate for women between 2014 and 2016 amounted almost 90% (Hailu, 2016: 4). One major factor seems to be the dis-

4 For COVID-response in Ethiopia also see the podcast "AFRONOMICS: Responses to COVID-19 in Africa: Lessons from Ethiopia featuring Dr. Arkebe Oqubay, Senior Minister and Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia", July 13, 2020.

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/podcast/2020/07/13/afronomics-responses-to-covid-19-in-africa-lessons-from-ethiopia-featuring-dr-arkebe-oqubay-senior-minister-and-special-advisor-to-the-prime-minister-of-ethiopia>.

appointment about low wages and poor work and living conditions, which were expected to be different. Furthermore, lack of prospects of promotion, job security, transport and affordable accommodation, relationship with supervisor/manager, training, recognition of job and unawareness of contract details (both, in terms of obligations and rights) played important roles.

Due to the lack of research on the phenomena of labour turnover and absenteeism in the Ethiopian textile and garment industry, extensive research in that field is necessary to further strengthen the knowledge on this issue which can contribute to greater productivity in the sector and help Ethiopia steer towards its goal of becoming an industrialised and middle-income rated country.

3. ETHIOPIA

To better understand and provide more comprehensive insights into turnover in the textile industry of Ethiopia, the following chapter starts with some basic information on the country and afterwards puts a strong emphasis on the issues of globalisation, industrialisation, and development in Ethiopia, which is interconnected with the textile sector, as it is part of the broader idea of making Ethiopia an industrialised state. The chapter then briefly highlights the role of women historically and in the process of development and modernisation.

OVERVIEW

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is a landlocked country located at the Horn of Africa with a population size of approximately 109 million (Francis, 2017: 3; The World Bank, 2018). It is the oldest state on the African continent as it was never colonised (Walz, 2019: 31). About 80% of the population live in rural areas and almost 55% of the population is under 25 years old (Francis, 2017: 3). The Ethiopian government recognises more than 80 different ethnic groups; however, Amhara, Oromo, Somali, and Tigray amount to around 75% of the population; Amharic is the official (working) language (Francis, 2017: 3). In 2017, agriculture still dominated the Ethiopian economy with a share of 47%, followed by services which made up about 42% and manufacturing with almost 11% (Francis, 2017: 4). Making up 34% of the GDP in 2019, agriculture remains the dominant economic sector in Ethiopia (Louhichi et al., 2019: 8). “In recent years, this traditional sector has accounted for about 68% of employment and 34% of GDP, but is making up a decreasing fraction of output over time” (Louhichi et al., 2019: 8).

GLOBALISATION, INDUSTRIALISATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Globalisation’s influence on increasing levels of economic integration is reported by different actors (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 7). Due to international division of labour, low-skilled and low-paid workers in countries of the Global South were enabled to become part of supply chains of companies as they outsource parts of their production (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 7). Many countries of the Global South were able to undergo economic or structural transformation thanks to being integrated into the global economy (Roberts/Tybout, 1996 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 7). Oqubay (2015 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 7), special advisor to the Ethiopian Prime Minister, states that the lack of evidence of low-income countries’ rising living standards without manufacturing supports the thesis that industrialisation is a key element for the transformation into a middle-income country. As catching-up with more advanced and developed countries economically is a challenging process, Fukunishi and Yamagata analyse “the means through which the garment industry contributes to industrialization, globalization, poverty reduction, the empowerment of undereducated workers, in particular female laborers, and shared growth in contemporary low-income countries” (2014: 2 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 8). They (Fukunishi/Yamagata, 2014 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 8) further argue that many Asian countries, which took the road of entering the global textile market, have been able to further shift from garment to technical equipment and service. Also, Staritz and Whitfield regard the apparel sector as “a first step for low-income countries embarking on an export-oriented industrialization process” (2019: 705). Countries in Asia seemed to have aimed for strategic and more gradual integration with the world economy instead of pushing close integration in terms of free trade (Singh, 2012 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 9).

“More than fifteen years into a period of sustained and rapid economic growth, Ethiopia has continued to attract international attention for its achievements and for pursuing a homegrown development strategy, with an active industrial policy at its centre.”

Arkebe Oqubay, Minister and Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia, (2019: 605)

In the Ethiopian context, industrialisation has come far in recent years but still has a long way to go (Manyazewal/Shiferaw, 2019). Industrialisation is here seen as a post-World War II phenomenon, mainly influenced by the Imperial Era (1950–1974), the Derg Era (1975–91), which was the communist military regime, and the after-1991 era introduced by the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (Oqubay, 2019: 607–623).

According to the World Bank (2020), “Ethiopia’s economy experienced strong, broad-based growth averaging 9.8% a year from 2008/09 to 2018/19, Ethiopia’s real gross domestic product (GDP) growth rebounded to 9% in 2018/19”.⁵ However, the success of the economic development is set back by steady population growth. On top of this, the Ethiopian Economics Association estimates that the COVID-19 pandemic might slow down the economic growth by up to ten percent. Depending on the pandemic duration, poverty in the country could increase significantly (Yevondwossen, 2020).

The long-term vision of the Ethiopian government is “to build an economy which has a modern and productive agricultural sector with enhanced technology and an industrial sector that play a leading role in the economy to sustain economic development and, secure social justice and increase per capita income of citizens so that it reaches the level of middle income countries” (The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2010). The Ethiopian EPRDF, in 1991, right after the communist era ended, targeted agriculture as the main industry, however, over time shifted the focus to the development of the manufacturing sector (Oqubay, 2019: 605). The Ethiopian agricultural sector still accounts for a large share of the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) although it was recently overtaken by the services sector as the new largest contributor (The World Bank, 2017: 7). However, figures vary here. The agricultural sector is also supposed to develop and increase productivity, which, ultimately, should lead to a decline in poverty and, thus, will enable those working in the sector to consume more, which in turn would bolster the manufacturing sector (Gebre-Egziabher/Yemeru, 2019). It continues to be crucial to diversify the economy, which the government has been aiming for by establishing and furthering the manufacturing sector including the textile industry (Manyazewal/Shiferaw, 2019).

Historically, after a communist regime took over the country’s leadership in 1974, the economic growth almost came to a standstill (Manyazewal/Shiferaw, 2019). However, after the EPRDF toppled the regime and came into power, they aimed to enhance the country’s economic development through specific investments (Oqubay, 2019). Since then, the country’s unemployment and underemployment rates have declined overall (The World Bank, 2016: 33). Similarly, poverty rates have significantly declined in recent years and inequality is remarkably low, nevertheless, economic development in Ethiopia is not inclusive as stated by the World Bank, meaning that certain groups of people are excluded from it (2017 in Renkel, 2019: 8). This is also explained by an interviewee in Renkel’s master’s thesis: The Ethiopian government promotes industrial parks as they are boosting the economy, however, wealth is accessible only to a limited amount of people (2019: 21). Unemployment rates in, for instance, Addis Ababa remain high and Ethiopia, in general, continues to be one of the least urbanised countries in the world (Gebre-Egziabher/Yemeru, 2019). One reason for this condition is the lending structure which favours large firms even though most of the manufacturing firms are rather small and the policy fails to properly address them (Manyazewal/Shiferaw, 2019). Another reason is persisting high import rates which harm the local industry (Manyazewal/Shiferaw, 2019). Hence, “[d]espite rapid growth, structural transformation of the economy remains Ethiopia’s central challenge” (Oqubay, 2019: 607).

5 “The World Bank in Ethiopia”: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ethiopia/overview>.

WOMEN IN ETHIOPIA

Historically, women have always held significant positions, for instance, in the Middle Ages, women played a significant role economically, socially, and culturally even though they did not have access to resources such as education (Semela et al., 2019: 233). During a civil war in the Era of the Princes, eight women played a crucial role and, in 1898, the wife of the Emperor Minilik II had an influential role due to her political and military leadership, which eventually let Ethiopia win against Italian occupation (Semela et al., 2019: 234). In 1931, the first school opened its doors to female students, however, only taking in girls from a privileged background and the education they got perpetuated traditional gender roles (Semela et al., 2019). In the 1950s, the University College of Addis Ababa brought forward stronger and more organised resistance against male domination (Semela et al., 2019: 235). Access to education was expanded, which led to an increase in female enrolment (Semela et al., 2019). In 1957, Senedu Gebru became first elected women in parliament and was re-elected four years later (Semela et al., 2019: 236). During the Communist Military Era between 1974 and 1991, the Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Association was established which, unfortunately, failed to free Ethiopian women from their multiple forms of oppression and rather aimed at supporting the regime (Semela et al., 2019: 239). From 1991, with the start of the transition period to a democratic state, feminist movements were able to arise via civil society activism until "the government enacted a restrictive legislation that stifled women's organizations" (Semela et al., 2019: 242). Nevertheless, women took over leadership positions in both the EPRDF and the opposition parties and the Ministry of Women Affairs (Semela et al., 2019).

There are profoundly unequal power relations between men and women in the society of Ethiopia (Semela et al., 2019). In 2018, approximately 80% of the total population lived in rural areas where women both play a significant role and are particularly discriminated (Semela et al., 2019). In 2017, Ethiopia ranked below the African average when looking at the Gender Inequality Index, which stood at 0.502 (Semela et al., 2019). According to Semela and colleagues (2019), women in Ethiopia must be seen equally as contributors to and beneficiaries of the socio-economic development of the country.

To sum it up, Ethiopia has taken a road towards industrialisation and development and, generally, has good preconditions to become an economic hub, specifically in the textile sector, however, the government and actors within the (economic) branch need to take action and adapt policies to better promote this transformation. Women, who make up 80% of the workers, and their needs must be taken into consideration.

4. ETHIOPIA'S TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Even though 80 years ago, the first textile mill was established in Ethiopia and besides the country's tradition in textile and clothing, the sector had been given weak attention to until recently (Böll, 2018 & RENEW 2018 in Walz, 2019: 32; Beatrice et al. 2019). This chapter provides an introductory overview of the Ethiopian textile industry historically and economically, then offers brief insights on the workforce employed in the industrial textile parks and their working conditions plus the respective governmental and international labour standards.

OVERVIEW

Striving for industrialisation and the classification of a lower-middle-income country, the Ethiopian government aims to turn its country into the largest manufacturing country in Africa (Barrett/Baumann-Pauly, 2019; Cepheus Research & Analytics, 2019; Salingré, 2018; ABA ROLI, 2017: 3; Khurana, 2018). According to Ethiopia's Growth and Transformation Plan II (GTP II), the country's goal is to achieve industrialisation until 2025 (Diriba et al., 2019). A study conducted by Gebremariam and Feyisa in 2019 assesses the performance of industrial parks in Ethiopia. The study is based on interviews with key informants, non-participant observation and various other sources such as reports and policy documents and focused on Eastern Industry Zone, Bole Lemi and Hawassa Industrial Parks (Gebremariam/Feyisa, 2019). The findings reveal that in the first phase of operation, the parks created 53,612 jobs and are making US\$114 Million annually (Gebremariam/Feyisa, 2019).

Even though the Ethiopian government has established all kinds of industrial parks, 57% of the active firms produce textiles and garments (Cepheus Research & Analytics, 2019). While still small in absolute terms, the textile industry is experiencing substantial growth with an average annual rate of 51% (WRC, 2018). Due to the extremely low level of wages, Ethiopia has become a relevant actor in the global textile sector and attracts not only foreign investors but also customers from Europe and the United States (Barrett/Baumann-Pauly, 2019; ABA ROLI, 2017; Diriba et al., 2019; Staritz/Whitfield, 2019: 704; Beatrice et al., 2019: 11). Moreover, low electricity and water costs and duty-free access to the market of the EU and US plus the government's proactive industrial policy played a crucial role (Staritz/Whitfield, 2019: 704). A further advantage for the investors is the provision of industrial estates for the new businesses by the Ethiopian government. These estates have their own wastewater treatment plants and provide reliable electricity. Massive factory halls are available for lease to investors (Rasche, 2018: 35).

Manufacturers and investors also turn away from Asia towards Africa because of new Western ethic and labour standards (Diriba et al., 2019). As a result of the increasing world population, the demand for textiles and clothing will grow, assuring ongoing production (Diriba et al., 2019). Most industrial parks in Ethiopia are under governmental leadership according to Cepheus Research & Analytics (2019). ABA ROLI (2017), however, argues that 50% are foreign-owned and that those also claim to provide better working conditions than local firms. 65 textile investment projects have been licensed for foreign investment (WRC, 2018). Due to the exposure to the foreign market, Ethiopian companies struggle to stay in business independently (Khurana, 2018).

“Ethiopia has launched a bold economic and social experiment by inviting the global garment industry to set up shop in the East African country.”

Barrett/Baumann-Pauly (2019: 1)

Historically, Ethiopia had been an important actor in the textile and garment sector in the 1920s already with big cotton, textiles, and the clothing sector; however, due to the nationalisation of companies as part of the socialist agenda of the government, the sector lost its competitiveness (Diriba et al., 2019). Almost a century later, in the financial year 2017/18, the sector amounted to an export value of US\$72 million and, in 2019, was expected to exceed US\$130 million (Cepheus Research & Analytics, 2019). In total, apparel exports from Ethiopia increased from US\$9 Million in 2009 to US\$68 Million in 2014 (Khurana, 2018). According to Khurana (2018), Addis Ababa can be regarded as the hub of economic advancement, however, other cities like Mekele and Hawassa are important locations, too. The parks appear to be the leading exporters with the industrial parks in Hawassa standing out (Cepheus Research & Analytics, 2019). The Hawassa Industrial Park is currently the largest in the country (Diriba et al., 2019). The emergence of the industrial parks brought an increase in employment by creating 70,000 new jobs, 24,000 of those in Hawassa only (Cepheus Research and Analytics, 2019). Barret and Baumann-Pauly (2019) as well as Caria (2019) state that low efficiency has been an ongoing issue through, wherefore low wages, for instance, are being justified from the perspective of the companies. However, low wages in turn reinforce low efficiency and this also affects the quality of the end-product. The government currently tackles this challenge by, for instance, establishing fashion and textile institutes and TVET centers to skill the labour in low and middle managerial levels (Khurana, 2018). Hence, in an effort to make the sector sustainable over the coming years, this issue needs to be solved.

WORK FORCE

The Ethiopian textile sector is mainly sustained by women; in March 2019, 80% of all workers were female (Cepheus Research & Analytics, 2019: 2). Those women mostly come from rural areas and often struggle to adapt to the new work cultures and work ethic, which differ significantly from what they know from home (Oya, 2019). It has been argued that many of the female textile workers do not consider themselves as urban workers nor do they strive to become ones as, from the start, the occupation in the textile sector is seen as a stepping stone rather than long-term employment (Peou, 2016 & Tran, 2013 in Oya, 2019: 675).

Gebremariam and Feyisa (2019) found that there is a supply gap of skilled and well-trained labour force. Even though there should be an excessive pool of young female workers, transportation and living conditions often do not allow these women to enter or maintain employment in the industrial parks (Oya, 2019). They rent small rooms with shared kitchen and bathroom; furthermore, it seems to be no rarity that personal belongings or food are stolen (Oya, 2019). Housing in the economic centres is expensive which clashes with expectations raised in the recruiting process (Oya, 2019). Hence, researchers advised the industry and the government, in cooperation with the private sector, to take measurements towards providing affordable rental residential houses (Gebremariam/Feyisa, 2019). The issue of housing will be elaborated on in more detail in chapter 4. Moreover, most workers are illiterate and have insufficient school education (Oya, 2019). Despite organised transport by the firms, many workers have to walk the last miles to the workplace (Oya, 2019).

According to Jogo (2019: 64), workers in, for instance, the Hawassa Industrial Park are only selected if they are unmarried and do not have children. This is not only discriminatory but can also be seen as a factor contributing to voluntary employee turnover as, from the start, a temporary feeling is created (Jogo, 2019: 64).

INDUSTRIAL PARKS DEVELOPED BY INDUSTRIAL PARKS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (IPDC)

Name of Industrial Park	Location of Industrial Parks	Eligible Sectors	Land in hectare	Total Number of shades	Sizes in M2 and Number Of Sheds				Status
					11 000	5500	3000	Other type	
Bole lemi – I	Addis Ababa	Apparel & textile	172	20	10	10	-	-	• Operational
Bole lemi – II (2 sheds and serviced land)	Addis Ababa	Apparel & textile	181	2	1	1	-	-	• Ready for sublease • Service land available
Kilinto	Addis Ababa	Pharmaceutical Hub	279	-	Serviced land			-	• Ready for sublease • Service land available
Hawassa	Hawassa	Textile & Garment	140	52	17	322	-	3 (total area 39,680 m2)	• operational
Adama	Adama	Garment, Textile & Machinery,	120	19	6	9	4	-	• operational
Dire-Dawa	Dire-Dawa	Garment, Apparel and Textile	150	15	5	6	4	-	• operational • Factory sheds available
Mekelle	Mekelle	Apparel & Textile	75	15	5	6	4	-	• operational • Factory sheds available
Kombolcha	Kombolcha	Apparel & Textile	75	9	2	7	-	-	• operational
Jimma	Jimma	Apparel & Textile	75	9	-	4	5	-	• operational
Bahir-Dar	Bahir-Dar	Garment & Apparel	75	8	-	8	-	-	• operational
Debre-Birhan	Debre-Berhan	Garment & Apparel	100	8	-	8	-	-	• operational • Factory sheds available
Addis Industry Village	Addis Ababa	Garment & Apparel	8.79	Different buildings					• operational
ICT Park	Addis Ababa	ICT	200	Serviced land and Different buildings					• operational
Semera	Semera	Multipurpose	50	8	-	8	-	-	• Under construction

WORK CULTURE / WORK ETHICS

As we know from both literature (Oya, 2019: 674; Thomson, 1967: 90-93 in Oya, 2019: 675) and research already conducted in Ethiopia, managers often complain about the workers' "mindset" or their work culture or work ethics. This chapter provides insights into how through industrialisation and social change work cultures need to change, too, and outlines that this is a phenomenon, which takes time. Managers complain about aspects such as coming to work late and not understanding incentives (Oya, 2019: 674). Oya explains that history has proven that "building an industrial workforce is as much about social and cultural change as it is about economic" (2019: 674). Kohli (2004: 370 in Oya, 2019: 674) argues that work cultures derive from and are shaped by economic and political changes.

To understand the different mentality and work culture, it is helpful to take a look at traditional agrarian work culture which has been practised for centuries and even today is present in rural areas (Baye, 2017: 420). It can be seen as having a "long established cultural and religious foundation" (Baye, 2017: 421). Agriculture in the Ethiopian traditional sense is ox-drawn and allows for the preservation of the essence and substance of the Ethiopian civilisation (Huffnagel, 1961 in Baye, 2017: 421). According to an interviewee, "[t]he importance of farming lies in the fact that it enables one not to depend on others" (Baye, 2017: 421). Despite of this autonomy of subsistence-based agrarian life, many women wish for emancipation from their rural life world. However, at the same time, the industrial system stands for a new kind of dependency: wage dependency.

Peasants can produce everything that they and their families need to survive, they are even able to produce their home-made clothes (Baye, 2017: 421). Interestingly, even in ancient times, being a peasant was not a reputable station but was rather seen as one undeserving of respect (Baye, 2017: 423). Baye (2017: 424) states that as a peasant on Saturday and Sunday you do not move which intensely clashes with the working schedules and hours in most firms, which is described in more detail within the next sub-chapter. Furthermore, it is expected for families to attend at least two religious festivals a month on average (Baye, 2017: 425). This presents another aspect that goes against what is expected of people who are part of an industrial labour force.

This problem is further addressed in an article published by the GIZ magazine *Akzente*. While highlighting the importance of the enormous job creation through the industry, the article also mentions some of the problems, including the problematic clash of the two realities of agrarian and industrialised life: "They bring experienced managers with them when they set up in Ethiopia, but many of the people they employ locally have never even seen the inside of a factory: they are typically from agricultural worker families, and many find training in a factory environment difficult" (Rasche, 2018: 37).

WORKING CONDITIONS, WAGES AND LABOUR RIGHTS / LABOUR PRACTICES

Even though both local and global actors in the textile sector promised to keep certain labour standards, labour standards are poor and often not even met (Salingré, 2018; Francis, 2017; WRC, 2018; ABA ROLI, 2017; Mitta, 2019; Jegu, 2019). Salingré (2018) states that Ethiopia's will to become a middle-income country leads leaders to accept that labour and human rights are severely suffering from it; this, again, particularly affects women. There is only one labour union umbrella organisation called Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions (CETU), which is formally aligned with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) (Salingré, 2018). CETU is first and foremost supposed to

represent the interests of workers on a national and international level, promote ethic conduct, coordinate responsibilities between the unions, and also represent the union members publicly (UNESCO, 2012 & ITUC, 2017 in Salingré, 2018: 36; Francis, 2017).

The Industrial Federation of Ethiopian Textile, Leather and Garment Worker Trade Union (IFETLGWTU) is one of the nine branch associations under the CETU and is part of the international IndustriALL Global Union Federation (Francis, 2017). The IFETLGWTU covers 37 firms, which represent up to approximately only 25% of all firms in this sector and its financial means are insufficient (Francis, 2017).

Furthermore, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), which is part of the United Nations (UN) sets standards to create global justice in people and labour rights all over the world, however, Ethiopia failed to sign two of those conventions, which would have enhanced working conditions for textile workers in Ethiopia as well (Salingré, 2018: 39). Still, according to Francis (2017), Ethiopia adopted the following ILO main conventions:

1. Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention,
2. Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention,
3. Forced Labour Convention,
4. Abolition of Forced Labour Convention,
5. Minimum Age Convention,
6. Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention,
7. Equal Remuneration Convention,
8. Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention.

The government particularly committed itself to the fight against child labour, discrimination, to enhancing work safety (while this excludes measurements fighting sexual harassment at the workplace), restricting working hours to a maximum of 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week, introduction of paid medical leave, paid maternity leave and paid leave of 14 days a year, paying fair wages to secure a living standard, and allowing collective bargaining (ILO, 2013 & Francis, 2017 in Salingré, 2018).

According to surveys, it is a common view that neither forced labour nor child labour is carried out in the formal textile industry (Francis, 2017). Excessive overtime, however, is no rarity and often leads to a higher risk of accidents (Francis, 2017). In general, even though Ethiopia internationally committed itself to ensuring worker protection, on a national level there are still limited regulations by the government (ILO, 2013 in Salingré, 2018). Theoretically, Ethiopia offers labourers access to unions without having to fear consequences when in reality certain groups are excluded from this right; moreover, getting strikes approved is not easy and the CETU lacks necessary resources (Salingré, 2018). If at all, collective bargaining happens mostly on company levels, which does not allow for comprehensive governmental regulations (Salingré, 2018). According to Salingré (2018), women are particularly discriminated in the sector. Even though de jure, paid maternity leave should be provided by employers, after bearing a child, there are little to no opportunities for childcare, hence, female workers see themselves forced to quit the job (Francis, 2017). Nevertheless, the promise of providing paid leave (maternity, sick, general) seems to be kept to a great extent (Abera et al., 2014 in Salingré, 2018).

The Workers Rights Consortium (WRC) (2018) looked closer at the labour standards, which Western brands such as H&M have committed themselves to in the Ethiopian textile industry. Buyers confirmed to, “as a matter of both corporate policy and public promises [...] protect the rights of workers in their factories” (WRC, 2018). PVH, one of Ethiopia’s textile industry’s most significant buyers, state that they want to “show the world there is no conflict between companies doing well and companies doing right by the people, the community, and the environment they operate within” (WRC, 2018: 2).

The WRC’s investigations (2018) uncovered several labour rights cases of abuse in all four analysed garment factories. Some of them were wage deductions as punishment for minor disciplinary infractions, supervisors using degrading words towards workers, discrimination of pregnant workers, punishment for workers who collapsed during their shift due to overwork and other factors plus forced overtime; all of those abuses can be seen as violations of the international and national law and buyer codes of conduct for suppliers (WRC, 2018: 5). The WRC (2018) concludes that H&M, PVH and co. either failed to identify or just decided to ignore those violations. Thus, there is no doubt that Western brands fail to fulfil their promises and, therefore, contribute to the perpetuation of low labour standards in the sector.

In the context of wages, Ethiopia has shown the lowest wages ever documented by the WRC (2018: 16) in recent years. Based on interviews with 45 garment workers from 4 factories, WRC (2018: 16) found “that workers’ base pay was as low as US\$0.12 per hour while even the average hourly wage only stood at US\$0.18”. This clashes with the calculated living wage of US\$0.54 and US\$0.93 per hour (WRC, 2018: 3). “The highest wages we found were a base wage of US\$0.24 per hour, with peak take-home pay (including overtime, bonuses, other allowances, and payroll deductions) of US\$2.52 per day.”

A study of Beatrice et al. (2019: 11) notes that “[w]ages in Ethiopia’s T&G industry are low even compared to Bangladesh. The wage paid for an operator is currently approx. \$50,00 per month and can range from a starting salary of \$32,00 to \$122,00 for the most experienced operator. The ILO considers ETB3500 (\$110) / month the minimum living standard.” The reported amount for the worker’s wage includes bonuses that are mostly related to productivity and work attendance. Companies usually provide additional benefits such as free transportation and free meals; sometimes also child care and subsidised on-site housing and health care services (Beatrice et al., 2019: 11). However, the study concludes that “most employees struggle to get by, let alone save any money or send cash home to their families in the countryside” (Beatrice et al., 2019: 11).



A study by Barrett/Baumann-Pauly (2019: 4) also confirms that workers in the textile and garment industry receive extremely low wages since there is no mandatory minimum wage for the private sector in Ethiopia. The study, that was conducted at Hawassa Industrial Park, states that entry-level workers are paid an average basic wage of US\$26 a month, which is only 40% of the average per capita income in the country and which does not cover the worker’s basic needs.

A Baseline Report for the ILO Programme “Siraye: Advancing decent work and inclusive industrialization in Ethiopia” (Abebe et al. 2019: 1 and 7) presents information based on actual self-reported earnings from workers. According to the report, “earning levels tend to vary depending on the skill level of workers.” “The monthly basic average salary of the sampled workers surveys was found to be 1,789 Ethiopian Birr (ETB) per month, before tax.” The report points out the importance to differentiate between the base pay of workers (gross and net), and additional bonuses and in-kind incentives that are common in the industry. The study provides valuable insights “into working conditions and business environment in a subset of the garment and textile industry in Ethiopia, as perceived by workers and managers, in 135

factories in a four-month time period in 2019.” It also identified a “substantial difference in monthly total net income earned by female and male workers: male workers earn on average ETB1,002 more (or 66% higher) income than female workers earn.” According to the report, “is not clear, however, whether the gender earning difference is because of productivity and skill differences and/or because of gender discrimination. Male workers tend to have relatively higher tenure at the factory and have higher educational levels than female workers.”

According to the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative (ABA ROLI) (2017), Ethiopia still suffers from trafficking in persons (TIP), which the country is fighting through entering (free) trade agreements, which in return obliged them to anchor human rights practices in their constitution and make sure to practically apply them. On a governmental level, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs equally advocates for fair wages; this, however, seems problematic to realise as economic growth and industrialisation are prioritised by the government (ABA ROLI, 2017). Another advocator in the working conditions for textile workers is the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC), which “investigates human rights violations and produces thematic report” (ABA ROLI, 2017: 11).

Mitta (2019) took a closer look at labour rights and working conditions in the Hawassa Industrial Park in a working paper, which is of particular interest for understanding labour turnover in the same park. The Hawassa Industrial Park specialises in garment production and employed nearly 30,000 workers in 2020. The data for Mitta’s study (2019) were collected from six different factories in the park. Generally, it was found that employees explained that they initially thought the working conditions were much better than what they found; one employee even said that he felt workers in the park are “enslaved in our own country [Ethiopia]” (Mitta, 2019: 45f).

