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WORK VALUE DIFFERENCES IN SOUTH AFRICAN
ORGANISATIONS: A STUDY AND SOME
CONCLUSIONS.

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UDC (316.752.4:65.01) (680)
Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa, July, 1983.

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SUMMARY

In culturally heterogeneous South African organisations differing work values may be a source of conflict among senior employees. This study sets out to examine, through the literature, some implications of value differences in organisations. An attempt is made to examine the work values of senior South African employees, and to describe areas of similarity and difference between Black and White and male and female employees. Work values are defined as "conceptions of the desirable within the organisational or work context".

Although an hypothesis relating to expected group differences is formulated, the study is essentially exploratory. Three different methods of data collection are used: group discussion, open-ended questions, and a semantic differential questionnaire. It is felt that while qualitative methods are likely to provide more insight into the values under discussion, findings need to be balanced by the application of more quantitative techniques. It is also felt that more reliance may be placed on findings which appear stable across different techniques.

The group discussion technique is used to give subjects an opportunity of examining and clarifying their own values. This appears to be a particularly suitable technique for eliciting value systems. The most significant finding from this phase of the study is the importance of ubuntu, or humaneness, for Black subjects, and the effect of this value on organisational functioning.

Categories derived from group discussion are used as the basis for the classification of responses to open-ended questions, which are content analysed. The same categories are then developed into items for the semantic differential questionnaire.

The responses to the semantic differential questionnaire are markedly skewed. Group differences are found in patterns of correlation and cluster analysis, rather than in responses to single items. The different methods of data collection appear to tap different levels of values, from integrated value systems to fragmentary and isolated responses. Certain similarities and differences between groups are maintained across more than one method of data collection.

This study finds distinct differences in work values between male and female, Black and White senior employees. It is concluded that although these differences are important and should not be overlooked, sufficient consensus also exists for the implementation of culturally synergistic solutions to organisational problems. Consensus among the groups appears to exist particularly at the level of what is regarded as generally desirable within the work situation, rather than what is individually desired.

SAMEVATTING

In Suid-Afrikaanse organisasies wat kultureel heterogeen is, mag verskille in waardes konflik onder senior werknemers skep. Hierdie studie is in die eerste plek ingestel op die bepaling, volgens die literatuur, van die implikasies van waarde-verskille binne organisasies. Daarna is gepoog om die werkswaardes van senior Suid-Afrikaanse werknemers te ondersoek, en die ooreenkomste en verskille tussen Swart en Blanke, en manlike en vroulike werknemers te omskrywe. Werkswaardes is gedefinieer as "begrippe van wat wenslik sou wees binne die konteks van werk of organisasie".

Hoewel 'n hipotese betreffende verwagte groepsverskille in werkswaardes geformuleer is, is hierdie studie hoofsaaklik verkennend van aard. Drie metodes van data-insameling is gebruik, nl: groepsbespreking, oopende-vrae, en 'n semantiese differensiaal vraelys. Daar is gevoel dat kwalitatiewe metodes meer insig in die waardes onder bespreking sou verskaf, maar dat sulke bevindings gebalanseer sou moes word deur die gebruikmaking van meer kwantitatiewe metingsmetodes. Daar is ook gevoel dat bevindinge wat stabiel kon bly oor verskillende metodes, meer betroubaar sou wees.

Die tegniek van groepsbespreking is gebruik om aan proefpersone die geleentheid te verskaf om helderheid te verkry oor hul eie waardes. Hierdie tegniek het besonder toepaslik geblyk te wees vir die onthulling van waardestelsels. Die mees betekenisvolle bevinding uit hierdie deel van die studie was die belangrikheid van ubuntu, of

menslikheid, vir Swart proefpersone, en die uitwerking hiervan op die organisasie.

Kategoriee wat uit die groepsbesprekings verkry is, is gebruik as basis vir die inhoudsontleding van antwoorde op die oopeinde-vrae. Daarna is dieselfde kategoriee ontwikkel vir gebruik as items vir die semantiese differensiaal vraelys.

Die verspreiding van response op die semantiese differensiaal vraelys is ooglopend skeef. Groepsverskille is verkry in patrone van korrelasie en bondelontleding, eerder as in response op enkele items. Dit het gelyk asof die verskillende metodes van data-insameling verskillende waardevlakke ontbloom het, van geïntegreerde waardestelsels tot fragmentariese en geïsoleerde response. Sekere ooreenkomste en verskille tussen groepe het egter oor meer as een data-insamelmethode konstant gebly.

Hierdie studie het besliste verskille in werkswaardes tussen manlike en vroulike, asook Blanke en Swarte, senior werknemers blootgele. Daar is tot die slotsom gekom dat hoewel hierdie verskille belangrik is en nie verontagsaam mag word nie, daar nogtans genoegsame ooreenstemming bestaan om die uitwerking van kultureel sinergistiese oplossings vir organisatoriese probleme moontlik te maak. Ooreenstemming tussen die groepe het veral op die vlak van algemene beskouings van die wenslike voorgekom, eerder as op die vlak van wat die individu vir homself sou toewens.

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on the training of officers from parent companies for work in foreign countries (Brislin & Pedersen, 1976; Harris & Moran, 1979).

From a specific culturally adaptive training, some researchers began to shift their attention to the most effective and productive ways of incorporating different cultures into single organisations (Hayles, 1982). Adler (1980, 1983) has produced several models of organisation-culture interaction. These models range from Cultural Dominance (Figure 1) to Cultural Synergy (Figure 2).

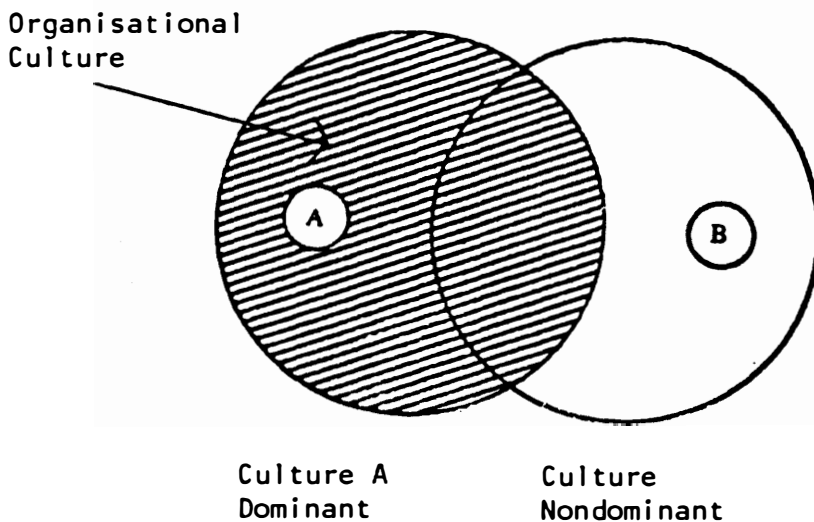


Figure 1. Cultural Dominance Model

The Cultural Dominance model is based on the assumption that culture does not affect management, and that there is one and only one right way to manage. Such a model has the advantage of being consistent and easy to implement. The dominating organisational culture is, however, open to rejection, resistance, and subtle

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sabotage from members of the dominated culture, who are also likely to be or become alienated from the organisation.

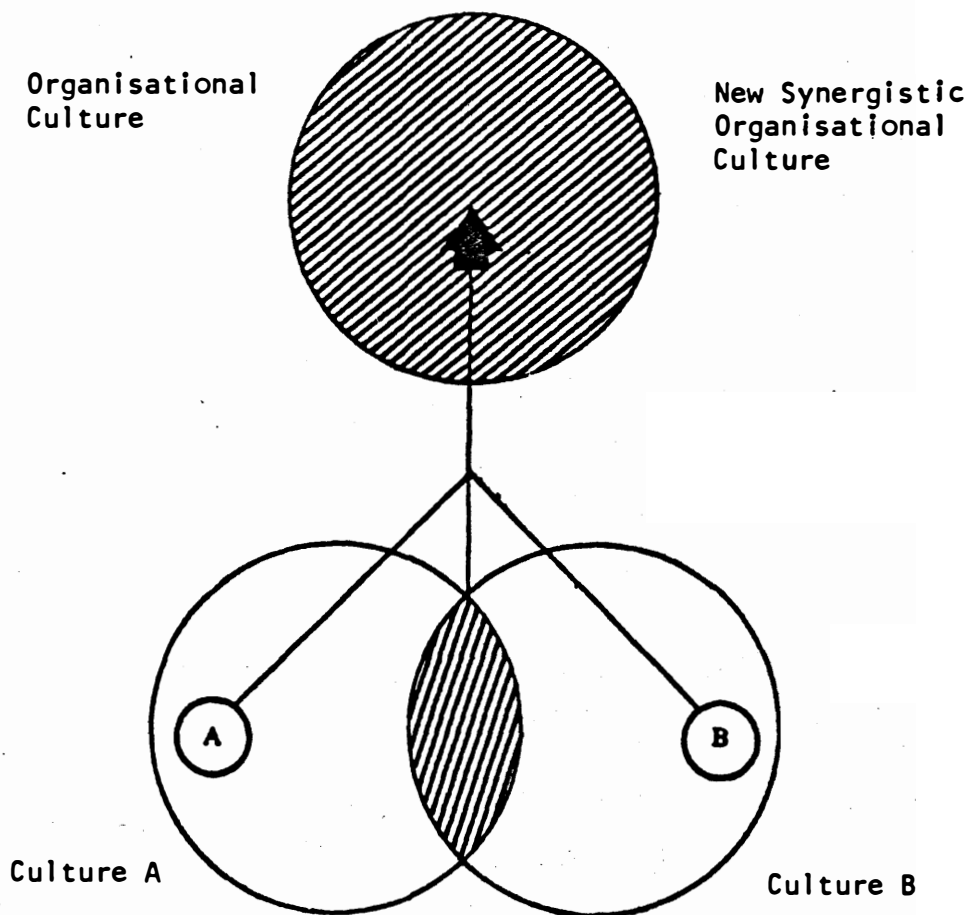


Figure 2. Cultural Synergy Model

The Cultural Synergy model is based on the assumption that culture affects management, that culture-specific ways of conducting business should be recognised and valued, and that the best way to manage transcends the limitations imposed by specific cultures. Some of the advantages of applying this model to an organisation would be: adaptability to a culturally heterogeneous environment; a diversity of management options; a lower risk of alienating employees with

CHAPTER ONE

Cultural Diversity and Cultural Synergy in Organisations

Organisational problems resulting from cultural diversity are hardly new to South Africa. Since industrialisation first began in the nineteenth century, South African industries have depended on individuals from widely divergent racial, social, economic, and educational backgrounds (De Kiewiet, 1957). What is new is the opening up, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, of senior and managerial posts to persons other than White males (National Manpower Commission, 1980). It is the top managers of organisations who exercise the most influence on organisational climate (Pritchard & Karasick, 1973), and who take the most far-reaching organisational decisions. Cultural diversity at leadership levels may well have a greater impact on the climate and functioning of South African organisations than the strictly job-segregated diversity experienced in the earlier stages of industrial development. But how are we to study, and understand, the impact of such diversity?

Fortunately, cultural diversity is not a uniquely South African phenomenon. The dynamics of the multi-cultural or culturally heterogeneous organisation have come to enjoy increasing attention among industrial psychologists world-wide (Barrett & Bass, 1976; Tannenbaum, 1980). The initial impetus for this research came from the multi-national corporations, and research was originally focussed

different cultural backgrounds. The main drawback to this model is its complexity.

The Cultural Synergy model is an attractive one for application to phenomena of cultural diversity in South African organisations. Firstly, because it allows real input from different groupings, and so the fact of cultural difference becomes not only a source of problems but a resource for organisational growth and development. Secondly, application of such a model should illuminate possible processes of accommodation between cultures. Adler's guide to the creation of cultural synergy (Figure 3) calls for a thorough understanding of the situations and assumptions specific to each culture before an attempt to achieve synergy can be made.

