SPECIAL REPORT

PERS 293

DETERMINANTS OF THE PROGRESS OF BLACK
WORKERS IN THE WORK SITUATION:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF A THEORETICAL
MODEL

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR PERSONNEL RESEARCH
COUNCIL FOR SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

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UDC 301.172.1 (680=963)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

A general model of the determinants of Black Workers progress in the work situation is proposed. The variables which constitute this model are divided into three groups: antecedent, situational and person variables. The important antecedent variables are political, legal and economic conditions, cultural background and culture contact, living conditions, education and genetic determinants. The work environment is the important situational variable. For the person variables, expectancy theory is employed to emphasize the importance of expectations, instrumentality and values on the effort to progress. Time perception and abilities are also considered to be important.

The general model is examined in the context of a study which focused on low-level, "non-progressive" Black Workers. The model was useful in predicting and explaining the findings of the study. These findings are reported.

Conclusions and recommendations for further research and application of this model are made.

CONTENTS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Recent political and social changes in South Africa have created a climate in which the advancement of Black Workers has become a crucial issue. A shortage of skilled manpower is occuring which means large numbers of Blacks will have to be developed for jobs which are mainly occupied by Whites at present. While a great deal can be achieved by the state and employers, in the final analysis, Black advancement will depend on the motivation, desire and ability of Blacks themselves to move into these positions.

This trend has created a need for research into the socio-psychological aspects of the progress of the black worker. This need exists on two levels.

Firstly on a pragmatic level there is a need to clarify the existing cloudy picture regarding the attitudes and perceptions of Black Workers to progress at work. A number of questions need to be answered:

How does the individual worker define progress?

What circumstances influence this definition?

Are these attitudes and values comparable to management's

requirements for advancement? etc.

On the second level there is a need for a comprehensive theoretical model which will facilitate a better understanding of the above aspects of progress. Current research into motivation and work behaviour is largely concerned with productivity at work. Thus most theories in this field are formulated to explain changes in productivity. While productivity may be linked to individual progress in that it may enhance one's opportunities for promotion, a number of other factors are equally important. Progress depends on a willingness to take on new responsibilities, the active searching for opportunities, the development of new and higher level skills and behaviour that is not necessarily directed only to present, but also to future performance. If one is to consider these aspects then there is a need for a conceptual model that relates specifically to progress rather than productivity. Furthermore because of certain unique aspects of the South African situation such a model must be relevant to local conditions.

This document then reports on the work that has been completed to date and which was aimed at gaining some conceptual clarity and empirical data on the determinants of Black Workers progress in the work situation. Three major areas will be covered in the report:

- Firstly a theoretical model of individual progress at work will be presented. This forms the conceptual framework for the research.
- Secondly a study which was conducted to investigate both methodological problems as well as the acceptability of the model will be reported on.
- Thirdly recommendations and suggestions for future research will be presented along with the implications of this research for industry in general.

2. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

2.1 Definition of Progress

The term, progress, is used in a wide range of contexts to describe a variety of different processes. Thus one hears of social progress, economic progress, technological progress, as well as individual progress. This results in con-siderable confusion as to what the term really means. Some conceptual clarity of this term is therefore a prerequisite for this study.

Looking at the common usage of the concept, a number of basic elements can be identified. In talking about personal or individual progress (the focus of this project) one is comparing a person in the present with his position in the past and remarking about the observed change in his attributes or circumstances. The concept progress therefore refers to a process of change.

The direction of this change however is important since the term progress is only used when the change is in a positive or favoured direction; one which reflects an improvement. What constitutes an improvement however is largely dependant on one's value system, e.g. the capitalist's criteria of progress will be far removed from the marxist's. The failure to

recognize the fact that progress is a normative concept has been the major contributing factor to the confusion that exists regarding the appropriate use of this term. (Seer's (1972) discussion of the concept development is equally applicable to progress in this context.) The exposure of the value judgments involved in the use of the concept is therefore particularly important.

It must be noted here that while progress has been equated with an improvement there is a growing body of criticism that highlights the negative aspects of progress. Thus J. Clarke (1974) in discussing progress in South Africa reveals the negative consequences incurred through pollution, overpopulation, etc. On a larger scale A. Toffler (1972) and E. Jantsch (1972) raise important doubts regarding the consequences of social and technological progress, while on a more individual level E. Milner (1968) has stressed the fallacies involved in the attitudes to human progress in the United States in her book "The Failure of Success." While these criticisms do not invalidate the use of the term progress to mean an improvement, they do however question whether the criteria used for assessing improvement are sufficiently valid or comprehensive.

Putting aside for the moment the question of what is a positive change, two additional elements of the concept progress can be discussed.

Implicit in the use of the term is the assumption of how the change has come about. In the context of individual progress there is the implication that the change is a result of human endeavour. It is the effort that we believe an individual has put into changing himself or circumstances that enables us to say he has progressed. Should the change occur because of external forces then we would simply say he has been lucky or fate is on his side. This is not to say that forces external to the individual do not have an affect on an individual's progress but rather that, when we talk about progress, we attribute this to human effort or intervention.

J. Bury (1955) in discussing progress goes one step further than this and
argues that progress also implies a future orientation. "You may conceive
civilization as having gradually advanced in the past, but you have not
got the idea of progress until you go on to conceive that it is destined to
advance indefinitely in the future." (p.7) Progress therefore implies
a future perspective, for an action can not be deemed as progressive unless
it can be seen to have benefits in the future.

Summarising the above, progress may be defined as:

- <u>as a change, that is positive in direction,
  involves a future orientation and is
  largely brought about through human endeavour.</u> -

The problem of defining what is a positive direction is not resolved by
this definition however. While it is feasible that some agreement on
what is a positive change may be reached within a group the acceptability
of such a definition to other groups is doubtful. Apart from rejecting the
concept altogether there would appear to be only one solution to this
dilemma. This is to resort to an arbitrary decision of what constitutes
progress but incorporate into the research design, ways of minimizing
or controlling for the value judgement made.

A number of strategies can be used. One is to make explicit the value
judgement upon which one's criteria of progress is made so that the bias
is exposed. This is similar to Tajfel's (1972) criteria for conducting
social psychological research, i.e. one must expose the social situation
in which the experiment operates. Secondly the bias can be partially
counteracted by reflecting the arbitrary definition of progress against
how respondents themselves perceive progress. Thirdly, limiting the
research to a specific area, i.e. the work situation, will help to
restrict the tendency to over-generalize the findings.

In the light of the above then a more specific definition of progress
is required. The focus of this study is progress in the work situation.
The structure of western organisations and general management philosophy

reflect a belief in self-determination and a work ethic in which work is in itself an important (if not the most important) aspect of one's life. Thus progress at work is realising one's potential at work. Changes in the following areas are therefore generally seen as constituting progress at work:

- increasing involvement in decision making;
- taking on greater authority over others;
- willingness to become more autonomous in one's actions; and
- movement up the hierarchy of job levels.

Progress in the work situation is then defined as:
- behaviour which shows or should lead to one or more of the following: --upward mobility;
   --greater responsibility;
   --greater involvement in decision making; and
   --having authority over others.

2.2 The Use of Models in a Scientific Study.

R. Harré and P. Secord(1972) argue that science is more than a critical enterprise in that "real science" also uses models "to stand in for generative mechanisms of non-random patterns in nature." (p.67) The particular models science uses are iconic, i.e. they are models which represent the real thing or process, but ones in which the source and subject differ (paramorphs). Although Harré and Secord go a lot further than expounding this in attempting to develop a new paradigm for social psychology, the concept of iconic models as being a crucial part of a science is an important one. While there is a dominant belief in the Social Sciences that all empirical studies must be experimental, in reality a considerable amount of scientific work is exploratory in which one is not necessarily confirming, refuting or in Popperian terms falsifying, hypotheses. Models are particularly important in this sort of approach.

This is the case with this study. With the use of an iconic model, the aim of the study is to explore those phenomena or variables which influence an individual's progress in the work setting with particular attention being placed on the "person variables."

The use of such an approach has become more common in psychology in recent years, particularly in the cross-cultural field where a multiplicity of influences may have to be considered. Thus Berry (1976) proposed an ecological-cultural - behavioural model to investigate cognitive style across cultures and Dugdale and Tin Chen (1977) a generalized model to investigate the possible determinants of school performance.

3. A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF FACTORS RELATING TO INDIVIDUAL PROGRESS IN THE WORK SITUATION

3.1. An Overview

Progress has been defined as a process of change brought about by human endeavour. If this is so then man must be viewed as a being who is capable of determining his future through the awareness of alternatives and active involvement in persuing those alternative he chooses. In other words while not denying that there may be irrational aspects to his behaviour, it seems logical to adopt a rational view of man to study individual progress.

Certain circumstances may however facilitate or constrain an individual in realizing his aspirations. These may be personal attributes or characteristics e.g. abilities, values, etc. which because of his genetic and/or social background affect his advancement positively or negatively, or they may be situational or environmental circumstances "external" to him and over which, as an individual, he has relatively limited control e.g. job advancement policies of the company. ·

A MODEL OF PROGRESS IN THE WORK SITUATION.
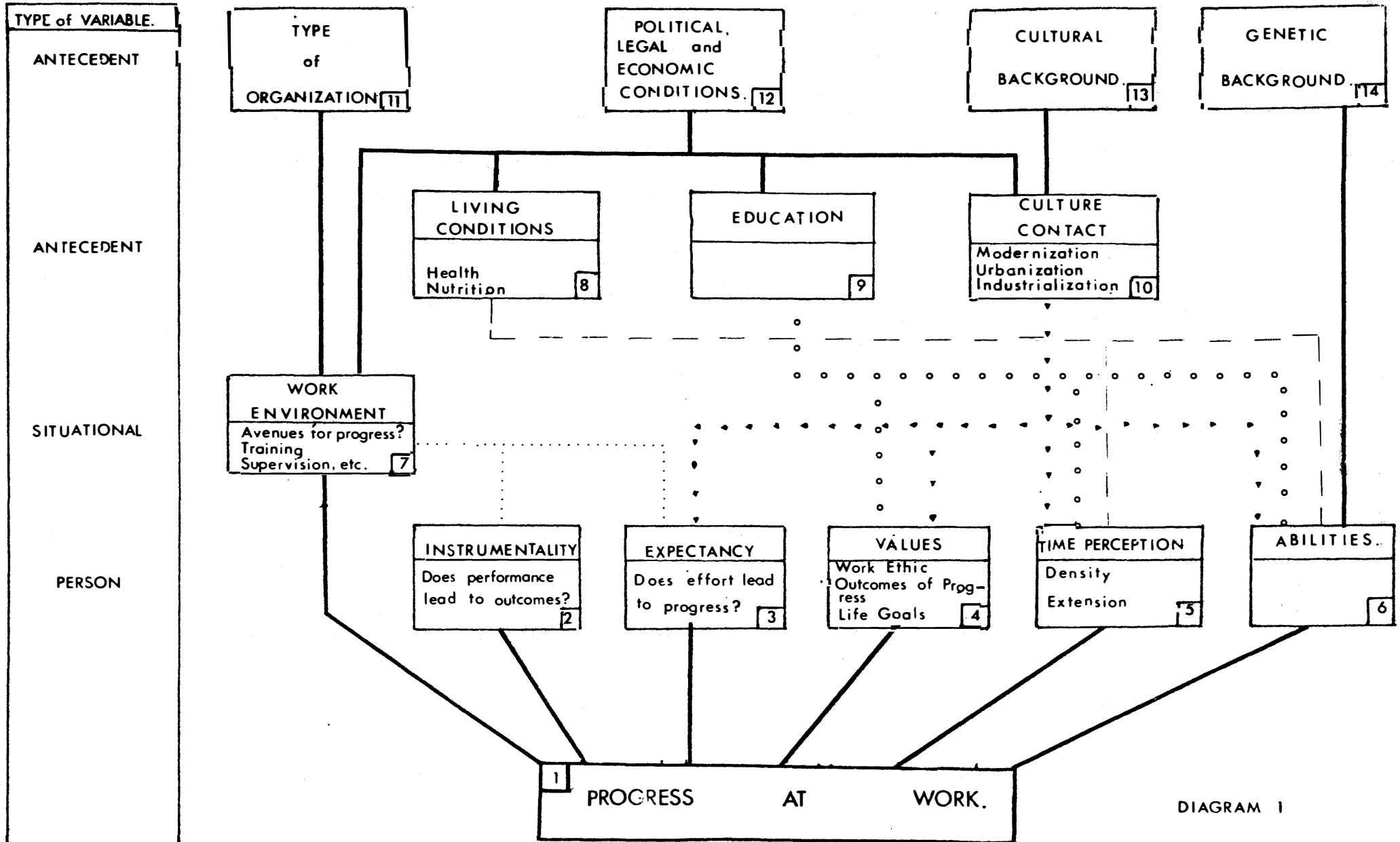
DIAGRAM 1

reasons exist for this:

- Firstly, as mentioned in the introduction, a number of the more
  prominent theories have been formulated within the broad field
  of productivity and of job satisfaction. Progress however being
  concerned with the future requires a different perspective.
- Secondly, need theories such as those mentioned above attempt to
  explain behaviour in terms of drives to satiate existing deficits.
  In terms of the work situation the drive-outcome relationship
  has three phases: firstly a deficit exists e.g. at the most
  basic level, hunger, which sets the individual in motion;
  this effort then leads to a better performance (1st level outcome)
  which in turn leads to a reward or 2nd level outcome e.g. greater
  remuneration; finally this last outcome is used to satiate the
  initial deficit i.e. through the acquisition of food. Both
  the Need Hierarchy and Two-factor theories are concerned primarily
  with 2nd level outcomes and tend to neglect the first. While these
  2nd level outcomes are important to understanding the progress of
  individuals,nevertheless the effort - first level outcome relationship
  is also important. For a model to be adequate then this additional
  dimension needs to be considered.
- Finally, the existing theories tend to consider one major variable,
  viz. needs, and neglect others, e.g. abilities and values, which may
  also play a role in determining motivation. A multivariate approach
  is therefore likely to be more applicable to the understanding of in-
  dividual progress.

One model that takes into account most of the above criticisms and in
addition is based on a cognitive, rational view of man is the Valency/
Expectancy/Instrumentality theory developed by Vroom (1964) and expanded
later by others. Porter and Lawler (1968) and Lawler and Suttle (1973)
have perhaps developed the most comprehensive model.

Expectancy theory's basic tenets are that job performance is a function
of ability, effort and the perception workers have of their role in
the organisation. The effort dimension is a function of

(i)   the expectancy that an individual has as to whether effort
        will lead to effective performance (1st level outcome);
(ii)   the expectancy (instrumentality) that the performance will
        lead to certain (2nd level) outcomes;
(iii)   the valence or value attached to these outcomes.

A considerable amount of research has been conducted within the
expectancy theory framework and a number of extensive reviews of
these studies completed: Wahba and House (1974) T. Mitchell and
A Biglan (1971) Heneman and Schwab (1972) and T Mitchell (1974.)
Most of these authors are critical of the theory and methods used
in that some of the predictions are not confirmed and measurement
procedures are in some instances, inadequate. They nevertheless agree
that a significant expectancy-behaviour relationship is found and "gene-
rally valence, instrumentality and role perceptions are significantly
related to performance." (p.5, Heneman et al 1972).

Expectancy theory posits the influence of certain factors on a final
outcome, i.e. performance. While this performance has been largely re-
lated to job satisfaction there would appear to be no logical reason
why the model cannot be included in the wider model proposed in this
study to help understand individual progress. Basically the VIE theory
is a set of proposals concerning the relationship of effort to first
level outcomes and the latter to second level outcomes. As progress
is itself an outcome it would be reasonable to expect that expectancy
theory's conception of motivation can be employed to look at the moti-
vation to progress specifically. The theory is therefore incorporated
into the wider conceptual model of progress, to help explain the motiva-
tional aspects that relate to the effort an individual puts into making
progress.

Progress in the work situation will therefore be partially a function
of the effort made to progress, the ability to do so and the perception
of what progress entails (role perception) (Diagram 2). The effort to

progress in turn will be a function of the expectancy that effort will lead to progress and the instrumentality that this progress will lead to outcomes along with the value attached to these outcomes. Role perception however refers to the congruity between what an individual perceives as progress and what his employer see a progress, in the work situation. The inclusion of this latter factor into the expectancy model helps overcome the value judgement incorporated into any definition of progress as outlined in section 2.1.

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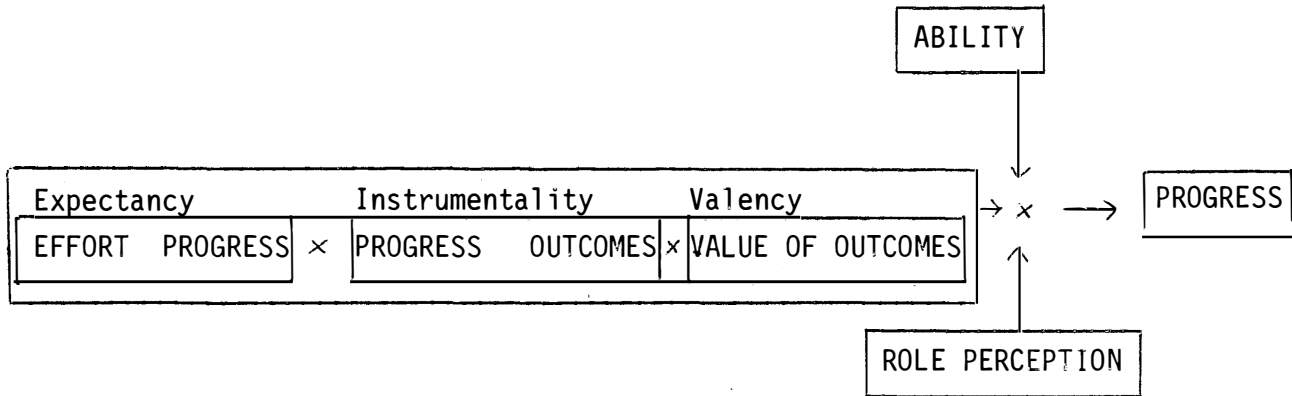
DIAGRAM 2: Expectancy Theory as it relates to Progress.

Substituting progress for performance does create a difficulty however since progress has a future time element which expectancy theory lacks. An individual's time perception is important however in that goals may be in the short, medium or long term; a time dimension is therefore incorporated into the overall model.

Adopting an expectancy framework for the motivational and person variables means that a number of specific factors must be incorporated in the general model. Firstly the individual's expectations both with regard to the effort - progress relationship and the progress - outcome relationship must be considered. Then the values the individual holds in relation to progress are important variables as is the individual's perception of progress. The expectancy theory also stresses the role of ability, this then is another variable to be considered. Finally time perception is a further person variable that is relevant to the model and is therefore incorporated.

These and the other proposed elements of the model are each considered separately and discussed in more detail in the rest of this section.

3.2 Antecedent Variables

3.2.1 Cultural Background and Culture Contact

If culture is defined as the man-made part of the human environment (Herskovits 1955) then, since man's behaviour is a result of genetic and environmental influences, culture must have a profound effect in determining an individual's behaviour. The relationship of culture to individual value systems, expectations, attitudes and even perception has been well documented and needs little explanation.

A problem exists however in attempting to define, or classify different cultural contexts. This problem is particularly complex when considering Black Workers in South Africa. There is no easy answer to "what is X's cultural background?"

One of the criterion used for the classification of cultures in South Africa is ethnic groupings. Thus Van Warmelo (1959) identified 5 major ethnic groups and the South African Government recognizes 10 ethnic groupings in terms of homelands and the policy of separate development. For the purposes of this study however such a classification is not adequate. Education, residence in urban areas, employment in industry and contact with other cultures has had a profound effect on these traditional cultures. P. Mayer (1975) argues these influences have eliminated ethnic affiliations in most

urban areas and Manganyi (1973) recognizes a united cultural heritage through the Black consciousness movement. Except in the case of permanent rural residents ethnic considerations would appear to have doubtful validity for this study.

In an attempt to find discriminating criteria for the cultural position of individuals in South Africa some authors have concentrated on the acculturation processes themselves. Thus Grant (1975) considered urbanization as important, Helleman (1948) westernization; and Hall (1976) following Smith and Inkeles (1966), modernization.

A number of difficulties are involved in adopting such criteria however:

- Firstly acculturation is likely to involve all or a number of the above processes and any analysis that concentrates on one is likely to give an inadequate picture.