The lack of minimum wage regulations by the government for workers in the private sector along with the government’s failure⁶ to sign the ILO’s Minimum Wage Convention have created a situation in which the wages of employees are so low that they cannot sustain their basic needs (Mitta, 2019: 46; United Nations Development Programme, 2015 in Francis, 2017: 5). A daily wage of about US\$1 and a monthly wage of US\$23.53 plus a meal allowance of US\$9.41 was reported (Mitta, 2019: 47). The extremely low level of wages clashes with the relatively expensive living costs for housing, food, and other basic needs in the cities. To illustrate this, interviewees reported that their payment suffices for about two weeks while the other half of the month, they “suffer” (Mitta, 2019: 47). An employee’s wage is further cut whenever workers are absent or late – irrespective of the reasons for this (Mitta, 2019: 47). One respondent stated that employers should be thanking the government as it allows them to get labour almost for free (Mitta, 2019: 47). Upon demanding higher wages, employees are told by the management to raise their efficiency (Mitta, 2019: 48). Concerning overtime payment, some respondents reported not being paid at all, others stated that when forced to work overtime, the hourly wage is US\$0.14 (Mitta, 2019: 49).

Working hours, in general, should be ILO-regulated with an eight-hour day and a maximum of 48 hours a week, however, according to the findings of Mitta’s study (2019: 48), only one of the surveyed factories abided by those regulations. In other factories, it was described that workers were made to work on their rest day and that usually they were working half an hour to an hour longer every day (Mitta, 2019: 49). Furthermore, if employees make faults, they are forced to stay longer to correct them – in both mentioned cases overtime is not paid according

6 According to representatives of the Industrial Parks Development Corporation Ethiopia (IPDC), the Ethiopian government wishes fair wages for the workers, but fears losing investors and the opportunity of industrial development if a minimum wage is introduced (statement of representatives of the IPDC in an interview conducted by Fink/Gronemeyer in February 2020, ongoing research).

to respondents (Mitta, 2019: 49). According to the Article 68 (b) of the Labour Proclamation No. 377/2003, night-shift work must be paid with a rate of one and a half of the ordinary hourly wage (Federal Negarit Gazeta, 2004: 2471 in Mitta, 2019: 49), however, was reported to not be done in the reported cases (Mitta, 2019: 49).

Regarding safety issues, workers complain about the lack of security especially for women but also for men during night-shifts as there have been a significant number of reported robberies and rapes while the actual figure is expected to be even higher as women seem to be reluctant to report and at the same time are not aware of the fact that their employer is responsible for ensuring safety for its workers (Mitta, 2019: 50). Furthermore, it seems to not be uncommon for employees to faint due to the strenuous workload and nutrient-poor foods (Mitta, 2019: 50). Moreover, according to Mitta, the water and food, which is offered to employees during lunch are contaminated and, present a danger to the employees' health (Mitta, 2019: 50). What seems to be no issue in the context of the textile sector in Ethiopia is general safety issues regarding the workplace in infrastructural terms (Mitta, 2019: 51).

As for contract policies, blue-collar workers receive a permanent employment contract after 45 days of training depending on their level of efficiency, which makes workers in training work like "slaves" (Mitta, 2019: 51). In the case of illiteracy, the contract's information is communicated verbally by the human resource departments (Mitta, 2019: 51). The contract does not provide any policy on wage increments, which leaves the employee in a precarious situation (Mitta, 2019: 51f). Instead of increasing wages, efficiency allowances can be added to the monthly wage (Mitta, 2019: 52).

Blue-collar workers are moreover much more vulnerable to mistreatments by the managers and supervisors; interviewees reported being disrespected by foreign production managers, being insulted "using words like 'idiot' or 'stupid'" (Mitta, 2019: 52). They are shouted at and it seems to be not uncommon to see female workers crying at the workplace due to feeling humiliated and demoralised (Mitta, 2019: 52). Further, female workers are taken advantage of sexually in exchange for allowances (Mitta, 2019: 53). It was criticised that the government does not offer proper supervision of the managers (Mitta, 2019: 53).

Mulubiran (2016: 22) pointed out a weakness of Article 26 (1) of the Labour Proclamation No. 377/2003 as it "allows random dismissal and termination of contracts in cases of quarrel at workplaces, absenteeism without good cause, and workers' manifestation of loss of capacity" (Mitta, 2019: 53). Workers are hence being fired for simple disagreements with managers or for raising their voice when it comes to mistreatments or wages, thus, work security is non-existent for blue-collar workers at the factories (Mitta, 2019: 53f). It is further noted that human resource managers are afraid of managers themselves, which leads to them being partial towards the side of the managers rather than supporting the employees (Mitta, 2019: 54).

Even though the right to freedom of association and bargaining collectively exists on paper at Hawassa Industrial Park, it has been "under attack both by the employers and the state in the HIP [Hawassa Industrial Park]" (Mitta, 2019: 54). Workers associations seem to be non-existent in all studied factories and, according to respondents, there has been no attempt to organise themselves among workers in the park. Meanwhile, respondents also make it clear that the right to founding workers associations seems to only exist on paper (Mitta, 2019: 55f; Francis, 2017: 4). Workers do not have options of collective bargaining in the context of wages, for instance (Mitta, 2019: 58). Strikes happened only in the case of late payments, which ceased the moment workers received their payment (Mitta, 2019: 59).

In a master's thesis from 2019, Jego particularly highlights the housing conditions of industrial workers at Hawassa Industrial Park. Two different rental options operational workers of

the park make use of were examined: renting in the Adis Ketema area and Dato Odahe area (Jego, 2019: 61). The residences of Adis Ketema were constructed by the Industrial Park Development Corporation (IPDC) at Hawassa Industrial Park, Hawassa city administration and Hawassa residents who own a plot and are willing to provide rental shared housing for factory workers (Jego, 2019: 61). 536 rental rooms were built in total, all of them with a size of 12 square meters and meant to be shared by four people (Jego, 2019: 61). The room costs ETB1,000 monthly, which is divided by four (Jego, 2019: 62). This accounts for 38% of their monthly income and workers find it too expensive (Jego, 2019: 62). Electricity for a light source and shared toilets are available, however, infrastructure problems were noted when it comes to shower facilities, cooking areas, and the waste disposal system (Jego, 2019: 61). Furthermore, sharing such limited space with three other people creates overcrowding and privacy is not possible; this is particularly uncomfortable when residents do not know each other, which often is the case in those accommodations (Jego, 2019). Many residents reported that at times roommates steal from them and the fear that someone leaves the room and the remaining three roommates will have to cover the rent for them is ever-present (Jego, 2019: 61). Another social factor is that residents reported feeling unsafe around their homes as robberies have been increasing on the way from the bus stop to the residence (Jego, 2019: 63). Furthermore, due to the work shifts, workers of the industrial park are less likely to engage with house owners or the neighbourhood in general, hence, they lose social interaction (Jego, 2019: 63). Due to these circumstances, workers prefer to rent a space with a lower material standard but where they can stay together with friends (Jego, 2019: 63). On top of the physical, economic, and social conditions, the rooms are located in an area where there is no good access to services and markets to buy food at affordable prices (Jego, 2019: 62).

The second studied residences were located in the Dato Odahe area and were characterised by unfinished construction; they had good roofing conditions, medium doors and windows condition, and poor floor conditions (Jego, 2019: 61). Finishing materials were mostly absent (Jego, 2019: 61). The rent prices are lower than in the first location, however, accounted for up to a maximum of 42% of the resident's total income (Jego, 2019: 62). The rooms are shared by two or three workers (Jego, 2019: 64). As workers can choose with whom they want to share a house with, social interaction was better and residents felt more secure here compared to the accommodation in the Adis Ketema area (Jego, 2019: 64). The location, moreover, offered better access to the local market and food can be bought for affordable prices (Jego, 2019: 64).

As the living conditions described above could be one factor for high turnover rates in the textile industry in Hawassa and, thus, endanger the economic success of the industrialisation plans of the Ethiopian government, some of Jego's (2019) key recommendations to improve workers' living situations will be mentioned in the following. Generally, as 60,000 employees are expected to work at Hawassa Industrial Park once it runs at full capacity, urban density and housing facilities to cater for their needs must be planned carefully in cooperation between the park and the government (Jego, 2019: 68). Jego explains:

"There should be institutional set up for proper planning of housing for Hawassa Industrial park with well-coordinated efforts between the city, the Industry park and local authorities. Involving the private sector in housing provision is a creative solution, however, this should be comprehensively considered social dimension of housing condition including the integration of IP [industrial park] workers with local people" (Jego, 2019: 68).

Workers' security, affordable shopping options, and appropriate service delivery should be ensured (Jego, 2019). Hawassa Industrial Park is furthermore urged to provide after-hour resting

space to its employees so that they can go home after the peak hours where criminality around their houses is highest (Jego, 2019: 70).

In a working paper from January 2020, Grant et al. present findings of their recent research into the shelter challenges faced by low-income and vulnerable groups in Hawassa. The paper provides policy recommendations for relevant stakeholders (government, local communities, business, and donor community).

An interesting study was conducted by Feldt and Klein in 2016 who, in the context of their master's thesis, elaborated on the concept of social upgrading, its role in the Ethiopian textile industry, and analysed how different actors influence social upgrading in the textile industry of Ethiopia, looking at public, private, and civil society actors. Social upgrading is defined as "the process of improvement in the rights and entitlements of workers as social actors, which enhance the quality of their employment" (Barrientos et al., 2011: 324 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 30). There are two main aspects: measurable standards (regards workers' well-being including "working hours, social protection and wage levels" (Barrientos et al., 2011 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 30)) and enabling rights including "freedom of association, right to collective bargaining, non-discrimination, voice and empowerment" (Barrientos et al., 2011 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 30). Regulations for promoted social upgrading originated from different actors on several institutional levels (Mayer/Pickles, 2010 & Barrientos et al., 2011 in Feldt/Klein, 2016: 30).

"The cultural pressures coming from workers require better working conditions, while price pressures on manufacturers require industrial upgrading in the value chain. The result of the colliding pressures seems to push manufacturers to provide working conditions that workers can accept."

Feld/Klein (2016: 78)

They found that "measurable standards for workers in the Ethiopian textile industry are successfully being targeted" (Feldt/Klein, 2016: III). It was further found that improvements in measurable standards occur due to both the vertical governance by leading firms and the "deeply enrooted cultural features such as pride and lack of industrial work mentality" (Feldt/Klein, 2016: III). Hence, "the workforce culture seems to be the catalyst of what may be considered the greatest opportunity for social upgrading" (Feldt/Klein, 2016: III). This is of particular interest as it sheds light on the problematic work mentality, as stated by managers of the industrial parks, from a different and positive perspective. Feldt and Klein (2016: 78) found that the Ethiopian workforce facilitates social upgrading in the way that when employers want to enhance productivity they have to offer better working conditions to their employees, which, in return, gets them more engaged. The study's findings regarding improving working conditions and promoting social upgrading, which may ultimately lead to the reduction of absenteeism and turnover, will be elaborated on more in chapter 7.

Concluding this chapter, it must be noted that the Ethiopian textile sector has been booming and is expected to continue to do so. Nevertheless, precarious working conditions, low labour standards, and severe labour rights violations cannot continue to be overlooked. Besides the severely unjust exploitation, which is happening in the sector, those conditions contribute to high voluntary employee turnover which in turn negatively affects the productivity and competitiveness of the sector compared to countries in East-Asia. Conversely, "fair wages and working conditions can be translated into greater workers' productivity and lower employees' turnover" (Mitta, 2019: 1).

5. COVID-19 AND THE TEXTILE SECTOR

The ILO and WHO estimate that a number of 20 million people in Africa will lose their jobs to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic (Ammon, 2020 in Tetzlaff, 2020). In November, the “Le Monde diplomatique” also reports on the dramatic effects of the pandemic in Africa (Achcar, 2020). The crisis also negatively affects the Ethiopian textile and garment industry.

This chapter thus aims to provide a brief overview of the COVID-19 pandemic in Africa and Ethiopia and particularly how it affects the textile sector and its employees. It starts by elaborating shortly on what the pandemic and measurements taken mean to many African countries in contrast to Western countries such as the US or countries in Europe. It looks at how the lockdowns, which have been imposed in many states, might result in severe hunger pandemics and have negative effects on the people’s health and socio-economic situation. The chapter then offers insights on the cancellations in the textile industry internationally and how the textile alliance planned by the German Development Minister Gerd Müller and the German Federal Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Hubertus Heil was put on hold for now. A third sub-chapter is dedicated to outlining the current situation for the textile industry in Ethiopia. It provides an overview of the consequences of the lockdown, how jobs of textile workers are threatened due to the pandemic, and, finally, information on the situation in the Hawassa Industrial Park and the Bole Lemi Industrial Park.

COVID-19 IN AFRICA

Hunger Pandemic

In 2014, with the special initiative “EINEWELT ohne Hunger” (“ONEWORLD without Hunger”), the BMZ reinvigorated their fight against hunger and malnutrition. According to the United Nations, this goal is to be achieved by 2030. In April 2020, the German Development Minister Gerd Müller, just like Beasley (2020), warns that the COVID-19 virus could be followed by a “hunger pandemic” in Africa. Those who do nothing, he said, are partly to blame. He stresses that COVID-19 threatens the UN goals and might result in a catastrophe, hence, decisive counter measurements must be taken immediately.

Many people in Africa are dying not from the virus but from the hunger that the virus creates. The reasons for the hunger pandemic are curfews that prevent people from cultivating fields or food from being delivered. Day labourers, in particular, are in a difficult situation: they cannot earn money. Prices in parts of Africa have risen to their highest level since 2008. The minister fears that this trend could continue. According to Müller, the Sahel zone is at particular risk: “There is famine and unrest there. This will lead to civil wars and uncontrollable refugee movements. This will also affect the EU” (Müller in Schwarte, 2020).

Increase in Tuberculosis

Further consequences of the pandemic are expected, for instance, a significant increase in tuberculosis in connection with Covid-19. According to the head of global partnership to end tuberculosis (TB), millions more people are expected to contract the disease as cases go undiagnosed and untreated due to COVID-19 restrictions (Cascais, 2020). The estimated figure stands at up to 6.3 million more people than expected which sets back efforts to end TB by

five to eight years. The fear is that there will be a roll-back to 2013 TB numbers and 1.4 million people might die due to Corona lockdown restrictions. Half a billion people would need to be vaccinated against TB by 2027, but there is no vaccine for adults. Dr Lucica Ditiu, executive director of the Stop TB Partnership, explains how everyone's interest shifts to developing a vaccine for COVID-19 while other much older diseases seem to be disregarded and emphasises that the world is still in urgent need of vaccination for HIV, Malaria, and TB (Ford, 2020). For the textile industry in Ethiopia and the phenomenon of turnover, this could mean that the number of TB patients will increase again and, hence, is likely to diminish the workforce in the affected countries.

Africa's Lockdown Dilemma

Imposing a lockdown as a reaction to the COVID-19 outbreak, which many African governments have done, results in different consequences for the countries than it did in Europe or the US. Kenya, as an example, decided to impose a strict lockdown for the capital Nairobi and parts of the coast. Kenya also imposed a night-time curfew and other restrictions. Cilliers from the Institute for Security Studies in Pretoria marks that lockdowns are unenforceable and unsustainable in most countries of the African continent because they result in citizens having to decide whether to starve or to get sick. It further creates severe problems for people who stay together with many in confined spaces ("Starve or Get Sick", 2020). Lockdowns moreover resulted in heavy unrest in countries such as South Africa and Kenya. A South African community leader says in a viral clip, "Mr President we are in the middle of a food crisis. It's war out here" (Gant, 2020). In Kenya, the extreme lockdown seems to be deadlier than the actual disease itself (Ombuor/Bearak, 2020). Thus, Cilliers calls for unique solutions for African countries ("Starve or Get Sick", 2020).

Retrospect on the First Wave

Though the scenarios for the African continent and the impact COVID-19 will have on it were expected to result in catastrophic levels, looking back at the first wave, it can already be noted that the COVID-19 virus is less deadly in most African countries compared with the Global North (Cascais, 2020). In the beginning of August, the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention had recorded the one-millionth case of COVID-19 and less than 30,000 deaths, which makes it the continent with the lowest death rate in terms of the virus (Ngumi, 2020). The most important reason for low figures can be traced back to the fact that there is an extremely low prevalence of testing in most African countries, hence, infections with the virus might go unnoticed (Ngumi, 2020). In terms of deaths, only in South Africa was a surveillance possible and the number of excess death was four times higher than natural deaths; in other African countries, however, surveillance was halted due to restrictions and the need of health workers for tracing and testing (Ngumi, 2020). Furthermore, 10% of deaths recorded on the African continent annually can be traced back to respiratory diseases with similar symptoms to those of COVID-19, thus, cases of death might not be attributed to COVID-19 (Ngumi, 2020). Though, health facilities did seem to manage relatively well compared to those, for instance, in Italy or Great Britain, which is why we can assume that there are more factors playing into the low rates of infection (Ngumi, 2020).

One very crucial factor is the proportion of young people on the continent. More than 60% of people living on the African continent are younger than 25 years old and younger people are less likely to develop severe forms of the disease (Cascais, 2020). 50% are even younger than 19 years old (Ngumi, 2020). Furthermore, the continent does have recent experience dealing with disease outbreaks, and has established the Africa Centres for Disease Control after the Ebola epidemic in West Africa. The Africa CDC aim to coordinate and improve disease outbreak responses across the continent (Ngumi, 2020). Ngumi further explains that social distancing,

hygiene regulations and tracing was promoted and ensured by community health workers, which was likely to have contributed to slowing down the infection spread. However, just like in most European countries, a second wave might be approaching in Africa as well as, in the beginning of November 2020, a rise in the cases of infection was noticed (Mwai, 2020).

THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Brands' Practices in the International Textile Industry

The COVID-19 pandemic has dramatic consequences for the textile industry worldwide. For instance, "Bangladesh has lost around \$1.5 billion (€1.4 billion), which has impacted some 1.2 million workers, according to Rubana Huq, president of Bangladesh's Garment Exporters and Manufacturers Association" (Ahmed, 2020). Many female textile workers have been laid off, mostly without continued pay, severance pay, or unemployment insurance (Schulz, 2020). Most of these people, according to Armin Paasch, a consultant for business and human rights at the Catholic relief organisation Misereor, have no savings. Poverty and hunger are the consequences for families. The situation is similar in Myanmar, Cambodia, and Pakistan. The main reason for the layoffs is mass cancellations from textile enterprises from Europe and the US. It is reported that orders, which had already been produced or even shipped were cancelled or were forced discounts onto (Schulz, 2020; Ahmed, 2020; Clean Clothes Campaign, 2020). Primark and C&A reversed that decision after a while and promised to take most of the merchandise (Schulz, 2020). Initiatives were brought up by textile enterprises and the Bangladesh government urged the European Parliament to make use of its influence to counteract these kinds of unfair mass cancellations (Wright, 2020). It is believed that due to COVID-19, labour rights in the textile industry will experience a severe setback everywhere (Schulz, 2020).

A research published by Anner, the director of the Center for Global Workers' Rights in association with the Worker Rights Consortium in October 2020, offers important findings on the impact of apparel brands' purchasing practices in times of COVID-19 on the worldwide textile industry. Their main findings concerning the affected workers in the industry are that already, 10% of workers have been dismissed by suppliers and, when current trends continue, they expect to be forced to dismiss another 35% (Anner, 2020: 2). Furthermore, 75% of suppliers had to reduce the working time of their operators (27.40% a cut of less than 10%; 24.66% a cut of 10 to 25%; 17.81% a cut of 26 to 50%; 5.48% a cut of more than 50%) (Anner, 2020: 8). Furthermore, brands follow very unethical practices not only by cancelling orders that had already been in production but also by delaying the pay of the orders for up to 120 days. On average, the delay amounts to 77 days, comparing to 43 days in pre-corona times (Anner, 2020: 2). This has devastating consequences for the workers who are dependent on their punctual monthly salary (Anner, 2020: 3).

However, Sofia Nazalya, a human rights analyst at Verisk Maplecroft, explains that because of travel restrictions, companies could not have been able to ensure ethical working practices even if they wanted to (Abdulla, 2020b).

Textile Alliance

Minister Gerd Müller initiated the Textile Alliance after the collapse of the Bangladesh-based Rana Plaza textile factory in 2013 in which 1,134 people died (Safi/Rushe, 2018). The Textile Alliance's goal was to encourage companies to cooperate in local reforms in the textile industry. The coalition agreement stipulates that national law should be drafted if voluntary corporate social responsibility is not sufficient. The EU should also lobby for legal regulation. Monitoring, Armin Paasch said, had shown that less than a fifth of German companies with

"So today, with COVID-19, I want to stress that we are not only facing a global health pandemic but also a global humanitarian catastrophe. Millions of civilians living in conflict-scarred nations, including many women and children, face being pushed to the brink of starvation, with the spectre of famine a very real and dangerous possibility."

David Beasley, UN World Food Programme (WFP) Executive Director, on 21 April 2020

over 500 employees was fulfilling their human rights due diligence obligations in accordance with the United Nations human rights standards (Schulz, 2020). The plans of Ministers Gerd Müller and Hubertus Heil for a law against exploitation in global supply chains were postponed after an objection by the Minister of Economics, Peter Altmaier who argued that the uncertain economic situation given the Corona epidemic made such a postponement necessary (Siems, 2020).

COVID-19 AND THE ETHIOPIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Especially export-oriented sectors will be heavily impacted by the COVID-19 outbreak and economic growth will be drastically reduced (Tetzlaff, 2020). In the case of the Ethiopian textile industry, which depends on exports, the pandemic imposes obstacles for its success even though Ethiopian Airlines has provided discounts on flying exports of the textile factories out of the country (“Ethiopia Secures”, 2020). Ethiopia will also suffer from economic losses in the tourism sector, which amounts to a huge amount of exports, too (Beasley, 2020). Hence, in total, Ethiopia’s aim to become an industrialised nation with middle-income status is challenged intensely.

Most recent information of COVID-19 in Ethiopia is a reported case number of 98.391 of which 1.508 have passed on so far (CoronaTracker, 2020). By June 2020, a tested number of 202,214 people with only 3,954 infections and 65 people deceased was reported (“Ethiopia Coronavirus”, 2020). It is moreover reported that “[a]ccording to officials, community health workers have screened an astonishing 40m people in 11m households, verifying their travel history and conducting routine temperature checks” (Pilling, 2020). For many Ethiopians, Corona was initially a threat from outside. Corona was called a “foreign” or “Chinese” disease. Accordingly, foreigners were repeatedly excluded from rides in minibuses and were threatened and attacked on the streets (Manek/Meckelburg, 2020: 51).

In regard to the textile and garment sector in Ethiopia, an International Labour Organisation (2020b) study found that in June, 90% of workers reported feeling safe with the safety measures taken at their workplace. Nevertheless, workers fear they will have to move back home because of severe income shocks (International Labour Organization, 2020b).

Restrictions and Consequences

Ethiopia, having a population of over 100 million, decided to close borders and schools and urged for people to practise social distancing, however, a complete lockdown has not been imposed as Ethiopian president Abiy Ahmed explains that the country, unlike developed countries, cannot enforce a lockdown because many citizens do not have homes or savings to sustain themselves throughout a period of shutdown (“Starve or Get Sick”, 2020; “Ethiopia Coronavirus”, 2020). Oqubay says the government “could not afford a lockdown that would be difficult to enforce and socially costly” (Pilling, 2020). He further stresses that most important measures in the case of Ethiopia are social distancing and hand hygiene (Pilling, 2020).

Nizar Manek and Alexander Meckelburg believe that the existing political, economic, and social dynamics are likely to accelerate significantly as a result of the Corona pandemic. Outbreaks of natural plagues and medical disease have shaken the country recently, which had already led to food shortages across the country (Manek/Meckelburg, 2020: 51). Life is characterised by great social closeness, family generations live together, food is shared, and even at the welcoming ceremony closeness and solidarity are expressed. Ethiopia’s urban poor are in a particularly dramatic situation. A street vendor points out that on a day where they do not

sell anything, they will not eat (Manek/Meckelburg, 2020). Mid-April 2020, 30,000 industrial workers were already on leave.

Threatened Jobs

The ongoing global pandemic (COVID-19) has affected the global economy tremendously with countries whose economy is very limited to a few export sectors being particularly affected. Ethiopia is among those countries whose economy is very fragile and dependent on limited export items to the biggest world markets in the US, Europe, and Asia. Among the export items, which had been gaining momentum before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in Ethiopia are apparel products that are largely exported to the US and European markets. Yet, the sector is among the highly vulnerable business areas, which are threatened by the current pandemic due to the highest drop in demand in the global market. Accordingly, reports show that jobs in the textile and apparel sector are highly threatened by the economic impact of the novel corona virus (Misikir, 2020a). The sector in Ethiopia is experiencing core job cuts not only due to the drop in demand from major suppliers in the global market but also due to the nature of the garment operational structure which increases the possibility of the spread of the novel virus among the workers.

Amid the spread of the pandemic, the ILO held a webinar with representatives of the garment and textile factories and brands on April 10, 2020, to address challenges and a concern that has been emerging since the outbreak of COVID-19. The webinar was mainly aimed at increasing the awareness of the workers in the sector and put in place preventive measures whilst still in operation (International Labour Organization, 2020a). This report further notes that some factories in the sector have taken the initiative to reduce the numbers of workers by half to ensure social distancing and provide additional buses for transportation to and from work, measuring temperature of the workers as well as making hand washing mandatory upon their entry to workplaces. These measures were also supported by the provision of sanitizers and facemasks to their employees.

However, as the global fashion brands closed down their stores in the highest hit places like the US and Europe and their demand for products went down or completely halted, manufacturers in Ethiopia were forced to close down their facilities while some others shifted their production towards much-needed personal protective types of equipment (masks) (International Labour Organization, 2020a). Nevertheless, these measures, however, have serious consequences for the workers as they have to accept heavy salary cuts; 59% of workers, for example, reported salary cuts for March and April and 44% stated that they had to start living off their savings (International Labour Organization, 2020b).

The Situation at the Hawassa Industrial Park

The negative effect of COVID-19 is very evident in the Hawassa Industrial Park (HIP). After the outbreak, almost half of the factories (ten out of 22 active factories) in the industrial park have stopped production entirely and provided three weeks of paid annual leave for their employees. According to a *The Fortune* newspaper report, the park, which exports over 90% of its products to the US and Europe, has had a significant dip in orders due to the effects of COVID-19 (Misikir, 2020b). However, the newspaper also reported that a local company named “Nasa”, which has 340 employees, has been fully operational and exporting its production to Canada (Wondemagegn, 2020). Besides, the workers with whom Markos Gifawosen Mitta made a phone call in May 2020 also revealed that some companies have reduced the number of employees by half and continued their operations and have switched to making masks for the local market. The situation is ever-changing and will be something that needs to be monitored during the process of the study by Gronemeyer et al. (2020–2022).

The newspaper *Mereja* reported that the park has released over 14,000, out of 34,000, employees temporarily (Sitotaw, 2020). The report says that eight companies have suspended their production due to lack of demand from the US and European major companies who usually order products from the factories in the park. It further notes that the workers were told to stay at home for up to three weeks with full payment of their salaries. The return date of the workers had not been fixed but the newspaper mentioned that the workers would return to their jobs as soon as the US and European markets, which are highly affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, would be open for business again.

According to Demeke et al. (2020: 2), food insecurity is a great challenge for workers currently employed at Hawassa Industrial Park. Demeke et al. (2020: 13) give an overview of the state of income income and living costs of female workers at HIP at mid-April 2020:

Income and Expenses for female Employees at HIP

	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Panel (a): Income and Expenses			
Most recent monthly salary in HIP	1107.80	1000.00	524.55
Savings last 7 days	54.69	0.00	160.68
Food expenses last 7 days	257.24	200.00	157.10
Rent last month	309.09	300.00	205.31
Panel (b): Estimated Monthly Expenses			
Combined monthly rent and food expenses*	1338.04	1200.00	699.05
Observations	1,785		

*Monthly rent expenses plus food expenses in the last 7 days multiplied by 4.