The allowances made for management styles and organisational culture which are not solely Western provide another reason why the Cultural Synergy model seems particularly appropriate for South African organisations at their present stage of development. Increasing numbers of writers (Biesheuvel, 1980; Hofstede, 1980(b); Kanungo, 1982; Triandis, 1972) suggest that American and European theories of management and motivation are not universally applicable.

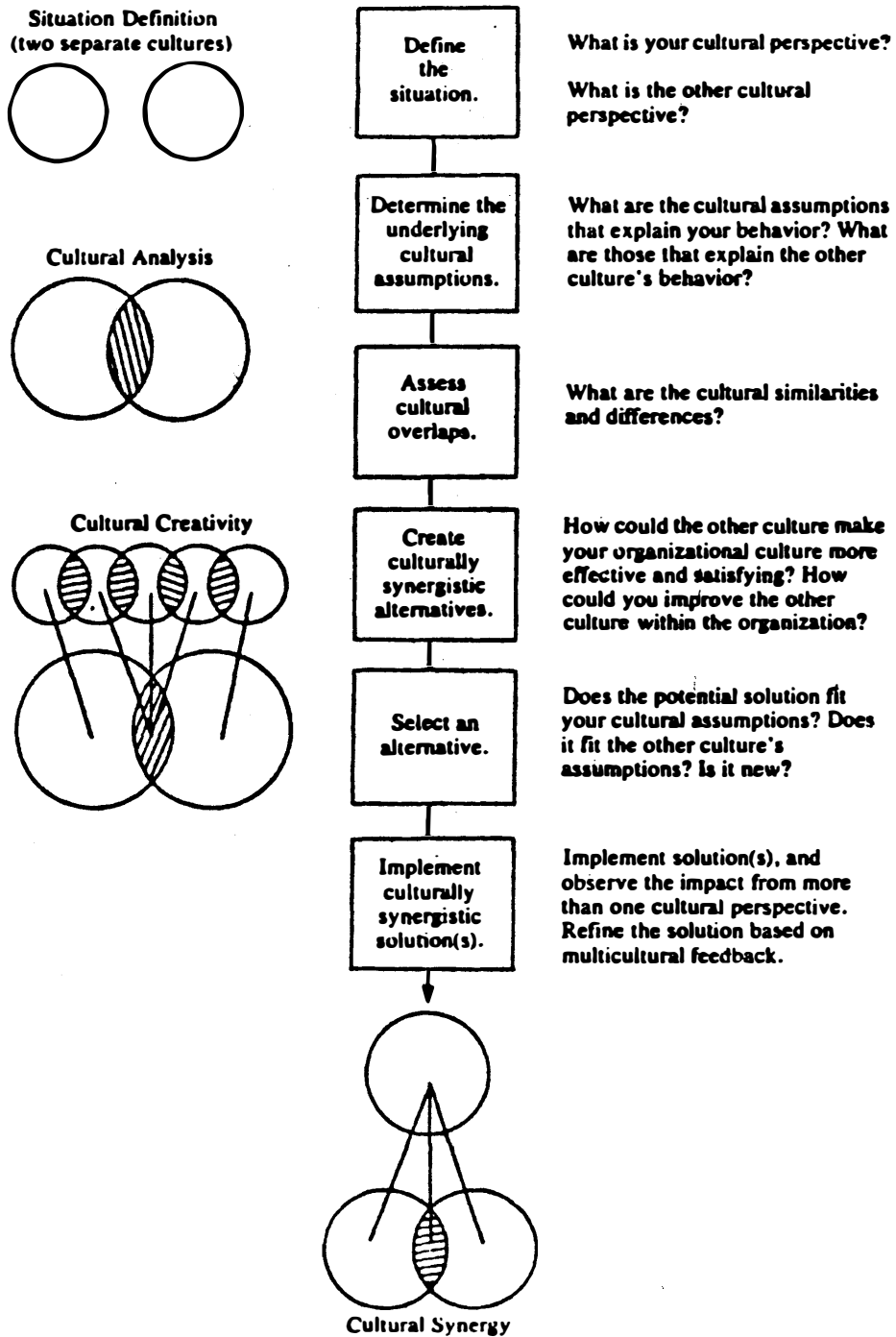


Figure 3. Creating Cultural Synergy

Parallel with this theoretical criticism, writers on Japanese industry (Ouchi, 1981; Pascale & Athos, 1982) provide practical examples of the way in which a country may develop a successful organisational system in harmony with its own cultural values. The time seems propitious for the exploration of the possible development of an indigenous South African organisational style. Onyemelukwe (1973, p.152) claims that "a new concept of business is required that will take account of the traditions and culture of the African worker". No simplistic reflection of a single culture will be appropriate in South Africa's culturally heterogenous organisations, but the Cultural Synergy model may provide a way of combining the strengths of several cultures into a flexible and appropriate organisational system.

Before the model in Figure 3 can be applied in South African organisations, the "cultural assumptions" referred to must be broken down into component parts which may be more easily studied. Cultural values would seem to be a major factor on which cultural assumptions are based, and the study of values a good place to begin such a study. Rokeach (1973, p.26) writes: "It is difficult to conceive of a human problem that would not be better illuminated if reliable value data concerning it were available. Differences between cultures, social classes, occupations, religions, or political orientations are all translatable into questions concerning differences in underlying values and value systems".

Values and culture are closely related, and the impact of culture on values has been documented by leading anthropologists such as Benedict (1935) and particularly Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). The influence on values of factors such as class (Kohn, 1977), race (Sikula, 1975), and nationality (Hofstede, 1982) has also been documented.

Some writers have explored the effect of value differences on organisational functioning (England, 1973; Kumar & Saxena, 1982; Neall, 1982). This is the area on which the present study will focus. Differences and similarities in work values existing in South African organisations will be explored, with particular emphasis on senior levels of employment. As already stated, values held at these levels may be expected to have maximum impact on the organisation. In addition, people employed at senior levels have been subject to major Westernising influences such as urbanisation and education, and value differences which have withstood these influences are likely to be particularly important.

At the least, exploration of value differences and similarities in organisations will allow the documentation of some of the processes involved in the incorporation of previously excluded groups such as Blacks and women at managerial level. At best, an understanding of these processes will enable us to develop means of using values as

resources for organisational adaptation and development, and of providing culturally synergistic solutions to organisational problems. If a better understanding of South African work value patterns enables researchers to do no more than delineate potential areas of value conflict and possible value compromise, this in itself should be beneficial. The possibility of using an improved insight into such values as the first stage in the development of an indigenous, culturally synergistic organisational model for South Africa is particularly exciting.

CHAPTER TWO

The Development and Functioning of Work Values

Theories of work value, in particular the so-called Protestant Ethic, and the importance of informal socialisation have been discussed in detail in Godsell (1981). Some of the most important points relating to organisational socialisation will be repeated here.

Socialisation takes place throughout an individual's career, and values appear to become increasingly important as people attempt to increase their status and power within the organisation. Schein (1971) states that socialisation is particularly important at boundary crossings, and lists three different types of boundary: hierarchical, functional, and inclusion (Figure 4). Inclusion boundaries must be crossed if an individual moves inward to the influential centre of the organisation, if he is to be included in the decision-making of the power holders. Hierarchical boundaries are those which are passed as the individual moves upward and improves his status and rank. Functional boundaries separate different areas of competence from one another, and may be crossed when an individual moves laterally without increasing in status or power. Functional boundaries are explicit and visible, and may be passed on the strength of new skills and competence acquired through training and other formal processes.

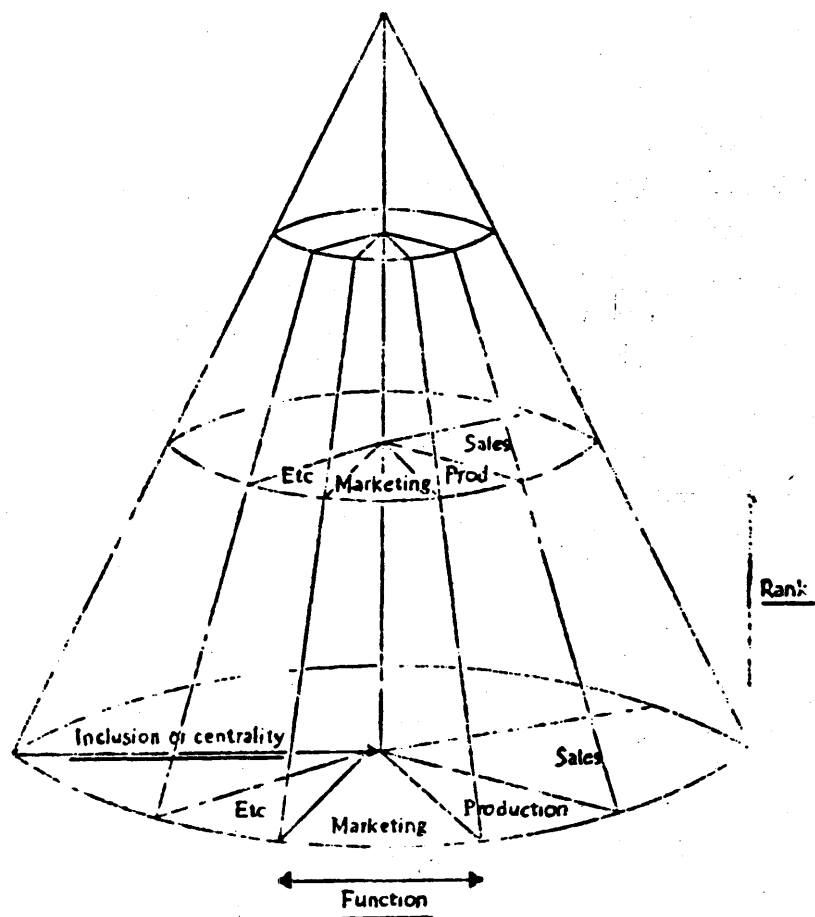


Figure 4. Organisational Boundaries

Inclusion and hierarchical boundaries are often "highly informal norms shared by the group" (Schein, 1971, p.406). "Their very existence usually remains implicit" (p.408). Personality, attitudes, political insights and perspectives may be crucial in passing these boundaries.

Schein (1965, p.1) goes so far as to say: "it is my own assumption that attitude and value change is not only an important consequence of shifts in organisational role, but may well be a prerequisite for such shifts...advancement into the higher levels of management is as much or more a function of having the right attitudes, values, and perspectives as it is a function of having the right skills and abilities". The attributes necessary for upward movement within an organisation, insofar as they are not inherent, must be acquired largely by means of informal socialisation. They are probably acquired to some extent by socialisation which takes place outside the organisation, either before or after the individual enters the organisation. These informal norms have two important implications. Firstly, the individual is reduced to a rather passive state. He cannot make an effort to go out and acquire the necessary attributes, because they are seldom explicitly articulated, and few formal processes exist by which he could acquire them if he knew what they were. Secondly, where boundaries are implicit, where people who have already passed these boundaries set informal norms for including and excluding others, a risk of stereotyped replication of leadership exists.

Support for Schein's explanation of the nature of inclusion boundaries comes from the work of Vroom (1973; 1974) and of Rosen and Jerdee (1977). Vroom describes the situations in which managers tend to include subordinates in decision-making--in Schein's terms, situations in which subordinates are able to cross inclusion boundaries. The inclusion of subordinates depends to some extent on the nature of the decision to be made and also on whether or not

subordinates are regarded as being "trustworthy". "Trustworthy" subordinates are those whose "personal goals...are congruent with the goals of the organisation" (Vroom & Yetton, 1973, p.16). This lends support to Schein's contention: it appears that people whose personal attitudes and values are not congruent with what a superior perceives organisational goals to be, are not likely to move inwards to the centre of the organisation.

How is trustworthiness determined? There is a dearth of research in this area, but Rosen and Jerdee (1977) found that certain subordinate characteristics influenced use of participative strategies and perception of trustworthiness on the part of managers. They found that minority and low-status employees were "consistently evaluated as less likely to use good judgement and less likely to consider organisational objectives ahead of personal goals" (p.631).