- Secondly the processes considered relevant and how they are conceptualized are frequently ethnocentric. Thus modernization becomes equated with westernization, urbanization with better quality of life, etc. A good example of this is one of Inkeles' criteria of modernization - a modern man is aware of the dignity of others. Is "traditional" man's respect for elders and a concern for social cohesion not a sign of dignity for others? Magubane (1971) in criticizing urban anthropological studies in South Africa argues that many indices of progress are perceived as degrading by Africans.

- A third problem is that often these processes neglect an historical perspective. Singer (1971) has documented unique adaptation to new cultural influences in Madras. Similarly in the South African setting L. Schlemmer (1972) has highlighted the historical effect the government policy of regarding the black worker's residence in the urban areas as temporary (prior to the Riekert Report 1979) has had on these people. He argues that measures of urban/rural commitment are not adequate as the latter policy has resulted in so much insecurity among Blacks that large numbers of them retain rural links despite being based in urban areas.

In the light of the above criticisms then the delineation and classi-
fication of the cultural background of Black Workers in South Africa
cannot be adequately represented by ethnicity nor in terms of accultu-
ration processes.

This of course does not invalidate the fact that these processes may
have an influence on an individual or that the analysis of them provide
some insight into group or individual behaviour. It is simply being
argued here that they do not provide adequate criteria for looking at
an individual's background in terms of his culture. A more idiosyn-
cratic approach may be of value.

A person's self identity emerges from his relationship with other people
and his interaction with the social structure. As a result individuals
define themselves in terms of the groups to which they belong or in terms
of the positions or roles they have in society. If this is the case
then the "cultural standing" of an individual must be reflected in
those people with whom he identifies and sees as significant others.
A description of these people may therefore give considerable insight
into the individual's position with regard to culture. The value
of such an approach is that it should reflect the individual's present
idealized and future standing instead of being a retrospective analysis
which the approaches criticized above tend to generate.

Reference group [2] theory identifies a number of different types of
groups against whom an individual evaluates himself. Thus Kemper (1968)
talks of comparison groups which may be divided into legimator, role
model or accomodation groups; Clark   (1972) as well as others talks
of normative audience and status groups.

(2) The term reference group is, as Merton (1957) states, a misnomer
     since a person may identify or evaluate himself with a group, in-
     dividual or collectivity of persons. Group is used here to include
     all of these.

To a certain extent this sort of classification is superfluous for often a person's reference group has all or a number of these characteristics. However some of the distinctions are valuable simply to give some clarity to the type of groups a person may identify with.

One reference group that is likely to be particularly valuable for this study is that group of people with whom an individual likes to be with, feels comfortable and "at home" with. Obviously a conservative person who maintains his tribal traditions and philosophy is likely to want to associate with those similar to him rather than with liberal, progressive people who have adopted a western life style and values.

The distinction of normative groups is a valuable one for this study. Individuals placed in a situation where they are not sure of appropriate behaviour refer to a normative group to guide their action. The normative group being that group that explicitly sets norms and values with which the individual identifies. The type of person/persons an individual refers to for normative guidance is likely to be a reflection of the security an individual has in his current position in society. Thus those who have recently adopted new values and life styles may fall back on a more traditional referent when in a problematic situation should they feel particularly insecure. The phenomena of individuals who have largely adopted western values still consulting traditional healers may be an example of this process. A markedly different normative as opposed to a peer or friendship group may be an indicator of the stability of one's cultural standing.

In the context of progress one other referent group may be of value, i.e. a comparison group which an individual aspires to or would like to be a member of. This perhaps can be best described as an idealized reference group. A description of the person or persons who comprise such a group is likely to reveal a great deal about those things an individual finds important when considering his future.

In this model then reference groups will be used for two purposes:
(i)   to identify the individual's present cultural standing;
(ii) to identify the sort of person or person an individual aspires to be like. Three groups will be considered: friendship, normative and idealized groups.

3.2.2 Political, Legal and Economic Conditions

Professor G. Jacobs (1978) has divided the restrictive laws and
policy that exists in South Africa concerning the employment and
movement of Black people, into four categories:

(a)   laws controlling their mobility and employment;

(b)   laws influencing their development i.e. education,
        training, acquisition of skills, etc.

(c)   laws affecting their standard of living - wages,
        conditions of service;

(d)   laws enabling them to participate in the industrial
        relations or collective bargaining system.

The recent release of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commission reports
should result in substantial legislative changes with regard to
some of the above. This change is likely to be slow however and
even if the law changes traditional practices are likely to per-
petuate for some time. A description of the position of black
workers in South African Society prior to these reports is therefore ·
likely to be an adequate one for some time to come.

The system of migrant labour created and controlled by the pass laws,
influx control and contract labour regulations, affects a major portion
of black workers' mobility and employment. Legislation in this area
is an attempt to base black workers in the rural or homeland areas so
their presence in white urban areas is solely for work purposes. The
lack of freedom that an individual has to change jobs or seek work,
as well as the fear of endorsement out of an urban area should he be-
come unemployed, severely limits opportunities in addition to creating
considerable occupational insecurity among blacks. Contract labour
workers who Prof. Jacobs estimates number 1,6 million, are further
inhibited in their progress in the work setting as the contract
specifies the type and length of work and change within that contract
is difficult.

Policy and legal conditions affect the development of Blacks, par-
ticularly in the area of education and training. While in recent
months changes in structure and policy have taken place,
Black people coming onto the labour market are not generally speaking,
competitive with whites. This is linked to limited education facili-
ties particularly at secondary school level, a shortage of adequately
qualified teachers and discrepancies in the syllabuses of black and
white schools.

A discrepancy in technical education has existed up to now, particu-
larly at the artisan level. This is largely because racial prejudice
makes it difficult for blacks to be indentured. It has been policy
that blacks should achieve artisan status in the homelands only,where
facilities are limited and of a lower standard.

A further major restriction to advancement has been job reservation.
While the Wiehahn Commission recommends the termination of this system
and in fact only 5 job reservation determinations remain in force to
date, nevertheless considerable resistance to advancing black workers
into skilled jobs exists. While some of this is a result of white
trade union pressure, the maintenance of traditional practices is a
major source of the lack of change in this area.

The limited base on which Blacks have been able to to negotiate
conditions of work, etc., has been a further restriction on the
creation of greater opportunities for their progress. This may
change in the post-Wiehahn report era which made recommendations
to legalize Trade Unions for all race groups albeit on a limited
basis.

Finally government policy and laws greatly affect the standard
and quality of life in areas other than work. The wage gap between
whites and blacks has decreased over the last few years from 5,0 :1
in 1975 to 4,5:1 in 1977. Nevertheless there still remains a dis-
crepancy even for those doing the same job and with the same quali-
fications (C.J. Cogill 1979) This discrimination obviously negatively

affects living conditions. Markinor [3] produced figures for the
income of African Households in five of the major urban areas in
South Africa. Just under half of those surveyed were receiving
incomes below the Household Subsistence Level(HSL). Couple this
with residence in suburbs that lack a number of facilities, are
distant from work and therefore entail long hours of commuting,
means that the quality of life for large numbers of black workers
in the urban area is poor.

The economic conditions that exist at any specific time period apart
from affecting quality of life are also likely to directly affect the
approach of authorities and employers to the progress of black workers.
Lack of skilled manpower, a high growth rate, national investment
policies etc, will all enhance the opportunities available to blacks
to advance in their work situations. On the other hand periods of
recession, or fiscal policies that result in a cut back in production
or economic growth, high unemployment etc, are likely to negatively
affect the advancement of black workers into higher levels.

In summary the policy, legislation and the state of the economy in
South Africa is, likely to have a threefold effect on an individual's
progress. Firstly on a general level they affect the quality of life
for Blacks which is likely to affect motivation, energy levels etc.
On the second level the acquistion of skills is hampered by the education
and training policy. Finally at the job level, traditional discrimi-
nation practices, job reservation etc, restricts opportunities and
avenues for progress.

3.2.3 Living Conditions

Living conditions refer to those circumstances in everyday life that
may affect performance at work. Obviously a wide variety of aspects
could be considered as indirectly influencing efficiency at work, e.g.
distance travelled to work, tensions created at home that are carried
over into the work situation, etc. Two factors are considered parti-

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3 Quoted in Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1978.
   Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg.

cularly important however health and diet or nutritional intake.

Apart from the negative consequences of absence from work through ill health most illnesses also have a demotivating or debilitating effect. Diseases endemic to Southern Africa, e.g. malaria, bilharzia, sleeping sickness and parasitic infections, are renowned for the lethargy that accompanies them. While these have been controlled to a considerable extent nevertheless a large number of individuals live with these diseases undetected. Bilharzia and parasites in particular may influence motivation among lower level workers with a rural background.

Intimately linked with health is the question of nutrition. Each individual has a certain basal energy requirement, provided by the calorific content of his food, which is expended during work and leisure activities. When energy expenditure exceeds intake, while in the short term some compensation can be made by loss of weight, a change in leisure activities etc., in the long run work activity must be affected with consequent effects on an individuals performance at work.

The effect that differences in calorie intake have on work performance are striking. The ILO (1965) reports a study of manual earth moving in India in which one group of workers had an output that was 80% greater on average than other groups. Being of the same stature and using the same tools and work methods as the other workers, the only significant difference between the groups that could account for this higher output was that the first group received an average of 4 500 calories per day while the others 2 880!

In addition to the physiological differences that can be attributed to nutrition, psychological differences also occur. Thus Batawi (quoted in D Turnham 1971) reports an experiment in which a drop in calorie intake from 3 100 to 2 000 over several months resulted in listlessness, lowering of initiative, lack of awareness and poor judgement among participants.

Studies on malnutrition demonstrate the effect of inadequate diet on childhood development. "Chronically malnourished children tend to lag behind their well nourished counterparts (particularly in regard to)... motor integrative performance, reading ability, concentration and motivation" (p.97 M. Read 1977). While these effects can be overcome in the longterm (Bartel, Burnett, et al (1977)) should the malnutrition continue, the above tendencies are likely to manifest themselves in the work situation.

The question arises as to what is the incidence of malnutrition and inadequate calorie intake in South Africa? A considerable degree of malnutrition exists amongst young children in the rural areas as a result of the migrant labour system, overpopulation and poor agricultural output. Up to 25% of that sector of the population. (L. Schlemmer and P. Stopforth 1974) It is difficult however to assess the extent of malnutrition amongst black workers, particularly those in the urban areas. In this context two conditions generally applicable to South Africa should be considered.

Firstly the majority of black workers are employed in low level jobs where the physical demands are high. Secondly, low wages are earnt by these people many of whom therefore live below the poverty datum line. Diet is therefore likely to be inadequate for a number of people at this work level.

Two studies provide some data on this issue. In the International Biological Programme conducted in South Africa Dr. P. Wyndham (1972) noted that urban males of the Venda and Pedi people were more capable of hard work than their rural counterparts "which is probably attributable to their better diets and more regular physical work" (p.31). However in the same report Dr. J du Plessis's findings suggest the extent of poor nutrition is not high amongst these two groups although seasonal fluctuations do occur.

Schlemmer and Stopforth (1974) in studying Africans in a Border Industry Township argue that diet and nutrition tend to be inadequate for those people going through a process of acculturation. In the

movement away from traditional forms of security - kinship- to
modern forms - material aspirations - those living on subsistence
wages spent considerable sums on material items, to the detriment
of their food bill, in order to gain this security.

In conclusion then health and nutrition have an influence on energy
levels and therefore work capacity and aspirations. While there is
not a clear picture of the extent of inadequate diets among Black
workers it is possible that:

(a) those resident in rural areas may be seasonally affected but
     for large periods of the year have an inadequate nutrition

(b) those in border towns or undergoing a process of social change
     may also have poor diets due to poor distribution of their
     limited resources

(c) those established in the urban areas possibly receive adequate
     nutrition although those in lower level jobs may not due to
     low wages and the physical demands of their jobs.

3.3   Situational Variables

3.3.1   Work Environment

Progress in the work situation is quite obviously influenced by the
environment in which an individual works. A number of factors are
likely to be important.

The most basic requirement is the existence of avenues for the progress
of black workers. Some organisations, particularly international com-
panies through pressure from their parent bodies, have adopted fair
employment policies which actively seek to create greater opportunities
for black advancement. There is however a mass of organisations who
employ black workers at a specific level only and provide few, if any,
avenues for progress. A black worker in such a position must therefore
look for avenues to progress in other areas of his life or seek jobs
elsewhere, where his skills can be used, should progress be important
to him. In otherwords where advancement in a specific organisation
is limited, progress may be reflected in job mobility across organi-
sations into higher-level jobs, or in aspirations outside the work
situation.

Apart from recognized avenues for progress the general organisational culture is also likely to influence individual attitudes to change within the work setting. Supervision which is person as well as production centred and aims to utilize and build on the skills an individual has, is likely to instil a positive approach to change and stimulate an individual. Conversely poor supervision in which little concern for the worker exists is likely to nullify any effort an individual may make that will constitute progress in the work situation. Similarly opportunities for acquiring extra skills through the provision of training courses will also play a role in stimulating an individual.

Quite obviously the legal restrictions placed on black workers, mentioned in section 3.2.2 are relevant when looking at the work environment. However it must be recognized that these are not the only factors to be considered. The approach of management to workers, the provision of opportunities for development and the effort to utilize human resources are all important in creating an atmosphere where progress is not only possible but attractive. It is the indirect as well as direct forms of discrimination, that are well documented in equal opportunity legislation overseas, that are equally important in determining the progress of an individual worker.

3.4 Person Variables

The discussion in 3.1 above outlined the expectancy theory and the need to consider the following:

- the expectancies an individual has regarding progress, i.e. the expectation of whether effort will in fact lead to progress (Expectancy);
- the expectation of whether better performance will be instrumental in obtaining certain outcomes (Instrumentality);
- time perception
- perception of progress
- values
- abilities

These variables which reflect the socio-psychological make up of an individual are referred to as person variables within broader model of

individual progress. They are discussed in more detail below.

3.4.1. Expectancy

Social learning theorists i.a. Rotter (1966) Lefcourt (1976), have
argued that individuals differ according to their expectancy of
whether outcomes are contingent on their personal effort, ability
or characteristics or subject to some external control, i.e. fate,
luck, powerful others, etc. They posit that some individuals are
"internally" controlled while others "externally" controlled.

According to the VIE theory, expectancy is similarly concerned with
the perceived action - outcome relationship. The only difference
that exists between the locus of control (l.o.c.) and the VIE
expectancy is that the latter focusses on the effort-outcome relation-
ship while the locus of control construct involves a personal factors -
outcome relationship of which effort is but one factor. It is possible
then that differences in the VIE expectancy can be explained or sub-
sumed under the broader   locus of control construct. Lefcourt (1976)
and Naditch and De Maio (1975) both argue for the use of the locus
of control construct in valence-expectancy frameworks.

It is proposed therefore to substitute the VIE expectancy with the
broader locus of control construct in order to achieve a fuller under-
standing of the characteristics that identify a progressive person.

The locus of control construct has received widespread attention in
the last decade and research in this area has been extensive. A number
of studies demonstrate a relationship between locus of control and
achievement related behaviour.

Joe (1971) states that the research indicates that internals manifest
greater interest and effort in achievement related activities than
externals do. Gurin and Epps (1975) reporting on a study of black
U.S. students found that internals not only have heightened expectancies
of success and a greater self confidence but they actually have higher
achievement test scores and achieve higher grades at college.

Broedling (1974) in considering Navy employees in U.S. found internals more than externals to be motivated to work hard, perform better, see working hard as being instrumental to attaining desirable ends and in fact tend to be in higher grades. Thus not only does there appear to be a difference in the expectancies re achievement and success between internals and externals but also a difference in actual performance.

Unfortunately however, this relationship would not appear to be as simple as it initially seems. Cognizance must be taken of the numerous criticisms made of the construct on both a conceptual and methodological level.

On a conceptual level a specific difficulty that exists is the meaning of the external pole of the construct.

The list of external loci normally appearing in the literature e.g. luck, fate, chance, powerful others etc. may not be relevant when considering populations other than U.S. students. Religious fatalism, (Nagelschmidt and Jakob (1977)) the power of ancestors (D.Munro 1973) and economic determinism are a few of the other possible external loci. Quite obviously attributing causality to one of these latter loci as opposed to luck or chance is likely to have very different behavioural concomitants.

Collins (1974) argues there is a confusion between two distinct dimensions along which individuals may differ in their attributions of causality. These are predictability vs. chance and situational vs. dispositional attributes. Under Rotter's categorization internals would attribute an outcome to dispositional predictability while externals to situational inpredictability. The other two categories dispositional unpredictability and situational predictability are on the whole neglected however. While examples of the former may be hard to come by except in cases of psychological or physiological disturbance, examples of the latter are common. For the Black Worker in South Africa, the statement "I can be sure that I will not make further progress because of job reservation determinations" is a predictable but situational (external) attribution of causality.

It would seem necessary therefore that the locus of control construct be reconceptualised to account for these categories, and its relation to achievement behaviour reformulated.

In the light of the above then a person who has an expectancy whether its loci be situational or dispositional may be achievement oriented if that loci is predictable. A person who has an expectancy that outcomes are dependent on situationally unpredictable factors (or dispositionally unpredictable factors should such exist) will be less likely to be achievement oriented or willing to make an effort to progress.

On the methodological level a number of other difficulties occur. They are mentioned here briefly not so much to explain the model but to highlight the considerations necessary when measuring the expectancy variable in the model.

(a) the nature of the outcome: Mischel, Zeiss and Zeiss (1974)
     and Gilmor and Minton (1974) found that the attribution of
     responsibility differs as to whether success or failure is
     experienced. Externals attribute success to luck, but failure
     to personal attributes while the reverse applies to internals.
     This finding must be kept in mind in drawing up a measurement
     instrument.

(b) generalization across persons: Factor analysis of the Rotter's
     I.E. Scale, the most widely used measure of locus of control,
     has revealed different factors in different studies. Gurin,
     Gurin, Lao and Beattie (1969) with a sample of black American
     students found two factors; Nagelschmidt and Jakob (1977) in
     Brazil also found two factors but dissimilar to Gurin et al's.
     Cherlin and Bourque (1974) again found two factors different
     from the above but similar to Mirels (1970). The fact that
     the samples drawn for these studies differed in terms of culture,
     suggests that the l.o.c. construct may manifest itself differently
     with different cultural experiences. J H Griffin (1964) in his
     book 'Being Black Like Me' states that as an individual (a Negro)
     can live in dignity even though as a Negro he cannot. Whites

may not make this distinction.

Since culture is likely to affect one's expectations the validity of the I.E. Scale to South African studies must be questioned, and care must be taken in applying the construct across cultures.

(c) generalization across situations: The factor analytic studies of Mirels (1970), Cherlin and Bourque (1974) and Collins (1974) revealed a number of factors in the I.E. Scale that suggest that individuals perceive their personal efficacy in a different light depending on the situation or event referred to in the item e.g. mastery over ones own life, impact on political institutions. Rotter's initial assumption that individuals develop a generalized expectancy may not be valid. Different situations may in fact raise different expectations.

It is concluded that since the locus of control construct provides considerable insight into behaviour-outcome expectancies it can be incorporated into the general model of personal progress as the expectancy aspect of VIE theory. On methodological level however it appears to be necessary to develop a culturally specific measure relevant to Black Workers in South Africa. In doing so special attention must be given to: the external pole of the construct; whether the event referred to is perceived as a success or failure; and the fact that different situations may affect the perceived expectancy.

3.4.2 Instrumentality

Instrumentality refers to the second expectation in the VIE theory i.e. whether performance is in fact instrumental in leading to certain outcomes.

In the western business setting and in terms of the definition given for progress in -the work setting, the relevant outcomes will be: promotion, greater responsibility, greater involvement in decision making and having authority over others, and a greater income.

If a person is to progress therefore he must have the specific
expectancy that if he does in fact perform better the consequence
will be at least one or more, if not all, of these outcomes.
This expectation is subtly different from the one discussed in
3.3.1 above in that the concern here is not on whether an
individual believes progress is contingent on him or not and
whether it is predictable but whether in <u>the actual job situation</u>
does progressive behaviour lead to outcomes perceived as progress
(by management if not the individuals). Should the individual
perceive his work setting as one in which progressive behaviour
does not lead to any outcomes then, even if he believes generally
that progress is contingent on himself or predictable factors, he is
nevertheless likely to have little motivation to strive to achieve
in his work.