The Situation at the Bole Lemi Industrial Park

Thanks to personal interviews conducted via phone by M. G. Mitta in May 2020, it was possible to gather information on the situation of the Bole Lemi Industrial Park. If not indicated differently, the following information was drawn from those interviews. The economic impact of COVID-19 on the Bole Lemi Industrial Park is similar to the previously mentioned effects on the Hawassa Industrial Park. According to the officer from the headquarter of the Industrial Park Development Corporation (IPDC), none of the factories in the Bole Lemi Industrial Park stopped their production. The IPDC Bole-Lemi office confirmed that the production has been continuing, and their employees were at their workplace except those who are a bit older and those who were sent home with paid annual leave. Although the Park has been operational, the information obtained from the IPDC head office and the Bole Lemi branch office does not specify in what capacity the industrial park has resumed the production activities and it also does not specify what kinds of productions are underway in the factories. Concluding, infor-

mation suggests that both parks have been treating their employees fairly, according to their possibilities under that difficult circumstances.

Case Example of Desta Garment PLC

Desta Garment PLC is a local garment production factory based in Addis Ababa. On its website the company stresses its adherence to high working standards and fair treatment of its employees. They, too, provide information on their website on how they are dealing with COVID-19. Since the start of the pandemic, Desta Garment PLC has taken necessary measures to ensure everyone's safety to their best capacities by making facemasks and hand sanitising before entering the facility obligatory. Furthermore, they stressed the importance of education on the virus and initiated awareness work for their employees (Desta PLC, 2020).

The Corona pandemic has hit the Ethiopian textile industry hard. However, the apparel factories have not been shut down ("Better Work Ethiopia", 2020). Better Work (a partnership between the UN's International Labour Organization and the International Finance Corporation, and a member of the World Bank Group), in collaboration with the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOSLA) and the Industry Park Development Corporation (IPDC), has been trying to reach textile industry workers through posters, brochures, and flyers to promote preventative measures against COVID-19 infection.

Hanna Abdulla proposed the idea on May 7, 2020, that the pandemic could also bring opportunities for Ethiopia. Diversification of production could follow the pandemic. While in the past the textile industry had heavily relied on China, "after all the supply chain disruption, they don't want to put all their eggs in one basket, so they're using Vietnam, India, Myanmar, Ethiopia and other places in Africa" (Abdulla, 2020a).

6. LABOUR TURNOVER (AND ABSENTEEISM) FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ORGANISATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Absenteeism and turnover are costly phenomena and result in disadvantages in productivity for employer organisations (Ahamed et al., 2011; Habib et al., 2018; Afroz, 2017), hence, research on the antecedents of both phenomena has been a crucial part of organisational psychology. A wealth of studies has been carried out on the causes, correlations of causing factors, moderators and consequences, and different models of, for example, turnover (Conway/Briner, 2009). Most studies are conducted in the context of the “psychological contract”. This chapter aims to shed light on the state of the research and the most important studies, which have been carried out on absenteeism and turnover in the realm of organisational psychology. It provides an overview of what is meant by the psychological contract and offers definitions of key terms used in studies on this topic.

Martocchio and Harrison (1993) defined absenteeism as lack of physical presence at a certain location and time of an individual when it was socially expected for them to be there (Johns, 2001: 233). Turnover is used here as the termination of an employee with their employer organisation (Lee, 1997 in Johns, 2001: 12). Intention to leave is a state, which demonstrates that it is conscious, planned and purposed intention (Barlett, 2002 in Kosker, 2018: 2).

Definitions of Key Terms and Concepts

Psychological contracts are part of most studies carried out on the phenomena absenteeism and turnover. Although definitions slightly vary, according to Rousseau, one of the most influential psychological contract researchers, a psychological contract is “individual beliefs, shaped by the organization, regarding terms of an exchange agreement between the individual and their organization” (1995: 9 in Conway/Briner, 2009: 71). It includes mental models, which lead to an employee interpreting and predicting the employment relationship (Bal/Kooij, 2011 & Rousseau, 1995 in van der Vaart et al., 2013: 357) and consists of individual beliefs forming an exchange agreement between individuals and their organisation (Rousseau, 1995: 9 in van der Vaart et al., 2013). Components can be job security, trust, loyalty, and appreciation (Tietel, 2014: 4).

Within the concept of the psychological contract, it is often differentiated between transactional, relational, and balance aspects (Conway/Briner, 2009: 78). Transactional psychological contracts can be defined as promises of exchange with short-termed specific, explicit terms and often entail the exchange of tangible resources while relational psychological contracts are implicit and highly subjective, there is no clear time frame and they are likely to entail the exchange of intangible socio-affective resources (Conway/Briner, 2009: 86). A balanced psychological contract as a theoretical concept “emerged recently and combine[s] the open ended time frame and mutual concern of relational agreement with performance demand and renegotiation of transactional contracts” (Wangithi/Muceke, 2012: 117 in Umar/Ringim, 2015: 220). Whether or not promises and obligations are met is often referred to as the state of the psychological contract (Guest, 2004 in van der Vaart et al., 2013: 357). Contract breach is commonly thought of as the absence of fulfilment (Zhao et al., 2007 in van der Vaart et al.,

2013). The psychological contract is widely viewed as an important aspect when striving to understand the employment relationship and workplace behaviour (Conway/Briner, 2009: 71) as it offers a clear framework for the analysis of the phenomena.

Several other concepts appear frequently in the reviewed studies. Their definitions, which are universal to all these studies unless indicated differently, will be briefly addressed. Psychological or employee well-being is defined as a state in which individuals have positive perceptions about themselves and it consists of six components: autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, self-acceptance, positive relationships, and growth (Keyes et al., 2002 & Ryff, 1989 in Kosker, 2018: 2). Van der Vaart and colleagues (2013: 358) further stress that it takes physical, mental and emotional aspects into consideration. Schaufeli and Bakker (2004) describe work engagement as a positive, fulfilling, work-related state of mind characterised by dedication and absorption (Bal et al., 2013: 110). The polling institute Gallup introduced the Engagement Index, which is a measurement tool for investigating employees' engagement with their job (Tietel, 2014).

Employee contribution, in contrast, is defined by the employees' perceptions of what their obligations are in contributing to the organisation (Bal et al., 2010 in Bal et al., 2013: 110). Organisational commitment is a term coined by Meyer and Allen in 1997 when they distinguished between three forms of commitment in the workplace: affective commitment (identification with the organisation), continuance commitment (considers gains versus losses), and normative commitment (feeling of moral obligation to stay loyal towards their organisation) (Tietel, 2014: 6).

Psychological Contract Research – Introduction

During a speech in 2014, Erhard Tietel aimed to highlight the state of recent studies and perspectives in the context of psychological contract research and organisational commitment. Tietel (2014) presented worrying results of a study carried out by the Gallup Polling Institute, according to which 24% of employees had worked without any emotional attachment to their workplace in 2012 and only 15% had reported a strong emotional bond (Gallup, 2013). In preparation of his conference speech, Tietel (2014) had conducted interviews with works councils and noted that management personnel was continuously made responsible for the deterioration of emotional attachment to employer organisations which can partly be traced back to the high turnover of management personnel itself.

Tietel (2014) portrays different standpoints on psychological contracts such as Kets de Vries' (2001) who considers strong affiliations as non-existent anymore while Raeder and Grote (2012) retort that the psychological contract has actually just adapted to the new circumstances. In any case, according to different studies (Hauff, 2007: 25; Daser, 2009: 145), what employees, including the younger generation, are longing for is still a stable form of employment and stronger affiliation with their workplace (Tietel, 2014). The positive attachment to a workplace seems to increasingly result from the cooperation of colleagues and experiences of success (Heisig/Ludwig, 2004: 87 in Tietel, 2014: 7). For future research, Tietel (2014) emphasises the importance of differentiation in respect of age, area or work, and cultural aspects.

Withdrawal and Turnover Models

Johns (2001) draws attention to the withdrawal behaviour, which, according to him, is of importance when analysing the three withdrawal behaviours voluntary employee lateness, absenteeism, and turnover. The withdrawal model at its core sees withdrawal behaviours resulting from unpleasant job or work attitudes which can be, for instance, job dissatisfaction or low organisational commitment (Johns, 2001: 233). According to Hanisch and Hulin (1991), the

different manifestations of withdrawal are seen as means of adapting to unfavourable job circumstances (Johns, 2001: 233).

According to Johns, withdrawal research would need

“more active integration with related literatures to which it has an obvious but un-exploited affinity [...]; to be less organization-centric, better incorporating how off-the-job factors affect withdrawal [...]; to better incorporate the role of time [...]; to be more focused on the changing world of work, recognizing the influence of new technology, teamwork, and revised psychological contracts [and needs] to understand the cross-cultural similarities and differences in withdrawal behaviors and their determinants and consequences (2001: 245).”

Voluntary employee turnover had been studied in great detail by different researchers with a particular emphasis on the unfolding model (Cook et al., 2007; Lee/Mitchell, 1994; Morrell et al., 2008). The unfolding model is theoretically based on image theory, which “suggests that some types of incoming information (e.g., a job offer) prompt comparison of that information to three job-related images. As an automatic, though conscious, process, the individual will compare the information with his or her value image [...], the trajectory image [and] the strategic image [and then] compares the alternative with the status quo” (Harman et al., 2007: 51). The unfolding model regards incoming information as shocks, which can then lead to the consideration of leaving (Harman et al., 2007: 52). According to Lee and Mitchell, “the unfolding model portrays employee turnover as a complex process whereby individuals assess their feelings, personal situation, and work environment and, over time, make decisions about staying or leaving an organization” (1994: 84). It is a retrospective, classificatory account of voluntary turnover that treats quitting as a decision process (Lee/Mitchell, 1994). The shocks can be both internal and external, positive, negative, and neutral (Harman et al., 2007: 52). The unfolding model recognises five paths as distinct sets of psychological processes, which lead to voluntary turnover (Harman et al., 2007: 52).

	Initiating Event	→ Cognitive/emotional Process	→ Search behaviour	→ Quit decision
Path 1	Shock (e.g. pregnancy)	Prompts quitting script enactment	None	Automatic
Path 2	Shock (e.g. unpleasant new boss)	Comparison of shock to images leads to high dissatisfaction	None	Fairly automatic
Path 3	Shock (e.g. unexpected job offer)	Comparison of shock to images leads to relative dissatisfaction	Search for alternatives	Deliberate
Path 4a	No shock	Accumulating dissatisfaction	None	Fairly automatic
Path 4b	No shock	Accumulating dissatisfaction	Search for alternatives	Deliberate

Source: Harman et al. (2007: 52).

According to Lee and Mitchell (1994: 85) who coined the term unfolding model, turnover occurs over time and only by developing methods of understanding how the process evolves will future research manage to further explore the phenomenon of voluntary turnover.

Harman and colleagues (2007) refer to two studies which supported the unfolding model and were carried out by Lee and colleagues (1996) using multiple case studies of a sample of nurses who showed voluntary turnover and by Lee and colleagues (1999) replicating the

study on accountants. Their studies identify the following specific contributions made by the unfolding model:

1. Introduces the notion of automated scripts,
2. Incorporates shock as a catalyst for turnover,
3. Multiple paths of the model allow for greater explanatory power,
4. Found that job satisfaction may not have the expected major effect on turnover,
5. Relative speed of the quitting decision,
6. And the possibility that turnover might happen even in the absence of job alternatives (Harman et al., 2007: 53).

It was further found that the concept of job embeddedness contributes significantly to making people stay in their employment relationships, however, this is mostly the case with on-the-job embeddedness whereas off-the-job embeddedness rather predicts absenteeism and turnover (Lee et al., 2004 in Harman et al., 2007: 53). Here, specific contributions were made by significantly expanding the scope of the variables and by including of off-the-job factors (Harman et al., 2007: 53). A proposal for future research was to link both the unfolding model and job embeddedness by analysing whether embeddedness represents a moderator of the effects of shock in the unfolding model (Harman et al., 2007: 54).

In 2008, Morrell and colleagues revised the unfolding model established by Lee and Mitchell in 1994, modified it slightly, and carried out a study to test whether the unfolding model deserves more attention in research as a valid theory and presents both theoretical and empirical refinements to deepen the knowledge of voluntary employee turnover. Firstly, the authors (Morrell et al., 2008) criticise that the studies that were carried out, had only focused on two occupational groups (nurses/accountants) which is a severe limitation to the unfolding model and, secondly, used one item to test more than one construct. Thirdly, the original survey did not ask participants for the reason they left, fourthly, the model relied heavily on dichotomous measures, and, fifthly, the nature of shocks has not yet been sufficiently analysed (Morrell et al., 2008).

After modifying the study design and, for example, incorporating open items such as asking for a specific reason why the participants left the job, Morrell and colleagues (2008) carried out a study themselves using a sample of 352 nurses who had quit their job. It must be made clear here that involuntary turnover in this branch is very rare and the chance of finding new employment after quitting is fairly high (Morrell et al., 2008: 135). The study's findings reveal limitations of the unfolding model as, for example, 23% of the participants could not have been classified into one of the five different paths, which is a significantly higher percentage than in Lee and colleagues' studies (Morrell et al., 2008: 139). However, many of the respondents who could initially not be classified did not associate non-work image violations when answering the questionnaire; this discrepancy was identified thanks to the open items (Morrell et al., 2008: 142). It was further found that job satisfaction in path 3 (shock) was not significantly higher than in path 4b (no shock) which also challenges the model as it questions "the distinction between shock-induced quits and those based on creeping dissatisfaction" (Morrell et al., 2008: 146).

While Morrell and colleagues (2008) believe their research to be a more realistic account of the unfolding model than earlier studies were, they still propose further refinements to the model which include developing a typology of work events which potentially lead to the consideration of quitting a job, acknowledging that scripts may be more prevalent and less easy to identify than

initially thought, supplementation of the study with data such as data from company records, and making it clear that items also target off-work factors (Morrell et al., 2008: 143f, 146f).

Interrelationships between different Concepts/Moderating Effects of different Concepts

Different studies have been carried out studying the interrelationships between different concepts, more specifically, the relationships between different concepts or behaviours and actual turnover. One study carried out in Nigeria by Umar and Ringim in 2015 examined which effect the psychological contract (transactional, relational, and balance) has on employee turnover (intention) and the differences between the three types of psychological contracts. The study aimed to offer qualitative research on the psychological contract and employee turnover from a perspective of the Global South (Umar/Ringim, 2015). They found that all three types of psychological contracts – transactional, relational, and balance – have significant relationships with employee turnover intention; however, strongest was the positive correlation found between transactional and turnover intention while balance and turnover intention show the least significant correlation (Umar/Ringim, 2015: 225). Even though the study presents research in the African context, the authors warn that these results cannot be generalised in any way to the entirety of Africa (Umar/Ringim, 2015: 225).

Furthermore, in 2012, Berry and colleagues meta-analysed the correlations between the phenomena of voluntary employee lateness, absenteeism, and turnover. They hoped to provide the most comprehensive estimates to date, to test the viability of a withdrawal construct and to evaluate different models of withdrawal behaviours (Berry et al., 2012: 678). Voluntary employee lateness, absenteeism, and turnover are commonly referred to as withdrawal behaviours as they all represent some form of physical removal from the workplace (Hulin, 1991 & Johns, 2001 & Koslowski, 2000 in Berry et al., 2012: 679). Two different models of withdrawal behaviour were analysed which are, firstly, a withdrawal model which regards voluntary employee lateness, absenteeism, and turnover as manifestations of an overall withdrawal from work and results from unfavourable work attitudes such as job dissatisfaction and lack of organisational commitment (Hulin, 1991, Rosse/Hulin, 1985, Rosse/Hulin & 1984 in Berry et al., 2012: 679). The second approach regards each behaviour as unique and driven by different antecedents, the behaviours can therefore not be seen as an overall withdrawal construct (Price/Mueller, 1981 & Steers/Mowday, 1981 in Berry et al., 2012: 679).

The results showed that the correlations between the three phenomena seem to have decreased in the recent years, which supports the presumption that employee-employer relationships have changed (Cooper, 1999 & Sullivan, 1999 & Rosse/Hulin, 1985 in Berry et al., 2012: 692) just like Tietel (2014) had explained. One could therefore argue that the withdrawal construct perspective lacks support whereas the uniqueness perspective seems more realistic in explaining withdrawal behaviours (Berry et al., 2012: 693). Nevertheless, the three behaviours were found to be related in a progressive fashion despite showing relatively weak correlations (Berry et al., 2012: 694).

Van der Vaart and colleagues, in 2013, examined the mechanism through which the state of the psychological contract influences employees' intention to leave and found that "a positive evaluation of the psychological contract leads to positive emotions and job attitudes and ultimately lowers employee's intention to leave" (364). Their study further raises the point that how psychological contracts are experienced in terms of fulfilment directly affects the well-being of an employee (van der Vaart et al., 2013: 364).

Additional studies have been carried out to specifically look at the moderating effects of different concepts such as tenure or employee well-being in the context of employee turnover. Van der

Vaart and colleagues (2013: 365) also found that whenever a psychological contract is unbalanced, employee well-being will be influenced before it increases their intention to leave. The researcher found that employee well-being is a valid mediator between the state of psychological contract and intention to leave, which means that if employee well-being is present, contract breach might happen without resulting in an intention to leave the organisation (van der Vaart et al., 2013: 365).

A similar study was carried out by Kosker in 2018 among Turkish teachers. The study aimed to find out whether the psychological well-being of a teacher moderates the relationship between the state of the psychological contract and their intention to leave the school (Kosker, 2018). Unlike van der Vaart and colleagues' study Kosker (2018) differentiated between transactional and relational psychological contracts. The study found that transactional psychological contracts lead to higher intention to leave even if the psychological well-being of an employee is high (Kosker, 2018: 6).

The moderating effect of another possible moderator, organisational tenure, was analysed by Bal and colleagues in 2013. Within the context of this study, the already proven correlation of psychological contract and work engagement with organisational tenure was observed reversely, by analysing whether organisational tenure had a moderating effect on the relationship between psychological contract, work engagement and turnover intention (Bal et al., 2013: 108). Bal and colleagues (2013: 119) discovered that the motivating factor of contract fulfilment was present with short tenure employees as they are primarily driven by exchange norms but not for employees who had been with the organisation for a longer period. It was furthermore found that short tenure employees with high turnover intentions seemed to reduce their contribution over time (Bal et al., 2013: 119). Contrary to expectations, the relationship between employee contribution and employer obligations was stronger for highly tenured employees (Bal et al., 2013: 119).

Effect of Human Resource Practices

Human resource practices have been studied as well in the context of turnover research and, more generally, psychological contracts as they are believed to heavily impact turnover (Aggarwal/Bhargava, 2009). Human resource practices are important in shaping employee skills, attitudes, and behaviours and are hence strongly associated with lower turnover rates because strong human resource systems have been found to promote job satisfaction (Arthur, 1994 & Huselid, 1995 & Guthrie, 2001 & Berg, 1999 in Aggarwal/Bhargava, 2009: 7).

In a paper published in 2009, Aggarwal and Bhargava offer a poignant review of the literature on the role of human resource practices in shaping psychological contracts. First and foremost, it is important to note that interpretations of human resource practices are likely to remain stable throughout the period of employment, which is why from the beginning human resource staff should communicate clearly (Aggarwal/Bhargava, 2009: 13). There are three different phases of communication, which make perceived contract breach less likely:

1. "Initial introduction, which commences with the process of recruitment,
2. Ongoing interaction through formal means such as performance appraisal, training,
3. Finally communication with employees over time in relation to the job and personal issues" (Aggarwal/Bhargava, 2009: 13).

Moreover, human resource practices can be differentiated into five aspects:

1. Offer a realistic description of the job,

2. Offer learning and development opportunities,
3. Responsibly carry out rewards management (direct benefits – e.g. bonuses – or indirect benefits (e.g. health and life insurance),
4. Carry out evaluation and appraisal as part of performance management,
5. And creating an overall positive organisational culture (Aggarwal/Bhargava, 14-18).
6. Most importantly here, Aggarwal and Bhargava (2009) found a moderating effect of human resource practices on employee attitudes and behaviours.

Implications for Practice

Thanks to the fairly extensive research on psychological contracts and, more specifically, absenteeism and turnover, several possible implications for policymakers and human resource management have been proposed. Considering psychological contracts and psychological well-being at all stages of human resource management and making sure that psychological contracts are fulfilled fairly is highly encouraged (Kosker, 2008; van der Vaart et al., 2013: 266). Employers further need to communicate clearly the contents of the psychological contract to prevent (perceived) contract breach (Tietel, 2014: 8). Psychological contracts and organisational commitment should be key elements of supervision, too (Tietel, 2013: 8). Aggarwal and Bhargava (2009: 21) offer precise suggestions for human resource managers to enhance the chance of keeping employees. They should give direct and clear signals to employees about norms, expectations, and what the organisation is like, communicate to employees what they can realistically expect in terms of inducements by the organisation and endeavour to build a progressive culture in which an organisation communicates how it is trying to meet employees' needs (Aggarwal/Bhargava, 2009: 21). Moreover, employers should talk to veteran employees and ask how positive attitudes towards work can be enhanced (Bal et al., 2013: 120).

Conclusion

The withdrawal behaviours absenteeism and turnover have been studied in several contexts and from different angles. Turnover, for example, is analysed as the final stage of a process in some studies, others identified that turnover results from different types of shocks, which can be negative, positive, or neutral. Possible moderators such as the different types of psychological contracts, the state of the psychological contract, job embeddedness, employee well-being, and organisational tenure have been analysed. Correlations between the three withdrawal behaviours lateness, absenteeism, and turnover were evaluated, which lead to the realisation that the correlations seem to be less strong today (than they used to be). Furthermore, it was observed that human resource practices have an enormous impact on the tenure of employees, and especially in the case of the Ethiopian textile industry, should be studied extensively.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that most studies have been carried out in Western frameworks or, in the context of the research conducted in Nigeria and South Africa, on skilled labour. However, for understanding labour turnover in the Ethiopian textile industry, it needs to be questioned to what extent these research findings can be transferred to the Ethiopian context where working conditions, work force, and social framework are significantly different compared to those analysed in the presented research.

7. LABOUR TURNOVER (AND ABSENTEEISM) IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The phenomenon of labour turnover and absenteeism is widely considered a problematic issue for development of the Ethiopian textile sector and the development of the country in general as it harms the industrial productivity. Considering the relatively young status of the Ethiopian role within the global textile sector, it is understandable that there is only limited research available on the subject. Countries such as Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, which are well-established actors within the industry, offer a significant number of studies on turnover and are, hence, in this chapter reviewed, which ultimately contributes to a better understanding of turnover specifically in the textile industry in countries of the Global South (unlike the studies reviewed in Chapter 6, which were mostly conducted in Western contexts). Though the focus of this chapter lies on the important textile sites Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, the issue of turnover and absenteeism in further important textile sites which are India, Myanmar, Pakistan and Indonesia are briefly portrayed as well as we believe we can learn from those cases for a study on the Ethiopian textile industry. Finally, the few studies that have already been conducted on the phenomena of absenteeism and turnover in the case of Ethiopia are reviewed.

BANGLADESH

Introduction

For the past 30 years, the ready-made garments industry of Bangladesh has been the key export sector and one of the most important sources of foreign exchange (Ahamed, 2014: 1). Rapidly, the sector gained huge importance “in terms of employment, foreign exchange earnings and its contribution to the national economy” (Ahamed, 2014: 1). Due to the rapid growth of industrialisation (Ahmed et al., 2018: 48), the Bangladesh economy transformed from being based on agriculture towards being export-oriented with manufacturing (Morshed, 2007 in Hossain, 2016: 1). It started flourishing in the 1980s and 1990s; by 2013, the value of apparel exports had risen to \$21,515.73 million, making it the second-largest apparel supplier after China (Main et al., 2013 & BGMEA, 2014 in Hossain, 2016:1). From 2002 to 2012, the sector enjoyed a growth rate of 55% and significantly contributed to the GDP of Bangladesh (Ahmed et al., 2018: 47). In 2013, the sector employed 4.4 million people (BGMEA, 2014 in Hossain, 2016: 1). With 5,000 textile companies in the country, Bangladesh has become a leading actor in the South-East Asia ready-made garment sector (DEG, 2015). Its competitive advantages are the low manufacturing costs, high production capacity, and the custom-free access to European markets (DEG, 2015). The ready-made garment industry operates on a ‘cut, make and trim’ model which means that buyers provide factories with material and receive back mass-produced finished clothing pieces (Unlimited Fashion, 2020; TIS, 2020).

Turnover in the Bangladesh Textile Industry

Turnover has a highly negative influence on productivity in businesses; it is a costly phenomenon, especially in low pay jobs where turnover rates are highest (Mbah/Ikemefuna, 2012 in Afroz, 2017). In the context of literature on turnover in Bangladesh, employee turnover is commonly defined as the ratio of the number of workers that had to be replaced during a spe-

cific period to the average number of workers (Agnes, 1999 in Afroz, 2017: 98). Afroz (2017) adds a valid point looking at how turnover can also have a positive influence on organisations, for example, when a poor performer is replaced by a more productive employee or an older one with a younger one.

Overview of Causes of voluntary Employee Turnover (Intention)

In his article on job dissatisfaction in the ready-made garment sector in Bangladesh published in 2014, Ahamed offers a good introduction to and overview of the most important factors which can lead to job dissatisfaction, and finally, turnover. Even though the sector has been booming, attention is more and more drawn towards poor working conditions in the factories and the absence of social compliances, especially in the context of the collapse of Rana Plaza in Dhaka (Ahamed, 2014: 1; DEG, 2015). The recruitment process is highly informal and often no written contracts between employee and employer exist (Dasgupta, 2002 in Ahamed, 2014). Ahamed (2014: 2) states that most workers are illiterate and have little understanding of human rights, working conditions, and labour standards.

According to Ahamed's literature research, the level of the wages is the most significant cause of dissatisfaction, which has not changed due to managers refusing to use their power to improve wages (Ahamed, 2014: 1). The wage of ready-made garment workers is among the lowest wage paid around the globe with a minimum wage of US\$0.15 per hour (Islam, 2001 & Rahman, 2004 & Chowdhury et al., 2006 in Ahamed, 2014). The legal minimum wage for the garment industry is 8,000 BDT (US\$94), but general estimates indicate that workers, on average, take home a monthly payment of 9,580 BDT (US\$112) (Textile Focus, 2020).

Further factors related to compensation are that there is no regulated overtime payment and that workers often receive their payment irregularly or late (Ahamed, 2014: 5). Besides that, prospects of promotion are rather rare in the ready-made garment sector of Bangladesh (Ahamed, 2014: 1). There is furthermore no scheme for benefit sharing and employees are not entitled to any benefits such as accommodation, allowances, health care, emergency funds, or transportation (Muhammad, 2006 in Ahamed, 2014: 6). Moreover, financial discrimination of workers, for instance, based on their gender is a persistent problem (ILO/BGMEA, 2003 in Ahamed, 2014: 6). Women are also discriminated when it comes to positions (Absar, 2001 in Ahamed, 2014: 7).

Afroz also highlights that it needs to be made clear that working conditions in the apparel sector in Bangladesh are below-average and do not meet the International Labour Organisation's standards (Ahamed, 2012). Poor practices also include the absence of trade unions and the use of child labour (Afroz, 2017: 98). The list goes on to include long working hours, unsafe work environments, poor working conditions, and gender discriminations (Kumar, 2006 in Afroz, 2017: 98f). Afroz (2017: 99) even goes as far as to comparing the workers' conditions to those of slaves.