If value conflict causes severe problems at every stage of the individual's career, as well as having potential for causing group conflict, could the problem not be solved by either selecting people with compatible values, or attempting to change the values of people already selected? If there is a wide gap between the values of individual and organisation, and the process of organisational socialisation is too severe, this may lead to either rebellion or over-conformity. Rebellion will lead to rejection of organisational norms and values. If this occurs, the individual will usually leave the organisation. If he is unable to leave, one of two things may happen. He may remain a frustrated rebel or he may, under severe socialisation pressures, become a conformist, as unable to innovate as

the rebel. Schein analyses the development of conformity as follows. During the process of socialisation, an individual constructs different selves to fit new roles. These "constructed selves" are superficial and labile, while the basic personality remains stable. The stable social self enables the individual to innovate, but may come under stress if the individual is unable to escape severe socialisation pressures. "If conditions...operate to entrap the individual...if he begins to conform to organisational norms even in terms of the more stable parts of his self, he will indeed become unable to innovate" (Schein, 1971, p.424).

According to Schein, successful socialisation (presumably in a Western context) results in "creative individualism". This is defined as "acceptance only of pivotal organisational values and norms; rejection of all others" (Schein, 1968, p.9). Because he has not adopted organisational values wholesale, a characteristic of the creative individualist is that he is able to influence the organisation, as well as being influenced by it. For Schein (1971), innovation (the influence of the individual on the organisation) and socialisation (the influence of the organisation on the individual) are processes which should complement one another in every career.

Careful selection might preclude the dangers of attempting to solve value conflicts by means of excessive socialisation.

This area too has its pitfalls. England (1978) warns:

We are hesitant to recommend the use of personal values in selection because we do not know the full consequences of an individual organisation having managers with similar value profiles. Persuasive arguments can be made that organisational vitality and adaptation to changing social and technological conditions may come about in part because of the value mix in an organisation; we simply do not know what the optimal mix is for any given organisation. (p.40).

To attempt to create uniformity of values by means of selection or socialisation would be to run the risk of creating sterile bureaucracies. In a rapidly changing society, warn Van Maanen and Schein (1977) "the values of the new generation entering organisations may be quite different from traditional values" (p.53). An effective socialisation process should be flexible enough to allow for the incorporation of these new values if an organisation is to adapt successfully to external changes.

There is a great potential for value conflict within South African organisations. Educational, cultural, and class differences may all give rise to differing value systems. In developing countries, value differences may occur when the industrialised sectors are run along Western lines, and are largely imbued with Western values, while many

of the people employed in these sectors have grown up in, and been socialised into, non-Western cultures. Because of value differences, lower-level Black workers may be socialised into sub-groups with value systems in conflict with organisational values. More senior Black employees (and female employees for that matter) may find themselves isolated from their peer groups, and cut off from important networks of support and information. Such employees may also find that intangible value barriers prevent them from reaching positions of high power and status. Where value differences are great, potentially innovative employees may be forced into unproductive conformity by excessive socialisation.

This situation is frustrating for employees, and it represents a great loss for organisations, which are deprived of the contribution of skilled and knowledgeable employees at higher levels.

The solution to this problem requires concession and compromise from individual and organisation. Before this can be done, areas of value congruence and value conflict must be defined. The first step towards this goal is the definition and measurement of South African work values. Existing work value scales, for all the reasons cited in the foregoing text, are inappropriate, and exploratory research and the development of new instruments is required.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design

3.1 Statement of the Problem

In the foregoing sections, it has been suggested that work values affect the functioning of individuals within organisations. In particular, it has been suggested that unacknowledged work value differences may be important in culturally heterogeneous South African organisations. Before the role and the importance of values and value differences can be assessed, South African work values must be measured.

The definition of work values for this study is based on Kluckhohn's value definition, which reads: "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action" (Kluckhohn, 1967, p.395). For this study, work values are defined as conceptions of the desirable within the organisational or work context. According to Kluckhohn's definition, then, work values could be expected to influence both the goals and the forms of work behaviour, to be either explicit or implicit (and often probably both), and to be characteristic of both individuals

and groups within the organisation.

As has been explained in a previous section, the measurement of work values presents severe problems, because most existing work value scales have a strong cultural bias, and because implicit values must be clarified before they can be studied. Kluckhohn (1967, p.397) writes that "verbalizability is a necessary test of value"; that implicit values "can be put into words by the observer and then agreed to or dissented to by the actor". This is an important observation for this study, as it means that although values may be difficult to ascertain, they are accessible to an observer, or researcher, and are therefore a legitimate area of study.

3.2. Aim and Scope of the Study

The aim of the study is the clarification and definition of South African work values. The entire gamut of work values likely to be expressed by the South African population cannot be explored in one study, so the present study will be limited to high-level employees, Black and White, male and female. The likely impact of this emerging group has been discussed in section 1. Limiting the study to this group will also limit differences due to variables such as job level and (possibly) class.

The aim of the study is not to present an exhaustive catalogue of the work values of this group but (a) to explore different methods of eliciting values, (b) to develop a preliminary measuring instrument, (c) to provide tentative descriptions of the more important work values held by this group.

In the process of this exploration of values, differences and similarities in the values held by different sub-sections of the research population will also be examined.

3.3 Research Design

3.3.1 Formulation of hypothesis. The exploratory nature of this study makes the formulation of detailed hypotheses difficult. The emphasis of the study is on the eliciting of hitherto undefined values, rather than on the confirmation of previously documented value patterns. The literature indicates that different socialisation experiences, based on culture, class, or other factors, may be linked to differences in work values. No sound basis exists for speculation as to the nature or direction of these differences in the population to be researched. The hypothesis must therefore be limited to a very general statement of difference, and the intention of the study must be seen as shedding light on the nature and direction of any differences which might emerge, as well as confirmation of the hypothesis.

The hypothesis for this study is therefore formulated as follows:

H1: Differences in work values will be exhibited by sample groups which have been exposed to different socialisation processes.

3.3.2 Overview of research design. Before a detailed description of the investigation is undertaken, an overview of the research design will be presented. The design comprises various interdependent phases, and an initial global description should make the detailed explanation easier to follow.

The study was designed in four phases, some of which overlap in time.

1. The first phase was a pilot study, to determine the usefulness of group discussions in eliciting values.

2. The second phase, once the findings from the pilot study had confirmed that group discussions could be used to elicit and clarify values in a cross-cultural setting, involved holding group discussions with participants drawn from the target population.

3. The third phase began simultaneously with the second. This phase comprised the administering of questionnaires containing open-ended questions. Group discussion participants were asked to complete the questionnaires, which were also administered to additional subjects once the group discussion phase was over. Group discussion transcripts were analysed to provide categories for the content analysis of the answers to the open-ended questions.

4. The categories used in the content analysis of phase three formed the basis for constructing items for the fourth phase of the study. This phase included the construction and administration of a value questionnaire in semantic differential format.

Figure 5 provides a diagrammatic representation of the research design.

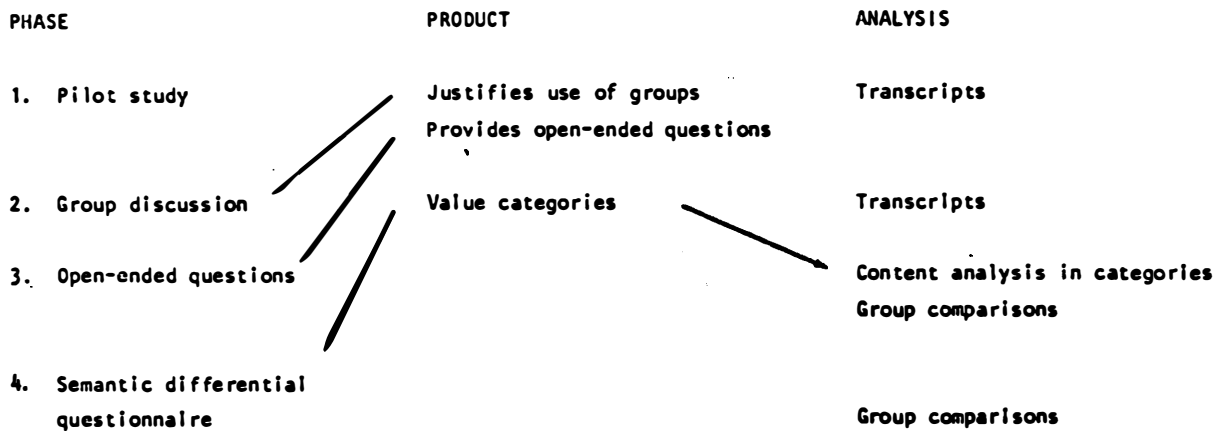


Figure 5: Research Design

3.3.3 Group discussion as a means of gathering data. Because group discussion is a data-gathering technique which is central to this study, the rationale for its use and method of its application will be discussed in some detail.

Firstly, group discussion was regarded as a potentially important technique for the study of values. It was thought that a discussion group could provide a context for the verbalisation of previously implicit values (Kluckhohn, 1967). Before people become fully aware of their own values, they often need to go through a process of value

clarification (Simon, Howe, & Kirschenbaum, 1978), a process of questioning and tentative articulation, for which a group discussion allows ample opportunity.

Secondly, group discussion was regarded as an appropriate technique for cross-cultural research because, in the presence of their peers, group members may be more confident about raising difficult issues: "the collective support of a group may give its members a greater sense of confidence than if they were facing an interviewer alone" (Wellman, 1977, p.53). Because of the interaction and sometimes heated argument between group members, issues may be raised which are central to the group, but were previously unknown to the researcher. The important characteristic of a group discussion is that the major interaction occurs among participants, with a minimum amount of influence from the researcher.

If discussion groups are held in the target population in the early phases of a study, "specific turns of phrases or word pictures that...group participants generate can often aid in the development of questionnaire items" (Zemke & Kramlinger, 1982, p.85). This is particularly important in cross-cultural work. If discussions are held early enough, new ideas generated can be incorporated into the design and assumptions of the research, as well as into specific measuring instruments. Ideas which might unintentionally offend particular groups can also be eliminated at this

stage.

The early use of discussion may therefore enhance the validity of a cross-cultural study, by increasing the appropriateness of the measuring instruments and examining the applicability of some underlying assumptions. Group discussions also have the advantage of involving members of the community under study in the research. They become participants rather than merely subjects, and as well as improving the quality of the research, this may in some instances increase its acceptability to the community.

It has already been noted that the main advantage of a group discussion is that it allows people to talk for themselves, interacting chiefly with one another instead of with a researcher. If we are to study the unique characteristics of any group--racial, social, or economic—we must listen to what the members of that group have to say about themselves. Group discussion provides a good, focussed structure for such listening.

Of course, some of the most positive features of group discussions may also have negative consequences. The presence of peers may give an individual confidence, but may also inhibit the discussion of personal material. The confidence gained from the presence of peers in a cross-racial situation "might encourage hostile, and even demagogic responses" (Wellman, 1977, p.53). Zemke and

Kramlinger (1982, p.94) describe a situation where people arrived at a group discussion with prepared statements, and "we ended up with something more akin to an Iranian militants' press conference than a focus group". A discussion group is an intervention, enabling a group of people to become aware of their views and to express them. Researchers must be aware of this and be prepared to take responsibility for some of the consequences.

In addition, the undeniably rich material gained by means of group discussion may not be at all generalisable, and it will probably be necessary to employ quantitative methods to check this. The process of collecting, transcribing, and analysing data from group discussions is time consuming and costly.

CHAPTER FOUR

Empirical Investigation4.1 Pilot Study

The pilot study was carried out at a large agricultural company in Natal.

4.1.1 Sample. The sample was drawn from four different plants, and consisted of five White male employees in the personnel field, and four of their Black assistants. Table 1 shows that the Whites were slightly younger, and had more university qualifications than the Blacks.