As the VIE theory states however the valence of the outcomes
posited here are also crucial and ideally the expectation of the
instrumentality of improved performance must be considered along
with whether the outcomes are in fact valued by the individual.
Values as such will be discussed in more detail in the following
section.

3.4.3 <u>Values</u>

The perceived desirability of the outcome of some specific be-
aviour will be determined by an individual's value system. In
the context of individual progress in the job setting, the
congruence between an individual's value system and the values
prescribed in the work situation will be an important determinant
of whether that individual will want to progress in the work
situation or on the other side of the coin, whether an employer
will view his behaviour as progressive.

The concepts value and value system have been widely used in
psychology. There is a general acceptance that values are more
fundamental than beliefs or attitudes and are central to an
individuals affective system. Being such they have a particularly
important influence on behaviour in that they not only provide
standards that guide behaviour but are also motivational.
(Feather 1975).

Rokeach (1973) defines a value as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence." p.5.

This definition is a useful one for it highlights the point that values may be both instrumental in that they define the means of behaviour as well as terminal in that they define the goal. It is debatable whether these two categories are necessarily exclusive but the distinction is advantageous as a heuristic device in order to clarify the relationship between an individual's values and his/her progress.

There are a number of facets that are important when relating values to progress and without some structure the discussion of these is likely to be confusing. For this reason then those values that are relevant to the model will be discussed first and then these will be related specifically to the Black worker in South Africa.

Three facets of terminal values and two of instrumental values would appear to be relevant to the study of individual progress. Firstly the terminal values

The most basic question to be asked here is:- is progress in it's broad context valued? Modern society has become so habituated to the process of constant progress that that few doubt whether what we call progress is in fact advantageous to man. It is quite feasible and in fact becoming increasingly apparent that there are a number of individuals who in fact do not value progress, be they traditionalists or reactionaries. The acceptance or rejection of progress and change on a global level will influence one's views towards progress in specific areas such as the work situation.

Assuming that an individual does value progress and change however then one must ask whether this only applies to certain areas of his life and if so, what are these areas? While this study is concerned with progress at work, a lack of progress in this area need not mean an individual is

"not progressive", for his aspirations may be reflected in some other area of his life. Tapping these terminal values will identify areas which are relevant for each individual with regard to progress, thereby overcoming the value judgement upon which this study rests.

There exists a third terminal value relevant to the model:- if an individual does value progress at work, how central is this value in his life? Following Max Weber's original thesis there has been considerable analysis of the existence of the "Protestant Ethic" to work, among western capitalistic societies. The stress in the Protestant Ethic concept is that work itself is important and not necessarily the outcomes of work, and that there is a social or moral obligation towards society (or God) to work and do well in it. Obviously the adoption of such an ethic will influence the commitment an individual has to progress in the work situation. Should work be a central value then achievement at work is likely to be all important; on the other hand lack of identification with this ethic may have negative consequences for progress at work particularly if management's criteria for promotion is determined by identification with the Protestant Ethic and qualities such as industriousness, discipline and responsibility.

In terms of instrumental values two different questions must be asked.

Firstly to what extent is work valued as a means to attaining other goals? Are the outcomes of work valued in that they are instrumental in attaining other goals? This is an important question to ask for unlike identification with work itself, valuing the instrumental aspects of work, may not in fact be conducive to progress at work. The oft quoted failure of remuneration systems to increase performance at work is an ideal example of this A migrant who works on a contract basis in an urban area, may do so not because of any desire to perform the type of work he is given but simply because the outcome of this work i.e. wages, enables him to acquire a desired possession in the rural area e.g. cattle, a house. This being so there will be a limited desire to take on more responsibility, become more involved in the work or strive to progress.

Finally on a very specific level all the above values are likely to
set the context for whether outcomes of progress in the work situation
are valued. In other words are the following concomitants of progress
valued: promotion, being in charge of others, becoming increasingly
autonomous and involved in decision making? The value of these aspects
form the valence of the outcomes mentioned specifically in the VIE theory
framework.

Looking specifically at the Black Labour force in South Africa the
above five questions need to be answered. The questions are:
 _ Is progress valued?
 _ What goals are valued when considering the future?
 _ How central is the work ethic in the workers' value systems?
   Is work valued as a means to attaining other goals?   If so
 _ what goals?
   Are the outcomes of progress in the work situation valued?

The answers to these are not readily available, firstly because there
is a marked lack of data relevant to this broad population and secondly
because the population is made up of a vast number of heterogeneous
groups. A few tentative statements may be made however.

In the traditional situation progress may not be valued. A traditional
society by definition is usually conservative and resistant to normative
change. In the South African setting B. Sansom (1959) argues that the
pr iction of surplus grain was discouraged in traditional societies
through the process of reciprocity or religious sanctions i.e. alle-
gations of witchcraft, thereby inhibiting economic progress. The
traditionalist's resistance to change has carried across to the urban
situation in some instances. P. Mayer (1970) has documented the
existence of "amakhaya" groups amongst the Xhosa in East London which
"encapsulate" "Red" migrants and help individuals resist the acqui-
sition of western or modern habits.

For the majority of the Black population however this is not necessarily
an accurate picture as a large number of people have to some degree or
other, broken with their or their ancestor's traditions. A more accep-
table reflection of the position is given by N.Nevo (1978) "Although

a traditional frame of mind will reject normative change and
certainly will not promote experimentation and progress as values
in themselves, a traditional way of life may not be antagonistic
to a broad social change. Further, traditional values may generate
processes which indirectly initiate change and create motivation
directly, if unintentionally, conducive to development" (p.78).

There are therefore probably few who are totally opposed to progress
as such. However acculturation is a selective process, and therefore
different people may value different goals and in different areas of
their lives. What are some of these goals likely to be?

One of the characteristics of most traditional societies in Southern
Africa was the great value attached to social cohesion and solidarity.
Thus through traditions and norms linked with religion, kinship, rituals
and rites an individual was important primarily in the context of his
social network. This is expressed well by the phrase "I am because
we are and since we are I am".(Mbiti 1967, p.224) There is some
suggestion that this value has persisted despite processes of accul-
turation. Thus Onyemelukwe (1973) argues that black workers (in Nigeria)
"create for themselves a separate social fabric in which interpersonal
relationships are highly cherished" (p.77) This being so then it is
possible that some black workers when considering their future, set
goals for themselves which reflect this "social" value. Whether this
is conducive or not to progress will of course depend on the criteria
set to evaluate progress. If the criteria involves individualism and
individual achievement then this value is likely to be seen as inhibi-
ting progress,on the other hand should the criteria be group attainment
then upholding this value may facilitated the attainement of the goal.

The question of the centrality of the work ethic in a Black worker's
value system has been largely unexplored. Some studies have however
looked at what is valued in the work situation specifically.

Onyemelukwe's study highlighted the stress placed on good interpersonal
relationships at work. Some support for this has been found for
sectors of the black labour force in South Africa. C. Orpen (1974)
found rural Xhosa workers valued the right kind of supervisor and good
peer relationships to a greater extent than the urban workers. On the

other hand the urban group felt more strongly about advancement and achievement at work. This difference between "urban" and "rural" workers is also reflected in a second study by Orpen (1978). Urban workers placed a higher value on pride in one's work, job involvement, status of one's job and responsibility to work than rural workers did. Alternatively rural workers placed a higher value on the material outcomes of work i.e. making more money, seeking a higher level job and better standard of living. While these no doubt reflect differences in cultural background, they are also likely to be linked with needs. The rural worker, working in a subsistence economy, strives to satisfy lower order needs, while the urban worker being more established works for the satisfaction of other needs e.g. self esteem.

Differences such as the above are likely to affect the motivation to progress in the work situation. Thus some people while wishing to progress in terms of increased remuneration may be resistant to an increasing involvement in one's job or taking on additional responsibilities. Care must be taken however in drawing conclusions from the above studies without examining prior premises e.g. the assumption that the value placed on good interpersonal relationships will inhibit progress at work may only be valid if one assumes goals can only be achieved by individual and not group effort - certainly some objectives my be attained more easily when good interpersonal relationships are stressed and not individual achievement.

3.4.4 Time Perception

Progress implies a future time perspective. "While all person's everywhere are oriented periodically towards the past present or future" p.52 (Doob 1971) differences do appear to exist among individuals in their perception of events and occurences in the future. (cf Wallace 1956; Kahn 1966; Kar 1971).

A review of the literature suggests however that time perspective is not a simple, unitary construct. Wallace and Rabin (1960) point out two dimensions that make up a time perspective:

- extension - the length of future time conceptualized
- coherence - the degree of organisation in that time span.

Kastenbaum (1961) and Henik and Domino (1975) mention others:
- density - the number of events expected in the future;
- directionality - the extent to which one sees oneself moving forward into the future;
- affectivity - the extent to which an individual has positive feelings about anticipated events.

Two of these dimensions are particularly relevant to the concept of progress: extension and density. Extension is important, for two individuals with the same goal may differ greatly on when they wish to achieve it. Similarly with density, individuals may differ in the number of goals they wish to reach even though they may have the same time span.

A problem of assessment of a future time perspective is the realism of one's aspirations. Ultimately when one is considering progress, the attainement of one's goals is the all important criterion. The old tortoise and the hare fable provides an analogy; the person who sets himself small goals and constantly achieves them is likely to make more progress than another who aims for a major goal but fails to get there.

In the evaluation of a future time perspective the realism of an individual's aspirations, must therefore be considered. An accurate evaluation is of course only possible ex post facto which outside of a longitudinal study, is impossible. An indication of how realistic an individual is in the objectives he sets for himself however, is the extent and quality of the planning he makes to achieve the goals. Obviously the detail of the plans made is a sign of how the individual has thought out the problem and how involved, affectively, he is in it.

Any assessment of time perception must therefore involve the extent of the time span conceptualized, the "density" of such time span and the individual's involvement in planning.

3.4.5 Ability

An ability in its broad sense is the potential an individual has for engaging in a certain behaviour, or the skill he has in performing a certain task. This includes considerations on both physical and/or intellectual levels.

In the context of the above then for an individual to progress, he must have the ability to perform at the next stage that is considered to be progressive. Thus if a change in position from an operator to a supervisor is considered as a sign of progress, the individual who wishes to make that step must have the skills to perform at that level or at least the potential to, if he is to receive training. He must have the ability to control others, take responsibility etc.

In the proposed general model it is impossible to define what abilities are required for individual progress. To a considerable extent the desired abilities will be determined by the specific situation and job circumstances.

Whatever ability is important however, it will to some extent be influenced by an individuals environmental, cultural and educational circumstances. Thus for example on a very basic physiological level the person living in circumstances where his diet is inadequate, may lack the physical abilities that a job demands.

The influence of cultural background on abilities is a source of considerable discussion and controversy in psychology. While not subscribing to the strong version of the cultural relatively argument it does seem logical that different cultural values and lifestyles must facilitate or inhibit certain abilities. In other words while no culture can totally destroys the potential an individual has to behave in a certain way, some cultures by valuing a specific type of behaviour will facilitate the development of a specific skill to a fairly high level. In other cultures where a particular skill is not necessarily valued individuals may have the potential but lack the experience or training to have acquired a high level of profiency in that skill.

Thus for example western technocratic cultures may have resulted in individual proficiencyin mechanical and abstract reasoning skills while black traditional cultures a proficiency in social skills. The problem of ethnocentrism only occurs when one makes a value judgement by saying either that a particular skill is better than another or that the manifestation of the skill is the only way that skill can be demonstrated e.g. verbal ability only exists in the form measured by a specific test.

Culture therefore has an influence on what specific skills develop but this is no way means that a certain potential does not exist. In defining or viewing progress from a western business viewpoint individuals, whose cultural background has not resulted in proficiency in those skills seen as important, are disadvantaged. Lack of recognition by the organisation of this, may mean that these individuals apart from legal or other considerations are restricted in their opportunities for acquiring the desired skills and therefore inhibited in their progress.

Education in terms of formal schooling which is largely orientated to producing individuals who are competent to perform within the western economic framework will, as a result,help in ensuring the proficiency of the desired skills (perhaps at the same time however inhibiting some skills that may be important for the progress of the individual in some other sphere of his life). Similarly on the job training and opportunities for learning new skills will also ultimately affect an individuals ability and thereby, progress in the work situation.

3.5 Conclusions

Following the overview of the proposed model of individual progress in the work situation, the "environmental" variables being the contextual factors were discussed, followed by a discussion of the "person" variables. An effort was made when looking at each of the specific variables to achieve three goals:

(a)   to show the relevance of the factor to the model as such;

(b)   to outline the possible relationship the factor has with others in the model;

(c)   to discuss the factor in terms of black workers in South Africa (when there was relevant data available).

The model as it is presented above is obviously a general one in which, in very broad terms, factors regarded as important when considering individual progress are examined. Such a model may be used for a number of purposes: to give an overview or conceptual framework for considering the training of black workers or their selection to new posts; or to provide a framework for understanding the socio-psychological determinants of behaviour at work; or to help in directing research into the determinants of the progress of black workers by pinpointing relevant areas to focus on.

Having developed such a general model there is a need to look at more specific aspects. The rest of the report therefore considers a study that was conducted within the broad aims of the project. While this was not designed specifically to validate the model in it's entirety, the data gathered is relevant to it and leads to important conclusions and recommendations regarding the model.

4. THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

In 1978 a study was conducted with a sample of black low-level workers employed at a local university. At the time these workers were attending literacy classes which were being conducted by the Education Department of the University, as part of a large research programme into literacy. The present study was therefore incorporated into this programme.

A great advantage of the involvement in this wider programme was that considerable background data existed on the pupils, regarding their educational, language and home background. This information was obtained during a modernization and language proficiency project conducted by J. Thompson (1978) of the NIPR, on behalf of the Education Department. This data provided valuable information to supplement that obtained during the present study.

The use of this sample, while having the above advantage nevertheless placed certain limitations on the study. In the light of the conceptual model the ideal sample would be one that included individuals from a range of different backgrounds and employed in different jobs. This would permit

the identification of individuals who had progressed in the work situation and those who had not, thereby providing two comparison groups. The sample used here however was made up of individuals with little or no education and all employed in similar low level labouring jobs. A comparison across different groups was not possible therefore. As a result the following strategy is used in this study. Firstly the people who comprise this sample are described in detail in terms of their job level, cultural background and educational standing i.e. the environmental and antecedent variables outlined in the model. This is done so that hypotheses regarding the person variables can be drawn from the general model. These are then tested against the data obtained from the respondents on the person variables.

As a result of this strategy the report on the study is presented in a format that differs from the standard presentation of an experimental study. Firstly the composition of the sample is explained in considerable detail. Following this the methods used, measuring instruments and techniques are explained. The next section then presents the hypotheses derived from the general model. Finally the results are presented both in terms of the variables proposed in the model and on both a methodological and theoretical level. The implications of this analysis are reviewed in the concluding section of the report.

4.2. The Sample

The sample consisted of Black low-level workers employed at a local university. The respondents were attending literacy classes conducted in the work setting. The pupils for these classes were selected from the total Black labour force of unskilled workers at the university so as to be representative of that labour force in terms of sex and education.

The total number of pupils in the literacy classes was 60. Of these 49 were interviewed: 30 Males and 19 Females. Of the remaining 11, 2 did not wish to be interviewed, 2 dropped out of the classes before the interviews were conducted and 7 were on vacation or sick leave at the time of interviewing.

Participation in this study was voluntary. When the request for partici-
pation was made at one of the literacy lessons a number of subjects stated
that as they would be interviewed during the time they would normally be
at a lesson, they required some compensation - the literacy classes being
highly valued by most subjects. It was proposed that those who volunteered
should receive R1 for the interview. This was agreed to and became the
basis for their participation. Only two subjects did not wish to be
interviewed when it came to their turn.

Biographical data on the respondents is presented below in detail in terms
of age, education, urbanization/modernization, and work history.

4.2.1 Age

The age of the male and female subsample and total sample is presented
in table 1.

TABLE 1   Mean Age of Respondents

	Males	Females	Total
Mean age	40,67	40,74	40,69
s.d.	7,22	6,31	6,81
Range	22-53	27-49	22-53

There was no significant difference in the mean age of the male
and female sub samples.

Despite there being a wide range of ages 55 per cent of the respondents
fell between the ages of 40 and 49 years.

Generally therefore the sample consisted of middle-aged workers.

4.2.2 Education

The mean number of years of formal schooling of the male and female
sub groups and the total sample is presented in table 2.

TABLE 2   The Mean no. Years of Schooling of Respondents

	Males	Females	Total
Mean no. of years	3,30	5,00	3,98
s.d.	2,27	2,45	2,46
Range	0-7	0-8	0-8

Although the mean number of years of education for the female sub sample was significantly different from the males (p.$<$ 0,05) nevertheless most respondents had received very little formal education. Considering the age of the respondents and the fact that few had continued their education after their youth, the actual academic proficiency of the respondents was possibly even lower than the means suggest.

4.2.3 Urban/rural Residence and commitment

The urban/rural residence patterns of respondents were examined in considerable depth, the basic data being drawn from information gathered by Thompson a few months earlier.

Legal restrictions placed on black workers in South Africa and natural migration processes influence the nature of the urban residence of a large number of workers. Simple ratios of time spent in the urban areas as a measure of the extent of exposure to urbanizing influences are not therefore sufficiently exact for the Southern African context. For this reason two indices developed in South Africa were computed as measure of urban or rural residence. These indices were: Mitchell's index of stabilization (M)[1] (1956) and Alverson index (A)[2](1967).

> M = $\dfrac{\text{Length of residence in town since 15 years of age}}{\text{No. of years lived since 15}}$ X 100

> A = M X age of subject

1. The age of 15 is used by Mitchell because it is argued that as there is no compulsory education for Africans, the individual must decide whether he is going to town or not by about this age.
2. Alverson advocates two changes to Mitchell's index (a) it should be weighted by the absolute age of the subject (b) differential weighting technique for periodic migratory patterns. As the data gathered did not include short term migratory patterns only the first modification could be implemented.

The means scores on these indices for the male and female subjects are shown in table 3.

TABLE 3   Urban/rural residence patterns : Mitchell and Alverson's
           indices

	Males(N=27)[3]	Females (N=18)	Significance
M	77,4	90,33	p .01
s.d.	15,27	13,13	
A	3241,7	3732,6	p .05
s.d.	847,5	679,9	
% of life spent in rural area	51,5	23,89	
s.d.	10,80	24,14	

Male and female respondents showed very different residence patterns. The women had spent more time in the urban areas than the men.

The above findings can largely be accounted for by the differences between the two groups regarding their place of birth. While 50% of the women were born in the urban area only 7% of the men were. Virtually all the men came to the urban area later in life. Their average age upon arrival in town was 21,20 s.d. 3,63 years.[4] The formative years of life for the males were therefore spent in a rural environment.

Schlemmer (1972) has stressed that despite lengthy residence in town, the legal status of urban black residents creates a great deal of insecurity. This means that individuals often maintain a base in the rural areas so as to ensure they have some place to fall back on. The above indices then, while providing some data on the extent of the exposure to an urban life style, give no indication of the individual's commitment to the rural or urban area.

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3. Information was available for 27 out of the 30 men and 18 of the
    19 women.
4. There is a considerable discrepancy between this figure and that
    suggested by Mitchell i.e. 15 years, as the age when a person
    must consider coming to town. If this sample is representative
    of migrant workers, then a modification of Mitchell's proposed
    age must be considered.

Commitment to the urban area is likely to be partially dependent
on whether an individual qualifies for permanent residential status
in the urban area or not. Obviously should an individual not qualify,
rural links must be maintained.

Table 4 shows the percentage number of people qualifying for residence.

TABLE 4   Residential status of respondents (percentages)

Type of residence	Males	Females
Sect. 10(1)a (residence rights by birth)	7	42
Sect. 10(1)b (residence by 10 or 15 years)	33	47
Contract workers	13	-
Do not intend to apply	37	5
Information missing	10	5
	100%	100%

A marked difference in residence status exists between the male and
female sub sample - 89% of the females having official permanent
residence while only 40 per cent of the men have.

Reflected against this however 77% of the males and 26% of the females
saw their residence as being temporary state of affairs. Furthermore
73% of the males have a wife and children in the rural area (only 1
male was not married). It is obvious therefore that despite their
right to reside in the urban area a number of respondents - particularly
males - do not see their stay as permanent.

It would be easy in the light of the above to conclude these individuals
prefer a rural life style. This however is perhaps too simplistic in
the South African setting.