Empirical Studies on voluntary Employee Turnover in Bangladesh

Due to the significant negative impact that high turnover rates have had in terms of productivity, many empirical studies have been conducted on the phenomenon of voluntary employee turnover in Bangladesh's textile sector. Most of them, just like most organisational psychology studies, were quantitative, however, this report also reviews one very extensive qualitative study which was carried out as a doctoral thesis project. Unfortunately, it is never indicated whether the interviews were carried out in English or a local language, which might have affected the studies.

In a 2011 study, Ahamed and colleagues aimed to identify, among other sub-objectives, the most significant causes of employee turnover in the Pretty Group (Ahamed et al., 2011). The Pretty Group, which was founded in 2002, is one of the rising ready-made garment industries in Bangladesh and has 100 employees working directly for the company and another 6,750 employees working in different factories (Ahamed et al., 2011: 36). 50 direct employees and 100 factory workers were interviewed using a structured questionnaire; furthermore, the study included secondary sources such as company records (Ahamed et al. 2011: 37). Out of the 150 respondents, 105 were male and 45 were female (Ahamed et al., 2011: 38). In relation to the number of employees, employee turnover had been consistently high, being at 34% (Ahamed et al., 2011: 38).

After carrying out a hypothesis test on 12 different organisational variables, working conditions, breach of law practices, and the lack of organisational culture were not found to significantly impact employee turnover (Ahamed et al. 2011: 41). In contrast, managerial behaviour, equity reward, human resource policy, compensation, conflict, career planning and advancement, organisational politics, intrapreneurial environment, and promotional policy were found to significantly influence employees' decision to leave the Pretty Group (Ahamed et al. 2011: 41). However, even though three variables were not identified as significant, they were still considered as factors influencing a decision to leave by a huge percentage of participants (Ahamed et al., 2001: 39f).

In 2018, Ahmed and colleagues carried out a similar study on the factors affecting voluntary employee turnover in the ready-made garment sector of Bangladesh. The survey set out to identify the factors and delivering implications for practice to reduce the possibility of employees leaving an organisation (Ahmed, 2018: 48). Management of employees is, according to Ahmed and colleagues (2018: 48), one of the most challenging practices of human resource departments in the sector. The research methodology used both primary and secondary data and aimed at contributing to previous research, using questionnaires including ten parameters (Ahmed et al., 2018: 49). About 120 employees were randomly selected to take part in the study and showed different characteristics in terms of age, experience and levels of occupation; only 40 of them were women (Ahmed et al., 2018: 49).

Employees were asked whether they strongly agree, agree, are neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree to the following statements (Ahmed et al., 2018: 49-51):

1. Salary is sufficient and compensates my work well (45% disagreed),
2. Rewarded both monetarily and non-monetarily for my good performance (35% disagreed, 30% neutral),
3. Management motivates and inspires me well (40% agreed),
4. Work environment is friendly and supportive (40% disagreed),
5. Workplace is safe, and authorities ensure that standards are kept (49% disagreed),
6. Satisfaction with management behaviour (39% agreed),
7. Awarded increment and promotion promoted regularly and accordingly (45% disagreed),
8. Concerned about the security of my job (45% agreed),

9. Organisation offers adequate opportunities for skill development and recreational programmes (41% disagreed),
10. I am paid accordingly for overtime (46% disagreed).

Interesting here is that with almost all statements, the biggest percentage (between 35% and 49%) disagreed with positive statements while two positive statements addressing the management (personnel) were agreed to (39% and 40%). It either seems that in this case management is perceived as good while working conditions are not, or participants might not have been honest concerning management as they are working with them directly.

A large number of studies reviewed in the context of turnover research in Bangladesh particularly concerns the relationship between job satisfaction and voluntary turnover (intention). However, job satisfaction includes similar factors as those identified as the individual antecedents of turnover mentioned above. A study published in 2014 by Jabber and Uddin on turnover intention amongst telecommunication and banking employees supports the thesis that the greater the job satisfaction, the less likely employees are to have an intention to leave (148f). This was also studied in the context of the Bangladesh textile industry.

As mentioned before, in his doctoral thesis from 2016, Hossain carried out a qualitative case study, analysing eight different organisations in the ready-made garment sector of Bangladesh. The thesis aimed at providing answers to why the turnover rate is relatively high and explaining why the percentages are still varying significantly between different organisations (Hossain, 2016). The paper further fills the gap of non-Western research on turnover (Hossain, 2016: 6). This is of particular importance as it can be assumed that there are different causes of turnover and different strategies to reduce it (Hossain, 2016: 6). The eight companies were located in different kinds of settings and varied in sizes (Hossain, 2016). In his study, Hossain (2016: 7) used a holistic approach and regarded turnover from a perspective, which sees it as highly influenced by context.

Hossain (2016: 186) found that overall turnover rates varied significantly between the different companies, ranging from 11% to 33%. However, within one company, the percentages did not vary much with regard to the different occupational groups (Hossain, 2016: 186). This suggests that whenever a company controls turnover in one occupational group, it is likely to do so in all others (Hossain, 2016: 186). The study presents more interesting findings when looking at the characteristics of the company. For example, the turnover rate was lowest for bigger and older organisations, which were mostly located in the cities or export processing zones (EPZs) (Hossain, 2016: 188). This seems to contradict other studies. The study is bringing forward the argument of work safety, which seems to be an extremely important factor in the context of the textile industry in Bangladesh (Hossain, 2016: 189).

Another very recent study carried out by Ahmed and Singh in 2020 particularly examined the effect that human resource practices and employee engagement have on employee's loyalty. Empirical findings suggest that there is indeed a positive relationship (Ahmed/Singh, 2020).

In terms of theoretical contributions, most important is the acknowledgement that a more holistic approach towards voluntary employee turnover must be encouraged, which includes not looking at single human resource practices only but rather considering the whole package, supporting the idea of emphasising the importance of larger characteristics of organisations but also the context, country, industry in which it operates (Hossain, 2016: 189).

Considering the whole package of different practices is central as they are interconnected and were found to reinforce each other (Hossain, 2016: 190). It must further be acknowledged

that especially the smaller and younger organisations lack financial resources and management expertise (Hossain, 2016: 191).

Avenues for future research were found to be, amongst others, exploring more towards including turnover intention, exploring the link between characteristics of organisations, their human resource practices and the turnover rate respectively, exploring the linkages between the different human resource practices, applying similar studies in both Western and Global South contexts but also carrying out more extensive research on developing countries, and, finally, studying the differences in voluntary employee turnover between different industries (Hossain, 2016: 197f).

Practical Implications (and Potential for future Research)

According to the studies portrayed above, the antecedents of voluntary employee turnover in the ready-made garments industry in Bangladesh seem to be mostly unambiguous, hence, different implications for practise have been proposed, which should enhance job satisfaction and ultimately lead to lower turnover rates. In terms of compensation, fairer wages, punctual payment, reasonable overtime payment, and organisational benefits sharing need to be introduced strictly (Habib et al., 2018: 67; Ahamed, 2014: 9; Hossain, 2016: 192). Paid leave in terms of maternity, annual, and medical leave should be introduced as well (Hossain, 2016: 193). Furthermore, employers should consider introducing benefits for employees such as medical care and on-site childcare (Habib et al., 2018: 67; Hughes, 1995 in Ahamed, 2014: 7; Afroz, 2017: 102). Moreover, the promotion of job variation and flexible work arrangements are encouraged (Habib et al., 2018: 67; Ahmed et al., 2018: 51; Afroz, 2017: 102). Working hours should be reconsidered and the government guideline of eight hours a day, a day off per week and sufficient break time should be adhered to (Hossain, 2016: 192f; Afroz, 2017: 102).

A safe work environment needs to be ensured by the management, as well as job security (Hughes, 1995 in Ahamed, 2014: 7; Habib et al., 2018: 67; Ahmed et al., 2018: 51; Afroz, 2017: 102). Positive attitudes from supervisors must further be enhanced and management personnel should receive proper training on both legal rights and obligations and on the importance of reducing turnover for higher productivity (Habib et al., 2018: 67; Afroz, 2017: 102). Generally, training opportunities and perspectives for development and career advancements should be given to employees (Hossain, 2016: 193; Hughes, 1995 in Ahamed, 2014: 7; Ahmed et al, 2018: 51; Afroz, 2017: 102). On a state level, the importance of the Bangladesh government putting pressure on the industry is stressed (Ahamed, 2014: 9, Afroz). Hossain highlights the importance of prioritising “multiple HR practices’ which come as a package, rather [than] single selecting individual HR practices” (2016: 193).

The aforementioned implications can be hard to realise for smaller firms and subcontractors as it would heavily reduce their competitiveness, hence, Hossain (2016: 194) provides slightly different implications for those companies. Of particular importance in the context of smaller companies is the topic of raising awareness among managers for the negative effects of voluntary employee turnover on productivity (Hossain, 2016: 194). At the government level, Hossain (2016: 194f) emphasises the importance of not only introducing stronger, more employee-friendly regulations but also enforcing the already existing regulations in terms of minimum wages, maximum working hours, and paid leave.

Experiences of Success in reducing Employee Absenteeism and Turnover

An evaluation report by the “Deutsche Investitions- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft” (DEG) from 2015 provides an exemplary shift of the DBL Group to an employee-friendly and, at the same time, more productive actor in the ready-made garment sector in Bangladesh. The DBL

Group in Bangladesh was established in 1991 and has since then been one of the leading textile fabricators in the country with 21.000 employees of which 7.400 are women (DEG, 2015: 3). Since the Rana Plaza industry building collapsed in 2013, worldwide attention has been drawn to working and safety standards in the Bangladesh textile sector, which resulted in stricter regulations from both outside and inside the country (DEG, 2015: 4). For companies in the sector to stay competitive despite those costing improvements they had to take steps to ensuring safety for their employees, while they also had to improve productivity (DEG, 2015: 4).

Even before 2013, the DBL Group had been taking different measurements to enhance working conditions and improve productivity through an internal company guideline (DEG, 2015). This process was made accessible to every employee using easy language and symbols (DEG, 2015). Social workers were employed to make sure the employer kept its promises and a feedback mechanism was introduced for workers to express critique (DEG, 2015: 5). Thanks to the holistic approach of improvements, the DBL Group is now seen as a flagship company in the Bangladesh textile sector (DEG, 2015: 5). The most important measurements, which were taken and had a positive outcome in terms of employee absenteeism and turnover will be portrayed in the following.

Firstly, the DBL Group heavily invested in building and fire safety by not only improving technical aspects such as installing cooling units to enhance the air quality but also setting up a unit of workers who were trained as firefighters etc. (DEG, 2015: 5). Secondly, the DBL Group strived towards increasing staff satisfaction through ameliorating work and life conditions (DEG, 2015: 5). On the company ground, a fair price shop was set up where groceries and hygiene products can be brought for whole-sale prices by employees which increases the real wage (DEG, 2015: 6). Since, in a survey, female workers admitted that once a month they had to be absent from work for two days due to their menstruation, the company introduced subsidised sanitary pads (DEG, 2015: 6). The DBL Group set up a health clinic where employees can get health support for free (DEG, 2015: 6). Furthermore, all employees are state insured through the DBL Group (DEG, 2015: 6). DBL Group moreover built a day-care centre for children of employees (DEG, 2015: 6). They also initiated a cultural club, which strengthened solidarity among workers as well as job embeddedness (DEG, 2015: 7). Moreover, they provide accommodation for their employees (DEG, 2015: 7). Thirdly, the DBL Group provides good training for current employees and particularly whenever employees newly join the organisation plus training especially for managers to enhance productivity (DEG, 2015: 7).

To conclude, the DEG (2015: 9) found that the absenteeism rate could be reduced from 3.35% in 2012 to 1.09% in 2014, and the monthly turnover rate from 4.7 to 2.8% respectively, compared to the textile industry's average monthly turnover rate of 8–10%. Even though large investments had to be made to implement these changes, the DBL Group estimates annual savings of US\$ 33.000 and could hence, declare policies, which aim at enhancing employees' lives and particularly those of women and families to be profitable (DEG, 2015: 8, 10).

Conclusion

Looking at what factors were found to affect employee turnover negatively, studies showed significant overlaps. In broader terms, working environments of ready-made garment workers need to be vitally improved to enhance job satisfaction and, ultimately, prevent employee turnover. Even though some of the studies seemed rather vague in their research results, all of the findings across the different studies were proven by the DEG report of the enhancements and improvements at DBL Group and their success at reducing both absenteeism and turnover rates significantly. Most importantly, it should be kept in mind for future projects on reducing

turnover in the textile sector of Bangladesh and other countries that, according to Hossain (2016), human resource practices should be addressed as whole package.

SRI LANKA

Introduction

In 2012, the garment industry registered 23% of the total export earnings of Sri Lanka (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2012 in Fernando, 2015: 439) making it the largest export industry in the country (Liyanage/Galhena, 2012). Two kinds of garment factories have been established; those opened under the Board of Investment (BOI) act and those, which were founded outside of the act (Fernando, 2015: 43). The Board of Investment act was introduced in 1978 and is also referred to as the Greater Colombo Economic Commission Law; it aims at enhancing Sri Lanka's economic development (The National State Assembly, 1978). After in 1977 the Sri Lankan government lifted trade bans, ready-made garment exports within a few years overtook the tea industry (Fernando, 2015: 43; Rajapaksha, 2015: 177).

The economic advancement achieved through the textile industry is seen as a solution for unemployment, offers employment especially for women, and provides industrialisation in rural areas (Fernando, 2015: 43). Particularly to tackle poverty in rural areas, as part of the Rural Development Industrialisation Programme, the government launched a 200 garment factories programme in 1992 which resulted in a more provincially balanced economy (Fernando, 2015: 43). Thanks to development policies laid out by the Sri Lankan government, the sector started booming, however, this also made the country mostly dependent on one industry (Rajapaksha, 2018: 215). In 2018, the sector employed 300,000 people of which the majority are women ("Sri Lanka", 2018).

Sri Lanka lost a significant number of textile businesses in recent years, standing as low as at 341 in 2013 compared to 587 in 2009 (Fernando, 2015: 43). According to Fernando (2015), this also results from high turnover rates, which, in turn, cause in an inefficiency of the sector. Furthermore, job vacancies in 2015 in the same sector stood at 30,000, which forced factories to shut down (Fernando, 2015: 43).

Research on Causes of voluntary Employee Turnover (Intention)

Reviewing literature and studies in the context of voluntary employee turnover in the ready-made garment industry, several factors could be identified. Some of the most crucial findings in the Sri Lankan turnover research are summarised in the following. A 2012 study carried out by Liyanage and Galhena aimed at identifying the determinants for turnover in the Sri Lankan apparel sector and looked more closely at job satisfaction and organisational commitment plus the coping strategies for retention of sewing machine operators. It found that "residency, civil status, recognition, work load, social image, job alternatives, work life balance" are the most significant predictors of turnover intention (Liyanage/Galhena, 2012: 121).

In 2018, Rajapaksha conducted research on the major factors affecting turnover intention in the Sri Lankan textile sector; the study aimed at filling the gap of comprehensive research in that same field. It further strived towards providing guidance for potential policy alterations as unresolved policy issues might result in many socio-economic issues (Anderson, 2014 in Rajapaksha, 2018: 217). A policy problem can be defined as "a condition or situation that produces needs or dissatisfaction among people and for which relief or redress is sought" (Anderson, 2014 in Rajapaksha, 2018: 217).

Moreover, Rajapakshe (2018) offers a poignant overview of existing literature and, thus, a good overview of the factors already identified even though they were mostly rather old and conducted in Western contexts. Nevertheless, from these identified factors, Rajapakshe (2018: 220) was able to create four categories, which are listed below:

Job condition	Salary and other benefits, salary equity, occupational category, number of working hours or shifts, work unit size, job content, working condition, supervision, job security, career opportunities
Living conditions and social environment	Residential facilities, transportation facilities, physical environment, social recognition
Human resource management activities	Recruitment and selection, orientation, motivation, training, and development
Personal characteristics	Civil status, childcare and pregnancy, personal illness, new job opportunities, returning to the education

Source: Rajapakshe (2018: 220).

Particularly interesting and novel are the factors in the category living conditions and social environment. Literature review revealed that, especially among female workers, safety and social security in terms of accommodation and transport can directly affect intention to leave (Jayasinghe, 1998 & Madurawala, 2017 & Wijesekera, 2017 & Stum, 1998 & Kweller, 1998 in Rajapakshe, 2018: 218). Furthermore, again – especially in the case of female workers, social stigma around and bad reputation of a job in the textile industry can play a significant role; female workers in this sector are at times considered to be sex workers and are rejected as potential brides (Madurawala, 2017 & Wijesekera, 2017 in Rajapakshe, 2018: 219).

The study found that labour turnover is mediated by job satisfaction, stress, and absenteeism with job satisfaction being the most significant factor (Rajapakshe, 2018: 226). Human resource practices were found to have a high direct impact on job satisfaction and, therefore, present the most significant effect for employees’ turnover intention (Rajapakshe, 2018: 226). Contrary to previous studies, working conditions and personal characteristics did not show significant correlation with voluntary turnover (Rajapakshe, 2018: 226).

“Literature indicates employees are influenced by pay as the economic variables; age, marital status, sex, education as the demographic variables; upward mobility, integration, occupation, formal and instrumental communication, community participation is the organizational variables to influence on labour intention to leave the organization.”
 Rajapaksha (2015: 177)

In the context of another study carried out in the Sri Lankan textile industry on organisational factors, which affect intention to quit, Rathnayake and Gamage (2014) tested whether financial reward factors, physical working conditions, and fringe benefits play a significant role. Interesting here is that the research was conducted through an accountant of Plastipak Industrial Textiles (Pvt) Ltd in cooperation with the University of Kelaniya (Rathnayake/Gamage, 2014: 76). This is a new angle, which has not yet appeared in any other study. For the study, 180 employees with more than four years of experience in 22 different garment factories in Sri Lanka were randomly selected and data were collected using a structured questionnaire (Rathnayake/Gamage, 2014: 76). The analysis found that all three organisational factors – financial rewards, physical working conditions, and fringe benefits – showed significant relationships with turnover intention (Rathnayake/Gamage, 2014: 76).

In a study conducted in 2015, Rajapaksha investigates the factors affecting high turnover rates with emphasis on the impact of socio-economic and organisational factors (Rajapaksha, 2015: 177). As socio-economic factors, education, income, and occupation were analysed (Rajapaksha, 2015: 177). The study found that high routinisation, missing work life balance,

and inexistence of upward mobility are the most severe antecedents of turnover in the sector (Rajapaksha, 2015).

A study conducted by Thiranagama in 2017 analyses the relationship between organisational commitment and turnover intention among Sri Lankan machine operators in the ready-made garment sector. Thiranagama (2017: 412) states that voluntary employee turnover presents a massive problem for the Sri Lankan textile industry and the issue can only be tackled when the preceding intention to leave is identified and understood. Especially for managers who play a crucial role in preventing high turnover rates, receiving practical implications to enhance organisational commitment is vital (Thiranagama, 2017: 413). Organisational commitment is a term coined by Meyer and Allen in 1997 when they distinguished between three forms of commitment in the workplace: affective commitment (identification with the organisation), continuance commitment (considers the gains versus losses), and normative commitment (feeling of moral obligation to stay loyal towards their organisation) (Tietel, 2014: 6). Studies propose that organisational commitment can reduce turnover and absenteeism significantly, which then improves organisational effectiveness and performance; however, it needs to be managed well in order to do so (Meyer/Allen, 1997 in Thiranagama, 2017: 414).

For the study, 169 machine operators were selected randomly and were given a questionnaire which retrieved, firstly, demographic information (age, tenure, gender, and educational level), secondly, measurements of intention to leave, and, thirdly, information on the level of organisational commitment with each type of commitment tested via six questions respectively (Thiranagama, 2017: 415). The questionnaire was translated into Sinhala to get most accurate results (Thiranagama, 2017: 415). About half the population of the sample was aged below 25 years, most respondents (40.9%) had an organisational tenure of one to three years and all respondents were female (Thiranagama, 2017: 416).

The study found all forms of organisational commitment to have a relationship with employees' intention to leave (Thiranagama, 2017: 417). When affective, continuance and normative commitment are high, an intention to leave the current employer is rather unlikely (Thiranagama, 2017: 417). Thiranagama (2017: 417) confirms what other researchers (Lee et al., 2001) have found, but adds that all three commitment constructs address different aspects of employees' involvement within an organisation. It follows that the three different constructs contribute independently to preventing turnover intention.

Work Life Conflict and Turnover

While authors identified both on-the-job and off-the-job causes for high turnover rates, some have combined the research on the different factors in studies on work life conflicts, which have been deemed crucial in the context of turnover and absenteeism in the Sri Lankan textile industry (Kumara/Fasana, 2018; Fernando, 2015).

In 2018, Kumara and Fasana empirically analysed the relation between work life conflict and turnover intention plus the mediating role of job satisfaction. The study also set a particular focus on incorporating gender into the analysis (Kumara/Fasana, 2018: 478). Work life conflict occurs when "participation in one role is made more difficult by participation in the other role" (Kumara/Fasana, 2018: 478). Work life conflict arises whenever the fulfilment on one role demands temporal and/or devotional resources to a degree that impedes the proper fulfilment of another role (Greenhaus/Beutell, 1985 in Kumara/Fasana, 2018). The area of work life conflict most studied is conflicts resulting from roles in both the work environment and the family (Kumara/Fasana, 2018: 479).

Returning to the gender dimension of their study, Kumara and Fasana (2018: 480) emphasise that social judgement for women and men derive from different aspects; for men it is mostly determined through the work role while for women family role historically and traditionally plays a more crucial role. With traditions slowly changing and women having started to work, when women put too much time and effort in their job, their main role as mother and wife suffers from that, hence, work life conflict is more likely to result for women (Xu, 2009 & Greenhaus/Beutell, 1985 in Kumara/Fasana, 2018: 480), however, research has found contradictory results.

The study supports previous studies in stating that the effect of work life conflict is still arguable, though a strong negative association was found between job satisfaction and turnover intention, which means that the higher the level of job satisfaction the less likely turnover intention arises (Kumara/Fasana, 2018: 482). The findings further concurred with previous studies that work life conflicts lead to absenteeism and turnover (Kumara/Fasana, 2018: 482). The hypothesis that job satisfaction presents a significant mediator between work life conflict and turnover intention in the apparel sector was supported (Kumara/Fasana, 2018: 482). A higher level of turnover intention was indeed found for women, which leads to the assumption that all off-the-job responsibilities accompanying the job-related responsibilities lead to higher work life conflict levels for women (Kumara/Fasana, 2018: 483).

In his study from 2015, Fernando wanted to find out more about the nature of work-family conflicts, which are part of work-life conflicts in the Sri Lankan textile industry, their factors and whether it varies depending on the status of the employee in terms of management or non-management. Fernando (2015: 42) takes as a starting point that employees have both roles within their families and roles within their working Environment. Work-family conflicts can hence be described as “conflicting role pressures between job and family that are incompatible so that participation in one role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the other (Greenhaus/Beutell, 1985 in Fernando, 2015: 42). It is important to note that most businesses are (rather) not family-friendly; job insecurity and financial crises can have significant effects on the family (Fernando, 2015: 42). The moment an employee becomes very committed to and involved in his or her employer organisation, he or she will be less involved with the family, which can be a starting point for conflict (Fernando, 2015: 42).

Thanks to his literature review, Fernando (2015: 45) identified five variables affecting work-family conflicts: work role, psychological anxiety, family commitment, salary and job security and attitude. Based on these findings, he conducted a qualitative study with 417 participants (350 non-management level employees and 67 management level employees) (Fernando, 2015). The study found that all non-management level employees reported some degree of work-family conflict while the greatest percentage (40%) stated a fair degree (though 36% stated a rather low degree of work family conflict) (Fernando, 2015: 46). The findings for management level employees showed that the tendency in this category seems to rather lean towards a slightly lower overall degree of work-family conflicts (Fernando, 2015: 47).

It was then analysed whether the five different variables were intercorrelated; all variables were found to be significantly correlated except for salary/job security and family commitment (Fernando, 2015: 47). This indicates that work-family conflicts can be triggered by one factor but “gradually other variables are contributing to accelerate the situation” (Fernando, 2015: 48). Fernando further claims to have proven that social stigma plays a role contributing to the high

level of turnover in the ready-made garment sector in Sri Lanka, just like work-family conflicts do (Fernando, 2015: 49).

Practical Implications and Recommendations

Finally, thanks to the several studies conducted, practical implications and recommendations could be formulated in order to reduce turnover in the Sri Lankan textile industry. Kumara/Fasana (2018: 483) propose the following practical policies for managers and employers in the ready-made garment sector of Sri Lanka in respect to work-life conflicts:

Managers should:

1. Be sensitive to work life conflicts and, for example, reduce overtime or night shifts for employees with small children,
2. Improve employees' benefits according to the tenure to make long-time involvement with organisation more attractive,
3. Establish welfare unions which enhance employees' relationships with their employer organisation,
4. Clearly and realistically portray tasks, duties, and responsibilities to employees during the recruitment process,
5. Introduce special events for partners, spouses, and family members of employees to include them more,
6. Introduce better leave policies as most employees are working far from home and would need leave to visit their family more regularly and
7. Establish mentoring and counselling services for employees to enhance their mental health.

Kumara and Fasana (2018: 483) propose further research to be conducted on factors like training as mediator between work life conflicts and turnover intention.

Fernando (2015: 50) proposes to, firstly, introduce welfare activities to maintain good mental and physical health of both employee and employer, and, secondly, offer direct job-related activities to maximise organisational profitability. In more detail, this means that working background is rearranged by the administration, that employers make sure to organise activities which promote holistic health of employees, to offer transparency and opportunities of involvement for the employees' families for better identification with working environment, employees' performances should be evaluated and feedback should be given accordingly and, finally, good industrial relations should be maintained between employee and employer (Fernando, 2015: 50).

Rathnayake and Gamage (2014: 76) also strongly encourage managers of textile factories to improve working conditions, increase financial rewards, and provide higher fringe benefits (Rathnayake/Gamage, 2014: 76). Thiranagama (2017: 417) generally emphasise the importance of managers and how they should work towards enhancing organisational commitment in order to prevent high turnover rates. To reduce turnover rates, Rajapaksha (2015: 194) proposes to improve employees' work environment, which includes reducing job stress and

workload, bettering organisational culture, introducing family-friendly policies, offer promotion, and introduce parental leave.

Liyanage and Galhena (2012: 121) propose to increase the level of salaries, introduce skill-based incentive schemes, provide facilities and treat employees friendly in order to reduce employee turnover rates. The importance of long-term policies is stressed which “should encompass basic human rights, recruitment and selection procedure, career planning and development, motivation, early socialization, labor administration, retirement benefits, and welfare of workers and legislation” (Rajapakse, 2018: 227). In conclusion, it can be stated that though the studies tackled slightly different subjects and analysed particular factors, the implications and recommendations for practice and government are very similar and overlap.

Conclusion

In the case of Sri Lanka, companies in the ready-made garment sector seem to not only compete for offering best prices and, hence, receiving good orders but there also seems to be necessity in competing for offering good, if not the best, working conditions as work force has shown to diminish in recent years. This opens up a new perspective to the analysis of the textile sector in Bangladesh where literature confirms the fact that voluntary employee turnover is a huge problem for the productivity, but where finding new employees was never said to be problematic, it was always just portrayed as costly. Hence, in the context of Sri Lanka, reducing employee turnover rates is not only profitable but rather vital for the survival of the industry. Furthermore, safety issues do not seem to play a role in the way they did in Bangladesh. What is mentioned in regard to safety, is the environment around workplace and residence, especially in the case of female workers. Moreover, managers are repeatedly said to be playing a crucial role in reducing turnover.

After an extensive analysis of the phenomena of absenteeism and turnover in the two main sites of textile and garment production globally, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, the following subchapters offer a brief summary of what was found concerning the problem in India, Myanmar, Pakistan, Indonesia, and Ethiopia.