Table 1
Pilot Study Sample

	N	Age		Education			
		Median	Range	JC	Matric	Matric & Diploma	Degree
White group	5	33	32-53	2	1		2
Black group	4	42.5	35-50	2	1	1	

The major difference between Black and White groups lay in job title and responsibility: the Whites held positions such as personnel manager, personnel administrator, and personnel projects manager, while the Blacks were personnel clerks, officers, and assistants.

4.1.2 Method. The subjects were divided into separate Black and White groups. Each group met on three occasions for a discussion lasting one to two hours, led by the researcher. Discussions were held at different plants to minimise travelling time for participants. All discussions were tape recorded, with the permission of participants.

The first discussion centered around the topic: My Ideal Job. Participants were given two identical diagrams representing five working days. On the first diagram they were asked to write down what they actually did during a working week, on the second they wrote down what they would like to do. Discussion focussed on discrepancies between the two diagrams. At the end of the discussion participants were given blank sheets of paper, and asked to write down the characteristics of their ideal job.

The second discussion covered the topic: Why I work, what my work means to me. Participants were given a diagram containing blank circles and asked to write in the circles, the rewards they obtained from working.

During the discussion, participants were free to add to their diagrams rewards which they had not previously thought of. At the end of this part of the discussion, participants were asked to rank the rewards and benefits they had written down, by numbering the circles. The final part of the discussion dealt with the question: Can you describe the circumstances in which you would be likely to stop work altogether?

The third discussion focussed on organisational structure and functioning. Participants were asked to write down answers to questions on the initiating, taking, and implementing of decisions within their company. Discussion revolved around decision-making within the organisation, and what was perceived as an ideal organisational structure.

Once all the discussions had been completed, the researcher conducted individual interviews with all participants, discussing their feelings about the group discussion, and attempting to elicit additional value-related information.

4.1.3 Results. Typed transcripts were obtained for all the group discussions, but as this was a pilot study no detailed analysis was undertaken at this stage. Individual interviews were not transcribed, as they produced very little information which had not already been elicited during the group discussions.

The group discussions elicited a great deal of value related information. Once initial nervousness had worn off, and participants began to enter into lively discussions with one another, subjects began to articulate values and make statements indicative of implicit value-orientations. The Black subjects in particular were more outspoken in the presence of their peers, than in individual interviews. The questions which elicited the most value-related information in the groups were those relating to an ideal job, and the rewards, benefits, and satisfactions obtained from working. The subjects were not able to deal confidently with the concept of an ideal organisational structure; it seemed to them hypothetical and too far removed from reality.

The use of written answers combined with group discussion worked well, although subjects said that they would have preferred shorter and more specific questions. Three discussion sessions were too many, as subjects appeared rather bored and irritable by the third session.

Some general impressions gained from the pilot study transcripts were as follows. For the Black group, it was very difficult to disentangle perceptions of racial discrimination from individually held work values. For example, Black participants felt strongly that they should be involved in high level decision-making, not so much because that was what they personally wanted to do, as because they

felt it unfair that Blacks should always be required to implement decisions taken by Whites. It seems that where race is a crucial determinant of the work an individual does, race will affect that individual's work values also.

Both Blacks and Whites saw challenge as an essential component of a satisfying job. Both groups regarded clear promotional routes, a feeling of self-worth, and the ability to make independent and meaningful decisions, as being important. Black self-worth seemed to be measured more in terms of being active in the community, and White self-worth in terms of being competent, performing well, and having high job-status. The Black group placed greater emphasis on the importance of social contact at work. They lived in rural areas, and explained that at home there were mainly children, and the adults who were there talked only of crops. Conversations with work colleagues ranged across aspects of industrial as opposed to agricultural life—hire purchase, production targets, etc., and this they found more stimulating. It is interesting to note that the same need for sophisticated social contact is often found in women who return to work after spending time at home with small children. Their feelings are described in the book Kramer vs Kramer (Corman, 1979, p.23) where the wife dreams of returning to an office where she would be "with people over 30 inches high who spoke in complete sentences"!

The Black group also favoured a more democratic social structure, with larger numbers of people involved in decision-making.

Further analysis was not carried out, as the main function of the pilot study was to provide guidelines for the conduct of the main study.

4.2 Group Discussions

Once the viability of the group discussion technique had been demonstrated in the pilot study, it was decided to apply it on a larger scale.

4.2.1 Sample. The sample for the group discussion was obtained with the assistance of individual companies and a Black managers' association. Requirements for participation were stated as an educational level of matriculation, and a job entailing some degree of supervisory or independent decision-making responsibility. (This was described in terms of Paterson's (1972) scale of job evaluation, as a job at upper B level or above). The sample was drawn only from the industrial and commercial sectors, and professionals in private practice were excluded. When individuals who did not entirely match up to the specified requirements arrived to participate in a discussion, they could not very well be turned away, with the result that the overall sample falls short of these requirements in some respects.

The final sample consisted of 38 subjects: seven Black males, five Black females, 18 White males, and eight White females. Age and educational statistics appear in Table 2.

Table 2
Group Discussion Sample

	N ^a	Age		Std 8/9	Educational Level		
		Median	Range		Matric	Matric & Diploma	Degree
White males	17	34	18-47			13 ^b	4
Black males	6	34	26-43		1	3	2
White females	8	27.5	22-49	2	2	2	2
Black females	4	28	26-30			3	1

^a Less than the total N for the group discussion, as not all subjects provided adequate biographical information.

^b This includes 2 subjects with std. 9 plus banking exams.

4.2.2 Method. Of the eight discussion groups, most consisted of four to eight participants, depending on the availability of subjects. Two groups were below four, due to non-arrival of participants. All groups except one were homogeneous in terms of race. Four groups were homogeneous in terms of race and sex, and three groups were mixed-sex, single-race groups.

Five groups were run on company premises, and three at the National Institute for Personnel Research. The latter venue was preferred by the researcher, as being more neutral, but was more difficult and time-consuming for subjects to get to. Five out of the eight groups were run by the researcher herself, and three by assistants, all White male employees of the National Institute for Personnel Research, with advanced degrees in Psychology. The function of these group leaders, or moderators, was explained to them as being to encourage maximum interaction among group members. The discussion was not viewed as being "a series of individual interviews that happened to be conducted among a selected group of respondents" (Robinson, 1979, p.22). Moderators were encouraged to be facilitative rather than directive, intervening only to prevent domination of the group by one or two members, to involve withdrawn participants, or to keep the discussion broadly within the realm of work values. Moderators were provided with a list of questions to be used if the discussion flagged. These questions also served as a checklist to ensure that different aspects of the topic had been covered.

Because of the exploratory nature of the study, the task of the moderators was a difficult one. The moderators had to be totally familiar with the purpose of the study, as they often did not know exactly what they were looking for, but they had to be able to recognise relevant discussion when

they heard it.

Once the purpose of the group discussion, and the study as a whole, had been explained to participants, groups were taken through a modification of the nominal group technique (Van de Ven & Delbecq, 1971). Participants were asked to write down the answers to some open-ended questions before discussion commenced. The questions (see section 4.1.3) were based on those which had seemed most fruitful in the pilot study. Writing down the answers to these questions served to focus the thoughts of participants on the topic, provided a written record for later analysis, and enabled each individual to form some initial opinions without being influenced by the group. Discussion of the written answers provided a useful way of launching the general discussion, and involving all the participants.

All discussions were tape-recorded, with the permission of the participants. This had the advantage of leaving the moderator free to concentrate on running the discussion, and providing a full record of the discussion, uninfluenced by the moderator or a note-taker's view of what was important. The disadvantage of recording was the increased reliance on mechanical equipment which could—and did—go wrong. One entire discussion could not be transcribed due to faulty tape recording.

4.2.3 Analysis. It was decided to type complete transcripts of the discussions, to avoid the bias which might have been introduced by editing. This proved to be an immensely time-consuming process. Zemke and Kramlinger (1982) estimate that an hour's discussion may require five hours of typing. In cases where the tape was unclear, and particularly where the participants were using their second language, it took even longer. All transcripts needed to be checked by the researcher or the group moderator, while listening to the tape, as minor typing errors often introduced significant changes in meaning. Zemke and Kramlinger (1982, p.41) warn that "some typists get quite good at typing what they thought they heard as opposed to what was actually said. Some even editorialize from their subconscious or out of general boredom".

One advantage of typing complete protocols, is that protocols are a source of quotes which may be used to illustrate and enrich a written report. There are some pitfalls here, however.

Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest (1966, p.176) express concern about the way in which interpretation of research reports may be affected by liberal use of quotations: "The natural tendency of the writer is to use illustrative quotations which are fluent, dramatic, or engaging.

If the pool of good quotations is variable across the subcultures, the reader may mistakenly overvalue the ideas in the quotations, even though the writer himself does not". The danger of overvaluing quotations exists for the research worker, who may be tempted to seize on a quote which appears to support a pet hypothesis. To avoid this pitfall, it is important to refer constantly to the context of the entire protocol.

Another advantage of the use of complete typed protocols is that more people can then be involved in the analysis. If these analysts are drawn from different cultural backgrounds, the risk of cultural bias is reduced. Although content analysis is probably the best way of quantifying material from a group discussion, such analysis should involve only the presence or absence of particular ideas or thematic units (Krippendorff, 1980, p.60). An analysis of the frequency of use of words, phrases, or themes in discussions is not reliable, as frequency may be affected by the verbosity or tendency to repetition of individual participants. Word

analysis is not a satisfying procedure in cross-cultural research, because of the different meanings which may be attached to words by different groups.

In the group discussion phase of the present study, the aim was not so much to compare groups as to ensure that the widest possible range of work values was elicited and recorded. To this end, protocols were randomly divided among six raters for analysis. An attempt was made to draw raters from the four sub-groups participating in discussions, viz. White and Black males and White and Black females. This attempt was only partially successful, and the final rating team consisted of two White males, two White females, and two Black males. All raters were employees of the National Institute for Personnel Research, and all had at least a first degree in Psychology. It was initially hoped to have a member of each sub-group evaluate each protocol, but due to time constraints and non-return of some protocols by raters, the eventual distribution was somewhat uneven, as indicated in Table 3.

In order to simplify the task of the raters, and to create more uniform conditions for rating, each rater was given a list of value categories to use in rating the group discussion protocols.

Table 3
Distribution of protocols to different raters

Protocol No.	Rated by
1	White female, White male
2	Black male, White female
3	White male, Black male
4	Black male, White female
5	White male
6	White male, Black male
7	Black male

These categories were developed by the researcher, who extracted from the group discussion protocols all phrases which were thought to relate to work values. The phrases were then classified into categories, which were used in the list given to raters. This phase of the study was based on the work of Rokeach, who began his study of values by recording peoples' perceptions, and then organising them into categories and scales.

Raters were asked to decide whether the list of value categories was adequate for the protocols they had been given to rate, and to indicate categories which should be added or deleted. The researcher then combined the returned lists of categories into a single list of categories. The list was finalised (see Table 4) in consultation with two additional raters, a Black male and White female, who had been involved in extensive discussion of the protocols but had not been asked to comment on the initial categories. These additional raters were not employees of the NIPR, and both held Masters degrees in the Social Sciences.

Although formal quantification of the group discussion material is difficult, some of the impressions gained in the course of the discussions need to be detailed here.

Group discussions tended to confirm the idea of Black managers exhibiting a unique set of values, with elements in common with both "traditional" African and "modern" Western values. Initially it was anticipated that Blacks would espouse more co-operative, group-oriented values (Onyemelukwe, 1973; Nasser, 1981) while Whites would tend to be more individualistic and competitive.