The responses to the question, why do you not intend to reside permanently
in the urban area, are illuminating. While a few males did give responses
that showed a positive evaluation of the rural area e.g. I prefer
country life, a number gave responses that suggest a rural preference
simply out of pragmatic considerations in the context of restrictions
placed on the urban black. This assumption is supported by two more
questions asked of the respondents in the modernization questionnaire:

how often do you travel to the rural area; for what reason? (tribal, domestic, work, legal, security) By far the majority of males replied that they returned primarily to see and care for the family and material possessions. Few returned to participate in tribal ceremonies or meetings.

In summary then the male group is characterized as males having come to town generally in their late teens - early twenties, who have strong links with the rural area through their families who reside there. Relatively few however are tribally orientated and links with the rural area are for some a pragmatic necessity and not necessarily out of a preference for a rural life style.

The female respondents however show a different profile. The majority were born in the urban area or permanently resident there. Only 26% see their urban residence as temporary and only 16% have children in the rural area. Only 21% visit the rural area more than once a year and those that do pay the occasional visit, do so to see a mother or father or in a number of instances more distant relatives. Their links then with the rural area are therefore limited and most women prefer life in the urban area.

4.2.4 Modernization

Data on a modernization scale developed by Thompson (1977) was available on all but five of the subjects. The scale assessed the attitudes, values and behavioural commitments an individual holds according to a theoretical continuum of modernity.

The mean scores for the male and female sub samples are shown in table 5.

TABLE 5 Modernization scores

	Mean Score	s.d.	Range	Level of significance
Males	65,78	12,28	35-83	p .01
Females	76,22	10,26	57-96	
Overall	69,96	12,51		

While norms do not exist for this scale to permit a judgement of the degree of modernity each person or sample has reached, women however were found to be more "modern" than males.

The male and female sub-groups did not differ with regard to age, but they showed marked differences in education and residence patterns, women being more educated and having had greater exposure to an urban way of life (particularly during formative years).

4.2.5 Work History

The respondents length of employment in their present job is given in table 6.

TABLE 6   Length of present employment

	Mean no. of years	s.d.	Range
Males	11,31	8,30	1 - 28
Females	5,06	2,15	1 - 9

70% of the total sample had been employed for five years or more.

The majority of males were employed as cleaners or labourers. Three respondents were waiters and another three occasionally involved in more skilled work e.g. measuring and marking playing fields. Only 2 out of 30 male respondents occupied jobs at a higher level i.e. cook, and "bricklayer" (repair and maintenenance of buildings).

Most of the women were also employed as cleaners or messengers. Two worked in the laboratories arranging chemical specimens.

Little or no mobility was shown in their jobs. Only two males and 2 females had held more than one job with their present employer.

50 per cent of the males and 60% of the females stated that their present job is the best they have had; 30 and 11 per cent respectively gave a previous skilled job as their best.

The reasons given for their present job being the best varied, but most mentioned that the pay and fringe benefits were good and there was a lack of physically demanding work.

4.2.6 Summary

The sample is characterized by individuals employed in unskilled jobs who appear to be stabilized in their present positions. Few opportunities exist within their present employment for any form of job mobility.

A large proportion of the sample are middle aged and unlikely to change much in terms of their values etc. in the years to come.

The males in the sample can be described as generally transitional people, with one foot in the urban area and one in the rural, whether this is out of choice or due to legal restrictions. They are, or were prior to their attendance at the education course, largely illiterate, and have limited occupational skills.

The females on the other hand are fairly established in the urban area and live a lifestyle that is more linked to such a position. While being more educated than the males, they are still not highly educated and this and their lack of occupational skills means they occupy a fairly marginal position. Their higher modernization scores suggest they have been more exposed to urban and modernizing influences.

4.3 Methodology and Measurement Techniques

Three major considerations determined the nature and type of measurement methods used in this study:
(a)   the low level of literacy of the respondents;
(b)   the extent of information required;
(c)   the respondent's lack of familiarity with English or Afrikaans particularly in the light of the conceptual problems linked with such a study.

In the light of the above a face to face interview situation, conducted in the respondents mother tongue was obviously the best method to use. An interview schedule was therefore developed. This was structured so as to cover the areas outlined in the model but with a number of open ended questions so as to maximize the respondent's opportunities for personal responses.

The interviews were conducted in either Zulu or Sotho by trained black interviewers, who had had the model and aims of the study explained to them. Most respondents had one of these languages as their home language, the few that didn't were sufficiently proficient with one of them to be able to communicate adequately.

The questionnaire consisted of a number of different measures employed to tap different aspects of the model. The questionnaire is given in Appendix 1.

4.3.1 Biographical and Work History variables

As subjects had been interviewed a couple of months prior to this study considerable information on biographical variables was available. This consisted of modernization scores, educational background and urban/ rural residence history.

Data on the individual respondents work history was obtained for both present employment and previously held work if any. The desire to change from present employment was tapped. One question was designed to tap the respondent's awareness of limitations placed on black workers' aspirations to change. (Section A of the questionnaire)

4.3.2 Reference Group

As discussed in 3.2.1 above three reference groups were considered as important in this study: Friendship, normative and idealized groups.

Section B of the questionnaire investigated these reference groups.

Information on friendship groups was tapped by the question ".....I want you to tell me about the people that you like to be with." The similarity between this or these people and the respondent was investigated regarding work, education, residence patterns, marital status, age and interests. (Section B question 1).

The respondent's normative group was tapped in relation to the individual's work setting (Section B question 2) and the type of person mentioned categorized into Kin, Peer, Boss or other groups.

The person/persons who the respondent wants to be like (idealized group) was also tapped. The person/s were identified and the reason for the attraction investigated (Section B question 3).

4.3.3 Locus of Control Expectancy

The questionnaire attempted to tapped the respondent's "locus of control" i.e. his expectancy regarding the effort - progress relationship.

Four important conclusions were made regarding a literature review of this construct:

(1)   the measure must be designed for black workers in South Africa;
(2)   the external pole should not be prescribed in the measure;
(3)   a distinction should be made regarding whether the specified outcome is a success or failure condition;
(4)   responses may differ according to the situation outlined.

Lefcourt Reid and Ware reported in Lefcourt (1976) have developed an interview schedule which allows "for causal attributions to success and failure for valued goals" to be assessed. Being in line with the methodological and conceptual discussion above and highly applicable for use with illiterate respondents, it was adapted for this study. Four sets of questions were asked in terms of what individuals value now, in the future, at work and finally outcomes of the literacy course. Attributions of causality for both positive and negative outcomes were measured and responses categorized in terms of personal forces (internal control), predictable "external" forces, or unpredictable external forces. (c.f.Section C questions 1-17 Appendix 1).

4.3.4 Instrumentality

The particular focus here is whether in the respondents actual situation progressive behaviour leads to the outcomes which are associated with progress. As the "respondents were low level workers who in fact had little or no recognized avenues in which these outcomes could be reached this expectancy was not investigated directly.

General feelings regarding the respondent's progress at work, and the outcomes: being in charge of others and promotion, were tapped however, although not in a direct form such as does an improved performance by you lead to promotion? etc. This is discussed in 4.3.5 below on the question of values.

4.3.5 Semantic Differential and Life Goals

In discussing values in relation to progress in section 3.3.3 above, five central questions were presented. These were:

(1) is progress valued;
(2) what goals are valued when considering the future;
(3) how central is the work ethic in the value system;
(4) is work valued solely as a means to attaining other
     goals? If so what goals?
(5) are the outcomes of progress in the work situation valued?

Not all of the above were investigated in this study, mainly because of pragmatic considerations regarding the length of the interviews and partly because of the depth of the interview that would have been required to adequately answer some of the questions (particularly quest. 1 above). Values linked with one's future, the centrality of the work ethic and the outcomes of progress were felt to be important for this study and a number of techniques were used to tap them.

The goals valued when one's future is considered were tapped by three open ended questions also used in the locus of control section (Section C questions 6,8 and 9) i.e. Can you tell me those things you would like to be or have in the years to come? Which of these is the most important? Why?

The value attached to progress in the work situation specifically, was tapped using the semantic differential technique (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1958). This technique has been widely used to tap the affective qualities or connotative meaning of concepts. Its advantages are that it overcomes the tendency to give socially desirable answers to direct questions regarding one's future progress; overcomes the need to have a prior knowledge of the content of attitudes to the concept and provides quantifiable data.

Osgood, May and Miron (1975) in an extensive cross-cultural study
have demonstrated the use of the technique and have found,using
factor. analytic techniques,that the qualifiers used in the studies
have a similar structure across different cultures. Three factors
appear in data from the different cultures examined - Evaluation,
Potency and Activity. The former was shared by all and was the major
factor to emerge. Thus using "evaluative" qualifiers will provide
data on the value attached to the concept used. The other factors,
particularly potency and activity, are also useful in this study
in that they provide additional data regarding other important subjec-
tive feelings regarding progress at work.

Three concepts were use: "Progress at work","Being in charge of others",
and "Promotion at work". The qualifiers for the bipolar scales were
mainly selected from the list compiled by Osgood et al (1958) to
represent the three major factors. A couple of additional qualifiers
were included however which relate directly to progress. The evaluative
scales used were: good - bad, important-unimportant, hopeful-hopeless,
the activity scales: difficult-easy, moving-still, fast-slow,
potency scale: big-small, strong-weak; and those unassigned: near-far,
known-unknown, likely-unlikely.

As the technique was of an abstract nature and subjects illiterate
instructions were clearly presented. These followed those employed
by Dubb, Melamed and Majodina (1973) who used the technique to study
the attitudes of a similar sample to that used in this study
(refer section E of the questionnaire for details).

Finally the question of how central is the value of work in the
individuals value system? The technique employed to assess this was
designed so as to obtain a ranking of a number of different values,
The assumption being that should work be of utmost importance those
values which relate to it would emerge at the top of the ranking,
While such a method may not be tapping a Protestant Ethic as such
it would provide some idea of how important work related values
are and at the same time if work related values are not
important, what values are.

The question of what values should be considered presents considerable difficulty however, for individuals may value a vastly different range of things or behaviours in their lives. Ultimately the decision of what values are to be tapped in any specific measure must be fairly arbitrary.   In the light of the review given in section 3.3.3 and the focus of this study, at least two broad areas must be considered - values that relate to work and values related to social involvement.

Bass, Alexander and Krusell (1971) itemize 11 "life goals" which they believe are valued by most people in different cultures. While these have been employed in a cross-cultural study concerning managers and engineers but not low-level workers, nevertheless the categories help to stress some of the possibly important areas to tap. For this reason the life goals formed the basis for the values to be investigated in the study and nine of the categories were used. There was an absence of a "political" factor in the categories so this was included in the present study to create 10 value areas altogether. These were: leadership, expertness, service, wealth, independence, affection, security (job related), morality, leisure and political involvement.

A statement was created for each of the above. A paired comparison technique was investigated as a possible method for attaining a ranking of values. Unfortunately with a complete design 45 comparisons are required and in a trial run respondents complained about the length and monotony of such a process. An incomplete design was considered but the loss of data this entails with a relatively small sample, made the technique inappropriate for this study. An alternative method was used. Respondents were asked to rate each statement on a four point scale of very important to me to not important at all. It was hoped that a ranking of values would still be possible on a group basis.

4.3.6 Future Time Perception

The two dimensions of future time perception considerd important for this study were: extension - the length of the future time span conceptualized; and density - the number of events expected in the future. Following Wallace and Rabin (1960) and Henik and Domino (1975) the response to Question 6 Section C. (also designed for the measure of locus of control) was used to estimate the density of the time span

conceptualized, i.e. the number of items or events listed in response to the question "Can you tell me those things you would like to be or have in the years to come?" A further question asking the respondent at what age they will be when they reached or attained the above, was used to estimate the extension of time. The length of time span conceptualized consisted of the difference between their present age and that age which they mentioned regarding the most distant event (in years).

Of course the realism of the individuals aspirations is open to debate when such questions as the above are used. In an effort to overcome this an attempt was made to check on the amount and quality of planning that the individual was involved in regarding the most important of his/her aspirations. Each respondent was asked whether he/she had plans for its attainement and if so what plans; how frequently he/she thought about the objective; and whether a day to day involvement was present. (Question 3,4 and 5 Section D).

4.3.7 Language

As a large number of the questions in the questionnaire were open ended they were stated in English in the schedule and the interviewers translated them in the interview situations. For two of the measures, however, i.e. the semantic differential technique and the life goals, it was important that all subjects were asked exactly the same question or given the same concept. For this reason these measures were translated into both Zulu and Sotho.

The back translation method advocated by Brislin (1970) and Sechrest et al (1972) was employed. For both the Zulu and Sotho versions an individual whose mother tongue was from the relevant language group, translated the original English text. This translation was then translated back into English by a second independent person with the same mother tongue. Where differences occurred between the original and back-translated scripts conceptual non-equivalence existed and necessary changes were made until the translated and original texts could be regarded as equivalent.

4.4 Hypotheses

A number of hypotheses were formulated which were derived from the
general model of progress in the work situation taking into account
the nature of the sample as outlined in 4.2 above.

Hypothesis 1 : Aspirations to Progress at Work

In the light of the limited education, low-level of occupational skill,
age and transitional nature of the respondents (particularly the males)
there will be a limited desire to progress in the work situation.

Hypothesis 2 : Values

(a)   Work or work related aspects will not be as highly valued as other
        aspects of the respondents' present lives.

(b)   Aspirations and goals for the future will be directed to areas out-
        side the work context.

(c)   Interpersonal relationships and those areas of life that involve
        contact with others will be highly valued.

Hypothesis 3 : Rating of the Outcomes of Progress at Work

(a)   The outcomes of progress at work i.e. "being in charge of others",
        and "promotion at work" being signs of a greater commitment to the
        job and therefore urban area, will be negatively evaluated by the
        male respondents who show a degree of insecurity in the urban area.

(b)   The female respondents however in the light of their greater urban
        commitment and education will rate these outcomes more positively
        than the males.

(c)   The activity, potency and other feelings towards the outcomes will
        be negatively rated by both groups in the light of the limited
        opportunities available to them.

Hypothesis 4: Reference Group

(a)   As respondents occupy low level jobs in which they appear to be
        fairly stable; are mainly middle aged and therefore unlikely to
        change the positions to any great extent; have a limited education
        and are established in their urban/rural migratory patterns, if any;
        they will identify with people who are similar to them in most of
        the above areas.

(b) When placed in a position where appropriate action is unclear, male respondents being relatively marginal in terms of rural/urban lifestyle and having limited education, will refer to a normative group that comprises of kin and peers. Female respondents on the other hand being more established in the urban black culture and being more educated, will tend to refer to superiors or specialists when in a similar situation.

Hypothesis 5: Time Perception

(a) The number of goals individuals have will be limited and therefore their future time orientation likely to be of limited density.

4.5 Results

The results are reported in terms of the hypotheses listed above. As this study was largely exploratory and therefore a variety of methodological techniques used, some consideration must be given to the methodological implications. These will be discussed in the text when the relevant technique is first mentioned.

4.5.1 Hypothesis 1 : Aspirations to progress in the work situation

In the light of the limited education, low-level of occupational skill, the age and the transitional nature of the individuals, there will be a limited desire to progress in the work situation.

The respondents desire to change jobs is shown in table 7.

TABLE 7 : Respondents desire to change jobs.

	Males		Females		Overall	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No desire to change	15	50	14	74	29	59
Wish to change	9	30	1	5	10	20
Ambivalent	2	7	-	-	2	4
No response	4	13	4	21	8	16

The majority of respondents particularly females stated they did not want to change from their present jobs. As the opportunities for progressing in their jobs was extremely limited, except perhaps in terms of set annual increments, this desire to stay in the job may be a reflection of a limited desire to progress.

However of those that responded to the question - "is there any reason why you are not able to change your job?" - the majority stated that they lacked the qualifications or education to change. Three mentioned there was a scarcity of jobs and two that they were too old. No-one mentioned that legal restrictions affected them.

These responses then suggest that a desire may exist regarding progress at work but there is a general resignation to the fact that it is not possible because of personal or other limitations.

4.5.2 Hypothesis 2: Work and Non-work Values

(a)   Work or work related aspects will not be as highly valued as other aspects of the respondents present life.

(b)   Similarly aspirations and goals for the future will be directed to areas outside the work context.

(c)   Interpersonal relationships and those areas of one's life that involve contact with others will be highly valued by respondents.

Data relating to these hypotheses was obtained from two of the value measures:- the answers to the questions relating to what is important to the individual now and in the future, and the responses to the "life goals" values measure.

The responses of individuals to the question: "....can you tell me what things you would not like to lose?" which aimed to tap what the individual regards as important to him now, is given in table 8 (in terms of the percentage number of people giving the specific statement) Table 9 shows those things that are most important to the individual.

Table 8 : Those things respondents would not like to lose

	Males	Females	Overall[*]
My family and/or children's well being	63	53	59
Money	47	42	45
Material possessions (Furniture, stove, radio, etc.)	33	42	37
Livestock	47	-	29
House/Property	17	16	16
Job	13	16	14
My life/Health	7	16	8
Progress in life (education etc.)	0	16	6
Friends	7	2	4
Others (Reference Book, Church, Scooter)	10	-	6

Table 9 : Those things that are most important

	Males	Females	Overall
My family and/or children's well being	44	42	43
Money	7	26	14
Cattle	20	-	12
Job related (Job, ability to work)	10	5	8
House/furniture/building materials	10	-	6
Progress in life (education)	-	16	6
Others. Reference book etc.	10	10	10

[*] Individuals could give more than one answer.

The responses of both male and female respondents appear to be similar except that 20% of the males stated that their cattle were most important to them while on the other hand 16% of the women but no men mentioned that progress in their life, referring to the education they had received, was the most important thing they had.

For both groups family matters, particularly their children's well being, were of the greatest importance. Apart from money, which is obviously linked with one's work, relatively few people mentioned their work or work related aspects as being important i.e. only 13% of the males and 16% of the females.

Table 10 and table 11 show the responses to the question designed to tap what the individual aspires to in the future. The former gives general responses, the latter those things that individuals would most like to be or have in the future.

A different profile emerges from these responses for male and female respondents. Concerning those things individuals would most like to be or have in the future, the majority of males mention they would like to build or own a house; to educate their children and to be financially wealthy are the next two most important aspirations with 13% of the males endorsing them respectively. The female respondents on the other hand aspire to educate their children (37%), be in a skilled job (26%) and build or own their own home (16%).

Looking at the general responses 70% of the men aspire to build or own a house, 30% to buy a car and 20% to educate their children. On the other hand 58% of the women to educate their children, 47% to be in a skilled job, 37% to build or own a house and 26% to study further.

Overall then there is considerable difference between the aspirations of male and female respondents. The males tend to aspire to material possessions, while the women tend to emphasize the development of human potential either for others i.e. their children's education or for themselves in the work setting, e.g. learning new skills and becoming a typist or social worker, or in their general life e.g. being able to read, write my own letters.

Table 10 : <u>Those things that respondents would like to be or have</u>
<u>in the future (percentages)</u>

	Males	Females	Overall*
Build or own a house	70	37	57
Educate children	20	58	35
Be a tailor, carpenter, social worker	17	47	29
Buy a car	30	16	18
Be rich	17	16	16
Study further	-	26	10
Buy Cattle	10	0	6
Buy Tractor	10	0	6
High fence	7	0	4
Marriage, family of my own	3	3	4
Privacy/Self sufficiency	0	7	4
Others. Fields for ploughing, Maintain what I have	7	0	4

* Subjects could give more than one response.

Table 11 : <u>Those things respondents would most like to be or have in</u>
<u>the future (percentages)</u>

	Males	Females	Overall
Build or own a house	47	16	35
Educate children	13	37	22
To be a carpenter, typist, etc.	7	26	14
Be rich	13	0	8
Own business	3	11	6
Buy Car	0	11	4
Other. Have own family	10	0	6
Buy Cattle, Maintain what I have			
Buy a tractor	7	0	4

The mean response to the "life goal" value measure for both the male and female sub samples are given in table 12. The values are placed rank order.