INDIA

The Indian textile industry is amongst the leading ones in the sector (Chandiok, 2012: 90). The textile sector accounts for about 27% of India’s total foreign exchange and, in 2012, generated employment for more than 35 million people (Chandiok, 2012: 91). However, throughout the country, textile factories are struggling to retain their employees and, thus, struggle to ensure business success (Chandiok, 2012: 90).

The study conducted by Chandiok analysed which are the factors that lead to high turnover and which practices should be included in human resource management to retain employees. The study sets a particular focus on Grasim Bhiwani Textile Limited, but results apply to any other firm in the sector, too. According to Chandiok (2012: 91), “Grasim is world largest producer of viscos staple fiber and edible oil and textile production”. Chandiok (2012: 92) further stresses the importance of good human resource practices and declares that top management often fails to see the needs and demands of their employees. There are few textile mills in the country, which have already introduced human resource policies counteracting high turnover rates which can be learnt from (Chandiok, 2012: 92). The three “Rs” of employee retention are important guidelines in this context: respect, recognition, and rewards (Chandiok, 2012: 92). It is furthermore important to acknowledge that loyalty used to be the cornerstone of relationships between employee and employer, though “today, changes in technology, global

economics, trade agreements, and the like are directly affecting employee/employer relationships” (Chandiok, 2012: 98).

The study found that employees who left an organisation named the leading reasons of “culture, recognition, environment, policies of the organisation and the relationship with company and co-workers” (Chandiok, 2012: 98). Monetary rewards were found to play a crucial role, though less important than the factors mentioned before (Chandiok, 2012: 98). According to Chandiok (2012: 99), the career path is the most important factor for retaining employees. Concerning the pay factor, it cannot be neglected that Grasim seemed to pay a relatively good amount of money as most employees stated they found salary and incentives very good (Chandiok, 2012: 99). Hence, this might vary with factories where employees are paid less.

Employees were further asked to state what are strong areas of their workplace climate and which are weak. Strong areas were enjoyment of work-life by the employees, regular feedback on performance, performance appraisal system, a healthy relationship among employees and the growth aspect of employees (Chandiok, 2012: 99). Weak aspects were identified in the aspects of level of training, communication of weakness to employees, motivating employees, job rotation, opportunity, conflict between departments, taking employees’ suggestions seriously and, interestingly, low remuneration (Chandiok, 2012: 99).

Another study conducted by Rameshkumar and Subhashini in 2019 focused on the level and factors of stress that women experience in the textile industry by reference to Coimbatore City. The study found that workload, work condition, time management and environment among female employees play a significant role (Rameshkumar/Subhashini, 2019: 209). When asking for problems faced by women in the industry, it was interesting that no one stated that sexual harassment happens to them while it is known from other studies that it often occurs in textile factories (Rameshkumar/Subhashini, 2019: 209).

A study conducted by Nanjundeswaraswamy in 2016 aimed at identifying the reasons for absenteeism. It found that the major factors for employee absenteeism are “wages, other source of income, and bad relationship with supervisors” (Nanjundeswaraswamy, 2016: 275). Hence, it was concluded that work environment, specifically, the relationship with supervisors, play a crucial role for employee absenteeism.

A sub-chapter of an ILO report concerning the working conditions of women in the textile industry published in 2015 depicts interesting findings on how workers perceive the work in the garment industry. This might assist in understanding turnover in the sector. The report found that even though 65% of the respondents like working in the sector, it was mostly due to factors such as that the work is close to home, that there are good benefits and amenities and that hours and pay are good while salary was less important than compatibility with family commitments (ILO, 2015: 10). As negative aspects, the following reasons were named: poor wages, high production targets, poor working conditions and poor relationships between management and workers (ILO, 2015: 11). When being asked which one thing would keep them in the sector, higher wages was by far the most important factor, followed by better amenities and benefits (ILO, 2015: 11). On the other side, 45% of workers stated not imagining leaving the industry because of their dependence on the salary even though small (ILO, 2015: 11).

The respondents who already left the garment industry stated the following reasons: poor wages, high production targets, bad treatment, poor relationship with management, and the impossibility of taking leave (ILO, 2015: 12). An interesting question was asked on the level of contentment with the industry; whether they would like their children to work in the garment sector (ILO, 2015: 12). 88% of current and 86% of former workers said that they wish for their children not to work in the industry (ILO, 2015: 12). Concluding, first and foremost, employees

stay in the industry because of the “perceived lack of better income-earning alternatives” (ILO, 2015: 13).

MYANMAR

The textile and garment sectors in Myanmar have a long tradition and currently count about 400 factories with 350,000 labourers; the industry is constantly growing (Salingré, 2018: 60).

“Within the region, Myanmar’s labour productivity is still significantly lower than its neighbours like Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia (CEIC Data, 2016). The competitiveness of Myanmar’s garment industry on the global market is currently primarily based on low wages. Amongst other factors, two elements seem to have an important negative impact on labour productivity in the sector: extreme high turn-over and absenteeism rate. On average, labour turnover rate in garment sector of Myanmar is at 7% per month (reaching the peak of 12% in Chinese owned companies), which is higher than Bangladesh – 5% per month.”
ILO (2019)

However, labour turnover and absenteeism presents a significant issue for Myanmar’s garment sector. An ILO study (published in 2020) found that over a period of 12 months, the average turnover rate was 54.17 per cent across the 14 surveyed factories. The study states that “[o]f the 11,187 workers across the factories, 6,060 workers are leaving the factories each year” (ILO 2020: 17). The following three main reasons why workers quit their jobs could be identified: “1. They do not feel safe at work and do not like the workplace culture. 2. They are unhappy with their salary. 3. They want fairer and different work opportunities.” (ILO 2020: 20).

Furthermore, the following two studies offer both facts and figures on turnover in Myanmar’s garment sector plus some insights into the state of working conditions, pay etc. which are most likely interconnected with turnover.

In a report published in 2017 on labour issues in the food and garment sector of Myanmar, Bernhardt and colleagues offer some insights into employment dynamics and labour turnover in the garment industry, which are briefly summarised in the following. Thanks to an extensive survey, it was found that the average Myanmar garment enterprise employs about 650 labourers; the garment sector is booming, thus, an increase of 27% in the size of the labour force could be observed in the year of 2014 (Bernhardt et al., 2017: 9). Almost 90% of the textile workers were women (Bernhardt et al., 2017: 12). The labour turnover rate (the average share in an enterprise’s total workforce of all quitting workers in 2014) stood at 57%, meaning “an average factory saw more than half of its workforce leave in 2014” (Bernhardt et al., 2017: 10). The authors (Bernhardt et al., 2017: 10) further draw on a study by Tanaka (2016) which found that between 2013 and 2015, on average, 6% of workers voluntarily ended the employment relationship every month, which leads to an annual turnover rate of 70 to 75%.

The survey did not aim to provide information on the specific causes for the high turnover rates, however, mentions several studies conducted on the topic and offers an overview of factors which (could) play a role. According to several studies, job dissatisfaction is a main driver of turnover in general and Tanaka (2016 in Bernhardt et al., 2017: 11) found that turnover rates are higher in the factories with lower working standards. The discontentment with the management is also believed to play a major role (Tip, 2013 in Bernhardt et al., 2017: 11). This also relates to the shortcomings in management practices (including human resource practices) and the insufficient skills of supervisors and overseers in managing and motivating employees (ALR, 2016 & Oxfam, 2015 in Bernhardt et al., 2017: 11). Generally, missing is “a culture of dialogue and willingness to resolve disputes jointly between employers and employees” (Bernhardt et al., 2017: 11).

Interestingly, another factor identified is the lack of professionalism particularly amongst new entrants in the textile industry; a low level of frustration tolerance was reported, hence, many employees quit easily whenever they feel treated unfairly (Bernhardt et al., 2017: 11). High turnover rates might also be traced back to the constantly changing economy of the country and newly emerging job opportunities for low-skilled labourers (Bernhardt et al., 2017: 11). It is also reported that the garment industry, just like in Ethiopia, is often regarded a “first stop” for entering the industrial sector or migrating to the urban centres (Bernhardt et al., 2017: 11).

Furthermore, migration back to their homes plays a crucial role which means that many workers move back home “to engage in their communities, marry, start a family, take care of relatives, or embark on further education” (Bernhardt et al., 2017: 11).

In a study conducted in 2017, a baseline survey of Yangon’s garment sector workforce was carried out by the Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation (EMReF) and Andaman Research & Methodology, supported by the C&A Foundation. Chapters were, amongst others, presenting findings on demography of the workforce and employment context with little reference to the phenomena of turnover specifically, though offering helpful insights into working conditions, which can be considered causes for turnover.

It was found that a great share of labourers were young women between the ages of 18 and 23 (EMReF, 2017: 57). The workforce was not necessarily ethnically diverse with 75% of workers being Bamar (EMReF, 2017: 57). Moreover, 75% of the workers were single and of those married, only 38% had children (those are information asked during the hiring process) (EMReF, 2017: 32, 57). The sample showed that less than 20% of Yangon’s garment workforce had been in an employment relationship with their current factory for more than three years and turnover has been labelled a serious problem for the sector in news reports (EMReF, 2017: 27).

Concerning pay and working conditions, a couple of facts are highlighted in the following that might stand in correlation with turnover. 90% of respondents stated working between eight and ten hours per day while 8% reported working up to 12 hours regularly; Yangon’s garment workforce works six days a week (EMReF, 2017: 28). Almost 60% declared that they had worked in the sector for another factory before and bad pay was the reason for quitting in most cases (EMReF, 2017: 28). Moreover, mentioned were “the issues of factory rules and massive workloads; factory rules were often cited as oppressive, with severe restrictions on breaks (including lunch or bathroom) to other prohibitions on *thanaka* [some sort of traditional make-up], *betel* [plant chewing habit], or snacks. Also, a lack of time to drink water was reported by some workers, and leave restrictions were also burdensome” (EMReF, 2017: 28f). In their current employment relationship, for almost 90% an ID card was the only written evidence for the employment, hence, makes contract abuses more likely (EMReF, 2017: 29).

Furthermore, abuses in the workplace were reported with verbal abuse seeming to be the most common (39% stated having experienced themselves or witnessed) while for physical and sexualised violence, the figures were much lower, standing at 5.4% and 1.5% respectively (EMReF, 2017: 30). It is important to acknowledge though that especially with sexualised violence, the estimated number of unreported cases may be assumed significantly higher (EMReF, 2017: 30). When having been asked what the three most important characteristics are that they wish to see in their current employment, again, good base pay stood out significantly (67%) (EMReF, 2017: 32). Monthly pay was reported to not only depend on the base pay but is added up with per piece and overtime or solely overtime pay (EMReF, 2017: 40). Overtime pay was obligatory in most firms and even for those, which did not declare it obligatory, there is pressure to work overtime both from the supervisors as well as from the aspect of the amount of monthly pay, which is not sufficient without overtime bonuses (EMReF, 2017: 40). Payday is at the start of each month and is mostly paid in cash, sometimes in small notes, which makes it hard for employees to count and check (EMReF, 2017: 40). Furthermore, for many workers, salary slips were not clear and sometimes even written in Chinese or English (EMReF, 2017: 41). Interesting was that less-educated workers rather found their employment to be a “good job” compared to those with higher levels of education (EMReF, 2017: 33).

PAKISTAN

Pakistan is also regarded one of the major actors within the global textile industry (Afzal, 2012 in Makhdoom, 2017: 407). Textiles and garments are the largest industry in the country, counting about 40% of the country's employees (Makhdoom, 2017: 407). There are about 5,000 production units around Pakistan (Stotz, 2015 in Makhdoom, 2017: 407). As turnover is a severe problem for the industry as well (Makhdoom, 2017: 408; Nawaz et al., 2009), several studies analysed the phenomenon from different perspectives, and some will be briefly reviewed in the following.

In 2017, Makhdoom studied the causes of turnover in textile mills of Site Area Kotri, Pakistan. Site area Kotri hosts about 104 small to large scale firms, 30 of the 80 industrial units are textile mills and, in total, host about 18,000 employees (Makhdoom, 2017: 408). The study found that the most significant variable is the opportunity of alternate jobs, followed by job insecurity and poor rewards and benefits (Makhdoom, 2017: 417). Moreover, though less important, the variables work environment, management style and overtime availability were identified as being significantly related to turnover (Makhdoom, 2017: 417). In terms of demographics, only educational level was found to be correlated with turnover; the higher the level of education, the higher the chance of developing an intention to leave (Makhdoom, 2017: 417).

Nawaz and colleagues found in 2009 during research for their master's thesis that the average employee stays with one employer in the surveyed textile companies for five to eight months (Nawaz et al., 2009: 52). The study aimed to provide solid information on the factors causing voluntary employee turnover. The main factors were found to be job satisfaction, organisational commitment, working conditions, career growth, monetary rewards, better employment opportunities outside the current employer, ease of movement and employee's age (Nawaz et al., 2009: 52). Furthermore, a crucial factor was found to be the supervisor's negative behaviour towards subordinates (Nawaz et al., 2009: 52). This mostly overlaps with findings from Makhdoom (2017), an important difference is the age factor though.

In a study carried out in 2016 by Hassan and Mahmood, the relationship between human resource practices and organisational commitment was analysed. The study found a positive relationship between organisational commitment and human resource practices, including training and development, performance appraisal and compensation (Hassan/Mahmood, 2016: 27). Thus, human resource practices can have an enormous impact on the employee's organisational commitment and, hence, voluntary employee turnover can be reduced by enhancing human resource practices.

In a 2013 study by Qureshi and colleagues on how stress affects employee's behaviour, it was analysed how high stress ultimately leads to employee turnover. The authors (Qureshi et al., 2013: 764) identified ten different causes for work stress, which are overload, role ambiguity, role conflict, responsibility for people, participation, financial insecurity, lack of feedback, keeping up with quick technological change, being in an innovative role, career growth. The study found that when job stress increases, employees are more likely to develop a turnover intention (Qureshi et al., 2013: 768). The major factor of workload was found to be positively related to turnover intention while a negative relationship was found between good workplace environment and an intention to leave (Qureshi et al., 2013: 764, 768). Thus, the authors (Qureshi et al., 2013: 768) stress the importance of reducing work stress for employees and enhancing an enjoyable work environment.

INDONESIA

In all different country contexts, employee development in terms of career development and training was found to play an important role in retaining or losing employees. In the context of Indonesia, a study was published in 2019 by Kurniawati and Wahyuni focusing on employee development as a mediator and ultimately contributor to reducing voluntary employee turnover. Employee development was found to positively influence growth mindset meaning that they are willing to grow through training and constructive feedback from the management (Kurniawati/Wahyuni, 2019: 175). Furthermore, employee development was found to have a positive effect on empowerment; “workers feel that the results of their work have an impact on the company so that the promotion is considered by workers as recognition or appreciation for the contribution that has been given to the company” (Kurniawati/Wahyuni, 2019: 175). The third hypothesis was also supported stating that employee development influences turnover intention in a positive way as they feel acknowledged and supported (Kurniawati/Wahyuni, 2019: 175).

It was further found that growth mindset positively influences empowerment as “when workers feel they have mastered the job well, then workers will increasingly feel confident in doing and completing their work properly” (Kurniawati/Wahyuni, 2019: 175). Empowerment of workers further negatively affects turnover intention because employees that feel empowered will be more likely to feel motivated, connected and have a sense of belonging to the organisation, which counteracts turnover intention (Kurniawati/Wahyuni, 2019: 175). Moreover, was job security found to negatively affect turnover intention as if workers feel like their job is not secured, they will always be looking out for better alternatives (Kurniawati/Wahyuni, 2019: 175). Interestingly and expected differently, perceived job security is negatively affected by employee development which can be traced back to the fact that most employees in the garment industry are low-skilled workers with a low level of formal education, hence, they depend on employment in the sector (Kurniawati/Wahyuni, 2019: 175). Kurniawati and Wahyuni (2019: 176) hence propose to implement human resource practices, which prevent employees from feeling triggered by managers or supervisors in terms of perceived job security.

LESOTHO

In 2015, the top ten apparel-exporting countries in Sub-Saharan Africa were Mauritius, South Africa, Lesotho, Madagascar, Kenya, Botswana, Swaziland, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Malawi (McKinsey, 2015). Further textile and garment exporting African countries include Egypt and Ethiopia (Balchin/Calabrese, 2019; Chichester et al., 2017; Brooks, 2010). However, to date, the T&A export ratio remains fairly low in the continent (Textile Network, 2019).

Research findings on turnover and absenteeism in the textile industry in African countries are rather limited, however, the following section briefly sheds light onto the issues in Lesotho. Overall, the main challenges for female workers in sub-Saharan Africa’s textile and apparel sector were identified to be:

- poor remuneration relatively to rapidly rising living costs,
- job insecurity due to industry instability,
- a bad relationship with supervisors and lack of promotion possibilities,
- lack of (health) services,
- work-life conflicts,
- gender-based violence and sexual assaults both at home and at the workplace (Chichester, 2017).

Lesotho's textile and garment industry is a key driver of economic activities in the country with 80 per cent of people in manufacturing employed in this sector; it contributes to about one-third of Lesotho's GDP and 60 per cent of total exports (Balchin/Calabrese, 2019: 34). Nevertheless, the sector is uncompetitive which is caused, partly, by relatively high labour costs and low productivity in the sector (Balchin/Calabrese, 2019: 35). Letele (2018), in her doctoral thesis, studied an employee satisfaction management framework for the textile and garment industry in Lesotho and came up with industrial and organisational strategies to enhance the satisfaction of employees. On the organisational level, "compensation and benefits, improvement of working conditions, employee empowerment, training and development, employee and labour relations, organisational policy development and review, organisational leadership support, employment contracts, job, and recruitment and selection" (Letele, 2018: 385) need to be improved. Looking at the industry overall, "collective action strategies were the most essential among other strategies. These were followed by compliance strategies, legal support, training strategies, and social support strategies respectively" (Letele, 2018: 387).

KENYA

Wanja's master's thesis from 2009 assesses the factors of employee turnover in the textile and apparel industry in Kenya, particularly looking at the EPZs in Nairobi and Athi River. Though agriculture is the base for economic growth in Kenya, since the country's independence, the textile has become an engine of growth in the private sector, being the second largest employer after the service sector. The industry is divided into three segments which are yam, fabric and apparel manufacturing, however, owing to the climate conditions in Kenya, the focus was mainly on the production of cotton. Thanks to great investment in the sector, the number of weaving mills rose from six at independence to 52 in a short period of time (Wanja, 2009: 5). Due to several events, many textile firms eventually collapsed, nevertheless, the government came up with a strategy to revive the industry and in 2004, the textile sector employed almost 38,000 workers. Again, after the purchasing power of the majority of the population deteriorated and new import regulations had been decided by the United States, more than 12,000 workers lost their jobs (Wanja, 2009: 8). According to a research report from 2015, Kenya currently has 52 textile mills while only 15 of them are operational and with only 45 per cent capacity. They use outdated technology and demonstrate low productivity. Furthermore, the apparel sector contributes another 170 medium and large companies and about 74,000 small and micro-companies. 21 companies are located in the EPZ (Adamali et al., 2015: 9).

Wanja (2009) used semi-structured interviews on 45 respondents out of five different firms in the two EPZs. 71 per cent of all respondents obtain O-Level education while the remaining had a college certificate (Wanja, 2009: 29). The salary of most workers of the middle and lower levels of employment stood at 10,000 Ksh. and below (Wanja, 2009: 30). Following, 91 per cent of employees with low earnings express an intention to quit which lets remuneration stand out as a factor for voluntary turnover (Wanja, 2009: 33). This becomes even clearer when looking at a question where respondents had to indicate whether or not they agree with the statement that there is appropriate remuneration; 48 per cent indicated "strongly disagree" while another 21 per cent said "disagree" (Wanja, 2009: 34). When asked for the reasons which make them stay in the organisation, no one indicates that high earnings are amongst those. Another aspect which was is not seen as a reason to stay for most respondents (84 per cent) is career growth (Wanja, 2009: 36). This is underpinned by 48 per cent of respondents stating that they "strongly disagree" that career growth prospects in their employment contribute to their job satisfaction and another 9 per cent stating "disagree" (Wanja, 2009: 34). Furthermore, 91 per cent indicate that younger employees are more likely to quit their job (Wanja, 2009: 33). The factors least perceived with voluntary turnover by respondents were found to be a relocation of spouses and pregnancy. Another factor why employees might not

leave their job was that the employment in the textile and garment industry is the first step into the formal industrial employment for most workers which is why they are not leaving because they fear not being able to find a new job (Wanja, 2009). Concluding, poor remuneration was found to be the key factor for employee dissatisfaction, intention to leave, and ultimately, voluntary employee turnover.

GHANA

Nearly two decades after independence, the textile industry in Ghana was a very vibrant industry with more than 25,000 workers, producing for local, West African and international markets, contributing significantly to the economic growth of the country (Asare et al., 2019: 1). Then, however, the textile sector has experienced a considerable decline over the years, mainly as a consequence of “liberalisation programmes which made it almost impossible for Ghana’s textile products to compete with the cheap imports, particularly from Asia” (Quartey, 2006: 144). This eventually resulted in shutting down of most of the textile companies (Asare et al. 2019: 1).

To the best of our knowledge, there is no explicit literature on labour turnover and absenteeism in Ghana’s textile industry. In a report on women’s economic empowerment in respect to the apparel sector, Chichester and colleagues identify challenges, which might also contribute to turnover and absenteeism. For example, in the case of Ghana, public transportation and that female workers often struggle to find housing as landlords asked for a rent deposit were found to be challenges (Chichester et al., 2017: 12, 24). Many workers, furthermore, are interested in continuing their studies, for which they would wish for support from their employer (Chichester et al., 2017: 26). Interestingly, they report that to advance in their careers in the industry, they need additional education as on-the-job training is described as insufficient (Chichester et al., 2017: 26).

NAMIBIA

Namibia, like many other countries on the African continent, established Export Processing Zones (EPZs) as an attempt to become internationally competitive and move towards export-led growth (Jauch, 2007: 1). A national EPZ law was passed in Namibia already in 1995 as, according to Jauch (2007), the government believed that “EPZs were the only solution to high unemployment” (2f). A first study of the success of the EPZs was carried out in 1999 and presented findings which showed that very few jobs had been created thus far (Jauch, 2007: 3). Amongst other projects was the establishment of the Malaysian textile and garment company Ramatex in 2001 part of Namibia’s plan to create jobs and enhance economic development (Jauch, 2007: 3). The company started operation in 2002 and was expected to eventually create 5,000 to 7,000 jobs (Jauch, 2007: 4). Other sources even speak of 10,000 and more jobs (April et al., 2019; Flatters/Elago, 2008). In 2004, Ramatex indeed employed around 7,000 workers; 1,000 of them (even 2,000, according to Kameeta and colleagues (2007: 17), however, being Asian migrant workers (Jauch, 2007: 5). Ramatex had lower-than-expected productivity throughout all years of involvement in Namibia and shut down its operations in 2008 (Flatters/Elago, 2008; April et al., 2019: 92).

In terms of labour rights and working conditions, in 2004, a study found that, including long overtime work, employees only received N\$700 (which at that time was equivalent to about US\$100) per month and, hence, saw themselves forced to work overtime to cover their living expenses while foreign workers received a monthly salary of US\$300 to \$US400 plus overtime payment (Jauch, 2007: 4f.). Furthermore, most workers had to walk long distances to get to

work which, especially for women, presented a risk. Allergic reactions to the dust and chest problems were common, work-related accidents were happening frequently and sick leave was treated as unpaid leave (even if that violated the labour act). Workers further reported humiliation when being searched before and after work (especially for women), explained that they “experienced inhumane treatment from their supervisors” (Jauch, 2007: 5) and were described “lazy and useless” (Jauch/Shindondola, 2003 in Jauch, 2007: 5). Moreover, another study from 2003 found that workers faced age and gender-based discrimination and unfair recruitment procedures (pregnancy test) and rules or criteria for promotion were unclear (Flatters/Elago, 2008: 13). Further, workers received late salary payment, had to clean offices instead of tailoring and had unclear contracts (Chilombo/Liz, 2005).

Labour strikes in 2002 and 2003 brought about only minor changes and collective bargaining seemed to be unsuccessful. In 2006, however, a strike of workers brought production to a standstill and “achieved what 4 years of negotiations had failed to deliver: Wage increases of 37% plus the introduction of housing and transport allowances, plus a pension fund and an optional medical aid scheme” (Jauch, 2007: 7). Though wages remained below minimum wages of most other industries in Namibia, this case is an example of the potential power of labour strikes. Nevertheless, Ramatex has contributed to an increased number of working poor which, though working full-time, struggle to make ends meet (Kameeta et al., 2007: 18). Notwithstanding the problematic working conditions, labour turnover rates at Ramatex were reported to be very low, ranging from two to five per cent annually of which two per cent were attributed to HIV/AIDS (Flatters/Elago, 2008: 13).

ETHIOPIA

As previously mentioned, the literature on the phenomenon of turnover in the Ethiopian textile industry is still rare due to the sector’s relatively short history in the country. Nevertheless, to point out the current state of research, the studies already conducted in that field are reviewed in this chapter. In general, one main factor for high turnover rates seems to be disappointment over low wages, which do not cover living expenses; it hence “depends on how expectations are managed and the tolerance that migrant workers display in each context” (Oya, 2019: 678).

The NYU Stern report written by Barrett and Baumann-Pauly (2019: 17) offers some basic figures on turnover and absenteeism rate in the Hawassa Industrial Park:

“At most factories, absenteeism and attrition have come down from the heights of the first year, although they’re still not at acceptable levels for efficient manufacturing. Attrition at Hawassa factories runs at 5% to 10% a month, according to employers. On an annual basis, this translates to 60% to 120%, the latter meaning there’s more than complete turnover in just one year.”

In a master’s thesis, Hailu studied the perceived causes of employee turnover in the case of Shints ETP Garment PLC in 2016, which offers first insights into what could be considered causes for voluntary employee turnover in the Ethiopian textile industry. The factory measured extremely high turnover rates especially for women between 2014 and 2016, which amounted 89.34% in average per year (Hailu, 2016). Interviews were conducted first and foremost with former employees of the factory; furthermore, a human resource manager was interviewed (Hailu, 2016).

The study mainly focused on former employees in the production department; about 60% of respondents were female and almost 70% were unmarried (Hailu, 2016). Furthermore, the

“The Ethiopian workforce is not yet programmed for industrialization. High turnover and absenteeism rates paired with a low level of demand for jobs in the textile sector challenges manufacturers, who aim to increase productivity and quality levels. The lack of industrial work mentality, however, pushes manufacturers to act culturally sensitive in order to attract and retain workers.

Feldt/Klein (2016: 78)

study found that most former employees show a low level of formal education (Hailu, 2016). Concerning wages, almost 50% of the respondents agreed that one significant reason they left Shints ETP Garment PLC was that they felt their payment was inadequate to their duties and that wages differed even though employees were doing the same job (Hailu, 2016: 29f).

Almost 50% further stated that they left the employment relationship because other companies offered higher salaries (Hailu, 2016: 30). Another factor affecting employee turnover rates was found to be the lack of prospects of promotion; many respondents reported that they were not satisfied with the type of work (Hailu, 2016: 35). Job insecurity was another factor found to draw employees towards leaving the company and the problem of not being able to use skills plus outdated training were identified as potential factors (Hailu, 2016). The working environment in terms of, for instance, the organisation of transport and working hours was reported to not have had any negative influence on the former employees' turnover intentions (Hailu, 2016). Concluding, Hailu (2016) found that the level of wages was the main factor affecting employee turnover intention at Shints ETP Garment PLC. The subsequent policy proposal is, besides improving other observed factors, to firstly improve the level of wages to sustain the workforce.