Table 4

Value categories derived from group discussions:

To be able to provide for myself and my family
 To work in order to keep busy
 To feel loyalty towards and pride in my company
 To control my own work
 To train and develop other people
 For good work to be recognised and rewarded
 To do stimulating, interesting, and varied work
 To work in an organisation where the dignity of people is respected
 To enjoy my work
 To control other people
 To develop myself and grow in knowledge, skills, insight, and experience
 To work in an organisation where people are treated fairly and equally
 To have status and prestige
 To have friendly relationships with other people at work
 To have a sense of pride and accomplishment in y work
 To share with other people
 To have a clearly defined and structured job
 To be independent and able to use my own initiative
 To treat all people with respect
 To become wealthy
 To feel competent
 To help others
 To know exactly what is expected of me in my work
 To do challenging work
 To have opportunities for advancement
 To compete successfully with other people
 To work for the sake of working
 To succeed in spite of handicaps
 To be powerful
 To work with other people as part of a team

Without exception, the Blacks involved in the group discussions emphasised the importance of challenge, competition, and individual achievement: "At the moment we are knocking our heads on the ceiling, and this is worrying us because we want to advance"; "I was looking for challenge, real challenge that would bash me"; "you might be frustrated if you do not achieve as much as you would like to achieve".

Many of the Blacks involved in the discussions stressed that although they supported the idea of individual competition, they did not do this in the same way as Whites. This difference they ascribed to the concept of "ubuntu". This Nguni word is best translated as "humaneness". It derives from the root ntu=person, and is therefore a characteristic of being a person. Its equivalent in Sotho is the word "botho". Jabavu describes "ubuntu" as "human feeling" (1966, p.4) and Murray (1967) describes it as "the link that binds man and man together simply because they are men" (p.88). Manganyi (1981) refers to the same phenomenon when he quotes the South African writer, Ezekiel Mphahlele, describing "humanistic experience, where people treat each other as human beings, and not simply as instruments or tools; where people become committed to one another as human beings without necessarily declaring the commitment; if one of their kind is in difficulties the others immediately rise

to the occasion and do something about it" (p.9).

The concept of ubuntu was applied to industry by Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu in 1979. In an interview with the Financial Mail, he said "In the free enterprise system you emphasise the individual to enrich himself even at the expense of the majority of the people. I think what is needed is to have a pinch of ubuntu or African communalism diluted into your free enterprise capitalist system". While he did not articulate the characteristics of such a new system, Buthelezi said further "I am convinced that a new system will evolve which is a mixture of both free enterprise and African communalism and into which is also integrated what is good in our culture and traditions" (p.34). This view confirms the suggestion made in section 1, that the time is ripe to seek to develop indigenous organisational systems in South Africa, which incorporate values from the various cultures involved in such organisations. Ubuntu would appear to be an important value to examine in this context.

Because of the importance of the ubuntu concept, information gained from group discussions was supplemented by individual interviews with four senior Black managers. Particular stress was laid in these interviews on the effect and adaptation of ubuntu in the workplace.

The following points emerged from interviews and discussions:

Ubuntu is a central value, prescribing the behaviour of human beings towards other human beings. The person who has retained his ubuntu will provide sympathy and help for those in need, and respect the dignity of all people. People must be respected as people: they may not be manipulated or treated "in a mechanistic fashion". Old people in particular must be treated with respect, whatever their rank in an organisation may be. A caring, sharing, relationship is emphasised: "you must not put yourself forward, you must bring up the other person"; "you do not live for yourself, you live for others".

The relationship between ubuntu and individual achievement appears complex. One informant suggested that the individual pursuit of excellence was acceptable, but aggressive competition for the sake of competition was not. Another put forward the analogy of a football team: "the fact that you have a team does not mean that you will not have stars". Some informants saw no conflict at all between the ubuntu-ethic and competition/individualism/achievement. They stressed, however, that the successful individual has an obligation to share the fruits of his success with the community: "I've got to give back what I have to the people

who are living in my community, who have made me what I am"; "whether you achieve as an individual becomes somewhat meaningless unless you can take it to the community in which you are". The overall impression gained is one of individual achievement always within the context of the community. The community provides resources for the individual, but also sets limits to what he may do (particularly what he may do to other people) in order to achieve, and demands some return on the achievement.

Expressed in organisational terms, both the manager and the organisation are expected to have a responsibility for the welfare of the individual employee. "If a man is just given a salary, and left to see to himself, there would be a sense within himself that he is not really valued by the company"; "it's not just that when a man is off duty you can ignore him". Informants felt that a manager who had retained his ubuntu should know about the personal circumstances of workers, and take these into account. A comparison was often made between a good organisation and a close-knit family: "there must be an intimate relationship between workers"; "There must be an easy flow of communication between the top boss and the guys in the lower ranks".

While some informants felt strongly that ubuntu was an important influence on behaviour in the work situation,

others regarded it as an old-fashioned concept of little relevance to the modern Black manager. One respondent suggested that "only civil servants in the homelands" would cling to such a value, while another insisted that it was a characteristic of the most educated and sophisticated exponents of Black Consciousness.

Despite the emphasis on ubuntu in the Black group discussions, distilling representative categories for this concept proved very difficult. Phrases such as "to help others", "to share with others", "to treat all people with respect", were finally chosen (see Table 4), but they may not adequately describe the essence of the ubuntu-ethic.

4.3 Open-ended Questions

The open-ended questions were administered in two forms of questionnaire. Form 1 was administered to participants in the first discussion groups, but due to problems experienced in these groups it was replaced by Form 2. Participants complained that Form 1 was too long and questions were not clear. Answers also proved difficult to analyse, and only the answers to Form 2 were included in the final sample for analysis. Form 2, like Form 1, was based on those questions which had proved fruitful in the pilot study. It also included questions posed by Morse and Weiss (1955) and

and Vecchio (1980) in their studies of work values.

4.3.1 Sample. Form 2 of the questionnaire was administered to 18 participants in group discussions, and 49 subjects who did not participate in group discussions, a total sample of 67. These subjects were obtained with the help of the same firms and voluntary organisations who had provided subjects for the group discussions. Age and educational statistics for this sample are shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Open-ended question sample

	No. of subjects ^a	Age median	Range	Educational Level				Occupational Level		
				Stds 7-9	Matric	Matric +	Degree	Clerk	Officer/ instructor/ assistant	Manager
White males	17	30	18-56	- -	1	11	5	1	7	8
Black males	12	37	27-50	-	2	3	7	2	9	1
White females	14	35	21-58	3	5	2	4	2	9	3
Black females	18	25.5	19-45	5	3	8	2	13	5	0

^a Less than total sample, as some biographical details were missing.

The Black females are younger, and have lower educational qualifications, than the other groups. Black males appear to have the best educational qualifications. Most White males fall into the "managerial" category, a pattern which is repeated later in Figure 8 (section 4.4.2). The Black females fall predominantly into the "clerical" category. Table 5 indicates that the four groups are not comparable in terms of occupational level, and also differ, to a lesser extent, in terms of educational level.

4.3.2 Method. Group discussion participants were asked to write down their answers to open-ended questions before discussions commenced. Other subjects were asked to complete the questionnaires in their own time, and to post these back to the researcher in reply-paid envelopes. Some organisations collected the responses, which had been placed in sealed envelopes, and forwarded them to the researcher.

4.3.3 Analysis. Content analysis has been used in this study for the analysis of responses to the open-ended questions. This technique has been applied in the analysis of values by several writers. Probably the best known studies are those by McClelland (1976), De Charms and Moeller (1962), and Rokeach, Homant, and Penner (1970). McClelland studied the presence of Need Achievement in children's stories, De Charms and Moeller examined values in children's readers 1800-1950,

and Rokeach et al. used value analysis to attempt to determine the authorship of some disputed historical papers.

Psychologists have typically applied content analysis to children's stories and folk tales (Brislin, 1980), although Holsti made the point in the Handbook of Social Psychology (1968, p.609) that content analysis could also be applied to "messages generated in the course of the research process...[including] verbal data...[and] responses to open-ended questions generated in survey research". In the words of Berelson (1954, p.489) "content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." Content analysis enables us to obtain from qualitative data scores which may be computed, compared, and analysed.

The analysis of values is one of the more complex applications of content analysis. Themes usually form the recording and analytic units of value analysis, rather than more easily defined and counted words or parts of speech. According to Holsti (1968, p. 644) "the theme, a single assertion about some subject, is...almost indispensable in the study of propaganda, values, attitudes, and the like." The coding of themes is usually far more time-consuming than that of other units, and coders may have difficulty in

identifying the boundaries of the theme.

Krippendorff (1980, p.62) defines content analytic themes as corresponding to "a particular structural definition of the content of narrative, explanations, and interpretations." Themes are distinguished from one another on conceptual grounds, and Krippendorff warns that "while it is often easy for ordinary readers to recognise themes, it is generally difficult to identify them reliably". This issue of reliable identification of the themes which serve as categories of analysis cannot be shirked, as Berelson (1954, p.10) tells us that "Content analysis stands or falls by its categories". Brislin (1980, p.403) makes a similar point when he writes: "Without good categories and good coding rules, it is impossible to make any sense out of the original content, and it is impossible to link the original data and the researcher's hypothesis."

The themes or categories for the analysis of the responses to the open-ended questions in this study were the categories obtained from the group discussions, described in the previous section (4.2.3). Because of the difficulty of working with and identifying themes, the selection and training of raters in this study became crucial. Krippendorff (p.74) writes that "probably the worst practice in content analysis is when the investigator develops his

recording instructions and applies them all by himself or with the help of a few close colleagues and thus prevents independent reliability checks." In carrying out cross-cultural research, the risk of cultural bias increases unless the rating team is carefully selected to avoid, or at least cancel out, such bias.

Different techniques for the selection and training of raters are reported in the literature. Brislin concludes that when coding rules demand a great deal of judgement on the part of analysts, "the analysts have to be highly trained, and they have to be highly motivated to keep the same keen level of attention throughout their examination of the entire content" (p.404). He further highlights a contradiction in the requirements for good analysts. On the one hand they need to be intelligent enough to make difficult judgements, and creative enough to suggest new categories where necessary. On the other hand, they must not get bored with the drudgery of processing and coding a large amount of material. Brislin did not mention two even more important qualifications for these paragons of scientific virtue: that their services must be available to the researcher at the right time, and the right price. In the event, the rating team available for this study fell below the ideal in some respects. Ideally, White and Black, male and female raters of differing work experience should have been used. In

practice, two Black females rated the first question analysed, and two Black males the second question. The researcher, a White female, produced a third set of ratings for each question.

Differing opinions on the training of raters abound. Rokeach et al. (1979, p.246) used training sessions "to construct a list of values that were to be employed in the main study...to provide the two judges with the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the style of the Federalist papers...to ensure adequate inter-judge reliability." Krippendorff, however, states that raters who "take part in the development of suitable recording instructions [for example, categories] should not be involved in recording the data", and that raters must work "with an absolute minimum of informal communication among themselves." He warns that long periods of training which include refining of categories, revision of data sheets, etc., simply result in a situation where "only those who participated in this mutual adjustment process will work consistently." In such circumstances, strong inter-rater correlations do not indicate high reliability, but rather the reaching of agreement on a particular way of interpreting the source material. Lorr and McNair (1966, p.583) observe that, when new judges who were not involved in the development of coding system are used "reliabilities obtained, using only the formal coding rules,

definitions, and examples, are much lower than usually reported."

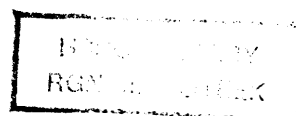
In this study, an attempt was made to strike a balance between overtraining, which might lead to false consensus, and each rater supplying a unique, and therefore not comparable, interpretation of the themes. The problem of inter-rater reliability is exacerbated by the use of raters from different cultural backgrounds. If cultural differences are incorporated into the rating team in the hope that different team members will be sensitive to different stimuli in the material to be analysed (Triandis, 1972), it should be considered whether it is logical to expect a high inter-rater reliability from such raters.

For the present study, initial categories were devised independently of the raters, as explained in section 4.2.3. The categories were then modified in the course of discussion between the raters and the researcher, after the raters had attempted to apply the original categories to the responses to be analysed. Once new categories had been agreed on (some original categories were combined, and a few new ones added), two raters and the researcher rated the responses given by the first three subjects. Ratings were discussed, and reasons for choices explained. This process was repeated for the next three subjects. After that, each rater and the

researcher worked individually, without influence from the others. When the process of rating was complete, the raters and the researcher met to discuss the ratings. Where the ratings differed, after discussion a separate "consensus score", on which all three agreed, was recorded. The final score for each group of subjects for each category was the median of the three independent scores and the consensus score. The median was used to limit the influence of any one rater on the final score.