Table 12 : <u>The mean male and female group responses to the "life</u>
<u>goal" value measure.</u>

Males				Females			
Value	Rank no.	Mean	sd	Value	Rank no.	Mean	sd.
Job Security	1	3,90	0,31	Good relation-ship	1	4,00	0
Good relation-ship	2	3,87	0,35	Job Security	2	3,89	0,32
Material wealth	2	3,87	0,43	Morality	3	3,84	0,37
Morality	4	3,73	0,52	Expertness	4	3,68	0,48
Expertness	5	3,67	0,55	Community concern	4	3,68	0,67
Community concern	5	3,67	0,48	Material wealth	4	3,68	0,58
Pleasure	7	3,57	0,73	Independence	7	3,63	0,59
Political concern	8	3,40	0,81	Leisure	8	3,47	0,84
Independence	8	3,40	0,67	Political concern	9	3,47	0,84
Leadership	10	3,20	1,03	Leadership	10	2,68	1,20

There was a tendency for respondents to rate all value statements as important to them as reflected in the high mean scores and small standard deviations. (A four point scale was used). Except through the use of some comparison technique where there is a forced trade-off, it is to be expected that most individuals will endorse a statement that reflects a value predominant in the wider society. The results produced by the technique used in this study therefore do not allow an accurate ranking as differences between adjacent values are not generally significant. Any conclusions from this measure therefore can only be presented in general terms.

Two findings allow one to place some value on the measure however. Firstly the rank order of the values is similar for both the male and female groups, secondly good relationships and job security are significantly more valued than political concern and leadership for both groups.

It is interesting to note therefore that good relationships with others, job security, morality and material wealth fall within the top four rankings for both groups and similarly political concern and leadership form the last two rankings.

In the light of the above data the hypothesis receive varied support.

The first hypothesis would appear to be supported as work and work related aspects are mentioned by very few subjects as being important to them when referring to their present circumstances. While financial wealth was considered important by a number of individuals, work matters as such were mentioned by very few.

The second hypothesis is concerned with individual aspirations and whether they are directed to the work situation or other areas. The assumption behind the hypothesis is that low level workers who have had a limited education and training will not easily be able to change within their work setting and will therefore tend to direct their efforts to other areas of their life where improvements can be more readily made. If this is so then the female sample, having attained a higher education than the men, would be expected to have more work related aspirations than the male sample, although these aspirations may still not be particularly prominent.

The data supports the above. For males job related aspirations are hardly mentioned and it is primarily the erection or acquistion of a house that is their major goal. For the women however there is a much greater desire to obtain a skill that is occupationally linked (47% of female respondents) even though this is outside their present occupation. This is not the major aspiration however, improving the education of one's children was the all important goal.

The desire to educate their children is of interest as it may be a reflection of the age of the respondents. Being on the whole an older group of respondents and in the context of limitations placed on them, individuals may feel they have little chance of substantially changing their own life-styles and therefore devote their time and energy to ensuring their children have a better chance.

Finally the high value attached to good interpersonal relations and social cohesion emerges from the data. Family matters are the most important thing both males and females have now. In terms of the life goals measure, good relationships with others is ranked as the most important value for women and second most important for men while independence has a low rating. Leadership over others is the least valued life goal. This therefore confirms the last hypothesis (Hypothesis 2 c).

4.5.3 Ratings of the Outcomes of Progress at Work

The semantic differential technique was employed to investigate the value of progress in the work situation.

The ratings of each of the three concepts: Progress in the work setting; Promotion at work and Being in charge of others, on each of the qualifier scales are given in Appendix 2. See pages 59-62 for a graphical representation of these responses.

Before discussing the results in the context of the hypothesis some mention of the characteristics of the measurement technique must be given.

Firstly although a 5 point scale (1-5) was used interviewers were permitted to give a zero score when they detected in the respondent any difficulty in relating the concept and the qualifier. The frequency of zero scores therefore provides an indicator of the meaningfulness of the bipolar scale in relation to the concept phrase.

A high zero response was found for four qualifier scales. For the two concepts "Progress in the work situation" and "Promotion at work" the scale difficult - easy presented problems for 4 and 10% of the males and 11 and 26% of the females respectively. For the concept "Being in charge of others" the big - small and strong - weak scales was given a zero score for 17 and 33% of the males respectively and 21% of the females in both cases. These scales were therefore not included in any further analysis.

RATINGS of
PROGRESS in the WORK SITUATION.
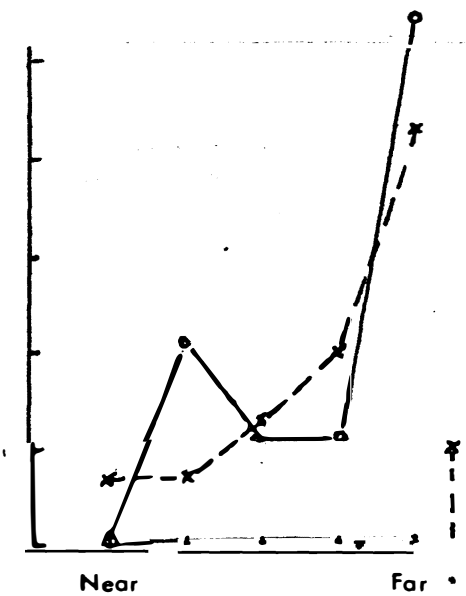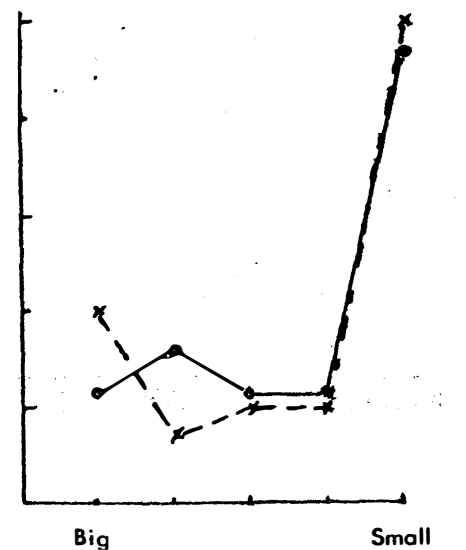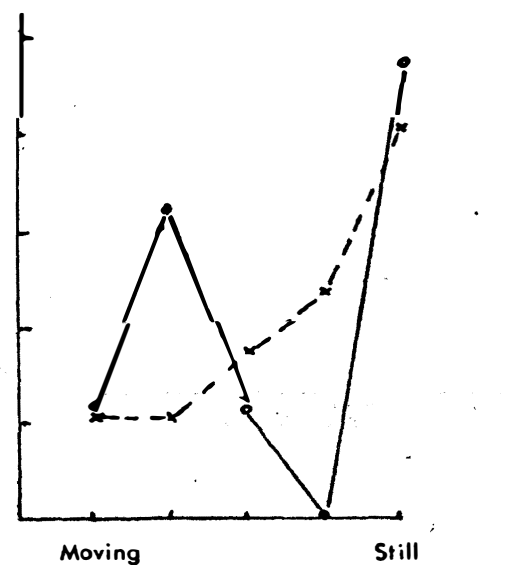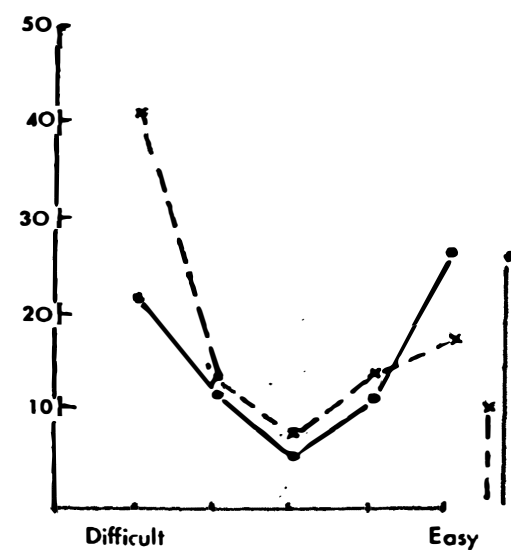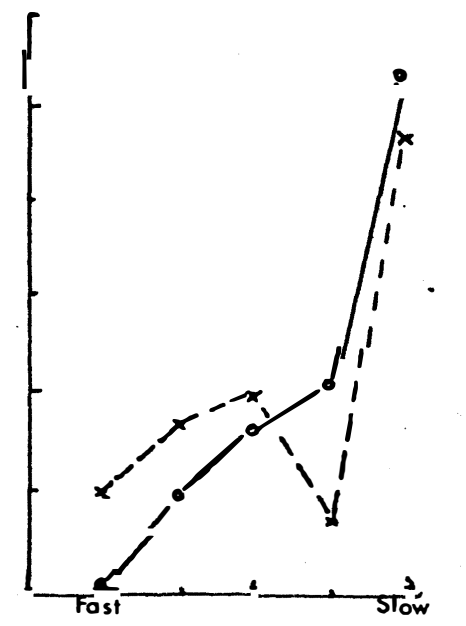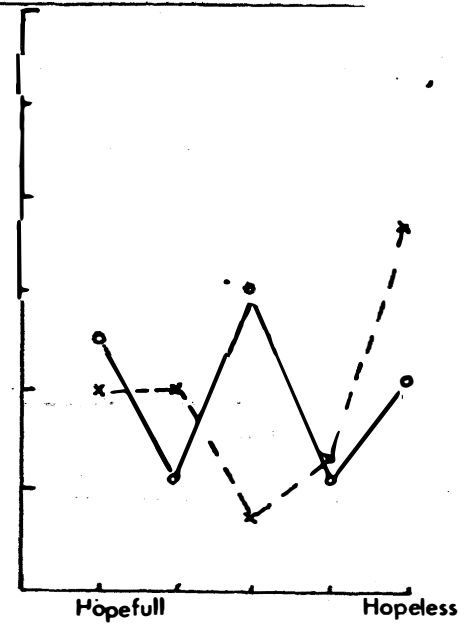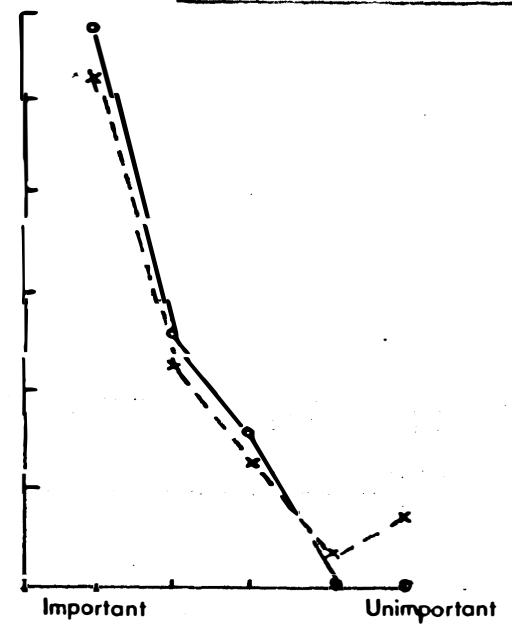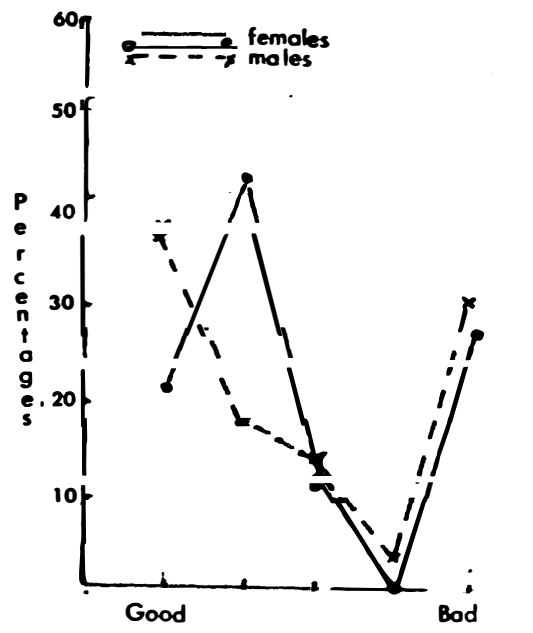
RATINGS OF PROGRESS IN THE WORK SITUATION
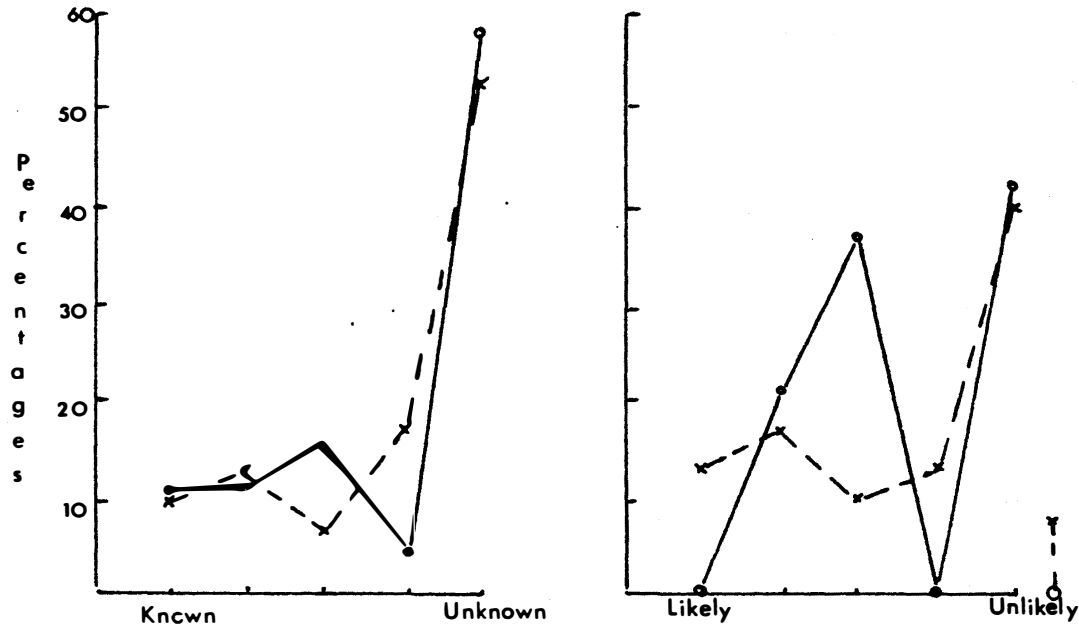
RATINGS OF PROMOTION AT WORK
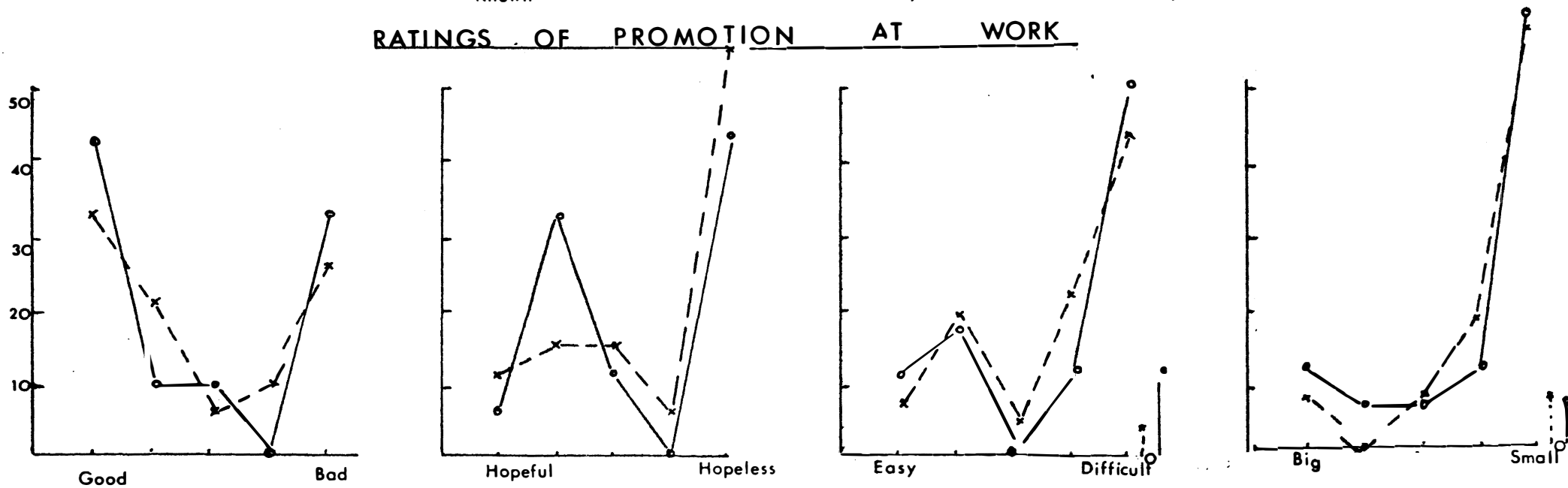
PROMOTION AT WORK
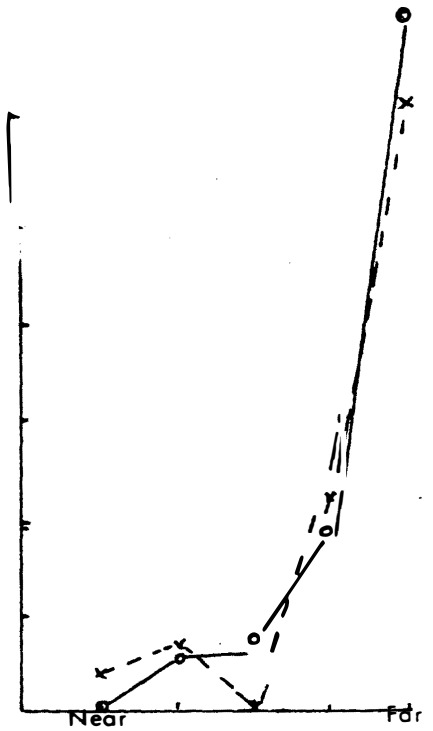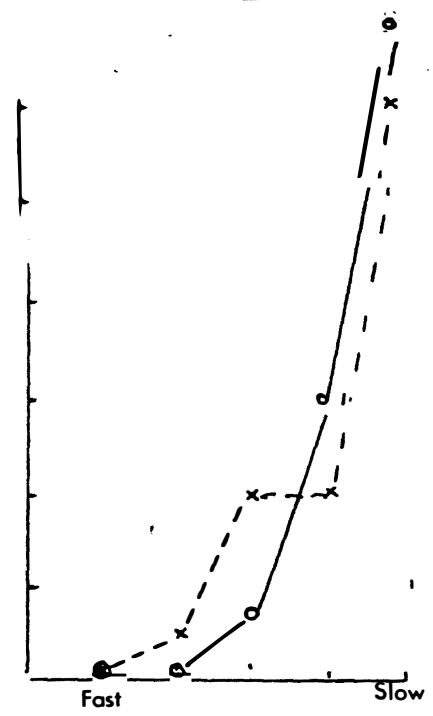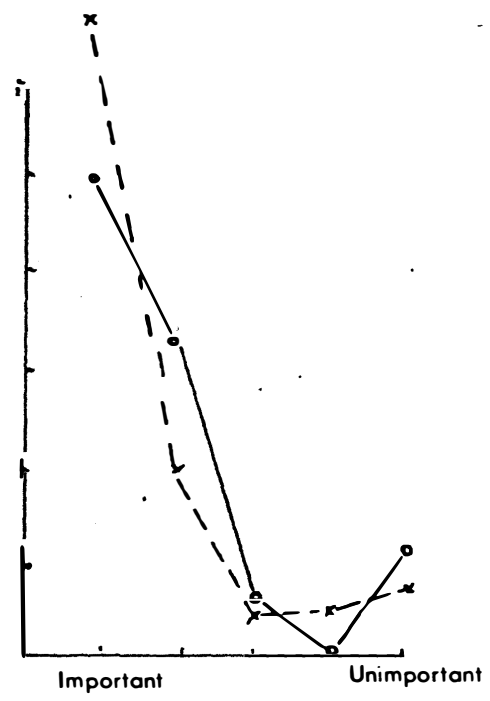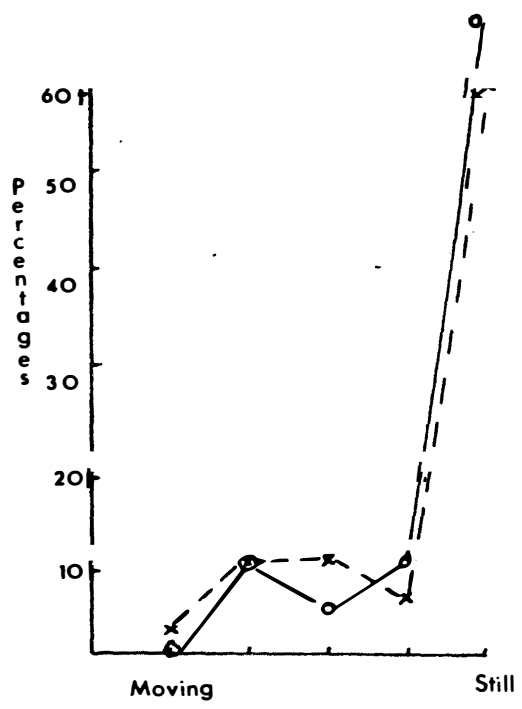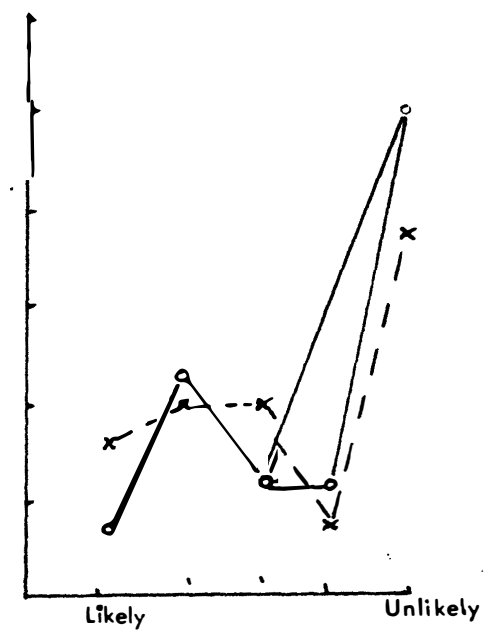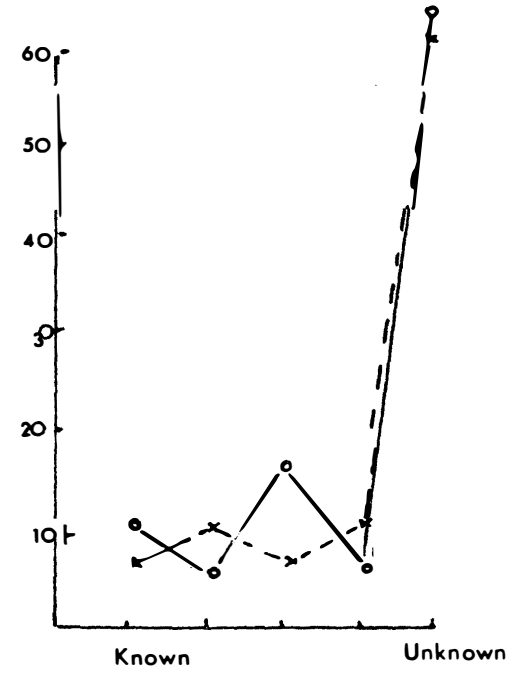
RATINGS of BEING IN CHARGE of OTHERS
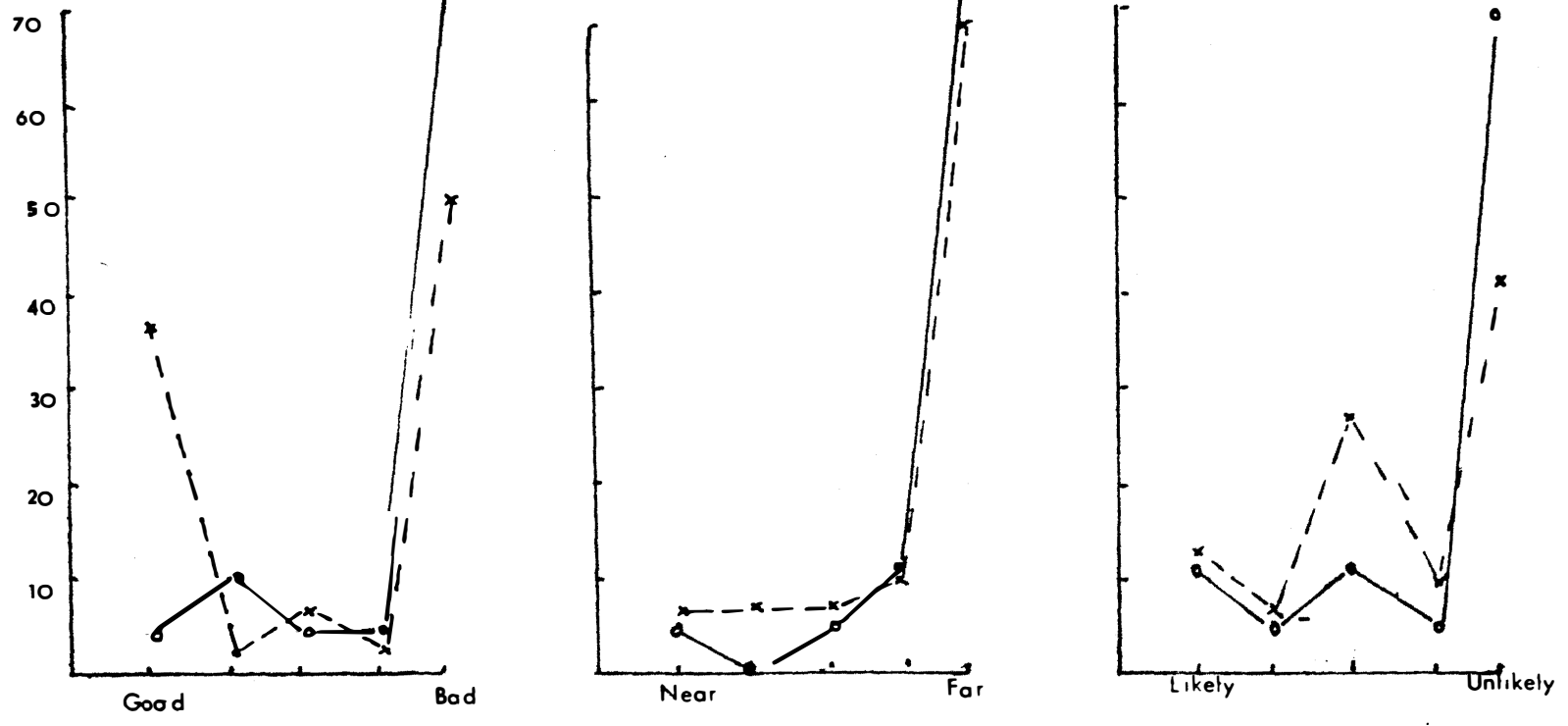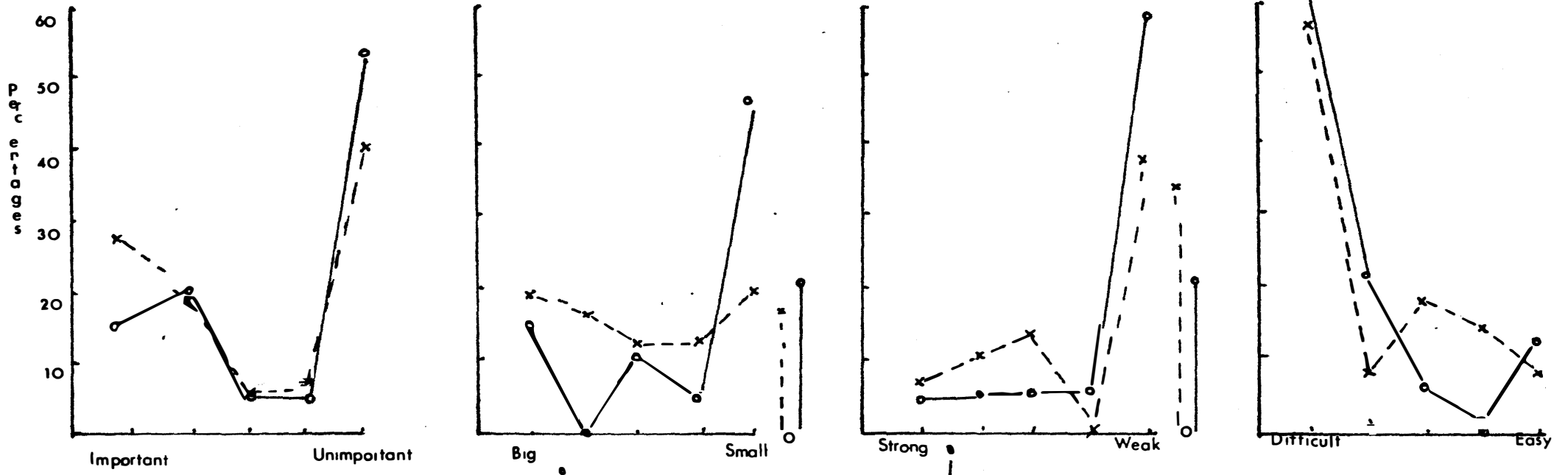
The interviewers on being asked their general feelings regarding
the use of the semantic differential technique, mentioned that they
felt there may exist amongst relatively unsophisticated people a.
difficulty in discriminating degrees on the negative pole, i.e.
something can be good or very good but if it is neither of these
then it must be bad - something can't be somewhat bad.