In 2011, Kumar published research conducted on causes for turnover based on the case of ArbaMinch Textile Company in Arba Minch. Kumar's study (2011: 32, 43) regarded gender, age, experience and departmental dimensions and found that most important precedent for turnover are low wages and better opportunities elsewhere. Further found was "a lack of good relationship between superior and subordinate, training, recognition of job, evaluation of job performance, proper direction, promotion and participation in decision-making" (Kumar, 2011: 32). Interestingly, turnover was highest among experienced and highly performing male employees (Kumar, 2011: 32). The author (Kumar, 2011: 44) further encourages an open dialogue between management and employees.

Feldt and Klein's study from 2016 on the concept of "social upgrading" in the context of the Ethiopian textile sector offers some insights into what managers, human resource experts, civil society actors, and manufacturers perceive to have helped reduce turnover and absenteeism in their factories. While the Ethiopian work mentality is seen as one of the major issues leading to low productivity in the sector, it was found that because of the aforementioned fact employers are urged to take measurements to enhance productivity (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 72). The high turnover rates of employees were commonly seen as a problem and some employers have already come up with and introduced strategies to reduce it (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 72). The authors argue that high turnover rates in the Ethiopian textile industry "stem from two factors; the pride of the Ethiopian people and very low wages" (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 72). According to international managers and buyers, the Ethiopian history, which has, in contrast to all other textile countries, no colonial history, makes workers "believe that they are superior than anybody else because they have never been ruled by anybody. [...] they don't have the colonial complex as people in for instance Bangladesh" (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 72f). Many interviewees reported that they had had the experience that Ethiopians do not tolerate being treated poorly and disrespectfully and would rather leave the job (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 73).

Feldt and Klein (2016) point out various strategies that are used by the industry to decrease turnover. Just like studies from organisational psychology and studies from countries like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka suggest, career growth and development of workers within their employment was found to have an impact: this includes higher salaries and/or adjusting job titles and/or including additional benefits to show appreciation towards their contribution to the success of the business which, in turn, result in enhanced job satisfaction and, ultimately, in more productive workers and less absenteeism and turnover (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 73f).

"They will rather suffer and be hungry and die than working under bad conditions and give away their pride. (...) This will lead the companies to not have the same conditions in Ethiopia as in Bangladesh. The Ethiopian society is very sensitive. If they feel that something is not convenient they just say no."

Feldt/Klein (2016: 73)

In the case of Ethiopia (if not in every intercultural context), human resource personnel and civil society actors state that it must be ensured that managers and supervisors are “treating workers respectfully and with cultural sensitivity in mind” (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 74). One manager quoted in the study explains he “has realized that you cannot make the Ethiopian workers work faster by increasing your voice” (Feldt/Klein 2016: 75).

Factories should start investing in their workers and regard them as a crucial asset to the business, as doing so would reduce turnover and enhance work engagement for employees as civil society actor C makes clear when illustrating the Ethiopian way of thinking: “If my child falls sick, and if my company is then giving me medical support for my kid or daycare, I will die for that company’s profit!” (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 74). International manufacturer B explains how his strategy of adapting to the Ethiopian work mentality has helped him and his business; he, for instance, forbid supervisors to shout at workers and urged them to talk issues through with them to find a solution to the problem (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 75). He furthermore plans to introduce additional benefits such as a child day-care centre (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 75).

On the issue of absenteeism in particular, it was found that many low-skilled Ethiopian workers “are not used to contractual work and do not understand the rights and obligations which come with industrial employment” (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 76). Often, after payday, workers do not return to the workplace until the salary is spent; or, sometimes, holidays or family functions may be extended to several days and, without letting the supervisor or manager know, workers stay away from work (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 76). International manager B declares that because of the strong family support system culture in Ethiopia, workers are relatively relaxed about losing their job, however, to hold more appeal to continue to attend work regularly, most manufacturers offer bonus payments of about ETB150 a month to anyone who does not accrue any absent days for a whole month (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 77). International manufacturer B states that this has reduced absenteeism even though most months only 50% of the workers qualify for the bonus (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 77). Establishing child day-care centres might be another aspect, which can reduce absenteeism and enhance work engagement for employees at the factories (Feldt/Klein, 2016: 77).

This study emphasises cultural aspects should be taken into account when further developing strategies to attract and to retain workers. As much as the creation of industrial jobs is needed in Ethiopia, it should not be overlooked that for the people of Ethiopia, social security and survival has (traditionally and to this day) been strongly tied to the (extended) family networks. They play a crucial role in the Ethiopian culture. In case of unemployment, the families are expected to provide for each other. As one factory manager quoted in the study stated: “They are not bothered. They will think this way: ‘I’ll go back, I get the job back, otherwise fine. My family is there to feed me’.” (Feldt/Klein 2016: 76). Another international manufacturer draws a comparison to Asian culture: “We (Asians) need money, we need a job. People are scared. People really want to earn money. But here they don’t care, you either raise the salary or people would say, ‘I go back home, I don’t want work’” (Feldt/Klein 2016: 76). The kind of safety net that families represent allows workers more or less free choice regarding the acceptance and retention of industrial work. It “provides most Ethiopians with an alternative to work” (Feldt/Klein 2016: 76). The challenge to find the required amount of people willing to work for a low salary, not requiring much professional progression, has come as a surprise to the foreign investors (Feldt/Klein 2016: 76). However, also local manufacturers struggle with recruitment. Feldt and Klein conclude: “The low salaries coupled with the cultural habit of providing for your family members makes the textile industry unattractive for workers. [...] Further research should shed light on how to attract the urgently needed workers to textile factories” (2016: 78).“

In a master's thesis from June 2020, Beyene empirically assessed high labour turnover in the Ethiopian textile industry. Beyene collected data from a sample of 142 respondents which were workers from four different textile manufacturing companies (Canoria Africa Textile PLC, Bishoftu; JP Textile Ethiopia Plc, Hawassa; Ammar PolicyPropile PLC, Kombolcha; AlmendaTextile, Axum) of which, however, 82 per cent were male. Both male (83%) and female (89%) workers stated their intention to leave the job (Beyene, 2020: 36). Important to regard is also that the salary of respondents ranged from ETB700 to ETB9,000 per month which indicates that the survey not only studied operators. In terms of wage, 61 per cent of respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with their salary and 86 per cent of those workers stated that they intend to leave the job, though, even of those workers who reported being satisfied with or neutral about their salary, expressed the intention to quit (Beyene, 2020: 40). Beyene (2020: 41) found that machine operators are more likely to want to leave their job owing to the difficult nature of their job. However, similar to the context of wages, even 79 per cent of those who responded with satisfaction or neutrality towards the working environment, reported high likeliness to leave the job (Beyene, 2020: 41). Harming conditions of the working environment were found to be sound pollution, fatigue and dust which affect lungs, kidneys and sight of workers. In total, 84 per cent of the respondents reported an intention to leave the job (Beyene, 2020: 42f). Through an econometric analysis, job dissatisfaction was found to be the most critical factor determining workers' decision to leave (Beyene, 2020: 47). Furthermore, strong relations of actual turnover were found to exist with the working environment and salary (Beyene, 2020: 51). Beyene (2020: 52), furthermore, found a negative relation between good relationships with supervisors and bigger families, the latter indicating a risk aversion behaviour of workers of losing their job.

Beyene (2020: 53) recommends for the management of textile firms to revisit and improve their management style, especially create a sense of belongingness. Furthermore, wages need to be adapted to workload and stress, female workers should enjoy certain working conditions such as not working night shifts and the establishment of a worker's union is encouraged. Beyene (2020: 53) further recommends further research to better understand the factors influencing voluntary labour turnover.

In a study conducted to find out more about the state of the industrial workforce in the Tigray region, Gebremeskel and colleagues (2019) also provided information on turnover rates in different factories including those in the Mekelle Industrial Park. It is stated that the region is characterised by low productivity and high turnover rates; "about 250 workers leave the factories every week" (Gebremeskel et al., 2019: 37). Firms identified the following factors as hindering to find and retain employees: low wages, inconvenient working place, shortage of skilled labour, lack of labour incentives, high price of accommodation, implement job/nature of the job, lack of access to transport, lack of attractive social services, lack of training and development, etc. (Gebremeskel et al., 2019: 43).

Moreover, the researchers (Gebremeskel et al., 2019: 40, 47f) found that, compared to other states, a very small number (3.5%) of firms offer formal training to their employees and that most firms did not provide their employees with insurances or paid leave. Though, they observed that other schemes were used by firms to retain their labourers such as "recruitment related realistic job previews, allowances, promotions, and privileges" (Gebremeskel et al., 2019: 45).

Hardy and Hauge (2019) describe turnover as an individual exit strategy of labourers who are not yet organised to come up with collective strategies in order to influence work practices in the textile industry. The authors state that a number of studies have shed light on policies implemented by the Ethiopian government to encourage labour-intensive industrial development, however, labour dynamics have been neglected by research (Hardy/Hauge, 2019:

713). For the agricultural workers it does not seem to be easy to adapt to the industrial labour system and discipline of factory work (Hardy/Hauge, 2019: 713). Hardy and Hauge refer to E.P. Thompson's classic study of time discipline in British factories. The study has shown that similar problems could be observed during the early industrialisation and introducing of textile industry in Great Britain. In his historical analysis, Jeremy Rifkin (1987) has described the radical social change that came with the enforcement of industrial time discipline in European societies.

During their fieldwork in 2015/16, Hardy and Hauge conducted interviews with managers and workers of textile companies in and around Addis Ababa. "[W]hile most managers described workers as undisciplined, the workers interviews revealed that the actions of protesting, leaving a company, or failing to be present at work were motivated by more complex rationales" (Hardy/Hauge, 2019: 723). Managers were challenged by high rates of labour turnover, although many offer a range of non-wage benefits to their workers such as free meals, medical services, annual leave, free transport, and other incentives (Hardy/Hauge, 2019: 729, 731). The managers perceived high labour turnover as the main cause of poor performance of factories. Various explanations for the problem were given by representatives of government and firms: "low wages, workers' unfamiliarity with industrial work, higher salaries in the construction and service industries in Addis Ababa, and the fact that most workers view work in an apparel or footwear factory as a temporary stage in their lives." (Hardy/Hauge, 2019: 729-730). The workers who were interviewed did not express major concerns around job security. Most of the workers expressed their desire to leave their current employer and to start their own business. Moreover, the informal labour market offers alternatives and insofar provides a safety net to the labourers. Several workers reported having second jobs in the informal sector (Hardy/Hauge 2019: 730). Hardy and Hauge conclude that "both foreign and locally owned firms generally addressed turnover without offering significant concessions to workers, particularly in terms of wages. The Ethiopian government has been broadly supportive of this strategy" (2019: 732).

In a 157-page document, launched in 2020 by the Ethiopian Investment Commission (EIC), in consultation with the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MoTI) and the Ethiopian Textile Industry Development Institute (ETIDI), it is stated that despite the „statistical oversupply of labour and attractive nominal wage rates“, the country is struggling "to ensure a competitive supply of labour to zone factories because of dysfunctional labour, housing, transport and other markets" (EIC/MoTI/ETIDI, 2020: 37). The paper further says that

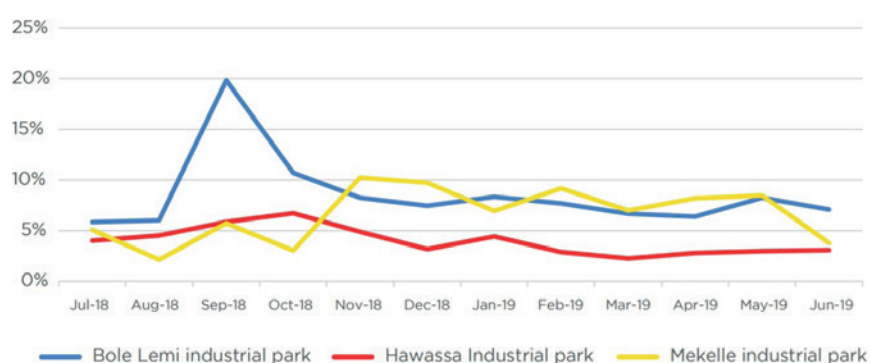
"[i]ncoming investors frequently underestimate, and fail to quantify, the impact of the labour and social issues that come with their investment. It is only when they reach full operating strength they try to cope with the symptoms of dysfunction such as late-coming, absenteeism, ill-discipline, errors and waste, strikes and labour turnover." (EIC/MoTI/ETIDI, 2020: 37)

It is also mentioned in the paper that "employers seldom conduct a root cause analysis to identify the real drivers of conflict and as such condemned to operate at low levels of efficiency and profitability, constraining company revenues and workers pay" (EIC/MoTI/ETIDI, 2020: 37).

The statement indicates that, from the stakeholders' perspective, worker wages can only be increased if labour problems are better managed. By referring mainly to the problematic work attitude of the labourers (who „struggle to adopt to the rhythm and discipline of factory work“), the paper overlooks the fact that from the labourers' point of view, it is precisely the disproportionate pay that is seen as one major cause of high turnover.

The Ethiopian government's strategy to create industrial job opportunities for low skilled workers attracted foreign investors and companies to include Ethiopia into the Global Value Chain of textile and garment production. However, high rates of turnover and absenteeism present a major challenge for the companies. Based on the literature reviewed, it can be concluded that textile companies, in order to reduce absenteeism and to retain their employees, should increase the workers' wages, and improve working conditions as well as their human resource strategies.

Monthly labour turnover, Bole Lemi, Hawassa and Mekelle Industrial Parks



Source: Bekkers/Ritchie, 2020: 42

Concluding the chapter on labour turnover and absenteeism in the Ethiopian textile industry, table above offers an overview of the figures of labour turnover in the Ethiopian parks from July 2018 to June 2019. It is vital to regard the fact that these figures present the pre-COVID-19 state, however, they offer an orientation to the differences between the different parks. Here, it becomes clear that Hawassa Industrial Park seems to have the lowest figures for labour turnover ranging between three and six per cent (Bekkers/Ritchie, 2020: 42). The authors of the report explain the higher worker retention rates at Hawassa Industrial Park through the HIP Sourcing and Training Employees in the Region (HIPSTER) program that was launched in 2016.

Excursus I: Wages and Labour Turnover in other Employment Sectors

To better assess wages paid in the textile industry, the following section provides a brief overview of wages in other industrial employment sectors. Blattman, Dercon and Franklin (2019) argue that developing industrial sector jobs to foster decent employment for low skilled workers and to build labour markets is often seen as a crucial step in broad-scale economic development and poverty reduction. However, they point out, “while highly developed industrial sectors may result in competition and wage growth, factory jobs can also involve low wages and hazardous working conditions”. They further note that “[t]o date, little research has examined the effects of early-stage industrialization jobs on worker well-being, economic or labor market outcomes, or the preferences of workers themselves”.

In their long-term study (2010-2018), Blattman and colleagues partnered with Ethiopian firms (a beverage producer, a horticulture farm, a flower farm, a shoe factory, and a garment factory) across four regions of the country, including rural and urban areas. In the study, randomly assigned mostly female jobseekers received an industrial job offer or an unconditional cash transfer which was meant to motivate self-employment. The industrial job positions involved

working in production lines (like bottling water, picking and packing products and flowers, cutting fabric, or sewing shoes). 45 to 50 hours of work over five to six days per week were required. The typically daily wages ranged from US\$1 to US\$1.50 (US\$20 to US\$36 per month).

The study has shown that after one year of employment in the industries, the workers' wages were lower than the income of those who got engaged in informal self-employment. Furthermore, within the first year of employment, 77 per cent of the industrial workers who took part in the study had left their jobs and the industrial sector entirely – many of them without having alternative employment. After five years, only 12 per cent were remaining in their job. The authors conclude that the jobs in the industrial sector were “unpleasant jobs, used by individuals as a last resort or safety net”. The study also indicates that a large number of industrial workers were regularly engaging in some self-employment activities as a temporary alternative to wage work. Those who worked in the factories for several months complained about serious health problems. The study suggests “a view that industrial work is not particularly high-quality, and not particularly skilled and high-paying (at least at this stage of development in Ethiopia)”. Workers could not get better wages than in other low-paid sectors. On the other hand, the start-up grants did not show a positive long-term effect on the beneficiaries. The cash brought about a temporary improvement in living conditions rather than a permanent end to poverty.

Another example is presented by Staelens (2016) in her PhD thesis on labour turnover in the cut-flower industry in Ethiopia. The author is focussing on workers' perceptions about their working conditions and how they themselves evaluate and seek to improve the quality of their working life. The thesis is structured in three parts: In part one, the author seeks to understand why Ethiopian flower farm workers massively quitted their formal wage work in the flower farms. In part two, she researches how flower farm managers developed strategies to deal with these high levels of labour turnover. Finally, in part three, she examines why workers choose an ‘exit strategy’ instead of using their ‘voice’ to formulate their grievances and to improve their working conditions.

To reduce internal competition, all flower farms agreed to pay similar wages to their workers – on average between ETB550 and ETB600 per month (US\$14 to US\$15) (Staelens, 2016: 48). In average, respondents stated to work 48 hours per week (Staelens, 2016: 50). The study highlights that workers did not understand how their wages were structured. Besides their formal (basic) wage, workers also received bonuses and penalties for a variety of occasions:

“Reasons given by workers why they sometimes received a bonus included: hard working, no absenteeism (attendance bonus), having met targets (productivity bonus) and working during holidays (overtime premium rate). Reasons given by workers for being disciplined in the form of a wage deduction included: absenteeism, losing or breaking material, laziness and having a poor record system. All farms seemed to have adopted this complex carrot-stick approach, with the exception of one farm. This farm, which was a not-certified farm, did not believe in bonuses but only foresaw in penalties. Though managers argued that a carrot-stick approach was the best way to motivate workers, our findings suggest the need to make the wage structure more transparent and more simple than it was at the time of our data collection” (Staelens, 2016: 48-49).

Though well-intended and aimed to give workers a sense of job security, deductions for tax and pensions were also found to have an undesirable effect of inducing turnover (Staelens, 2016: 50). After 45 days, workers in the cut-flower farms experience a wage reduction because they suddenly had to start paying taxes and pensions contributions. As the workers considered their wages already extremely low, several workers continuously tried to move in

and out of the farm, juggling between their flower farm job and short-term assignments like road construction work. One manager commented:

“And then, maybe by that time they will come here to work for us and then when they get that advantage [of finding a short term alternative job opportunity] again, they will return back. And then also in the government policy, also they have to pay pension. So if they become permanent, after the 45 days, it means the wage will include to pay pension for them. It is the government regulation, we have to adapt! So they don’t want. They don’t want to pay for a pension [and because of this they leave]” (Staelens, 2016: 50).

Moreover, job security is limited in the cut-flower industry as workers are often hired on a seasonal or even less secure basis. The cut-flower industry is also characterised by the intensive use of chemicals and fertilisers. Workers are often exposed to these agrochemicals which can cause serious health problems (Staelens, 2016: 64). Though, the study identifies low wages to be the main reason for the high labour turnover. Regarding the extend of turnover, one manager explains:

“At least 40% are permanent, stable here. Then, about 30% you can take them, either next year they will go in the 40% or they will join the turnover. 30% is always [on the move]” (Staelens, 2016: 49).

Staelens (2016: 59) concludes:

“The results of the study show that workers left their formal wage work because they were dissatisfied with the extrinsic job rewards (wage, job security and a healthy work environment) offered by flower farms.”

Excursus II: Wages and Living Expenses in Comparison

To better relate the analysis of factors influencing labour turnover in Ethiopia, this short excursion into comparable wages and the general living expenses in economic centres of Ethiopia is essential to contextualise the workers’ discontentment with the profession of operators. First, according to the online page Wage Indicator (2019), “[t]here is not a single answer to what is the adequate cost of living. The result is complex, as the cost of living varies by household composition, location, and employment pattern”. Though, the living wage calculated for a single adult without children ranges from ETB3,880 to ETB5,790 (Wage Indicator, 2019).⁷ Here, one can see an enormous gap between what the real average wage of workers in the manufacturing sector is.

Looking at the issue of real wages, literature from 2019 suggests that in the manufacturing sector, average monthly wages stood at ETB1,217 (Chinese companies), ETB1,269 (other foreign companies) and ETB1,450 (Ethiopian companies) (Schaefer/Oya, 2019: 30). In the construction sector, in contrast, average wages ranged from ETB1,503 (Chinese companies) over ETB1,740 (other foreign companies) to ETB1,699 (Ethiopian companies) (Schaefer/Oya, 2019: 30). Average wages in flower farms, however, presented themselves ranging from ETB800 to ETB1,100 in 2014 (Schaefer/Oya, 2019). The wages indicate the cash take-home pay for workers and do not include transport allowances, food provision, or other possible benefits. Schaefer and Oya (2019: 34) furthermore found that only 27 per cent of low-skilled workers in the manufacturing sector reported their earnings to be sufficient while in the con-

7 “The Living Wage is an approximate income needed to meet a family’s basic needs including food, housing, transport, health, education, tax deductions and other necessities” (Wage Indicator, 2019).

struction sector, 42 per cent did so. In the construction sector wages for low-skilled workers are higher than in manufacturing.

Schaefer and Oya (2019), though, raise an important point by stating that only looking at the monthly wages disregards the differences in weekly working hours, hence, emphasise the need to look at hourly wages of low-skilled workers in the manufacturing sector which are ETB4.6 (Chinese companies), ETB5.5 (other foreign companies) and ETB5.8 (Ethiopian companies). Moreover, wages seem to be significantly (19%) lower for workers in industrial parks compared to companies outside the parks (Schaefer/Oya, 2019: 40). In their study Schaefer and Oya (2019: 34), “large numbers of respondents report that the wages they receive are not sufficient to cover their monthly expenditure”.

A teacher in Addis Ababa, on average, earns ETB9,440 per month while, for example, an unskilled female labourer in the domestic industry works in a family for an average salary of ETB1000 with costs of food, accommodation and hygiene being covered by the employers.⁸ In Hawassa, in comparison, a schoolteacher earns between ETB2,000 to ETB4,000 while the salary of housemaids ranges from ETB800 to ETB1,500.⁹ Informal daily labourer in the capital, such as in the construction sector or shoeshine boy, make between ETB200 and ETB250 a day.¹⁰

Blattman and Dercon (2018) found that “[a]fter one year, offers of an industrial job did not lead applicants to experience better economic outcomes relative to the comparison group – they did not have higher weekly earnings and their wages were also lower and hours longer than those who got engaged in informal self-employment”. The wage of workers in the textile sector is nowhere close to remunerate the workers for their hard employment (Kiruga, 2019; “Ethiopia Gambles”, 2019). One of the reasons for the extremely low wages lies in the absence of a sector-based minimum wage in Ethiopia.

Important, here, is also to shed light onto the living expenses that Ethiopian workers have. The location of an industrial park can negatively affect the living costs of workers. These “are substantially higher in Addis Ababa, meaning that Addis-based workers are likely to also demand higher wages” (Schaefer/Oya, 2019: 40). Employees of industrial parks outside of Addis Ababa face lower living costs. However, rising living costs are also an issue outside of Addis Ababa. Also in Hawassa, workers “are deeply concerned about the high and rising costs of living” (Schaefer/Oya, 2019: 40).

According to the WFP Ethiopia Market Watch report from May 2020, the prices for maize, which is the most affordable grain in Ethiopia, have increased alarmingly. The same report states that the teff retail prices reached a historic high of ETB37/kg in April 2020. This was 93 per cent above the five-year average price in 2015 and 52 per cent above the corresponding average for the previous year. Overall, the the „December 2020 Country Level Consumer Price Index has increased by 18.2 percent as compared to December 2019” (Central Statistics Agency, 2021). The inflation can be traced back to both the politically unstable situation and the restrictions of movements to control the COVID-19 pandemic in Ethiopia (Fews Net, 2020).

The cost of rental housing on the peripheries of Addis Ababa, according to information gained through interviews with textile workers, stands between ETB1,000 and ETB1,500 (Mitta,

8 These figures were researched by Gifawosen Markos Mitta, a PhD student in the project on labour turnover and absenteeism in the Ethiopian textile industry (Institute of Sociology, Giessen University; principal investigator: Prof. Dr. Reimer Gronemeyer).

9 These figures were researched by Setisemhal Getachew Teshale, a PhD student in the in the same project.

10 Research by Mitta.

2019). In contrast, the Wage Indicator (2019) proposes a significantly higher average expense for housing which ranges from ETB1,760 to ETB2,520 per month for a single adult. The average monthly expenditure for transportation for a single adult is estimated to be ETB250 to ETB355 (Wage Indicator, 2019). In Hawassa, transportation by minibus or Bajaj costs about ETB15 per 5 km.¹¹

11 Research by Teshale.

8. CONCLUSION

The presented research results indicate that the problem of high turnover and absenteeism of labour force in the textile and garment industry basically exists in all countries where textile industry has been introduced. Some of the reviewed studies present the attempts made to tackle the problem, highlighting those considered fairly successful. However, compared to other countries, in Ethiopia, recruiting and particularly retaining workers seems to be an even greater challenge for the textile and garment industry. Three factors can be considered the main reasons for this:

1. Textile parks in Ethiopia present a relatively young development and the (mostly female) workers have not yet adapted to the industrial work culture;
2. Textile and garment workers in Ethiopia get significantly lower pay compared to other countries and in relation to the basic living costs in the country;
3. The (extended) families still provide a solid safety net, which allows people in Ethiopia to be largely independent from the formal labour sector.

The literature review presented here provides a steppingstone for further research. The aim of the review was not only to present existing research findings, but also to stimulate further research questions.

From the authors' point of view, it would be important that future research contribute to a deeper mutual understanding of the parties involved: regarding the perspectives of workers, factory managers, human resource managers a.s.o.

To conduct extensive research on the issue of voluntary employee turnover and absenteeism in the Ethiopian textile and garment sector is seen as crucial, since the problem negatively affects the sector's efficiency and threatens Ethiopia's goal of becoming an industrialised country with a lower-middle-income status by 2025.

The research project, in the context of which this literature review was developed, claims to offer a broader study by examining and comparing various textile and garment producers across Ethiopia with regard to the massive problem of labour turnover and absenteeism, using primarily qualitative methods and focussing mainly on the workers' perspectives. The study features a multi-perspective analysis on socio-economic, organisational-psychological, structural-organisational, and socio-cultural (as well as gender-related) influencing factors on labour turnover and absenteeism.

The existing state of research on labour turnover and absenteeism in the textile industry, particularly on the Ethiopian one, shall be enriched and deepened through the study of the still relatively young textile parks in Ethiopia.

Based on the results of the study and talks with the stakeholders, concrete measures to reduce labour turnover and absenteeism will be suggested. The proposed measures will differentiate according to whether employers, representatives of the employees, the government, NGOs, or the EU (particularly the German development cooperation) can implement them. First interim results will be published shortly.