This process was applied to the analysis of the responses to the following questions: 1) What rewards, benefits, and satisfactions do you get from working? 2) What are the characteristics of a good job? Frequencies of responses in different categories were computed, and inter-rater reliabilities calculated.

The calculation of inter-rater reliabilities proved to be an unexpectedly complex process. Many writers report only a simple calculation of percentage agreement or correlation. Rokeach et al. (1970, p.247) determined inter-judge reliabilities by means of product-moment correlation. De Charms and Moeller (1962, p.135) do not report the nature of their statistical calculations, but as they quote score reliability as ranging between 94%-97%, the reader may assume that they worked with percentage agreements. Berelson (1954,



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p.514) discusses only the use of correlation coefficients or percentage agreements in determining inter-rater reliability. Holsti, however (1968, p.660) warns that "simple percentage of agreement is not an adequate measure of reliability because it does not take into account the extent of inter-coder agreement which may result from chance". The importance of comparing obtained rater agreement with chance agreement is endorsed by Krippendorff (1980), who warns against the use of both association measures and correlation coefficients. Krippendorff writes (p.134): "The most convincing measure that expresses the amount of agreement in reliability data is the extent to which the table of observed frequencies resembles the table with the maximum agreement rather than that in which agreement is merely chance".

Some drawbacks to the application of Krippendorff's α became apparent during analysis of ratings. Because of the large number of categories which could be endorsed (20 in all), and the nature of the responses being coded (sometimes only phrases), many categories were not represented by a particular response or group of responses. The calculation of Krippendorff's α , however, is dependent on agreement between raters that categories are present.

Therefore, in an instance where all raters agreed that a category was not present for all subjects in a particular group, the coefficient of agreement calculated according to Krippendorff's $\alpha = 0$. The Krippendorff α also appears to show an exaggerated sensitivity to isolated instances of rater disagreement. In the White male sample, where all raters agreed that a category was not present for all subjects except for two instances of disagreement, the coefficient of agreement fell to $\alpha = .31$.

Because of the inadequacy of percentages of agreement and of Krippendorff's α as estimates of reliability, it was decided to calculate both measures and interpret them in conjunction with one another.

4.4 Semantic Differential Questionnaire

The semantic differential technique was developed by Osgood (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957; Osgood, May, and Miron, 1975). It is a technique which combines associational and scaling procedures, and attempts to measure the affective meanings of cognitive objects. Subjects are provided with a set of concepts (for example, boulder, father) and a set of bi-polar scales (for example, sweet...sour, good...bad), against which to measure the concepts.

Osgood, Ware, and Morris (1961) tentatively applied the technique to the measurement of the connotative meanings of the different values expressed in Morris's (1956) Ways to Live Scale. They found that "complex verbal statements" of the sort used in Morris's value scale "can be studied effectively with the semantic differential" (p.73). Homant (1969) used the semantic differential technique to examine the construct validity of Rokeach's value scale. He hypothesised that "if Rokeach's value scales measure personal preference for values, then subjects' ranking of the values should be correlated with the evaluative dimension of the connotative meaning of those values" (p.886).

Tanaka (1972) used a variation of the semantic differential method to study unique cultural values. He justified the use of this technique on the grounds that "semantic differentials may tap the general but implicit, evaluative framework in which people experience, perceive, and judge various kinds of cognitive events (decoding) and react to them (encoding)" (p.54).

While Homant and Osgood et al. researched homogeneous American samples, Tanaka examined values across cultures. Several interesting differences emerged from his study. He found, for example, that Germans perceived moral nations as being simultaneously tough and sad, while the Japanese saw

immoral nations as being changeable and excitable. A sensitive nation for the Japanese meant a nation which was sophisticated, proud, and active; for the Germans a sensitive nation was pleasant, agreeable, and sociable. As well as unique cultural configurations, Tanaka found many values that were held in common, and concluded that "results...indicate that classification of specific value attitudes in subjective culture would be in fact more complex and variegated than we might think in terms of simple dichotomous distinctions such as capitalist and socialist or the East and the West" (p.66).

The semantic differential technique was considered appropriate for this study for several reasons. Firstly, as discussed above, it had already been applied to the study of values. Secondly, it might provide a form of construct validation for the value categories extracted from the group discussions. Thirdly, it would provide a means of quantifying the hitherto largely qualitative findings in this study, and provide a quantitative basis for group comparison. Fourthly, this technique has the advantage of allowing respondents to present differing positive evaluations of the same item (cf. Tanaka, 1972), thus conveying a clearer idea of the meaning of that concept for a particular respondent or group of respondents.

4.4.1 Method. A semantic differential questionnaire was developed to serve as a tool for probing work values. The 30 value categories derived from the group discussions (see section 4.2.3) formed the concepts or items of the questionnaire. Careful thought was given to the phrasing of these items. The present participle (to be) was decided on (for example, to enjoy my work, to feel competent). This form seemed to combine most easily with the scales or qualifiers to form a single concept, for example, to become wealthy (is) wrong; to train and develop other people (is) considerate.

The scales were drawn chiefly from the tables in Osgood's (1979) chapter on the Cross Cultural Generality of Affective Meaning Systems. Although Osgood's Recommended Pancultural Scales (pp.172-176) are divided into the three factors Evaluation, Potency, and Activity (E-P-A) Osgood himself (1961) found that these factors tended to collapse into a single Evaluation factor when applied to value statements. He wrote: "The semantic space of connotative meanings generated when these statements...are judged is clearly not the same as that obtained when more varied samples of concepts are used" (p.68). Therefore, no attempt was made to represent the E-P-A factors equally in the work values questionnaire. Of the scales in the first draft of the questionnaire, eight represented the Evaluative factor, three represented Potency and two Activity. A further three

represented either Potency or Activity, differing for different groups. A further scale profitable...unprofitable was added, because the questionnaire was geared to work values. Desirable...undesirable was added in line with the definition of a value as a conception of the desirable. Finally the scale considerate...inconsiderate was included to tap the ubuntu dimension. The first draft of the questionnaire therefore contained 30 items and 19 scales.

This draft was administered to two Black and three White male employees of the National Institute for Personnel Research. It was also discussed with two raters, one Black male and one White female, who had worked extensively with the group discussion transcripts. On the basis of responses and comments from respondents and raters, the number of scales was reduced to 11. Scales which respondents had found particularly difficult to apply, such as new...old, and white...black, were dropped. When two scales appeared to overlap, for example, strong...weak, and powerful...powerless, one was excluded. Because the aim in choosing the scales, as it had been with the choice of items, was to adequately represent the values expressed in the group discussions, an additional scale, humane...inhuman, was included to better embody the ubuntu concept. An important guideline for the final selection of scales was the finding

by Mann, Phillips, and Thompson (1978) that the application of physical attributes to abstract concepts resulted in irrelevant responses. Also "combination of person-referent attributes and concrete objects presented problems for students' judgements" (p.219). The confusion of the abstract and the concrete was therefore avoided as far as possible in this questionnaire. This was not a particularly difficult task, because of the focus of the questionnaire on the realm of work.

An irrelevance option was included in the final semantic differential format. Subjects could mark a scale very, quite, both, quite, very, or irrelevant. This was again based on the findings of Mann et al., who recommended that "standard semantic differential instructions be revised to allow for an irrelevance response separate from the scale mid-point" (p.224). Students who were permitted, in Mann's study, to use an "irrelevant" response, used the midpoint response less often, and produced more strongly bi-polar responses.

The order of the final 11 scales was randomised. This same order was then maintained for presentation with each item. Because of the length of the questionnaire, it was felt that the final items might receive less attention than the earlier items.

Four forms of the questionnaire were therefore compiled, each with a different ordering of items. Forms A and B were different random orderings, Forms C and D were reversals of A and B.

The instructions for the questionnaire were tested on National Institute for Personnel Research employees. In an initial version, respondents were asked to write down numbers from 0 to +2 and -2 on a scale, to indicate how they felt about a particular concept. This did not work well, and a scale with five visible divisions, requiring a cross to be placed in the appropriate division was adopted. To simplify the process still further, a Likert-type labelling of a five-point scale was employed, as opposed to Osgood's unlabelled seven-point scale. This, it was felt, would have the double advantage of making the requirements of the questionnaire clearer to the subjects, and reducing the variation in subjects' interpretations of the scale. While different subjects might, for instance, still interpret the word "very" in different ways, the difference is likely to be less than when they are interpreting point seven on a scale.

Brown (1969, p.85) described the question posed by the original semantic differential technique as "Is a Boulder Sweet or Sour?". The decision a respondent must make in order to answer the present questionnaire may be verbalised

as follows: "Is to become wealthy very good, quite good, both good and bad, quite bad, or very bad? Or is the good...bad scale irrelevant to the concept 'to become wealthy'?"

Despite careful pre-testing of instructions, when the first questionnaires were returned it was found that a very small number of subjects were marking only one scale instead of all 11. A sample answer sheet was therefore included with all subsequent questionnaires. Although the changing of instructions part-way through a study was recognised as a dangerous practice, it was felt that this risk was outweighed by the risk of receiving incomplete questionnaires which could not be analysed. Four different versions of the sample answer sheet were used, to minimise the influence of any one version.

In addition to the semantic differential questions, the final questionnaire included a biographical section, and two sets of open-ended questions. The first set of open-ended questions related to whether subjects would continue working at the same job if they were financially secure, and was included for purposes of comparison with the subjects who had answered the longer open-ended questionnaire. Questions in the second set were related to perceived Black-White value differences in the work situation, and the contribution of

ubuntu to these differences. The term ubuntu/botho was used to cover both Sotho and Nguni language groups. Although the answers of Black respondents to the ubuntu question were of particular interest, it was felt that to ask for responses from only one race group might generate hostility from respondents. As it was, the inclusion of race in the biographical section elicited some negative comments from respondents. Questionnaires were accompanied by a letter and returned in sealed envelopes, either postage-paid or collected by the employer.

- 4.4.2 Sample. Subjects were obtained with the help of several employers, and both a Black and a multiracial management association. A total of 156 questionnaires was returned, but 23 questionnaires were excluded from the final analysis. Seven were excluded because the semantic differential section was incomplete. Seven Black female respondents and seven Asian/Coloured respondents were excluded because these groups were too small for separate analysis. Two respondents were excluded because they did not answer the biographical question relating to race and could therefore not be allocated to a group for analysis.

The final sample for analysis consisted of 133 respondents: 24 White females, 38 Black males, 71 White males. The characteristics of this sample are set out in

Figures 6-11.