Visual examination of the graphs suggest that there may be some
validity for this assertion with regard to those qualifiers that
belong to the evaluation factor i.e. good - bad, important - unimportant,
and hopeful - and hopeless. The responses on these three qualifiers
for the three concepts are given in table 13.

Table 13 : Responses on the evaluation factor for the three concepts.

Scale No.	No. of responses	Percentage
1	124	33
2	75	20
3	39	10
4	18	5
5	122	32
Total	378	100

It is obvious that the two extremes of the scales were generally utilized
While the second point was used by a fair number of respondents, very
few used the fourth point on the scale.

Visual inspection of the other qualifiers which belong to the activity
or potency factors or are unassigned do not appear to show such a marked
trend. It is possible therefore that there may be a tendency for re-
spondents who are not highly sophisticated to evaluate things as having
degrees of "goodness" but not "badness".

Hypotheses 3 (a). The outcomes of progress at work i.e. being in charge of others and promotion at work, being signs of a greater commitment to the job and therefore urban area, will be negatively evaluated by the male respondents who show a degree of insecurity in the urban area.

Progress in the work situation was rated by males as being good or very good (54%) important or very important (76%) but hopeless (50%). Similar results were found for promotion except more people felt it was important (86%) and hopeless (56%). Being in charge of others however was rated as being bad or very bad (53%), by 47% as important and by the same percentage as unimportant.

Progress and promotion at work were therefore evaluated in a positive light - a finding that would appear to refute the hypothesis. A difficulty arises in interpreting the positive nature of this response however. In formulating the measure the aim of using the concept phrase progress in the work situation, was to tap a generalized feeling about progress, the more specific outcomes of progress i.e. promotion and being in charge of others could then be tapped individually. Viewing this in retrospect however it is obvious that progress at work could mean a variety of different things for individuals and therefore there is little way of knowing what respondents had in mind when rating the concept. Was reference being made to earning more money, improving the quality of work life, improving status, etc.? Quite obviously if progress in the work situation refers to earning more money, few if any will rate it as a bad thing, this might not be the case if some other criteria is being used.

A similar argument applies to "promotion". Again the concept is ambiguous. Is it the increase in salary that is being rated or the change in status?

This lack of clarity obviously makes it difficult to interpret the data in the terms of the hypothesis.

There is some indication in fact that subjects were not able to distinguish between progress in the work situation and promotion. Apart from the similarity in responses thirty per cent of all respondents stated that progress and promotion were the same thing. In addition to this three subjects mentioned that when talking about progress or promotion it is "money that matters".

It seems therefore that Promotion and Progress at work were synonymous for a number of people and that the two may have been also synonymous to earning more money. If this is so then a positive evaluation of the concepts would be expected. With the data available however it is not possible to either accept or reject the stated hypothesis.

The phrase being in charge of others is felt to be sufficiently unambiguous however and the results applicable to the hypothesis. Generally the male respondents gave a negative evaluation to being in charge of others. Some of the comments made while rating this concept were: being in charge of others "will make me clash with people"; "create enemies for me"; "giving orders may mean you will hurt people". These results are therefore in line with the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3 (b) The female respondents however in the light of their greater urban commitment and education will rate these outcomes more positively than males.

For the female respondents progress in the work situation was seen as good (63%) important (84%) and generally more hopeful than hopeless, 37% as opposed to 32%. Promotion was seen as good (63%) important (83%) and hopeless (50%). Being in charge of others however was rated as bad (79%) and unimportant (58%).

While a higher percentage of women than men see progress as good and important and promotion as good, which adheres to the hypothesis, nevertheless the difficulties in interpreting this data as mentioned above means that any conclusion must be very tentative.

The important and interesting finding here is however the fact that the female respondents rate being in charge of others considerably more negatively than the males. This is in an opposite direction than that hypothesized.

It is not clear why this should be so except that it is possible that the female respondents do not wish to be in a position that they feel may disturb good interpersonal relationships. Certainly the value placed on the latter emerges as the most important for women on the life goals measure. Furthermore traditionally women have not formally occupied leadership positions (with some notable exceptions such as the Lovedu Krige (1943)) although there is evidence that they have weilded considerable influence on an informal level. Thus there may be some resistance to breaking the traditional sex-stereotype. If this is so this stresses the importance of sex role stereotyping on the desire of certain Black women to achieve in the work setting.

Hypothesis 3 (c). The activity, potency and other feelings towards the outcomes will be negatively rated by both groups in the light of the limited opportunities available to them.

The hypothesis that "Progress" and "Promotion in the work situation" and "Being in charge of others" will be rated by both males and females as relatively inactivity and distant is supported by the data. Progress and Promotion are rated by well over 60% of both males and females in most cases as being slow, still, far, unknown and unlikely. Being in charge of others is similarly rated as difficult and unlikely.

This is a very bleak picture of the individual's expectations and perceptions of the opportunities for progress in the work situation. The above scales measure the instrumentality factor of the expectancy model i.e. the perceived performance - outcome relationship in the specific work setting. Quite obviously this relationship is perceived as being minimal and therefore as a consequence the effort to progress in the work situation must also be minimal - most respondents said progress is unlikely and far.

4.5.4 Reference Groups

The reference group measure was designed to tap three reference groups: friendship group, normative group in relation to work, idealized group. The main aim of including a reference group measure was to throw some light on the individual's cultural standing, the argument being that other indices e.g. urban/rural   patterns, modernization index, do not necessarily provide accurate or sufficient information on this.

Hypothesis 4 (a) As respondents occupy low level jobs in which they appear to be stable; - are mainly middle aged and therefore unlikely to change their positions to any great extent; have a limited education, and are established in their urban/rural migratory patterns if any, they will identify with people who are similar to them in most of the above ways.

An index of similarity between the respondent and his friendship reference group was established to test this hypothesis. Four aspects made up this index: whether those individuals who form S's

reference group

had work, educational and residence background as well as interests
that were: similar to S, different but of a lower nature or different
but of an aspiring or higher nature.

The categorization of respondents both male and female according
to this index is shown in table 13.

Table 13 : Reference Group Patterns

Reference Group in relation to self.			Males		Females	
Different but higher	Same	Different but lower	No.	%	No.	%
Type						
A 4	0	0	1	3	0	0
B 3	1	0	5	17	2	11
C 2	2	0	7	23	2	11
D 2	1	1	3	10	1	5
E 1	3	0	6	20	6	33
F 1	2	1	2	7	1	5
G 0	4	0	4	13	3	17
H 0	3	1	2	7	3	17
			30	100	18	99

For the males 57% of respondents had a reference group, which on balance
had no more than one of the four components dissimilar and higher than
himself 43% had a reference group with two or more characteristics
that were higher than the subjects.

For the women 78% have friends who on balance differ by not more than
one characteristic. Only 22 per cent have a reference group with two
or more characteristics that differ from the subject's.

By for the majority of males and females therefore have a reference
group that is similar to them in terms of education, type of work,
residence history and interest. As this supports the hypothesis it
would appear to be satisfactory to use the individual's friendship
group as a description of the sub culture the individuals belong to.

Grouping all the male respondents together, the characteristics
of their friendship group can be described as follows:

60% of respondents mention that they have friends who are in a
higher job than themselves. Most of these people are drivers or
delivery men, and only a few, clerks or of a higher job level.
53% have friends of a higher educational status than themselves.

The most interesting characteristic of the individuals' friends
is that a large number have common rural links with the subject.
83% of respondents say their friends originated mainly from the
rural area of which 64% come from the same rural area as the respon-
dent. Only 4 respondents have friends who were born and raised in
the urban area. In the light of the age of the respondents and
consequently the fairly lengthy periods of their residence in the
urban area this finding is perhaps important, for it suggests that
the male respondents identify with people who come from the same
home areas as themselves.

Wilson and Mafeje (1963) have documented the existence and effect of
"home boy groups" in the Cape Town area amongst migrant workers, which
are similar to the "amakhaya" groups discussed by Mayer (1970)
amongst the Xhosa in East London. These authors argue that such groups
have an "encapsulating" effect on its members in that they control
the individuals concerned and "try to prevent them absconding -
disappearing into the city - and neglecting family responsibilities".

Unfortunately   sufficient information on the wider nature of the
present respondents' reference group was not obtained so while there
is a suggestion that these individuals may belong to "home boy" groups
whether these groups exert the control witnessed by Mayer, and Wilson
and Mafeje is not clear. In terms of these groups however there are
important implications for the "progress" of it's members. In stressing
social control, the value of maintaining one's ties with the rural area
and possibly upholding rural values, these groups limit the exposure
of an individual to a modern economy. There is therefore likely to
be a resistance to the absorption or adoption of values that are con-
comitant with progress in the work situation. While some progress at
work is nevertheless likely, simply because of the power of modernizing
influences, a whole-hearted entry into the western economy will not

be present. Depending on one's value system this may be a good or
bad trend. When considering work related progress however such a
trend may help explain differences in a desire to progress.

The interests that respondents share with their friends are primarily
recreational of which watching or playing soccer is by far the most
common - 63% of respondents mention it. Other sports - tennis and
golf - listening to music, drinking and gardening form most of the
other shared interests. The makgotla, visiting relatives and
ploughing were those common interests that reflect a rural traditional
value base. Only a few respondents mentioned self development activi-
ties such as reading, studying or attending association (burial)
meetings.

The female respondents present a different picture with regard to those
with whom they identify.

Only 38% of the respondents mentioned that they had friends who were
in a higher job than themselves. These friends were clerks, nurse aides,
or switchboard operators. Similarly only 33% had friends who had a
higher educational status. Thus unlike the men, generally their friends
are similar to them in terms of work and educational circumstances.

As most women are permanent urban dwellers one would expect their friends
to be as well. This is in fact the case and 78% of the respondents said
their friends have always lived in town.

Women have a number of interests that are linked with their homes. Unlike
the men whose families are not in town and who tend to be involved in
activities outside the house or hostel e.g. soccer. 72% mention they
have shared interests with their friends regarding knitting, sewing,
baking, and housework. Films and shows were a shared interest for
28% of the women and 22% mentioned church activities. It is interesting
to note not one women mentioned she had friends who had different
interests to her to which she was aspiring.

<u>Hypothesis 4 (b). When placed in a position where appropriate action</u>
<u>is unclear, male respondents, being relatively marginal in terms of</u>
<u>a rural/urban lifestyle and limited education, will refer to a normative</u>
<u>group that comprises of kin or peers. Female respondents being more</u>
<u>established in the urban black culture and being more educated will tend</u>
<u>to refer to superiors or specialists when in a similar position.</u>

The assumption behind this hypothesis is that education and exposure
to modernizing and urbanizing influences are likely to create in indi-
viduals a higher degree of trust in people outside one's immediate
friendship or kin group for matters beyond one's limited experience.
This being so then the female respondents are likely to behave diffe-
rently from the males having been exposed differentially to these in-
fluences.

The responses to the question: ..."If your boss offered you a different
job from what you are doing at the moment and you were not sure whether
you should take it or not, who would you discuss it with?; are given
in table 14.

Table 14: Normative Referants.

	Males		Females	
Type of reference group	No.	%	No.	%
Kin	2	7	3	16
Peer	6	20	4	21
Boss	18	60	6	32
Specialized person	4	13	5	26
No one	0	0	1	5

Quite obviously for men the most stated referant was their boss. This
does not support the first part of the hypothesis. There is some support
for the other half of the hypotheses however in that a higher percentage
of women than men mentioned that they would consult a personnel officer,
social worker or a better educated friend.

It is possible that the wording of the question fostered the high re-
sponse regarding ones boss as being the referant for helping resolve
the posed problem, in that he/she was specifically mentioned in the
question. It is impossible however to know in this instance whether

this is so or not.

Idealized reference group. The Idealized reference group measure was designed so as to tap the person or people the respondent would like to be like. In looking at an idealized group one is allowing the respondent to project himself into an ideal and not necessarily real situation. The data obtained will not be a realistic reflection of the individual's aspirations but rather what an individual thinks in his more optimistic moments. It is the difference between these ideal aspirations and the more realistic ones tapped by the value measures that should provide the interesting information.