9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction

- ABA ROLI (2017). *Case Study: Ethiopian Textile Industry*. American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative, Chicago.
- Barrett, P. M./Baumann-Pauly, D. (2019). *Made in Ethiopia: Challenges in the Garment Industry's New Frontier*. NYU Stern Center for Business and Human Rights, New York.
- Beatrice, G./Damestoy J.-B./Gendt van M. (2019). *Sourcing Textiles and Garments in Ethiopia. A new sourcing destination*. MVO Netherlands, Utrecht.
- Belete, A. K. (2018). *Turnover Intention Influencing Factors of Employees: An Empirical Work Review*. Journal of Entrepreneurship & Organization Management, Vol. 7, No. 3.
- Caria, S. (2019). *Industrialization on a Knife's Edge Productivity, Labor Costs and the Rise of Manufacturing in Ethiopia*. World Bank Group, Washington DC.
- Cepheus Research & Analytics (2019). *Ethiopia's Industrial Parks: A Data Pack on Recent Performance*. Cepheus Growth Capital Partners, New York.
- Diriba, M./Ghadai, S. K./Misra, S. N. (2019). *Ethiopia as a Newly Emerging Global Textile Centre: A Review*. In: International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering, Vol. 7, No. 6, 583-590.
- Feldt, K./Klein, J. (2016). *Made in Ethiopia: The Potential for Social Upgrading in the Ethiopian Textile Industry*. Master's Thesis. Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen.
- Francis, A. (2017). *Mapping of the Garment and Textile Industry in Ethiopia*. Mondial FNV, Amsterdam.
- Gebre-Egziabher, T./Yemeru, E. A. (2019). *Urbanization and Industrial Development in Ethiopia*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Oqubay, A. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Gebremeskel, S. A. et al. (2019). *The State of the Industrial Workforce in Tigray: Binding Constraints and Potential Solutions*. In: Branna Journal of Engineering and Technology (BJET), Vol. 1, No. 1, 37-55.
- Hailu, S. (2016). *Perceived Cause of Employee Turnover: The Case of Shints ETP Garment PLC*. Master's Thesis. St. Mary's University, Addis Ababa.
- Jego, S. T. (2019). *Housing Condition of Industrial Parks Workers: The Case of Hawassa Industrial Park*. Master's Thesis. Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa.
- Khurana, K. (2018). *An Overview of Textile and Apparel Business Advances in Ethiopia*. In: Research Journal of Textile and Apparel, Vol. 22, No. 3, 212-223.
- Kumar, R. R. (2011). *Turn over issues in the textile industry in Ethiopia: A Case of ArbaMinch Textile Company*. In: African Journal of Marketing Management, Vol. 3, No. 2, 32-44.
- Mitta, G. M. (2019). *Labor Rights, Working Conditions, and Workers' Power in the Emerging Textile and Apparel Industries in Ethiopia: The Case of Hawassa Industrial Park*. Working Paper No. 01/2019. Kassel University, Kassel.
- Oya, C. (2019). *Building an Industrial Workforce in Ethiopia*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Arkebe, O. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Rasche, U. (2018). *The Stuff that Futures are Made of. Akzente*. The GIZ Magazine 1/2018. <https://akzente.giz.de/en/artikel/stuff-futures-are-made>.
- Salingré, A. (2018). *Die soziale und arbeitsrechtliche Situation von Frauen in der Bekleidungsindustrie in Bangladesch, Äthiopien und Myanmar*. FEMNET, Bonn.
- Staritz, C./Whitfield, L. (2019). *Light Manufacturing in Ethiopia. The Apparel Export Industry*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Oqubay, A. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2010). *Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) 2010/11–2014/15 Draft*. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.
- WRC (2018). *“Ethiopia is a North Star”: Conditions and Miserable Wages Guide Apparel Brands in Their Race to the Bottom*. Worker Rights Consortium, Washington DC.

Summary

- ABA ROLI (2017). *Case Study: Ethiopian Textile Industry*. American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative, Chicago.
- Anner, M. S. (2020). *Leveraging Desperation: Apparel Brands’ Purchasing Practices during Covid-19 Research REPORT* Center for Global Workers’ Rights (CGWR). Center for Global Workers’ Rights, State College.
- Barrett, P. (2019). *A new industry is creating jobs. But at what costs?* In: *The Washington Post*, May 10, 2019.
- Barrett, P. M./Baumann-Pauly, D. (2019). *Made in Ethiopia: Challenges in the Garment Industry’s New Frontier*. NYU Stern Center for Business and Human Rights, New York.
- Cepheus Research & Analytics (2019). *Ethiopia’s Industrial Parks: A Data Pack on Recent Performance*. Cepheus Growth Capital Partners, New York.
- Diriba, M./Ghadai, S. K./Misra, S. N. (2019). *Ethiopia as a Newly Emerging Global Textile Centre: A Review*. In: *International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering*, Vol. 7, No. 6, 583–590.
- Feldt, K./Klein, J. (2016). *Made in Ethiopia: The Potential for Social Upgrading in the Ethiopian Textile Industry*. Master’s Thesis. Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen.
- Francis, A. (2017). *Mapping of the Garment and Textile Industry in Ethiopia*. Mondial FNV, Amsterdam.
- Hailu, S. (2016). *Perceived Cause of Employee Turnover: The Case of Shints ETP Garment PLC*. Master’s Thesis. St. Mary’s University, Addis Ababa.
- International Labour Organization (2020b). *Covid-19 and the Garment and Textile Sector in Ethiopia: Workers’ Perspectives on Covid-19 Response*. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---africa/---ro-abidjan/---sro-addis_ababa/documents/publication/wcms_751045.pdf.
- Mitta, G. M. (2019). *Labor Rights, Working Conditions, and Workers’ Power in the Emerging Textile and Apparel Industries in Ethiopia: The Case of Hawassa Industrial Park*. Working Paper No. 01/2019. Kassel University, Kassel.
- Oya, C. (2019). *Building an Industrial Workforce in Ethiopia*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Arkebe, O. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Rasche, U. (2018). *The Stuff that Futures are Made of*. Akzente. The GIZ Magazine 1/2018. <https://akzente.giz.de/en/artikel/stuff-futures-are-made>.
- Renkel, E. (2019). *Textiles from Ethiopia: Applying the Market System Approach M4P for Sustainable Swedish Sourcing*. Master’s Thesis. Uppsala University, Uppsala.
- Staritz, C./Whitfield, L. (2019). *Light Manufacturing in Ethiopia. The Apparel Export Industry*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Oqubay, A. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Yevondwossen, M. (2020). *Ethiopia’s economic growth will decline by 9.9% in 2020*. In: Capital. <https://capitalethiopia.com/featured/ethiopias-economic-growth-will-decline-by-9-9-in-2020>.

Ethiopia

- Feldt, K./Klein, J. (2016). *Made in Ethiopia: The Potential for Social Upgrading in the Ethiopian Textile Industry*. Master’s Thesis. Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen.

- Francis, A. (2017). *Mapping of the Garment and Textile Industry in Ethiopia*. Mondial FNV, Amsterdam.
- Fukinishi, T./Yamagata, T. (2014). *The Garment Industry in Low-Income Countries. An Entry Point of Industrialization*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Gebre-Egziabher, T./Yemeru, E. A. (2019). *Urbanization and Industrial Development in Ethiopia*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Oqubay, A. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Louhichi, K./Temursho, U./Colen, L./y Paloma, S. G. (2019). *Upscaling the productivity performance of the Agricultural Commercialization Cluster Initiative in Ethiopia. An assessment using a farm household level model*. European Commission, Sevilla.
- Manyazewal, M./Shiferaw, A. (2019). *Economic Policy and Structural Transformation*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Oqubay, A. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Oqubay, A. (2015). *Made in Africa: Industrial Policy in Ethiopia*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Oqubay, A. (2019). *Industrial Policy and Late Industrialization in Ethiopia*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Oqubay, A. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Renkel, E. (2019). *Textiles from Ethiopia: Applying the Market System Approach M4P for Sustainable Swedish Sourcing*. Master's Thesis. Uppsala University, Uppsala.
- Roberts, M. J./Tybout, J. R. (1996). *Industrial Evolution in Developing Countries: Micro Patterns of Turnover, Productivity, and Market Structure*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Semela, T./Bekele, H./Abraham, R. (2019). *Women and Development in Ethiopia: A Sociohistorical Analysis*. In: *Journal of Developing Societies*, Vol. 35, No. 2, 230-255.
- Singh, A. (2012). *Financial Globalization and Human Development*. In: *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 135-151.
- Staritz, C./Whitfield, L. (2019). *Light Manufacturing in Ethiopia. The Apparel Export Industry*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Oqubay, A. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2010). *Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) 2010/11-2014/15 Draft*. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.
- The World Bank (2016). *Why so Idle? Wages and Employment in a Crowded Labor Market. Ethiopia 5th Economic Update*. The World Bank, Washington DC.
- The World Bank (2017). *Ethiopia – Country partnership framework for the period FY18 – FY22*. The World Bank, Washington DC.
- The World Bank (2018). *Population, Total – Ethiopia* <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=ET>.
- The World Bank (2019). *The World Bank in Ethiopia* <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ethiopia/overview>.
- Walz, N. (2019). *Impact 360° Standard of the Imug Consulting Company for Social-Ecological Innovations – Case Study of an Ethiopian Garment Company*. Master's Thesis. University of Kassel, Kassel.
- Yevondwossen, M. (2020). *Ethiopia's economic growth will decline by 9.9% in 2020*. In: *Capital* <https://capitalethiopia.com/featured/ethiopias-economic-growth-will-decline-by-9-9-in-2020>.

Ethiopia's Textile Industry

- ABA ROLI (2017). *Case Study: Ethiopian Textile Industry*. American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative, Chicago.
- Abebe, G./Manie, G./Getahun, T. D. (2019). *Baseline Report for the ILO Programme "SIRAYE: Advancing Decent Work and Inclusive Industrialization in Ethiopia"*. (Summary) <https://>

- www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---africa/---ro-abidjan/---sro-addis_ababa/documents/publication/wcms_736190.pdf.
- Abera, G./Asefa, F./Mebratu, K. (2014). *The Role of Textile Industry in Providing Decent Work: the Case of Almeda Textile Factory (ALTEX), Ethiopia*. In: International Journal of Current Research, Vol. 6, No. 8, 7903-7910.
- Barrett, P. M./Baumann-Pauly, D. (2019). *Made in Ethiopia: Challenges in the Garment Industry's New Frontier*. NYU Stern Center for Business and Human Rights, New York.
- Barrientos, S./Gereffi, G./Rossi, A. (2011). *A New Paradigm for a Changing World*. In: International Labour Review, Vol. 150, No. 3, 319-340.
- Baye, T. G. (2017). *Poverty, Peasantry and Agriculture in Ethiopia*. Annals of Agrarian Science, Vol. 15, 420-430.
- Beatrice, G./Damestoy J.-B./Gendt van M. (2019). *Sourcing Textiles and Garments in Ethiopia. A new sourcing destination*. MVO Netherlands, Utrecht.
- Böll, M. (2018). *Äthiopien kann weitere Textilfabriken ansiedeln. Sudanesische und chinesische Investoren wollen Rohstoffversorgung sichern*. <https://www.gtai.de/gtai-de/trade/branchen/branchenbericht/aethiopien/aethiopien-kann-weitere-textilfabriken-ansiedeln-14284>.
- Caria, S. (2019). *Industrialization on a Knife's Edge Productivity, Labor Costs and the Rise of Manufacturing in Ethiopia*. World Bank Group, Washington DC.
- Cepheus Research & Analytics (2019). *Ethiopia's Industrial Parks: A Data Pack on Recent Performance*. Cepheus Growth Capital Partners, New York.
- Diriba, M./Ghadai, S. K./Misra, S. N. (2019). *Ethiopia as a Newly Emerging Global Textile Centre: A Review*. In: International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering, Vol. 7, No. 6, 583-590.
- Embassy of Ethiopia BXL (2016). *Industrial Parks Development in Ethiopia* <https://medium.com/@EthiopiaEU/industrial-parks-development-in-ethiopia-f09eb704d741>.
- Federal NegaritGazeta (2003). *Labour Proclamation No. 377/2003*. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.
- Feldt, K./Klein, J. (2016). *Made in Ethiopia: The Potential for Social Upgrading in the Ethiopian Textile Industry*. Master's Thesis. Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen.
- Francis, A. (2017). *Mapping of the Garment and Textile Industry in Ethiopia*. Mondial FNV, Amsterdam.
- Gebremariam, F. M./Feyisa, B. D. (2020). *Assessing the Performance of Industrial Parks (IPs) in Ethiopia: The Case of Bole Lemi, Eastern Industry Zone and Hawassa Industrial Parks*. In: Social Sciences and Education Research Review, Vol. 6, Is. 1, 72-111.
- Grant, E./Desta, G./Admassie, Y./Hassan, F./Stevens, S./Ayene, M. (2020). *In Search of Shelter. The Case of Hawassa, Ethiopia*. IIED, Lodon (Working Paper).
- Huffnagel, H. P. (2017). *Agriculture in Ethiopia*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome.
- ILO (2013). *Decent Work Country Profile – Ethiopia*. https://www.ilo.org/integration/resources/pubs/WCMS_237881/lang--en/index.htm.
- ITUC (2017). *Systematic Violations of Rights, Ethiopia*. <https://survey.ituc-csi.org/Ethiopia.html?lang=en>.
- Jego, S. T. (2019). *Housing Condition of Industrial Parks Workers: The Case of Hawassa Industrial Park*. Master's Thesis. Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa.
- Khurana, K. (2018). *An Overview of Textile and Apparel Business Advances in Ethiopia*. In: Research Journal of Textile and Apparel, Vol. 22, No. 3, 212-223.
- Kohli, A. (2004). *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Mayer, F./Pickles, J. (2020). *Re-Embedding Governance: Global Apparel Value Chains and Decent Work*. Working Paper 2010/01. Capturing the Gains, Manchester.

- Mitta, G. M. (2019). *Labor Rights, Working Conditions, and Workers' Power in the Emerging Textile and Apparel Industries in Ethiopia: The Case of Hawassa Industrial Park*. Working Paper No. 01/2019. Kassel University, Kassel.
- Mulubiran, T. F. (2016). *Economic and Social Upgrading in Ethiopian Textile and Garment Firms: a Global Production Networks Perspective*. Master Thesis. Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
- Oya, C. (2019). *Building an Industrial Workforce in Ethiopia*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Arkebe, O. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Peou, C. (2016). *Negotiating Rural-Urban Transformation and Life Course Fluidity: Rural Young People and Urban Sojourn in Contemporary Cambodia*. In: *Journal of Rural Studies*, Vol. 44, 177-186.
- Rasche, U. (2018). *The Stuff that Futures are Made of*. Akzente. The GIZ Magazine 1/2018. <https://akzente.giz.de/en/artikel/stuff-futures-are-made>.
- RENEW (2018). *Impact Report 2018: A Journey of Impact*. RENEW, Addis Ababa.
- Salingré, A. (2018). *Die soziale und arbeitsrechtliche Situation von Frauen in der Bekleidungsindustrie in Bangladesch, Äthiopien und Myanmar*. FEMNET, Bonn.
- Staritz, C./Whitfield, L. (2019). *Light Manufacturing in Ethiopia. The Apparel Export Industry*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Oqubay, A. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Thompson, E. P. (1967). *Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism*. In: *Past and Present*, Vol. 38, 56-97.
- Tran, N. A. (2013). *Ties that Bind: Cultural Identity, Class, and Law in Vietnam's Labor Resistance*. Southeast Asia Program Publication, New York.
- United Nations Development Programme (2015). *Human Development Report 2015 Work for Human Development*. United Nations Development Programme, New York.
- Walz, N. (2019). *Impact 360° Standard of the Imug Consulting Company for Social-Ecological Innovations – Case Study of an Ethiopian Garment Company*. Master's Thesis. University of Kassel, Kassel.
- WRC (2018). *"Ethiopia is a North Star": Conditions and Miserable Wages Guide Apparel Brands in Their Race to the Bottom*. Worker Rights Consortium, Washington DC.

COVID-19 and the Textile Sector

- Abdulla, H. (2020a). *Covid-19 – Seeking the Opportunity Amid a Disaster*. https://www.just-style.com/analysis/covid-19-seeking-the-opportunity-amid-a-disaster_id138594.aspx.
- Abdulla, H. (2020b). *Modern Slavery Risks Rise in Asia Manufacturing Hubs*. https://www.just-style.com/analysis/modern-slavery-risks-rise-in-asia-manufacturing-hubs_id139510.aspx.
- Achcar, G. (2020). *The great Lockdown hits the Third World hard*. In: *Le monde Diplomatique*, November 12.
- Ahmed, Z. (2020). *Coronavirus: Bangladesh's Garment Industry Risks Collapse*. <https://www.dw.com/en/coronavirus-bangladeshs-garment-industry-risks-collapse/a-52917410>.
- Ammon, D. (2020). *Pandemie in Afrika – „Corona könnte alles Erreichte zerstören.“* <https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/coronavirus-afrika-pandemie-100.html>.
- Anner, M. S. (2020). *Leveraging Desperation: Apparel Brands' Purchasing Practices during Covid-19*. Research REPORT Center for Global Workers' Rights (CGWR). Center for Global Workers' Rights, State College.
- Beasley, D. (2020). *WFP Chief warns of hunger pandemic as COVID-19 spreads (Statement to UN Security Council)*. <https://www.wfp.org/news/wfp-chief-warns-hunger-pandemic-covid-19-spreads-statement-un-security-council>.

- "Better Work Ethiopia Supports Government Response to COVID-19" (2020). <https://betterwork.org/2020/04/01/better-work-ethiopia-supports-government-response-to-covid-19>.
- Cascais, A. (2020). *Coronavirus Hampers Africa's Fight Against Malaria, TB*. <https://www.dw.com/en/coronavirus-hampers-africas-fight-against-malaria-tb/a-53587160>.
- Clean Clothes Campaign (2020). *COVID-19 Wage Assurance*. <https://cleanclothes.org/campaigns/pay-your-workers/covid-19-wage-assurance#:~:text=%5BCompany%20X%5D%20hereby%20publicly%20assures,and%20benefits%2C%20whichever%20is%20higher>.
- CoronaTracker (2020). *Ethiopia Übersicht*. <https://www.coronatracker.com/de/country/ethiopia>.
- Demeke, E./Hardy, M./Kagy, G./Meyer, C. J./Witte, M. (2020). *The Impact of COVID-19 on the Lives of Women in the Garment Industry: Evidence from Ethiopia*. World Bank, New York University Abu Dhabi, Vassar College, University of Oxford. Living Paper Version 1 (May 31, 2020).
- Desta PLC (2020). *Responsible Business Practices during COVID-19*. <https://desta-garment.com/responsible-business-practices-during-covid-19>.
- "Ethiopia Coronavirus: 3,954 Cases as Tests Pass 200K Mark" (2020). <https://www.africanews.com/2020/06/18/ethiopia-coronavirus-covid19-hub-updates>.
- "Ethiopia Secures \$122 Million from Industry Parks" (2020). <https://newbusinessethiopia.com/manufacturing/ethiopia-secures-122-million-from-industry-parks>.
- Ford, L. (2020). *Millions Predicted to Develop Tuberculosis as Result of Covid-19 Lockdown*. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/may/06/millions-develop-tuberculosis-tb-covid-19-lockdown>.
- Gant, J. (2020). *Virus Triggers African Unrest: Riots Break Out in Johannesburg Over Food Shortages and Lesotho's Under-Fire PM Deploys Army to 'Restore Order' as Covid-19 Claims Over 1,000 Lives Across the Continent – Including Nigerian Presidential Aide*. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8232649/Virus-triggers-unrest-Africa-Riots-break-Johannesburg-food-shortages.html>.
- Geissler, P. W./Prince, R. J. (2020). *Corona, how are you?* <https://africasacountry.com/2020/05/corona-how-are-you>.
- International Labour Organization (2020a). *COVID-19: Challenges and Impact on the Garment and Textile Industry*. https://www.ilo.org/africa/technical-cooperation/inclusive-industrialization/WCMS_741522/lang--en/index.htm.
- International Labour Organization (2020b). *Covid-19 and the Garment and Textile Sector in Ethiopia: Workers' Perspectives on Covid-19 Response*. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---africa/---ro-abidjan/---sro-addis_ababa/documents/publication/wcms_751045.pdf.
- Manek, N./Meckelburg, A. (2020). „Am Ende kann nur Gott uns helfen“. *Das Coronavirus in Äthiopien*. <https://www.bpb.de/apuz/308160/am-ende-kann-nur-gott-uns-helfen-das-coronavirus-in-aethiopien>.
- Misikir, M. (2020a). *Manufacturing, Construction Feel COVID-19's Heat*. <https://addisfortune.news/manufacturing-construction-feel-covid-19s-heat>.
- Misikir, M. (2020b). *Hawassa Industrial Park Scales Down Production*. [https://addisfortune.news/hawassa-industrial-park-scales-down-production/#:~:text=Close%20to%20half%20of%20the,Coronavirus%20\(COVID%2D19\)](https://addisfortune.news/hawassa-industrial-park-scales-down-production/#:~:text=Close%20to%20half%20of%20the,Coronavirus%20(COVID%2D19)).
- Mitta, M. G. (2020). *Interview Phone Calls with Workers at HIP*. Carried out by Markos Gifawosen Mitta in May 2020.
- Mwai, P. (2020). *Coronavirus: What's Happening to the Numbers in Africa?* <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-53181555>.
- Ngumi, E. (2020). *What's Wrong with Africa's Coronavirus Numbers?* <https://www.ips-journal.eu/regions/africa/whats-wrong-with-africas-coronavirus-numbers-4639>.

- Ombuor, R./Bearak, M. (2020). 'Killing in the Name of Corona': Death Toll Soars From Kenya's Curfew Crackdown. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/kenya-coronavirus-curfew-crackdown-death-toll/2020/04/15/740a8c4e-79be-11ea-a311-ad-b1344719a9_story.html.
- Pilling, D. (2020). No lockdown, Few Ventilators, But Ethiopia is Beating Covid-19. <https://www.ft.com/content/7c6327ca-a00b-11ea-b65d-489c67b0d85d>.
- Safi, M./Rushe, D. (2018). Rana Plaza, Five Years On: Safety of Workers Hangs in Balance in Bangladesh. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/apr/24/bangladeshi-police-target-garment-workers-union-rana-plaza-five-years-on>.
- Schulz, S. (2020). Unternehmen in der Coronakrise. Menschenrechtler: Verhalten der Textilkonzerne ist skandalös. https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/unternehmen-in-der-coronakrise-menschenrechtler-verhalten.694.de.html?dram:article_id=475589.
- Schwarte, G. (2020). Corona-Folgen in Afrika. Müller warnt vor „Hunger-Pandemie“. <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/entwicklungsminister-mueller-corona-hunger-101.html>.
- Siems, D. (2020). Jetzt stoppt die Corona-Krise auch das Lieferkettengesetz. <https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article206500449/Lieferkettengesetz-Kanzleramt-stoppt-Entwurf-wegen-Coronavirus.html>.
- Sitotaw, K. (2020). ስራተኞችን ከስራ ማስናገቱን የሀዋሳ ኢንዱስትሪያል ፖርክ አስታወቀ። <https://mereja.com/amharic/v2/246486>.
- “Starve or Get Sick’: Africa’s Lockdown Dilemma” (2020). <https://www.france24.com/en/20200414-starve-or-get-sick-africa-s-lockdown-dilemma>.
- Tetzlaff, R. (2020). Afrika in Corona-Zeiten. Feststellungen und Thesen. <https://weltneuvermessung.wordpress.com/2020/06/06/afrika-in-corona-zeiten-feststellungen-und-thesen>.
- Wondemagegn, S. (2020). Nasa Garment Marks First Export to Canada. https://addisfortune.news/nasa-garment-marks-first-export-to-canada/?fbclid=IwAR1CgyjRLejjUwi3pHgNN-8LkEIYcCWgJHbH2n-DjmjqXPDMFxB_hTa0F-Kg.
- Wright, B. (2020). The Weekly Newsletter. <https://www.just-style.com/alerts/viewmail.aspx?id=135380&list=2>.

Labour Turnover (and Absenteeism) from the Perspective of Organisational Psychology

- Afroz, N. N. (2017). Factors Affecting Employee Turnover in Readymade Garments Sector of Bangladesh. In: International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development, Vol. 4, No. 10.
- Aggarwal, U. A./Bhargava, S. (2009). Reviewing the Relationship between Human Resource Practices and Psychological Contract and their Impact on Employee Attitude and Behaviours: A Conceptual Model. In: Journal of European Industrial Training, Vol. 33, No. 1., 4-31.
- Ahamed, M./Islam, Z./Rahman, H. (2011). Causes of Turnover and Its Impact on Pretty Group in Bangladesh: An Analysis. In: Manarat International University Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, 35-47.
- Arthur, W. B. (1994). On the Evolution of Complexity. In: Cowan, G./Pines, D./Meltzer, D. (1994). Complexity: Metaphors, Models and Reliability. Addison-Wesley, Massachusetts.
- Bal, P. M./Jansen, P. G./van der Velde, M. E. G./de Lange, A. H./Rousseau, D. M. (2010). The Role of Future Time Perspective in Psychological Contracts: A Study Among Older Workers. In: Journal of Vocational Behavior, Vol. 76, 474-486.
- Bal, P. M./Kooij, D. (2011). The Relations Between Work Centrality, Psychological Contracts, and Job Attitudes: The Influence of Age. In: European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, Vol. 20, 497-523.

- Bal, P. M./De Cooman, R./Mol, S. T. (2013). *Dynamics of psychological Contracts with Work Engagement and Turnover Intention: The Influence of organizational Tenure*. In: European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, Vol. 22, 107-122.
- Barlett, K. R. (2002): *The Relationship Between Training and Organizational Commitment: A Study in the Health Care Field*. In: Human Resource Development Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 4, 335-352.
- Berg, P. (1999). *The Effects of High Performance Work Practices on Job Satisfaction in United States Steel Industry*. In: Industrial Relations, Vol. 54, No. 1, 111-135.
- Berry, C. M. /Lelchook, A. M./Clark, M. A. (2012). *A Meta-Analysis of the Interrelationship Between Employee Lateness, Absenteeism, and Turnover: Implications for Models of Withdrawal Behavior*. In: Journal of Organizational Behavior, Vol. 33, 678-699.
- Conway, N./Briner, R. B. (2009). *Fifty Years of psychological contract research: what do we know and what are the main challenges*. In: International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Vol. 24., No. 3, 71-130.
- Cook, W. S./Lee, T./Mitchell, T./Felps, W. (2007). *The Psychology of Voluntary Employee Turnover*. In: Current Directions in Psychological Science, Vol. 16, Nr. 1, 51-54.
- Cooper, C. L. (1999). *Can We Live With the Changing Nature of Work?* In: Journal of Managerial Psychology, Vol. 14, No. 7/8, 569-572.
- Daser, B. (2009). *Mensch oder Kostenfaktor*. VS-Vertrag, Wiesbaden.
- Gallup (2013). *Worldwide, 13% of Employees Are Engaged at Work*. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/165269/worldwide-employees-engaged-work.aspx>.
- Guest, D. E. (2004). *The Psychology of the Unemployment Relationship: An Analysis Based on the Psychological Contract*. In: Applied Psychology: An International Review, Vol. 53, 541-555.
- Guthrie, J. (2001). *High Involvement Work Practices, Turnover and Productivity: Evidence from New Zealand*. In: Academy of Management Journal, Vol. 44, No. 1, 180-190.
- Habib, A./Sheikh, H./Nabi, N. (2018). *Employee Turnover & It's Impact on Apparel Industry in Bangladesh: A Case Study of Mondol Group*. In: Human Research Management Research, Vol. 8, No. 3, 63-68.
- Hanisch, K. A./Hulin, C. L. (1991). *General Attitudes and Organizational Withdrawal: An Evaluation of a Causal Model*. In: Journal of Vocational Behavior, Vol. 39, No. 1, 110-128.
- Harman, W. S./Lee, T./Mitchell, T./Felps, W./Owens, B. P. (2007). *The Psychology of Voluntary Employee Turnover*. In: Current Directions in Psychological Science, Vol. 16, No. 1, 51-54.
- Hauff, S. (2007). *Flexibilisierung von Beschäftigten und die Erosion psychologischer Verträge aus Sicht der ArbeitnehmerInnen*. In: Arbeit, Vol. 16, No. 1, 36-53.
- Heisig, U./Ludwig, T. (2004). *Regulierte Selbstorganisation Arbeitssituationen und Arbeitsorientierungen von Wissensarbeitern in einem High-Tech Unternehmen*. Institut für Arbeit und Wirtschaft, Bremen.
- Hulin, C. L. (1991). *Adaption, Persistence, and Commitment in Organizations*. In: Dunnette, M. D./Hough, L. M. (1991). *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*. Consulting Psychologists Press, Palo Alto.
- Huselid, M. A. (1995). *The Impact of Human Resource Management Practices on Turnover, Productivity and Corporate Financial Performance*. In: Academy of Management Journal, Vol. 38, No. 3, 635-72.
- Johns, G. (2001). *The Psychology of Lateness, Absenteeism, and Turnover*. In: Handbook of Industrial, Work & Organizational Psychology, Vol. 2, 232-252.
- Kets De Vries, M. F. R. (2001). *Creating Authentizotic Organizations: Well-Functioning Individuals in Vibrant Companies*. In: Human Relations, Vol. 54, 101-111.
- Keyes, C. L. M./Shmotkin, D./Ryff, C. D. (2002). *Optimizing Well-Being: The Empirical Encounter of Two Traditions*. In: Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, Vol. 82, No. 6, 1007-1023.