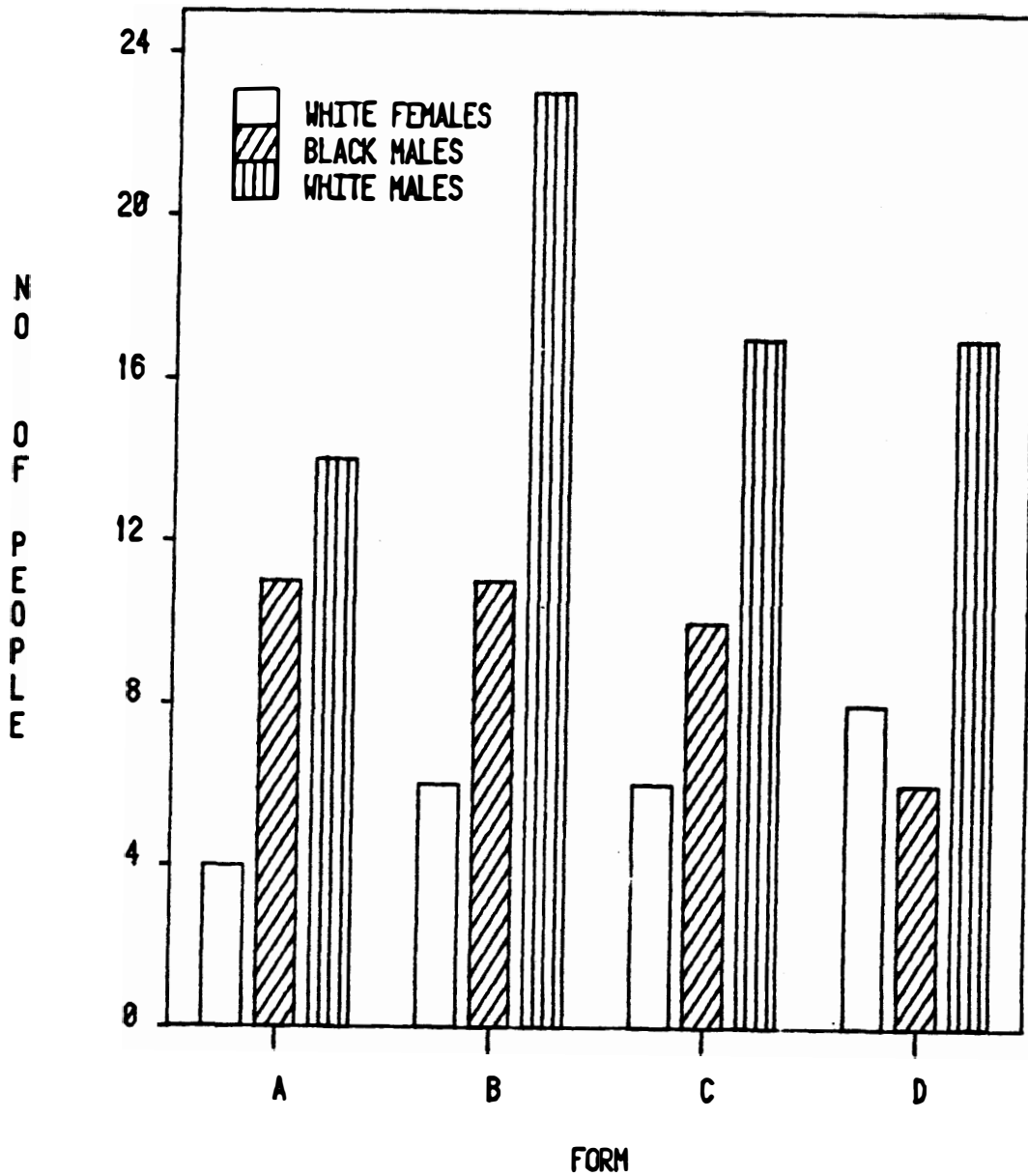


Figure 6. Semantic Differential Questionnaire: Distribution of Four Forms of Questionnaire across Sample

The fact that the different forms of the questionnaire are not evenly distributed across all groups may require further attention in the analysis stage. The total number of questionnaires returned for each form was as follows: A=29; B=40; C=33; D=31.

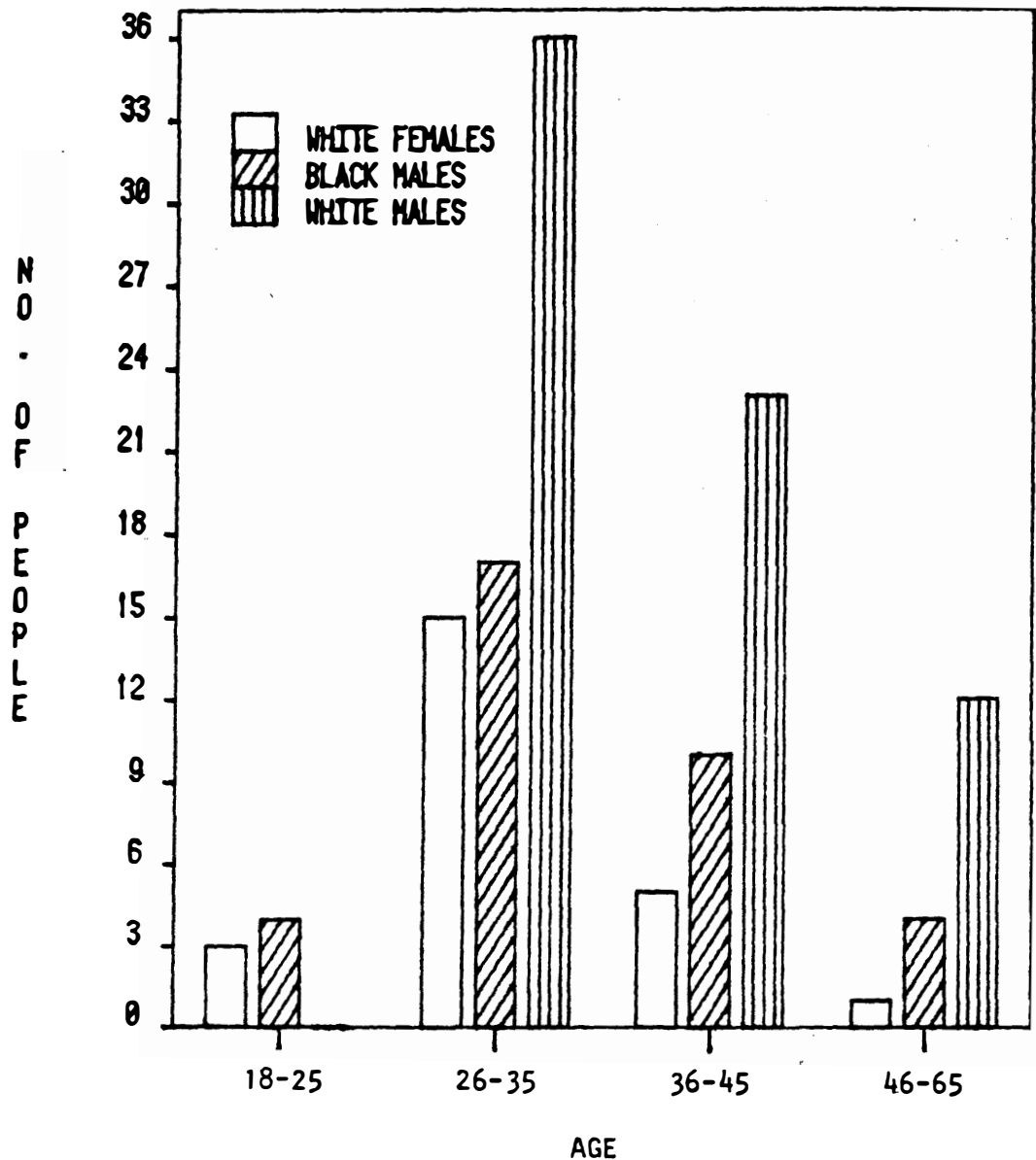


Figure 7. Semantic Differential Questionnaire: Age Distribution Across Sample

Age follows a similar distribution for all groups, with the majority of employees falling in the 25-45 year group. The White males appear, on average, older than the other two groups.

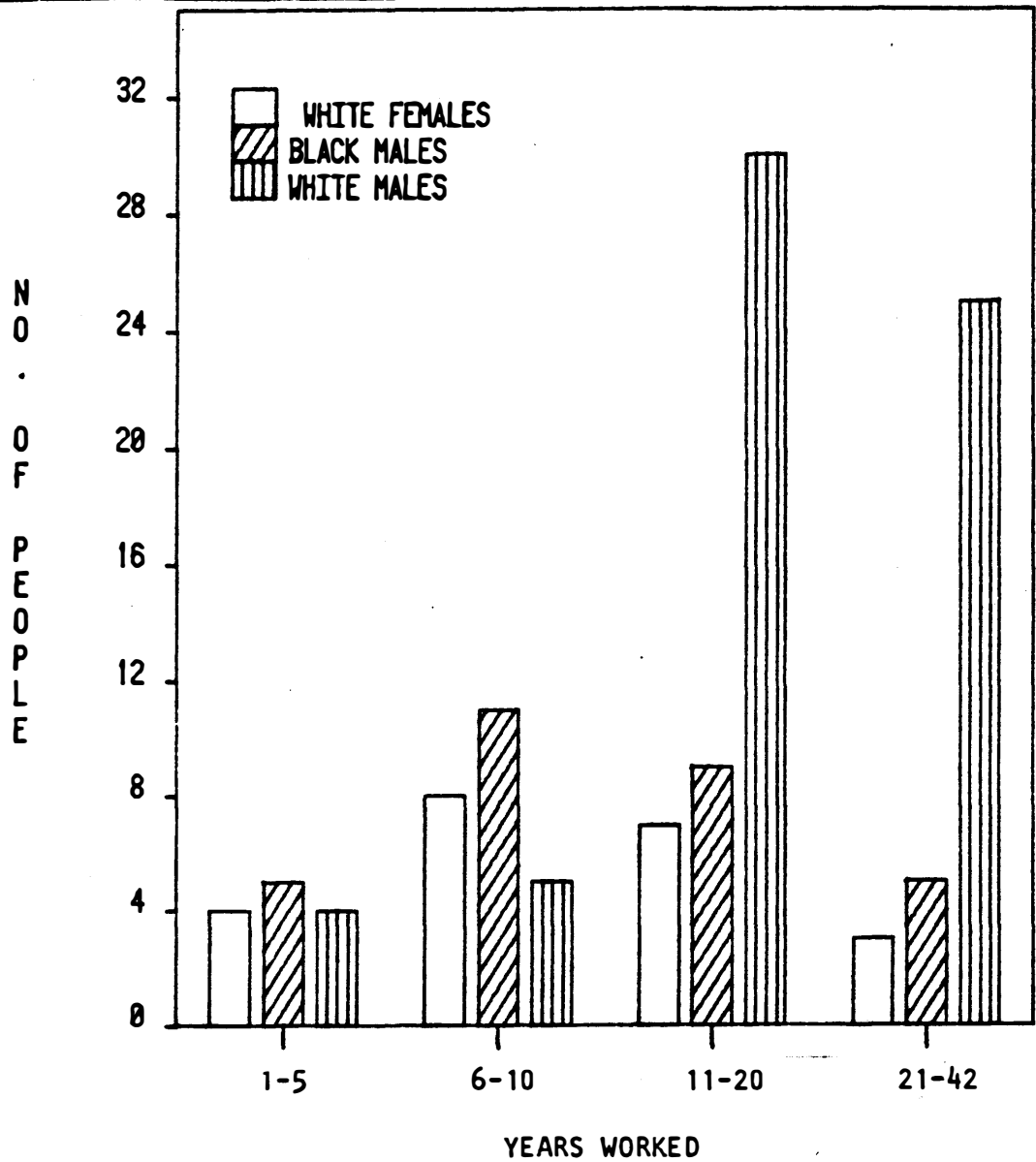


Figure 8. Semantic Differential Questionnaire: Years Worked by Subjects

The number of years worked by Black males and White

females follows a similar distribution, closely related to their age distribution. The distribution for the White males, however, is somewhat skewed, with the great majority of them having worked for more than ten years. It is worth noting that although the modal age category is the same for all three groups (viz., 25-35 years) the modal work period is 5-10 years for the Black males and White females, and 10-20 years for the White males. The greater work experience of the White males may have contributed to their higher status (see Figure 9).