The type of people the male and female respondents aspire to are given in table 15 and table 16 respectively.

Table 15 : Idealized Reference Group Male respondents

People who are/have	No.	% *
Richer	14	47
Able to educate their children	6	20
Job that is more skilled/self employed	6	20
Better educated	5	17
Job that has better conditions e.g. security	4	13
Moral	3	10
No one	1	3

*Subjects could admire more than one characteristic.

Table 16: Idealized Group Female respondents

People who are/have	No.	%
Richer	7	39
Extended or beautified their house	4	22
Desired material possessions/car	3	17
Help community	3	17
Status	3	17
Better education	2	11
Time for their family	2	11
Physically light jobs	1	6
"It is wrong to covet others"	2	11

The above are compared with the results in tables 10 and 11.

If one accepts that the above measure assesses the idealized aspi-
rations while the responses in tables 10 and 11 (which refer to those
things respondents would like to be or have in the future) more
realistic aspirations, then the difference between the two profiles
must be a reflection of the recognition individuals have that
certain desired goals are not attainable.

In this context then two interesting results emerge for the males.
Firstly, there is a much higher ideal aspiration to be rich than
there is in tables 10 and 11. There may be recognition among a number
of males that this financial wealth is not likely. Similarly and per-
haps more importantly a number of ideal aspirations reflect work related
or personal development aspects (education)- 50% of male respondents.
These aspects do not feature so prominently amongst the practical aspi-
rations. This may therefore be a reflection of an actual desire to be in
a better job or more educated, but at the same time a recognition that
these goals are not practical in the light of present edcuational
qualifications, age and the limitations created by the labour market.
The female respondents identify with people who are able to
help their community, extend or beautify their homes and have more time
to spend with their family. This may be a reflection of a desire for
a greater involvement in the traditional sex role stereotype which is
at present thwarted by the demands of having to work in order to supple-
ment the family income.

4.5.5 Locus of Control

The locus of control measure as discussed in section 4.3.3, was designed
specifically for this project in an attempt to overcome the limitations
and criticisms directed at other measures that have generally been
developed in the USA with student populations.

The assessment of the validity and adequacy of the measure is therefore
particularly important.

The index of locus of control (l.o.c.) comprise of scores given to the
responses to the eight questions as outlined in section 4.3.3.   The

responses were categorized in terms of whether they reflected
a perception of: (i) internal (personal)loci of control,
(ii) external but predictable control; (iii) external but
unpredictable loci of control.

Quite obviously as the questions were open ended the responses to them
could only be categorized if they reflected some kind of perceived
behaviour - outcome relationship. Thus a response such as "I will
lose X if God will's it" in reflecting the individuals belief that
an outcome is contingent on a force external to him can be catego-
rized. On the other hand a response such as "I will not have X
because of a lack of money", is not sufficiently expansive to reveal
the perceived cause of not having money and therefore unclassifiable.

Unfortunately a large number of responses were framed in the latter
way and therefore could not be adequately categorized. As a result
of this two actions were taken: (a) the external causes were compressed
into one and the distinction between predictable and unpredictable
dropped and (b) those respondents who gave ambiguous responses were
dropped from the analysis if the extent of the missing information
was such that it could materially affect the final classification of
the individual as internally or externally controlled.

As a result of the above strategy 15 males and 7 women had to
be dropped from the analysis. The remainder were categorized as
internals (N=20) if they gave more than 4 of the 8 responses as
"internal" or externals (N=7) if they gave less than 4 responses as
"external". (See table 17).

Table 17: Responses on the locus of control measure.

	Score*	No.of Respondents	Percentage
	8	1	3
Internals	7	3	10
	6	7	23
	5	9	29
Neutral	4	4	13
	3	4	13
Externals	2	1	3
	1	2	6
	0	0	0
	Total	31	100

* Score given in terms of number of internal responses on the eight items.

The modernization scale offered a useful check for the validity of this measure. One of the major factors to emerge from a factor analysis of the scale was one given the title of efficiency. (J. Thompson 1977). Items that loaded on this factor reflected a belief in one's personal efficacy and consisted of questions such as: Some say that getting ahead in life depends on destiny - others say it depends on a person's own efforts - What is your opinion? Do you think in order to be successful in life it is much more important to have good luck or much more important to make plans? Three of the items that loaded on this factor were included in the modernization scale which the present respondents had answered prior to this study. As the items conceptually fall in line with the locus of control construct utilized here it was decided to use this as a check on the validity of the present measure.

It was hypothesized that internals would endorse the personal control alternative of the three items comprising the efficiency factor more frequently than the externals. The mean number of items endorsed by the internal and external groups was 2,44 and 2,33 respectively. This difference was found to be not significant ($t= 0,24$ df = 22 $p> .05$)

One other comparison was conducted between the internal and external groups: the evaluation of whether their progress at work is known or unknown, on a five point scale. (cf semantic differential measure).

As internals perceive outcomes in terms of their own personal effort or ability, they should rate their progress at work as more "known" than externals who perceive outcomes as being contingent on "forces" outside themselves some of which are unpredictable.

Internals do see their progress in the work situation as more known than externals. $\overline{X}_I$ = 3,55 sd 1,57 as compared to $\overline{X}_E$ = 4,71 sd 0,49. However again this difference is not significant $t= 1,91$ df = 25 $(p$ $.10)$

While the above tests of the validity of l.o.c. measure are not entirely adequate, primarily because the size of the samples is .. small, nevertheless the measure appears to present a number of methodological difficulties that militate against it's utility. This however is no

way denies the importance of the expectancy, which the measure is concerned with, in the total model. As the sample consists of a "low progressive" group of worker's it was not possible to directly investigate the importance of this expectancy. However the fact that both of the validity tests showed results in the hypothesized direction, albeit not significant, suggests that with direct measures of progress in the work situation and a sample that includes a range of people on a progress continuum, the expectancy with regard to certain outcomes may prove to be an important factor.

The open ended measure explained here was utilized in an effort to adapt the l.o.c. construct so as to facilitate the possibilities of a more comprehensive investigation. Perhaps this was too general however and a better approach may be to return to the more specific effort - outcome expectancy as expressed in the Expectancy Theory and measured by techniques such as those employed by Lawler and Suttle (1973) to help explain differences in the motivation to progress in the work situation.

4.5.6 Time Perception

The two time perception measures in this study were: extension - the length of future time span conceptualized; density - the number of goals in relation to that time span.

Hypothesis 5 (a). The number of goals individuals have will be limited and therefore their future time orientation likely to be of limited density.

The number of goals individuals had for their future varied between 1 and 5, with 94% of respondents given not more than 3 goals.

The index of "density" i.e. the number of goals in relation to the extension of time, varied from 1 to 15 although 73% of respondents had an index score of between 1 and 5.

Both the number of goals given and the density index have a very
limited range. It is difficult to know whether this is function of
the measure or actually reflects a true picture of a limited number
of aspirations. Considering however that individuals were given the
opportunity to list as many goals as they wished and that some sub-
jects actually gave four or five goals with no prompting, it would
seem reasonable to conclude that the limited number of goals given by
most respondents is in fact a fair picture of their aspirations.

The limited resources available to these individuals in terms of skills,
finance and perhaps age means that their energies must be channelled
into relatively few objectives. The major goals mentioned by respondents
were building a house, for the men, and educating their children, for
the women. Both these aspirations are likely to demand a lot from the
individual the first in terms of capital and the second in terms of per-
sistence, being in most cases an ongoing commitment of a long duration.
In this context then, entertaining the thought of achieving many more
goals is perhaps overwhelmingly unrealistic.

Time extension

The relationship between the perceived extension of time and progress in
the context of the model, is complex. The extent of future time percep-
tion will be linked to other variables in very specific ways. The
exploratory nature of the study and therefore the need to include at
this stage, broad measures of the variables, has meant that these
specific relationships were not looked at in detail. Thus while
no specific hypothesis could be formulated it is valuable to look
at the data as a number of questions arise that are important for
the model.

The number of years individuals conceptualized when thinking about their
future is given in table 18.

Table 18: Extension of future time

Years	No.	Years	No.	Years	No.	Years	No.
1	1	7	0	13	0	19	0
2	6	8	0	14	0	20	2
3	3	9	0	15	2	Don't know*	8
4	5	10	10	16	1		
5	5	11	0	17	1		
6	2	12	2	18	1		

* 8 responds mentioned that they could not be sure how long it would take to reach their goal, but they implied it was a long term objective.

Two groups appear to exist with regard to the extension of time: those with short time-span i.e. from 0-6 years and those with a longer span i.e. 10 years or more. The former group includes 45% of the respondents.

A number of variables are likely to influence the length of time span conceptualized. The age of an individual is likely to determine the distance one projects oneself into the future.

The correlation between age and time extension for this sample was $r = -0,10$ (N=40) While this is not a significant correlation it is in the hypothesized direction, i.e. the older one is the less extensive is one's time perception. Two aspects must be considered here however. Firstly the sample consists of a fairly homogeneous group of people in terms of age and therefore the data is not really amenable to a correlation analysis. Secondly the relationship between age and time extension may not be a linear one. It is feasible that the stage a person has reached in terms of his/her social development, may be more important. Thus a young person in his late teens just starting work may in fact have certain short term objectives e.g. certain desired material possessions such as a radio, and not be too concerned about the distant future. By late twenties to mid thirties, security for oneself and family may be important demanding a longer time perspective e.g. a home of one's own, education of children, security in old age etc. Finally as one gets towards retirement and old age the time

extension may again

decrease in compensation for the limited part of life that remains.

The stage of social development will be linked with the type of objectives an individual has. It is feasible then that the extent of time perception will be reflected in the type of objectives one holds.

In this sample, of those who had a long time perception (10 years or more) 40% mentioned their most distant goal as educating their children, 24% in terms of having their own business or being in a better job and 24% in terms of building a house. Of those with a short term perspective their most distant goal was building a house (33%), buying a car or tractor (29%) educating their children (14%) and having their own business (14%)

There is therefore a considerable difference between these two groups in terms of the objectives they have. The long term group being primarily concerned with the development of human skills either their own or their children, while the short term group, material aspirations.

This is obviously a logical finding in that education of children and developing one's skills are realistically, objectives that can't be achieved overnight, whereas certain material aspirations may be achieved in the short term. An important question arises out of this however; i.e. how are objectives and time extension causally linked, if at all? Do certain individuals have a time perception that determines the type of goal they strive for, or is the goal set first and the appropriate time perception then follows? Clarification of these points are important for the position of the time perception variable in the conceptual model.

Planning

Three questions were used to form an index of planning. This index
had a maximum possible score of 13 (representing full involvement)
and a minimum of 2.

Table 19 shows the range of scores obtained by respondents on this
index.

Table 19   Responses on the planning index.

Score	No. of respondents	Percentage
13	10	21
12	7	15
11	11	23
10	4	9
9	7	15
8	6	13
7	2	4
	47	100

The means score on the index was 10,64 sd 1,86. There was therefore a
tendency to score high on the index suggesting that individuals were
generally involved in planning their future.

Unfortunately the measure does not appear to accurately reflect the
sample's actual planning involvement. One of the questions that com-
prised the index asked subjects to outline the plans they had, if any,
to achieve their most desired goal. While a number of people were
able to give precise details e.g. I am busy negotiating a loan from
my relatives in order to start my own business, others were only able
to give generalities e.g. just work hard, while others said they had
no plans whatsoever. Despite this however the latter people in a number
of instances still scored high on the index because in the other two
questions that comprise the index they stated "they think about their
goal daily" and "every morning think about what they are going to do
that day and how".

The observations that the items that make up the index may have a limited validity is also shown in the correlations between the items. The correlations were r = 0,18;0,20 and 0,37. (df = 45).

Apart from the above and the limited discriminative power of the time perception measure a limitation of this study is that a comparison of those who are more involved in planning their future is not possible in terms of objective behavioural criteria. These were outside the scope and extent of this study.

Two hypothesis however could be investigated with the data available in this study.

(i)   Those respondents who believe they personally are efficacious when it concerns their progress (internally controlled) will be more involved in planning than those who are externally controlled.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data. The mean planning score of the internal and external groups were 10,72 and 10,71 respectively. There is not a significant difference between these means (t = 0,01 df = 26).

(ii)   Progress in the work situation will be rated as more likely, moving, and known the more involved in planning respondents are.

The correlation index between these three scales and the planning index were r = -0,11; -0,07 and -0,12. While all three correlations are in the hypothesized direction (the higher the rating on the scales the more negative they are) they are nevertheless obviously not significant.

In the final analysis therefore the planning index included in the study as a measure of the realism of one's aspirations did not in fact prove to be useful. Perhaps a better measure would be to use a critical incident technique to explore the individual's involvement in his aspirations instead of the general measure employed in this study.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions may be drawn for three aspects of this study: the model; the techniques and methods used in the study; and the application and relevance of the model.

5.1 The model

The antecedent and situational variables proposed in the model appear to have an important effect on an individual's aspirations and ability to progress. The legal and political restrictions placed on Blacks have a profound effect on their aspirations at work. A degree of ambivalence among respondents emerges, particularly with regard to males, that appears to be linked with insecurity resulting from these restrictions. Thus rural links are maintained and the general involvement in western commerce and industry inhibited. This has an important effect on aspirations, for these individuals appear to accept their jobs as they exist and divert their energies to aspirations outside the work situation. Work is a necessity and little more. The women however who are committed to the urban area and therefore more secure in their legal position, show a greater interest in work related progress.

There is a need to recognize the different processes that affect male and female workers. That these processes may be subtle and obscure is demonstrated by the differences that exist between the sexes in the sample with regard to urbanizing influences and migration patterns. The effect of different processes also emerged from the reference group measure. Despite a long history of work involvement some women wished to be more involved in their role as mother and housewife which their work commitment does not permit at present.

The pervasiveness of one's cultural background also emerged from the study's findings. Values appear to be the area most affected. For _this_ sample leadership and being in charge of others are not desired but good interpersonal relations and social cohesion are. It is easy to conclude from this that within a western framework of individualism and achievement such values

may not be conducive to progress at work, however care must be taken,for this
may not in fact be a true picture. It is necessary to clarify the assumptions
behind such a conclusion. A number of questions need to be asked: e.g.
Is the espoused theory (i.e. individual achievement characterizes South
African society) in fact the theory in use (Argyris 1976) If it is
the theory in use, is individual achievement the only means to progress
or is collective achievement equally important?

Respondents, despite some evidence that work itself is not valued other than
providing a means to an end, certainly do have future aspirations and in
that sense value progress. Attention appears to be given to matters outside
the work situation particularly security in the future namely a house for
the men and education of their children for the women. This has obvious
implications for the lack of effort to progress in the work situation, exhi-
bited by the respondents.

The perceived relationship between performance and outcomes (instrumentality)
is an important part of the person variables in the model. Individuals perceived
progress at work as slow, far, unknown and unlikely. The importance of such
feelings in relation to progress cannot be overstressed. This hopeless almost
fatalistic perception is likely to permeate a worker's whole conception and
attitude to progress and nullify any achievement motivation that may exist.
In terms of the VIE expectancy framework Lawler and Suttle (1973) argue that
the expectancy, instrumentality and valence factors exist as a multiplicative
function of each other. If this is so little or no instrumentality reduces
the effort to achieve to zero. Thus even if one values progress at work and
has a belief in one's own personal efficacy, no effort will be made to
progress if one perceives that making an effort will not lead to any outcomes.

A number of important questions arise out of this finding. To what extent
is this fatalism a function of the situation or is it a personality trait?
Can this perception be reversed? How widespread is this perception? Such
questions should be incorporated in future research.

Time perception appears to relate to the type and number of goals respondents
have. Similar questions to the instrumentality variable need to be resolved
however. Does the type of goal an individual have determine the perceived
extent of time or do individuals differ in terms of their time perception

and this in turn determines the type of goals they set for themselves?

An important variable which was not specifically isolated in the model
but appears to warrant inclusion, is age. The respondents, being on the
whole middle-aged, showed a general resignation to their present position
although other variables such as legal restrictions also produce such
a situation. In the case of women the emphasis on putting their energies
into educating their children, rather than themselves may also be linked
with age, in that they can project their aspirations through their offspring.
As discussed in the section on time perception age per se may not be the
important factor however, but rather the phase an individual has reached
in terms of his life cycle. One's age in relation to the progress or lack
of it, that has been made up to that time may be an important factor in
the effort and desire to progress in the future.

5.2 Methodology

The ideal method of testing a model such as that proposed is to employ
a statistical technique such as multiple linear regression that would
identify the significance and contribution of each pathway to the variables
lower in the causal chain. Such an analysis was not conducted in this
instance as the aim of the study was to obtain a broad look at the progress
of the black worker using a sample of limited size and which consisted of
low-level workers who had shown limited progress in the work situation.

The value of employing such a sample was that data gathered forms a "base
line" for the model.

A discussion of the measures used was given in the text. Two particular
findings are mentioned here. Firstly the locus of control measure developed
for this study failed to provide the depth of information that was required.
A more specific measure is perhaps required to tap the expectancy dimension
of the general model. Secondly the planning measure did not provide the
desired check of the realism of respondent's aspirations. As the question
of realism of one's attitudes and goals is important to the model, a new
measure or change in design e.g. longitudinal study appears to be required.

5.3 The application and relevance of the model

In this report a general model of individual progress in the work situation
was proposed and examined in the light of a study of low level workers. The
model not only facilitated a comprehensive perspective of the variables
relevant to individual progress but also proved to be useful in predicting
and explaining the findings of the study. The model therefore would appear
to be both a relevant and practical one for studying the determinants of
individual progress at work.

While the model has been used in this project to facilitate research, there
is no reason why it cannot be used in other settings with good effect. The
model has obvious implications in the areas of selection and vocational
guidance, management, and perhaps most importantly for the training of black
workers moving into more skilled or higher level jobs. Further extensive
research into the validity of this model is however required before it can
be utilized in practice.

One cautionary note must be made in relation to the model and its
applicability. In the final analysis the decision of what constitutes
progress necessitates a value judgement. It is therefore impossible to
categorize X as not progressive or having characteristics that inhibit
progress in absolute terms. Any such statements can only be made in relation
to some relatively arbitrary definition of progress held by the observer.
This being so it is important that anyone concerned with the progress of
black workers inspects his or her conception of progress and is aware of the
value judgements implicit in such a view, before determining any strategy or
coming to any final conclusions.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made:

6.1 The Model

It is recommended that the basic elements of the model be retained but
with the following additions or conditions:

6.1.1 That the life-cycle phase that an individual has reached, i.e.
the social phases one moves through between birth and death, e.g.
infancy, schooling, employment, marriage, family, career, retirement,
etc. be included in the model as a distinct variable which may influence
perceptions of progress.

6.1.2 That time perception as a variable should be investigated further
in order to clarify it's relationship with the goals one has, i.e.
is time perception a basic disposition or is it a function of the values
one holds.

6.1.3 That as environmental influences are stated in general terms
in the model, when considering a group of people, these influences are
identified and described for that specific group. For example, the
relevant processes of acculturation may differ for different sections
of the black labour force.

6.1.4 That the work environment for the group under consideration
be outlined in detail in terms of job opportunities, training facili-
ties, promotion policies, remuneration, conditions of service, etc.

6.1.5 That the multiplicative combination of the expectancy and instru-
mentality factors of the effort to progress be considered in future
use of this model. More generally, consideration of the combination
of all or part of the person variables in predicting progress may
also be of value.

6.2 Methodology and Measurement Techniques

The following recommendations are made regarding the methods to be used in any future research:

> 6.2.1 That when using the semantic differential technique, the concept phrases to be rated are made to be unambiguous and specific.

> 6.2.2 That the expectancy an individual has regarding the effort - progress relationship is assessed by a measure that relates specifically to that expectancy, rather than a more general measure such as a locus of control scale. The technique used by Lawler and Suttle (1973) may be useful.

> 6.2.3 That planning be assessed through a critical incident technique.

> 6.2.4 That the distinction between various levels of values and the measurement of these separately as used in this study is a useful strategy and should be retained.

> 6.2.5 That future research should designed so that the validity of the model can be ascertained through statistical techniques such as multiple regression or path analysis. Such techniques would not only highlight the significant causal pathways but their relative contribution to the relevant dependant variable.

6.3 Sample

It is recommended that future research should employ a sample that permits a breakdown of respondents into groups which consist of individuals who differ according to the extent of progress they show or have shown in their work situation.