- Kosker, E. (2018). *Moderating Role of Well-Being on the Relation between Psychological Contract and Intention to Leave*. In: European Journal of Educational Management, Vol. 1 No. 1, 1-8.
- Koslowski, M. (2000). *A New Perspective on Employee Lateness*. In: Applied Psychology: An International Review, Vol. 49, No. 3, 390-407.
- Lee, T. W. (1997). *Employee Turnover*. In: Blackwell Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Human Resource Management. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Lee, T. W. / Mitchell, T. R. / Wise, L. / Fireman, S. (1996). *An Unfolding Model of Voluntary Employee Turnover*. In: Academy of Management Journal, Vol. 39, No. 1, 5-36.
- Lee, T. W. / Mitchell, T. R. / Holtom, B. C. / McDaniel, L. S. / Hill, J. W. (1999). *The Unfolding Model of Voluntary Turnover: A Replication and Extension*. In: Academy of Management Journal, Vol. 42, No. 4, 450-462.
- Lee, T. / Mitchell, T. (1994). *An Alternative Approach: The Unfolding Model of Voluntary Employee Turnover*. In: The Academy of Management Review, Vol. 19, No. 1, 51-89.
- Martocchio, J. J. / Harrison, D. A. (1993). *To Be There or Not to Be There? Questions, Theories, and Methods in Absence Research*. In: Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, Vol. 11, 259-329.
- Meyer, J. P. / Allen, N. J. (1997). *Commitment in the Workplace: Theory Research and Application*. Thousand Oaks, London.
- Morrell, K. / Loan-Clarke, J. / Arnold, J. / Wilkinson, A. (2008). *Mapping the Decision to Quit: A Refinement and Test of the Unfolding Model of Voluntary Turnover*. In: Applied Psychology: An International Review, Vol. 57, No. 1, 128-150.
- Price, J. L. / Mueller, C. W. (1981). *A Causal Model of Turnover for Nurses*. In: Academy of Management Journal, Vol. 24, No. 3, 543-565.
- Raeder, S. / Grote, G. (2012). *Der psychologische Vertrag: Analyse und Gestaltung der Beschäftigungsbeziehung*. Hogrefe Verlag, Göttingen.
- Rosse, J. G. / Hulin, C. L. (1984). *An Adaption Cycle Interpretation of Absence and Withdrawal*. In: Goodman, P. S. / Atkin, R. S. (1984). *Absenteeism: New Approaches to Understanding, Measuring, and Managing Employee Absence*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.
- Rosse, J. G. / Hulin, C. L. (1985). *Adaption to Work: An Analysis of Health, Withdrawal, and Change*. In: Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, Vol. 36, 324-347.
- Rousseau, D. M. (1989). *Psychological and Implied Contracts in Organizations*. In: Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 2, 121-39.
- Rousseau, D. M. (1995). *Psychological Contracts in Organizations: Understanding Written and Unwritten Agreements*. Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Ryff, C. D. (1989). *Happiness is Everything, or Is It? Explorations on the Meaning of Psychological Well-Being*. In: Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 57, No. 6, 1069-1078.
- Schaufeli, W. B. / Bakker, A. B. (2004). *Job Demands, Job Resources, and Their Relationship with Burnout and Engagement: A Multi-Sample Study*. In: Journal of Organizational Behavior, Vol. 25, 293-315.
- Steers, R. M. / Mowday, R. (1981). *Employee Turnover and Postdecision Accommodation Processes*. In: Research in Organizational Behavior, Vol. 3, 235-281.
- Sullivan, S. E. (1999). *The Changing Nature of Careers: A Review and Research Agenda*. In: Journal of Management, Vol. 25, No. 3, 457-484.
- Tietel, E. (2014). *Psychologischer Vertrag und organisatorisches Commitment*. Conference Paper. Zugehörigkeiten – Was Betriebe zusammenhält. At Tutzing – Evangelische Akademie und Deutsche Gesellschaft für Supervision.
- Umar, S. / Ringim, K. J. (2015). *Psychological Contract and Employee Turnover Intention among Nigerian Employees in Private Organizations*. Conference Paper. MiC 2015 Management International Conference.

- Van der Vaart, L./Linde, B./Cockeran, M. (2013). *The State of the psychological Contract and Employees' Intention to leave: The mediating Role of Employee Well-Being*. In: *South African Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 356-369.
- Wangithi, W. E./Muceke, N. J. (2012). *Effect of Human Resource Management Practices*. In: *Psychological Contract in Organization*, Vol. 3, No. 9, 117-122.
- Zhao, H./Wayne, S. J./Glibkowski, B. C./Bravo, J. (2007). *The Impact of Psychological Contract Breach on Work-Related Outcomes: A Meta-Analysis*. In: *Personnel Psychology*, Vol. 60, 647-680.

Turnover (and Absenteeism) in the Textile Industry

Bangladesh

- Absar, S. S. (2001). *Problems Surrounding Wages; The Readymade Garments Sectors in Bangladesh*. In: *Journal LMD Labour and Management in Development*, Vol. 2, 123-136.
- Afroz, N. N. (2017). *Factors Affecting Employee Turnover in Readymade Garments Sector of Bangladesh*. In: *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development*, Vol. 4, No. 10.
- Agnes, M. (1999). *Webster's New World College Dictionary*. 4th Edition. MacMillon, New York.
- Ahamed, F. (2014). *Job Dissatisfaction in the Bangladesh Ready-Made Garment Sector – to What Extent HR/IR Practices Can Grow Exhilaration of RMG Workers?* In: *International Journal of Business and Management Review* Vol. 2, No. 1, 1-12.
- Ahamed, M./Islam, Z./Rahman, H. (2011). *Causes of Turnover and Its Impact on Pretty Group in Bangladesh: An Analysis*. In: *Manarat International University Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 35-47.
- Ahmed, S./Hasanuzzaman/Chowdhury, S. I./Shaikh, E./Munir, S. (2018). *A Survey on the Factors Affecting Employee Turnover in the Readymade Garments of Bangladesh*. In: *Global Journal of Researches in Engineering: J General Engineering*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 47-51.
- Ahmed, S./Singh, S. (2020). *Examining the Role of HR Practice and Employee Engagement on Employee's Loyalty—The Sustainability Dimensions of Textile Industry in Bangladesh*. In: Vanka, S./Rao, M./Singh, S./Pulaparthi, M. (2020). *Sustainable Human Resource Management: Transforming Organizations, Societies and Environment*. Springer Professional, Wiesbaden.
- BGMEA (2014). *Bangladesh Garments Manufacturers and Exporters Association*, Dhaka. <http://www.bgmea.com.bd/home/pages/TradeInformation>
- Chowdhury, M. A. M./Ali, M. M./Rahman, R. (2006). *WTO, Post-MFA Era and the Bangladesh RMG Sector: An Assessment of Performance and Challenges*. In: *South Asian Journal of Management*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 76-106.
- Dasgupta, S. (2002). *Attitudes Towards Trade Unions in Bangladesh, Brazil, Hungary and Tanzania*. In: *International Labour Review*, Vol. 141, No. 4, 413-440.
- DEG (2015). *Engagement für faire Arbeitsbedingungen DBL-Gruppe: Hohe Arbeits- und Sicherheitsstandards im Textilsektor Bangladesch zahlen sich aus. Evaluierungsergebnisse der DEG*. DEG, Cologne.
- Habib, A./Sheikh, H./Nabi, N. (2018). *Employee Turnover & Its Impact on Apparel Industry in Bangladesh: A Case Study of Mondol Group*. In: *Human Research Management Research*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 63-68.
- Hossain, G. M. F. (2016). *Human Resource Practices and Voluntary Labour Turnover in the Readymade Garment Industry in Bangladesh*. Doctoral Thesis. Newcastle Business School, Newcastle.
- ILO/BGMEA (2003). *A Handbook on Relevant National Laws and Regulation of Bangladesh*. BGMEA, Dhaka.
- Islam, S. (2001). *The Textile and Clothing Industry of Bangladesh in a Changing World Economy*. The University Press Limited, Dhaka.

- Jabber, M. A./Uddin, M. M. (2014). *Employee Turnover Intention in Bangladesh*. In: Journal of Business Studies, Vol. 35, Is. 1, 141-150.
- Kumar A. (2006). *Bangladesh: Industrial chaos worsen political instability*. South Asia Analysis Group. Paper No. 1852.
- Main, A./Hirst, N./Phillips, H. (2013). *After Rana Plaza: A report into the readymade garment industry in Bangladesh*. Parliamentary Liason Office, London.
- Mbah, S. E./Ikemefuna, C. O. (2012). *Job Satisfaction and Employees' Turnover Intentions in Total Nigeria PLC in Lagos State*. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, Vol. 2, No. 14, 275-287.
- Morshed, M. M. (2007). *A Study on Labour Rights Implementation in Readymade Garment (RMG) Industry in Bangladesh: Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Practice*. Master's Thesis. University of Wollongong, Australia.
- Muhammad, A. (2006). *Why the Workers Became so Audacious?* <https://mcmillan.livejournal.com/171674.html>.
- Rahman, S. (2004). *Global Shift: Bangladesh Garments Industry in Perspective*. In: Asian Affairs, Vol. 26, No. 1, 75-91.
- Textile Focus (2020). *Bangladeshi Garment Workers on Poverty, pay are left without Billions of their Wages during Pandemic*. August 19, 2020. <http://textilefocus.com/bangladeshi-garment-workers-poverty-pay-left-without-billions-wages-pandemic/>.
- TIS (2020). *Ready-Made Garments, Clothing*. https://www.tis-gdv.de/tis_e/ware/textil/konfektion/konfektion-htm/.
- Unlimited Fashion (2020). *What Does Cut, Make and Trim Mean in Fashion?* <https://unlimitedfashion.co.uk/cut-make-trim-mean-fashion/>.

Sri Lanka

- Anderson, J. E. (2014). *Public Policymaking: An Introduction*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, Boston.
- Central Bank of Sri Lanka (2012). *Annual Report 2012*. Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Colombo.
- Fabra, M. E./Camisón, C. (2009). *Direct and Indirect Effects of Education of Job Satisfaction: A Structural Equation model for the Spanish Case*. Economics of Education Review, Vol. 28, No. 5.
- Fernando, W. R. P. K. (2015). *Social Stigma on Work-Family Conflicts (with Special Reference to Married Employees in the Garment Industry of Sri Lanka)*. In: International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology Research, Vol., 1, No. 1, 41-52.
- Greenhaus, J. H./Beutell, N. J. (1985). *Sources of Conflict between Work and Family Roles*. In: Academy of Management Review, Vol. 10, No. 1, 76-88.
- Jayasinghe, R. S. (1998). *Employees Experience of 20 Years FTZ in Sri Lanka*. Wijaya Newspaper Press, Colombo.
- Kumara, J. W. N. T. N./Fasana, S. F. (2018). *Work Life Conflict and its Impact on Turnover Intention of Employees: The Mediating Role of Job Satisfaction*. In: International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications, Vol. 8, No. 4, 478-484.
- Kweller, D. S. (1998). *The Emerging Models of Absence Management*. In: HR Focus, Vol. 75, No. 8.
- Lee, K./Allen, N. J./Meyer, J. P./Rhee, K. Y. (2001). *The Three-Component Model of Organizational Commitment: An Application to South Korea*. In: Applied Psychology: An International Review, Vol. 50, No. 4, 596-614.
- Liyanage, D. M./Galhena, B. L. (2012). *Determinants of Turnover Intention of Sewing Machine Operators: Case from Leading Apparel Company*. In: Kelaniya Journal of Management, Vol. 1, No. 2, 107-123.
- Madurawala, S. (2017). *Dwindling Stitching Hands – Labor Shortages in Apparel Industry in Sri Lanka*. <http://www.ips.lk/talkingeconomics/2017/04/03/the-dwindling-stitching-hands-labour-shortages-in-the-apparel-industry-in-sri-lanka>.

- Meyer, J. P./Allen, N. J. (1997). *Commitment in the Workplace: Theory Research and Application*. Thousand Oaks, London.
- Rajapaksha, U. G. (2015). *Analysis of Factors Affecting to Employee Turnover in Medium Scaled Apparel Industry in Sri Lanka*. Conference Paper. 6th International Conference on Business & Information ICBI – 2015. At Kelaniya – Faculty of Commerce and Management Studies, University of Kelaniya.
- Rajapaksha, W. (2018). *An Analysis of Major Factors Affecting Labor Turnover in the Apparel Industry in Sri Lanka: Policy Alternations for Solving the Problem*. In: International Journal of Academic Research in Economics and Management Sciences, Vol. 7, No. 3, 214-231.
- Rathnayake, R. M. A./Gamage, P. N. (2014). *Organizational Factors and Intention to Quit: Evidence from Operational Level Employees in Garment Industry in Sri Lanka*. In: EXCEL International Journal of Multidisciplinary Management Studies, Vol. 4, No. 9, 76-91.
- "Sri Lanka Achieves Record Exports in 2017" (2018) <http://www.ft.lk/top-story/Sri-Lanka-achieves-record-exports-in-2017/26-647750>.
- Stum, D. L. (1998). *Five Ingredients for an Employee Retention Formula*. In: HR Focus, Vol. 75, No. 9.
- The National State Assembly (1978). *Greater Colombo Economic Commission Law, No. 4 of 1978*. Government Publication Bureau, Colombo.
- Thiranaganama, A. W. (2017). *Organisational Commitment and Turnover Intention (A Quantitative Analysis of a Sri Lankan Apparel Firm)*. In: International Journal of Science and Research, Vol. 6, No. 2, 412-419.
- Tietel, E. (2014). *Psychologischer Vertrag und organisatorisches Commitment*. Conference Paper. Zugehörigkeiten – Was Betriebe zusammenhält. At Tutzing – Evangelische Akademie und Deutsche Gesellschaft für Supervision.
- Wijesekera, M. (2017). *Sri Lankan Garment Factories Boost Wages and Benefits as Labor Shortage Looms*. https://globalpressjournal.com/asia/sri_lanka/sri-lankan-garment-factories-boost-wages-benefits-labor-shortage-looms/.
- Xu, L. (2009). *View on Work-Family Linkage and Work-Family Conflict Model*. In: International Journal of Business and Management, Vol. 4, No. 12, 229-233.

India

- Chandiok, S. (2012). *Employee Retention in Indian Textile Industry: A Study on Grasim Bhiwani Textile Limited*. In: Asian Journal of Multidimensional Research, Vol. 1, Is. 6, 90-101.
- International Labour Organization (2015). *Insights into Working Conditions in India's Garment Industry*. International Labour Organization, Geneva.
- Nanjundeswaraswamy, T. S. (2016). *An Empirical Study on Absenteeism in Garment Industry*. Management Science Letters, Vol. 6, 275-284.
- Rameshkumar, N./Subhashini, S. H. (2019). *A Study on Stress Faced by Women employees in Selected Textile Industry (With Special Reference to Coimbatore City)*. In: International Journal of Commerce and Management Research, Vol. 5, Is. 5, 207-209.

Myanmar

- Action Labor Rights (ALR) (2016). *Under Pressure: A Study of Labour Conditions in garment Factories in Myanmar which are wholly Korean owned or in a Joint Venture with Korean Companies*. Action Labor Rights, Yangon.
- Bernhardt, T./De, S. K./Thida, M. W. (2017). *Myanmar Labour Issues from the Perspective of Enterprises: Findings from a Survey of Food Processing and Garment Manufacturing Enterprises*. International Labour Organization, Genf.
- Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation (EMReF) (2017). *The Young Women from Rural Villages Powering an Urban Industry: A Baseline Survey of Yangon's Garment Sector Workforce*. EMReF, Rangun.

- ILO (2019). *Call for Expression of Interest ILO/YGN/19/1523 January 2019 for a research on the "Impact of labour turnover and absenteeism on labour Productivity in the Garment sector in Myanmar"*. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---ilo-yangon/documents/vacancynotice/wcms_664542.pdf.
- ILO (2020). *Skilled Workers Matter. The business case for addressing absenteeism and turnover in Myanmar's garment sector*. International Labour Organization – Yangon. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---ilo-yangon/documents/publication/wcms_736628.pdf.
- Oxfam (2015). *Made in Myanmar. Entrenched Poverty or Decent Jobs for Garment Workers? Oxfam Briefing Paper No. 209*. Oxfam, Nairobi.
- Salingr , A. (2018). *Die soziale und arbeitsrechtliche Situation von Frauen in der Bekleidungsindustrie in Bangladesch,  thiopien und Myanmar*. FEMNET, Bonn.
- Tanaka, M. (2016). *Exporting Sweatshops? Evidence from Myanmar* https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/58739d5ae5274a1307000137/Exporting_Sweatshops_Tanaka.pdf.
- Tip, S. (2013). *The Labor Market in Myanmar*. In: Journal of the American Chamber of Commerce in Thailand, Vol. 5.

Pakistan

- Afzal, H. M. (2012). *Impact of Electricity Crisis and Interest Rate on Textile Industry of Pakistan*. In: Academy of Contemporary Research Journal, Vol. 1, Is. 1, 32-35.
- Hassan, S./Mahmood, B. (2016). *Relationship Between HRM Practices and Organizational Commitment of Employees: An Empirical Study of textile Sector in Pakistan*. In: International Journal of Academic Research in Accounting, Finance and Management Sciences, Vol. 6, Is. 1, 23-28.
- Makhdoom, T. R. (2017). *Analyzing the Factors Affecting Employees' Turnover in Textile Mills of Site Area Kotri, Sindh (Pakistan)*. In: Grassroots, Vol. 51, Is. 2, 407-419.
- Nawaz, Y./Rahman, T. U./Siraji, M. N. (2009). *Role of Voluntary Employee Turnover in Textile Industry of Pakistan*. Master's Thesis. Blekinge Institute of Technology, Karlshamn.
- Qureshi, M. I./Iftikhar, M./Abbas, S. G./Hassan, U./Khan, K./Zaman, K. (2013). *Relationship Between Job Stress, Workload, Environment and Employees Turnover Intentions: What We Know, What Should We Know*. In: World Applied Sciences Journal, Vol. 23, Is. 6, 764-770.
- Stotz, L. (2015). *Facts on Pakistan's Garment Industry, Factsheet Pakistan*. Clean Clothes Campaign, Amsterdam.

Indonesia

- Kurniawati, S. A./Wahyuni, S. (2019). *Minimizing the Turnover Intention by Employee Development in Garment Companies*. In: Journal of Applied Management, Vol. 17, Is. 1.

Lesotho

- Balchin, N./Calabrese, L. (2019). *Comparative Country Study of the Development of Textile and Garment Sectors Lessons for Tanzania*. ODI, London.
- Brooks, A. (2010). *Spinning and Weaving Discontent: Labour Relations and the Production of Meaning at Zambia-China Mulungushi Textiles*. In: Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 36, Is. 1, 113-132.
- Letele, M. J. (2018). *An Employee Satisfaction Management Framework for the Textile and Garment Industry in Lesotho*. Doctoral Thesis. University of Free State, Bloemfontein.
- Textile Network (2019). *Textiles and Clothing Industry. Situation Report: Africa*. <https://textile-network.com/en/Fashion/Situationsbericht-Afrika>.

Kenya

- Adamali, A./Barma, M./Konishi, Y./Mogollon, M. P./Ramakrishnan, K. (2015). *Kenya Apparel and Textile Industry: Diagnosis, Strategy and Action Plan*. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, Danvers.
- Wanja, N. J. (2009). *Factors Influencing Employee Turnover in the Textile and Apparel Industry*. Master's Thesis. University of Nairobi, Nairobi.

Ghana

- Chichester, O./Davis Pluess, J./Lee, M./Taylor, A. (2017). *Women's Economic Empowerment in Sub-Saharan Africa. Recommendations for the Apparel Sector*. Business for Social Responsibility, New York.
- Asare, A./Amankwah, A./Ankoma P. (2019). *Challenges in Facing Small and Medium Scale Enterprises in Ghana: A Case Study of the Textile Industry*. In: European Journal of Business, Economics and Accountancy. Vol. 7, Is. 1.
- Quartey, P. (2006). *The Textiles and Clothing Industry in Ghana*. In: Jauch, H./Traub-Merz, R. (Eds.) *The Future of the Textile and Clothing Industry in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn.

Namibia

- April, W. I./Itenge, D. I./Namalenga, D./Erwee, P. S. (2019). *Ethics and Globalisation: A Namibian Perspective – Ramatex Case*. In: Wang, G. Y. (2019). *Globalization*. IntechOpen. <https://www.intechopen.com/books/globalization/ethics-and-globalisation-a-namibian-perspective-ramatex-case>.
- Chilombo, M./Liz, F. (2005). *Ramatex – Empowering or Exploiting Women?* In: *Sister Namibia*, Vol. 17, Is. 3.
- Flatters, F./Elago, P. M. (2008). *Ramatex Namibia: Government Policies and the Investment Environment*. Report for U.S. Agency for International Development/South Africa. http://qed.econ.queensu.ca/faculty/flatters/writings/ff_pe_ramatex.pdf.
- Jauch, H. (2007). *Attracting Foreign Investment at all Costs? The Case of Export Processing Zones (EPZs) and Ramatex in Namibia*. Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI), Windhoek.
- Jauch, H./Shindondola, H. (2003). *Ramatex: On the Other Side of the Fence*. Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI), Windhoek.
- Kameeta, Z./Haarmann, C./Haarman, D./Jauch, H. (2007). *Promoting Employment and Decent Work for All – Towards a Good Practice Model in Namibia*. Presentation to the United Nations Commission for Social Development, February 7-12, 2007.

Ethiopia

- Barrett, P. M./Baumann-Pauly, D. (2019). *Made in Ethiopia: Challenges in the Garment Industry's New Frontier*. NYU Stern Center for Business and Human Rights, New York.
- Bekkers, H./Ritchie, L. (2020). *Enterprise Partners in Support of Industrial Transformation Building an Industrial Labour Services Market in Ethiopia*. Opportunities Unlimited B.V., Rotterdam.
- Beyene, B. (2020). *A Revolving Door Paradox of Textile Industry in Ethiopia: Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses of High Labor Turnover*. Master's Thesis. Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa.
- Ethiopian Investment Commission (EIC)/Ministry of Trade and Industry (MoTI)/Ethiopian Textile Industry Development Institute (ETIDI) (2020). *Realizing New Productive Capacity in Ethiopia's Textile and Apparel Sector: Strategy and Policy Recommendations*. Ethiopia.

- Feldt, K./Klein, J. (2016). *Made in Ethiopia: The Potential for Social Upgrading in the Ethiopian Textile Industry*. Master's Thesis. Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen.
- Gebremeskel, S. A. et al. (2019). *The State of the Industrial Workforce in Tigray: Binding Constraints and Potential Solutions*. In: Branna Journal of Engineering and Technology (BJET), Vol. 1, No. 1, 37-55.
- Hailu, S. (2016). *Perceived Cause of Employee Turnover: The Case of Shints ETP Garment PLC*. Master's Thesis. St. Mary's University, Addis Ababa.
- Hardy, V./ Hauge, J. (2019). *Labour Challenges in Ethiopia's Textile and Leather Industries: no Voice, no Loyalty, no Exit?* In: African Affairs, 184/473, 712-736.
- Kumar, R. R. (2011). *Turn over issues in the textile industry in Ethiopia: A Case of ArbaMinch Textile Company*. In: African Journal of Marketing Management, Vol. 3, No. 2, 32-44.
- Oya, C. (2019). *Building an Industrial Workforce in Ethiopia*. In: Cheru, F./Cramer, C./Arkebe, O. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Rifkin, J. (1987). *Time Wars – The primary Conflict in Human History*. Henry Holt and Company, New York.
- Thompson, E. P. (1967). *Time, Work-discipline and industrial Capitalism*. In: Past and Present 38, 56-97.

Excursus I: Wages and Labour Turnover in other Employment Sectors

- Blattman, C./Franklin, S./Dercon, S. (2019). *Impacts of Industrial and Entrepreneurial Jobs on Youth: 5-year Experimental Evidence on Factory Job Offers and Cash Grants in Ethiopia*. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/zrqe4> (quotes were taken from the online project description: <https://www.poverty-action.org/study/more-sweatshops-africa-experimental-study-firms-factory-labor-and-poverty-alleviation-ethiopia>).
- Staelens, L. (2016). *Labour Agency in the Cut Flower Industry in Ethiopia: Should I Stay or Should I Go?* Dissertation. Ghent University. Faculty of Bioscience Engineering. <http://hdl.handle.net/1854/LU-8051079>.

Excursus II: Wages and Living Expenses in Comparison

- Blattman, C./Dercon, S. (2018). *Comparing the Impacts of Industrial Jobs and Self-Employment in Ethiopia*. <https://www.povertyactionlab.org/evaluation/comparing-impacts-in-industrial-jobs-and-self-employment-ethiopia>.
- "Ethiopia Gambles on Cheap Labour" (2019). <https://african.business/2019/07/economy/ethiopia-gambles-on-cheap-labour/>.
- Central Statistical Agency (2021). *Country and Regional Level Consumer Price Indices (CPI): For the month of December 2020 Information No. 25*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. <https://www.statsethiopia.gov.et/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/merged-dec-2020-edited.pdf>.
- Fews Net (2020). *Atypical Staple Food Price Increases Further Limit Food Access*. <https://fews.net/east-africa/ethiopia/key-message-update/march-2020>.
- Kiruga, M. (2019). *Ethiopia's \$26-a-Month Factory Workers all quit in the first Year*. <https://www.theafricareport.com/12818/ethiopias-26-a-month-factory-workers-all-quit-in-the-first-year/>.
- Mitta, G. M. (2019). *Labor Rights, Working Conditions, and Workers' Power in the Emerging Textile and Apparel Industries in Ethiopia: The Case of Hawassa Industrial Park*. Working Paper No. 01/2019. Kassel University, Kassel.
- Schaefer, F./Oya, C. (2019). *Employment Patterns and Conditions in Construction and Manufacturing in Ethiopia: A Comparative Analysis of the Road Building and Light Manufacturing Sectors*. IDCEA Research Report. SOAS, London.

Wage Indicator (2019). *Living Wage Series – Ethiopia – September 2019 – In ETB, per Month*. <https://wageindicator.org/salary/living-wage/archive-no-index/ethiopia-living-wage-series-september-2019>.

WFP (May 2020). *Ethiopia Market Watch Report*. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/WFP%20Ethiopia%20Market%20Watch%20-%20May%202020.pdf>.

(Web pages accessed February 10, 2021)



Justus Liebig University Giessen
Ludwigstrasse 23
35390 Giessen

www.uni-giessen.de

CONTACT

Prof Dr Dr Reimer Gronemeyer

Faculty of Social Sciences
and Cultural Studies
Institute of Sociology

Justus-Liebig-University
Karl-Gloeckner-Street 21 E
35394 Giessen/Germany

reimer.gronemeyer@sowi.uni-giessen.de
www.uni-giessen.de

Photo Credits: Dr Michaela Fink

Layout: Wolfgang Polkowski



Federal Ministry
for Economic Cooperation
and Development