APPENDIX 1

The Questionnaire

INTRODUCTION

1. (a) Introduce yourself

   (b) Where you are from

   (c) Explain NIPR and its aim to be of use
       to the community

2. You may remember that before the literacy course started,
   I or one of the other interviewers from the NIPR, spoke to
   you and asked you some questions about what languages you
   and your family spoke. The answers you gave us helped us to
   learn about how to teach people to read and write.

   Now that the classes are almost finished I would like to ask
   you a few more questions about what things are important to you
   and what you think about your future. You are not forced to
   answer these questions, the decision is up to you.

   However, your answers are important to us at the NIPR because
   we want to understand what workers want to do in the years to
   come and how they feel about progress at work, so that we can
   help the working life of others. Your help therefore would be
   appreciated very much and we will pay you R1,00 for helping us
   in the interview.

   I assure you that what you tell me will not be shown to other
   people, just those at the NIPR doing the research.

   Is this alright? Are there any questions?

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR PERSONNEL RESEARCH

QUESTIONNIARE : ATTITUDES TO AND CONCEPTION OF PROGRESS PROJECT 71/74

Name or Respondent: ....

Job Title: ....

Department: ....

Age: ....

Note to interviewer :

Explain to the respondent the project is concerned with how people feel
about progress. The respondent must be reassured re confidentiality
and it must be made clear that he is not forced to answer the questions.
If he/she is unsure of the question he/she should ask you to clarify it.

ZULU VERSION

A. <u>WORK HISTORY</u>

1. Can you tell me all the jobs you have had since you first started

   work at ▆▆▆

Type of Work	Length held	Why did you change?*

   * Try and tap how the respondent saw the jobs as differing if the change
   was a voluntary one. i.e. was the change a progressive one in the indi-
   viduals eyes?

2. What jobs have you held outside ▆▆▆/before you came to ▆▆▆

a. | Type of Work | Length held | Why did you leave? |
   |---|---|---|
   | | | |
   | | | |
   | | | |
   | | | |
   | | | |
   | | | |
   | | | |
   | | | |
   | | | |
   | | | |

b. Which job was the best one?

c. Why was it the best one?

3. (i) Would you like to change your job now?

Yes

No

(ii) If you would like to change your job what would you like
to be?

....

....

(iii) Is there any reason or reasons why you are not able to
change your job?

....

....

....

(to be scored later)

B. <u>REFERENCE GROUP</u>

1. Everyone has a person or people they like to be with, who they feel at ease with and call their friends. I want you to tell me about the people that you like to be with the most.

(i) What work do these friends do?

    (a) Work that is similar to yours

    (b) Work that is different to yours

 (If the work is different) In what way is it different to yours?

....

....

....

....

(to be coded later)

(ii) Generally are they: better educated than you;

                        have the same education as you;

                        are not so well educated as you?

(iii) Where do most of your friends live

     Name of place (generally) ....

            (a) urban area

            (b) rural area   (white farm)

            (c) rural area   (reserve)

(If the friends live in the urban area)

(a) Have your friends: always lived in the urban area

                    or did they come from the rural areas

(b) What rural area did they come from?

....

(to be scored later)

(If the friends live in a rural area)

(a) What rural area do they live in?

(Specify) ....

(to be scored later

(iv) Generally are your friends married

single

half of them are married/half are single

(v) Are your friends mainly: older than you;

about the same age;

or younger than you?

(vi) What are their interests?

....

....

What are your interests?

....

....

(to be scored later)

2. If your boss offered you a different job from what you are doing at the
    moment, and you were not sure whether you should take it or not, who
    who would you discuss it with? (If individual can't conceptualize this
    problem ask him to give you a problem that he has recently had or has and
    who he would discuss it with)

    ....

                        Peer/s
                        Kin
                        Boss
                        Other (Specify)

3. Often we think to ourselves, I would like to be like that person or
    I would like to live like that person. In other words we often think
    about people we would like to be like. Sometimes this is a person we
    know well and sometimes it is a person we don't know ourselves, it may
    even be a group of people we would like to be like.

    Can you tell me about any person or group of people who you would like to be.

    (a) who is he/she/they?

    ....

    (b) What does he/she/they do?

    ....

(c) Why would you like to be like him/her/they?

....

....

....

(to be scored later)

C. <u>LOCUS OF CONTROL</u>

I want to ask you about something different now.

1. There are some things that we have that we don't want to lose. We
    would be unhappy or sad if we did not have these things. Can you tell
    me what things you would not like to lose? (Do not prompt respondent
    write down the things he mentions and then ask is that all?)

    1. ....
    2. ....
    3. ....
    4. ....
    5. ....
    6. ....
    7. ....
    8. ....
    9. ....
    10. ....

2. You have given me a number of things here. Which one would you be
    most upset if you lost?

    ....

3. Do you think that it is possible that you may lose this?

                        Very unlikely
                        Unlikely
                        Maybe
                        likely
                        Very likely

4. If you did lose[*] .... why do you
    think this would be? or If you did lose[*] ....
    .... and a friend asked you why did you lose it/he/she/
    they/them, what would you tell him?

    ....
    ....

    ([*]Insert the answer for question 2)

5. If you did not lose[x] .... and in
   a few years time still had[x] .... why
   do you think this will be?
   ....
   ....

6. Some people have ideas of what they want to be like or do in the years
   to come (the future). Can you tell me those things you would like
   to be or have in the years to come?

   1. ....
   2. ....
   3. ....
   4. ....
   5. ....
   6. ....
   7. ....
   8. ....
   9. ....
   10. ....

7. At what age will you be when you have these? (When do you think you
   will reach these?) (Read list to subject.)

   1. ....
   2. ....
   3. ....
   4. ....
   5. ....
   6. ....
   7. ....
   8. ....
   9. ....
   10. ....

8. Which one of these is most important to you?

    ....

9. Why is it important?

    ....

10. If you have/are^{+} .... in the
    years to come. Why do you think this will be? How will you
    explain it?

    ....
    ....

11. If you don't have/are not^{+} .... in
    the year to come why do you think this will be?

    ....
    ....

12. What about (in) your job is important to you?

    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....
    ....

13. Why is it important?

    ....

14. If you lost $^{\phi}$ .... in your job
    why do you think this would be?

    ....
    ....

    ($^{+}$Insert answer to question 8)
    ($^{\phi}$Insert answer to question 12)

15. If you continue to ⌀ .... in you job why do you think this would be?

....

....

16. Now that the literacy course is finished how do you think you have done?

    (a) Better than you had hoped to do;

    (b) as well as you had hoped to do;

    (c) or worse than you had hoped to do.

17. Why do you think you have done better/as well as/worse than you had hoped?

....

....

18. If you had of done worse/better [x] than you had hoped why do you think this would have been?

....

19. To be scored later.

			Internal	External
Qu. 4	Present	negative		
Qu. 5	Present	positive		
Qu. 10	Future	positive		
Qu. 11	Future	negative		
Qu. 14	Work	negative		
Qu. 15	Work	positive		
Qu. 16.	Literacy	positive		
Qu. 17.	Literacy	negative		

20. How do you like the typing classes?

....

21. Do you think that they are going to help you?

....

    If yes in what way?

....

[x] Use the opposite phrase to the reply in question 16.

D. TIME PERCEPTION

1. To be scored later

   Density - No. of items listed in Section C. Qu. 6.

2. To be scored later

   Extension - time range in Section C. qu.7 in years

3. Earlier you mentioned to me that you would like to be/have
   x .... in the future.

   Do you have any plans of how you are going be/get this?

   Yes

   No

   Can you tell me about these plans?

   ....

   ....

4. How often do you think about x ....?

   Every day

   Once or twice a week

   Once or twice a month

   Once or twice a year

   Never

5. When you wake up in the morning how often do you think about
   what you are going to do during the day and how you are going
   to do it?

   Every day

   Once or twice a week

   Once or twice a month

   Once or twice a year

   Never

   x Refer back to the answer for Section C. question 8.

6. To be scored later

E.   WORK RELATED ATTITUDES

I want to ask you a few questions about your work. I want you to tell
me what you think of the things I ask you by showing me on this drawing.
(detach and show them page 19   ). Let me give you an example.

If I ask you about the weather today and said this block at the end of
the drawing is hot (point to the left end) and this block at this
end is cold. (point to the right end) and this block is neither hot
nor cold (point to the middle block) Where would you say the weather
is today? Point at the diagram for me. (Once the person has grasped
the technique reassure him by saying: "that is good" then proceed).
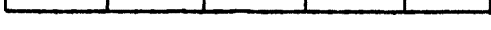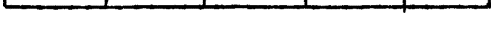
I want to ask you about your work. I am going to give you a statement
and want you to give me your feelings about it. Remember there are
no wright or wrong answers, I want to know what you feel about it.

Here is the first one.[*]

[*]Each bipolar scale should be presented as in the example. Record the
subjects response on the appropriate position on the scoring sheet.
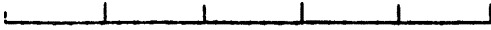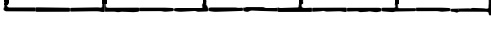
1. (Zulu)

   <u>INQUBEKELA PHAMIBILI ENSEBENZINI WAKHO</u>

   Kulungile |___|___|___|___|___| Akulungile

   Kubalulekile |___|___|___|___|___| Akubalulekile

   Kuyathembisa |___|___|___|___|___| Akuthembisi

   Kuyasheshisa |___|___|___|___|___| Akusheshisi

   Kunzima |___|___|___|___|___| Kulula

   Kuyaqhubeka |___|___|___|___|___| Akuqhubeki

   Enkulu |___|___|___|___|___| Encane

   Eduze |___|___|___|___|___| Kude

   Kuyaziwa |___|___|___|___|___| Akwaziwa

   Kunokwenzakala |___|___|___|___|___| Kunokungenzakali
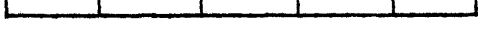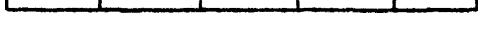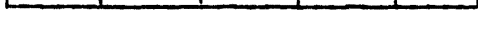
2. Here is another statement

   <u>UKUPHATHA ABANYE</u>

   Kulungile |___|___|___|___|___| akulungile

   Kubalulekile |___|___|___|___|___| Akubalulekile

   Kunzima |___|___|___|___|___| Kulula

   Enkulu |___|___|___|___|___| Encane

   Eduze |___|___|___|___|___| Kude

   Kunokwenzakala |___|___|___|___|___| Kunokungenzakali

   Okunamandla |___|___|___|___|___| Okubuthakathaka

3. And now this statement.

UKUTHUTHUKA KWESIKUNDLA EMSEBENZINI

Kulungile |___|___|___|___|___| Akulungile

Kubalulekile |___|___|___|___|___| Akubalulekile

Kuyathembisa |___|___|___|___|___| Akuthembisi

Kuyasheshisa |___|___|___|___|___| Akusheshisi

Kunzima |___|___|___|___|___| Kulula

Kuyaqhubeka |___|___|___|___|___| Akuqhubeki

Enkulu |___|___|___|___|___| Encane

Eduze |___|___|___|___|___| Kude

Kuyaziwa |___|___|___|___|___| Akwaziwa

Kunokwenzakala |___|___|___|___|___| Kunokungenzakali

F. <u>VALUES</u> (Zulu)

Finally in this section I will give you a statement and I want you to tell me how important it is to you. Here is the first statement.

1. Ukuba umholi ogotho kwabanye

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                    .(b) kubalulekile
                     (c) akubalulekile kangako
                     (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

2. Ukwazi konke ngokubalulekile   kuwe

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                     (b) kubalulekile
                     (c) akubalulekile kangako
                     (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

3. Ukuba usizo emphakatini wakho

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                     (b) kubalulekile
                     (c) akubalulekile kangako
                     (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

4. Ukuba nemali eningi nokungokwakho

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                     (b) kubalulekile
                     (c) akubalulekile kangako
                     (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

5. Ukwazi ukwenza njengoba ufuna

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                     (b) kubalulekile
                     (c) akubalulekile kangako
                     (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

6. Ukuba nobungani kwabomdeni nabanye

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                  (b) kubalulekile
                  (c) akubalulekile kangako
                  (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

7. Ukuba sesimeni lapho ungeke ukhathazekhe ngokulahlekelwa ngumsebenzi wakho

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                  (b) kubalulekile
                  (c) akubalulekile kangako
                  (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

8. Ukuphila ngendlela ocabanga ukuthi ilungile

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                  (b) kubalulekile
                  (c) akubalulekile kangako
                  (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

9. Ukujabula nokwaneliswa uma ungekho emsebenzini

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                  (b) kubalulekile
                  (c) akubalulekile kangako
                  (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

10. Ukusebenzela amalungelo omuntu omnyama

    Is it   (a) kubalulekile kakhulu kuwe
                  (b) kubalulekile
                  (c) akubalulekile kangako
                  (d) akubalulekile neze kuwe

11. (a) Is there anything else that is important to you that I
have not mentioned above? ....
....

(b) Why is it important to you? ....
....

Thank the respondent for his/her help.

APPENDIX 2

PROGRESS IN THE WORK SITUATION

GOOD - BAD

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	11	37	4	21	15	31
2	5	17	8	42	13	27
3	4	13	2	11	6	12
4	1	3	0	0	1	2
5	9	30	5	26	14	29
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
$\overline{X}$	2,73		2,68		2,71	

IMPORTANT - UNIMPORTANT

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	16	53	11	58	27	55
2	7	23	5	26	12	24
3	4	13	3	16	7	14
4	1	3	0	0	1	2
5	2	7	0	0	2	4
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
$\overline{X}$	1,87		1,58		1,76	

HOPEFUL - HOPELESS

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	6	20	5	26	11	22
2	6	20	2	11	8	16
3	2	7	6	31	8	16
4	4	13	2	11	6	12
5	11	37	4	21	15	31
0	1	3	0	0	1	2
$\overline{X}$	3,28		2,89		3,06	

FAST - SLOW

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	3	10	0	0	3	6
2	5	17	2	10	7	14
3	6	20	3	16	9	18
4	2	7	4	21	6	12
5	14	47	10	53	24	49
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
$\overline{X}$	3,63		4,16		3,84	

DIFFICULT - EASY

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	12	40	4	21	16	33
2	4	13	2	11	6	12
3	2	7	1	5	3	6
4	4	13	2	11	6	12
5	5	17	5	26	10	20
0	3	10	5	26	8	16
$\overline{X}$	2,48		3,14		2,70	

MOVING - STILL

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	3	10	2	11	5	10
2	3	10	6	32	9	18
3	5	17	2	11	7	14
4	7	23	0	0	7	14
5	12	40	9	47	21	43
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
$\overline{X}$	3,73		3,42		3,61	

PROGRESS IN THE WORK SITUATION

BIG - SMALL

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	6	20	2	11	8	16
2.	2	7	3	16	5	10
3	3	10	2	11	5	10
4	3	10	2	11	5	10
5	15	50	9	47	24	49
0	1	3	1	5	2	4
$\bar{X}$	3,66		3,72		3,68	

NEAR - FAR

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	2	7	0	0	2	4
2	2	7	4	21	6	12
3	4	13	2	11	6	12
4	6	20	2	11	8	16
5	13	43	10	53	23	47
0	3	10	1	5	4	8
$\bar{X}$	3,96		4,00		3,98	

KNOWN - UNKNOWN

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	3	10	2	11	5	10
2	4	13	2	11	6	12
3	2	7	3	16	5	10
4	5	17	1	5	6	12
5	16	53	11	58	27	55
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
$\bar{X}$	3,90		3,89		3,90	

LIKELY - UNLIKELY

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	4	13	0	0	4	8
2	5	17	4	21	9	18
3	3	10	7	37	10	20
4	4	13	0	0	4	8
5	12	40	8	42	20	41
0	2	7	0	0	2	4
$\bar{X}$	3,54		3,63		3,43	

BEING IN CHARGE OF OTHERS

GOOD - BAD

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	11	37	1	5	12	24
2	1	3	2	11	3	6
3	2	7	1	5	3	6
4	1	3	1	5	2	4
5	15	50	14	74	29	59
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
X̄	3,27		4,32		3,67	

IMPORTANT - UNIMPORTANT

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	8	27	3	16	11	22
2	6	20	4	21	10	20
3	2	7	1	5	3	6
4	2	7	1	5	3	6
5	12	40	10	53	22	45
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
X̄	3,13		3,58		3,31	

DIFFICULT - EASY

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	17	57	12	63	29	59
2	2	7	4	21	6	12
3	5	17	1	5	6	12
4	4	13	0	0	4	8
5	2	7	2	11	4	8
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
X̄	2,07		1,74		1,94	

BIG - SMALL

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	6	20	3	16	9	18
2	5	17	0	0	5	10
3	4	13	2	11	6	12
4	4	13	1	5	5	10
5	6	20	9	47	15	31
0	5	17	4	21	9	18
X̄	2,96		3,87		3,30	

NEAR - FAR

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	2	7	1	5	3	6
2	2	7	0	0	2	4
3	2	7	1	5	3	6
4	3	10	2	11	5	10
5	21	70	15	79	36	73
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
X̄	4,30		4,58		4,41	

LIKELY - UNLIKELY

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	4	13	2	11	6	12
2	2	7	1	5	3	6
3	8	27	2	11	10	20
4	3	10	1	5	4	8
5	12	40	13	68	25	51
0	1	3	0	0	1	2
X̄	3,59		4,16		3,81	

BEING IN CHARGE OF OTHERS

STRONG - WEAK

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	2	.7	1	5	3	6
2	3	10	1	5	4	8
3	4	13	1	5	5	10
4	0	0	1	5	1	2
5	11	37	11	58	22	45
0	10	33	4	21	14	29
$\overline{X}$	3,75		4,33		4,00	

PROMOTION AT WORK

GOOD - BAD

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	9	33	8	44	17	38
2	6	22	2	11	8	18
3	2	7	2	11	4	9
4	3	11	0	0	3	7
5	7	26	6	33	13	29
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
X̄	2,74		2,67		2,71	

HOPEFUL - HOPELESS

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	3	11	1	.6	4	9
2	4	15	6	33	10	22
3	4	15	2	11	6	13
4	0	0	1	6	1	2
5	15	56	8	44	23	51
0	1	4	0	0	1	2
X̄	3,77		3,5		3,66	

DIFFICULT - EASY

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	12	44	9	50	21	47
2	6	22	2	11	8	18
3	1	4	0	0	1	2
4	5	19	3	17	8	18
5	2	7	2	11	4	9
0	1	4	2	11	3	7
X̄	2,19		2,19		2,19	

BIG - SMALL

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	2	7	2	11	4	9
2	0	0	1	6	1	2
3	2	7	1	6	3	7
4	5	19	2	11	7	16
5	16	59	11	61	27	60
0	2	7	1	6	3	7
X̄	4,32		4,12		4,24	

IMPORTANT - UNIMPORTANT

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	18	67	9	50	27	60
2	5	19	6	33	11	24
3	1	4	1	6	2	4
4	1	4	0	0	1	2
5	2	7	2	11	4	9
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
X̄	1,67		1,89		1,76	

FAST - SLOW

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	1	4	0	0	1	2
3	5	19	1	6	6	13
4	5	19	5	28	10	22
5	16	59	12	67	28	62
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
X̄	4,33		4,61		4,44	

MOVING - STILL

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	1	4	0.	0	1	2
2	3	11	2	11	5	11
3	3	11	1	6	4	9
4	2	7	2	11	4	9
5	16	59	12	67	28	62
0	2	7	1	6	3	7
X̄	4,16		4,41		4,26	

NEAR - FAR

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	1	4	0	0	1	2
2	2	7	1	6	3	7
3	0	0	1	6	1	2
4	6	22	3	17	9	20
5	17	63	13	72	30	67
0	1	4	0	0	1	2
X̄	4,38		4,56		4,45	

KNOWN - UNKNOWN

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	2	7	2	11	4	9
2	3	11	1	6	4	9
3	2	7	3	17	5	11
4	3	11	1	6	4	9
5	17	63	11	61	28	62
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
X̄	4,11		4,00		4,07	

LIKELY - UNLIKELY

Scale	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1	4	15	1	6	5	11
2	5	19	4	22	9	20
3	5	19	2	11	7	16
4	2	7	2	11	4	9
5	10	37	9	50	19	42
0	1	4	0	0	1	2
X̄	3,35		3,78		3,60	

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