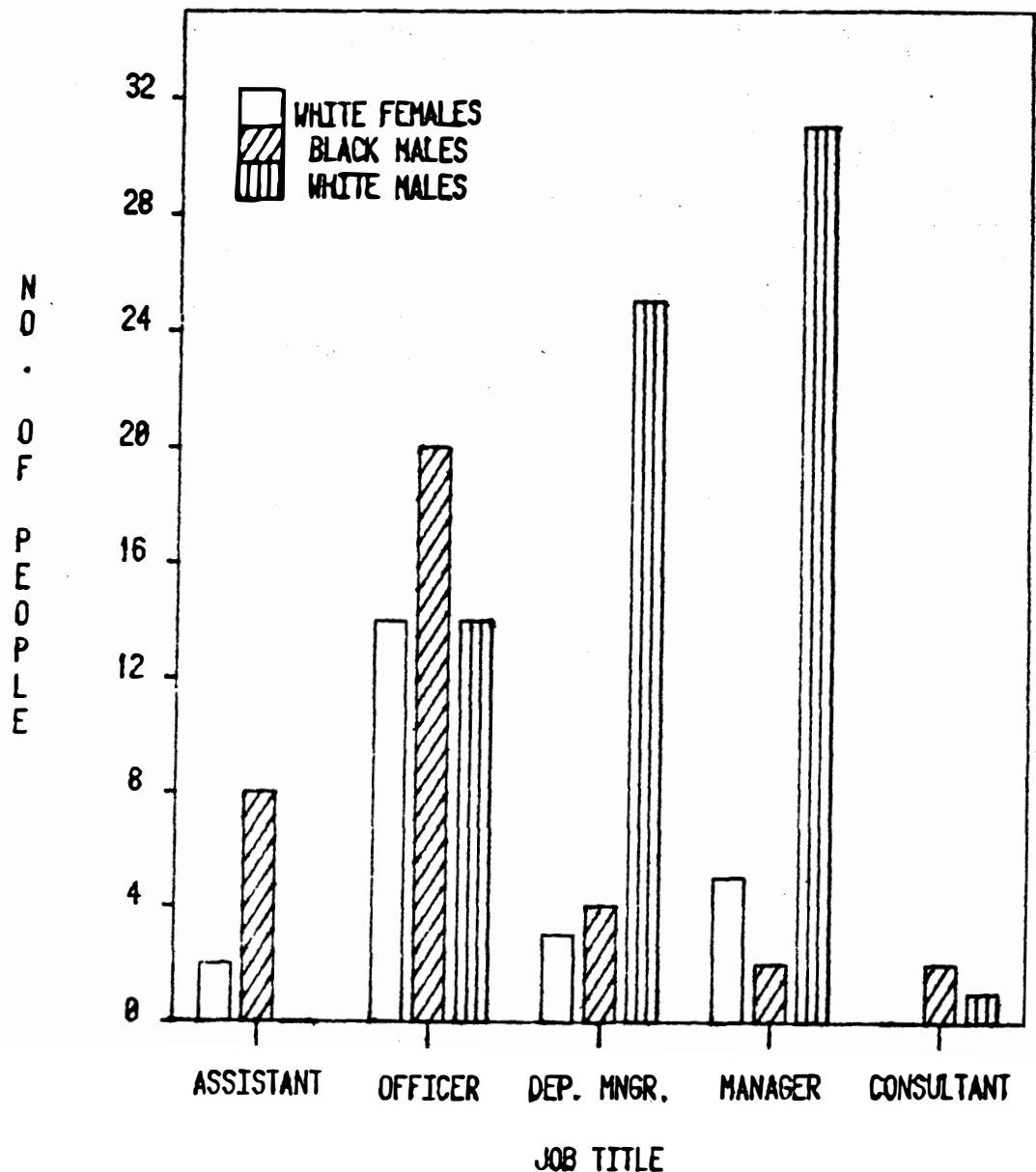


Figure 9. Semantic Differential Questionnaire: Job Titles of Subjects

The information provided in Figure 9 must be interpreted cautiously, as a job title often gives little indication of the power or responsibility attached to a particular job. It is interesting to note, however, that the Black males and White females have consistently lower status than the White males. Figure 10 shows that this is not simply a reflection of differing educational levels.

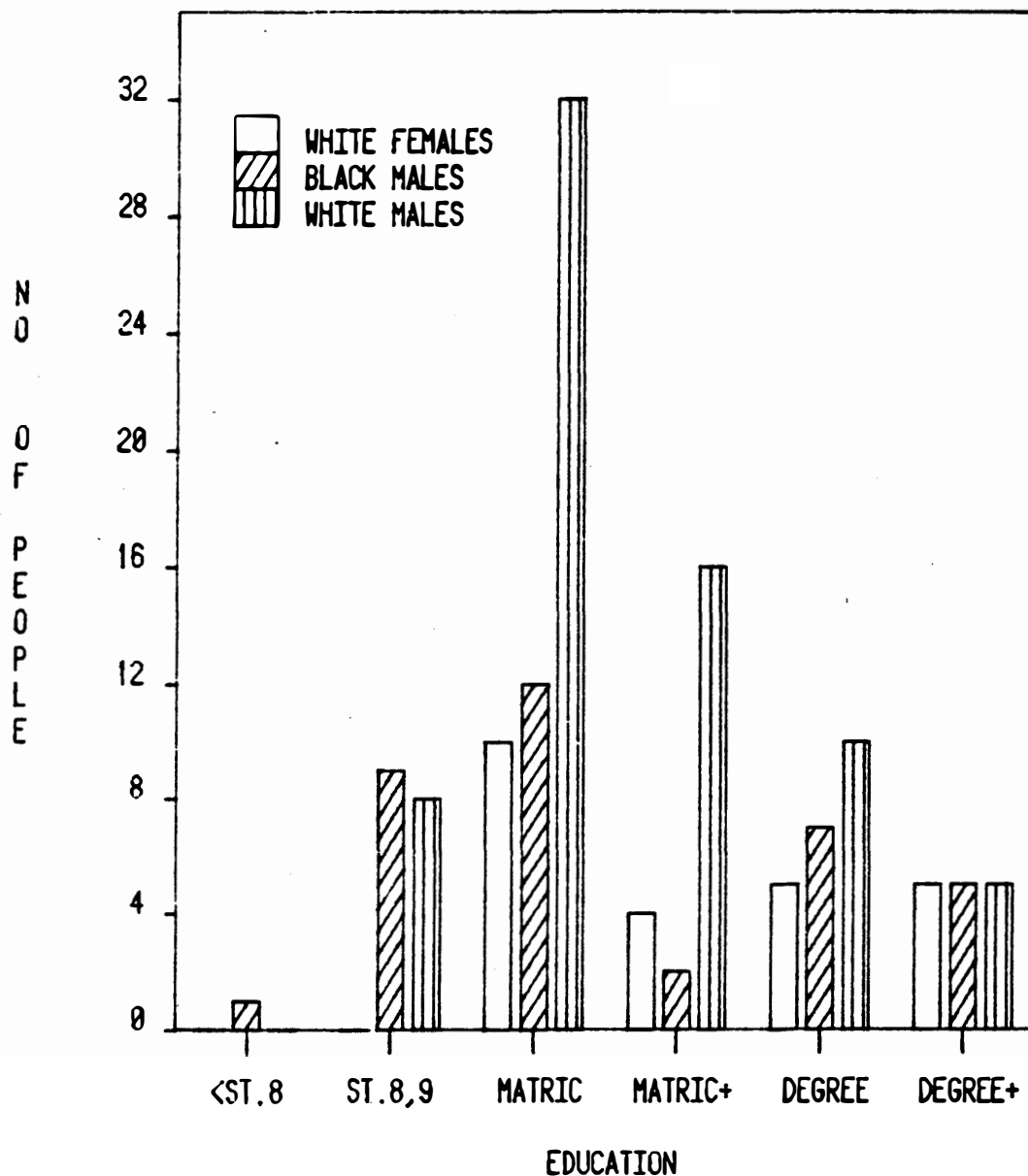


Figure 10. Semantic Differential Questionnaire: Educational level of Subjects

The white females have a higher minimum educational level than the males. Proportionately more of the white females and Black males have post-graduate qualifications, although actual numbers are equal.

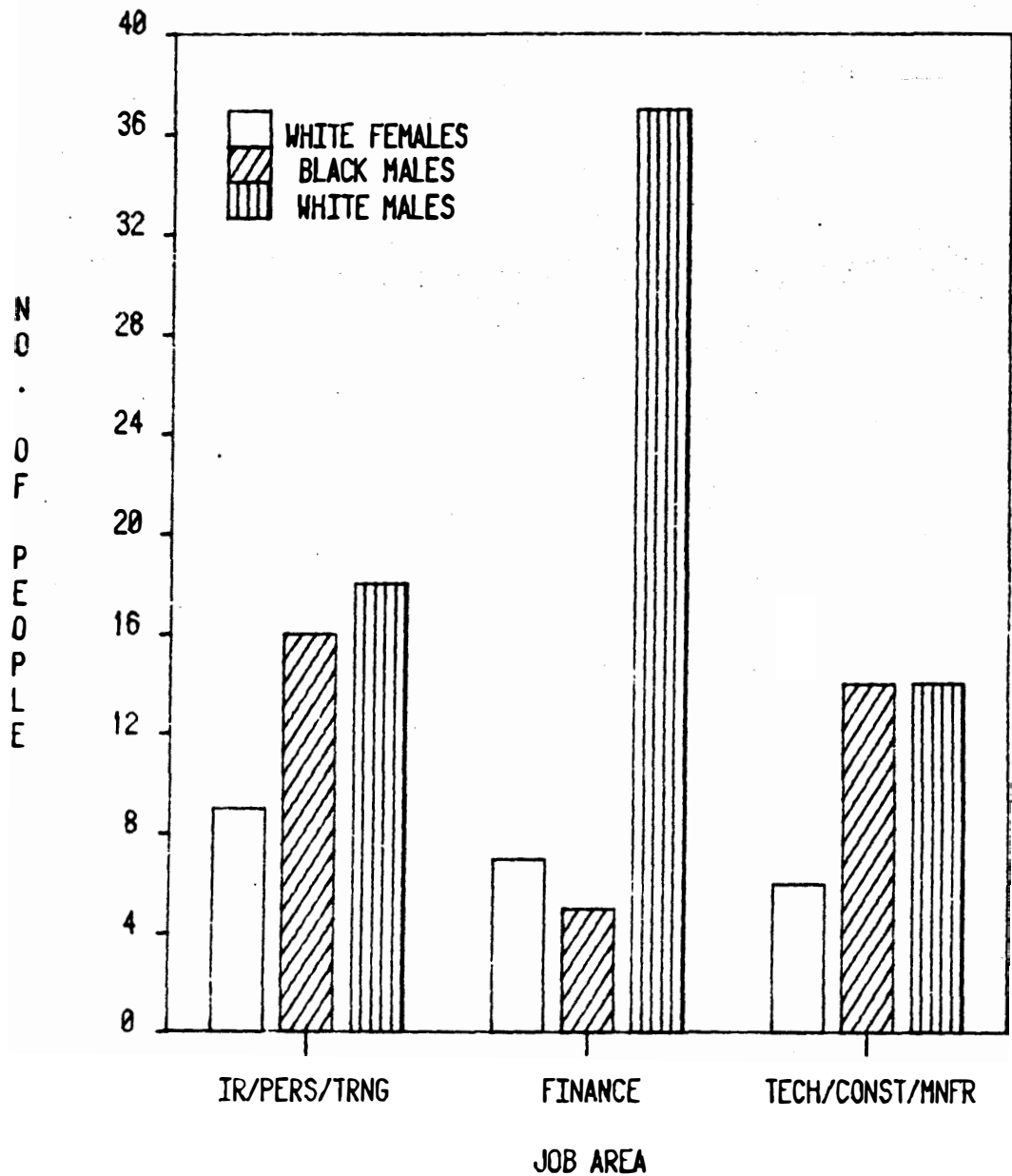


Figure 11. Semantic Differential Questionnaire: Job Area of Subjects

The sample is not evenly drawn from different job areas. The largest number of White males, and the smallest number of Black males, are employed in finance—chiefly banking and insurance. The largest number of White females, and of Black males, comes from the area of industrial relations, personnel, and training. Proportionately more Black males than other groups are employed in technical, manufacturing, and construction functions. This figure does allay the fear that the majority of subjects would prove to be involved in personnel and related fields. The predominance of the financial field can be explained by the involvement of an insurance company and a banking house in this study.

In summary, it may be said that the characteristics of this sample reflect some general population patterns. The Black males and White females, although they appear to have better educational qualifications than the White males, find themselves working in lower-status positions, predominantly in the personnel-related fields.

4.4.3 Analysis. The analysis of the data from the semantic differential questionnaire posed certain problems. The first problem was simply the amount of data generated: each questionnaire produced responses to 30 items across 11 scales, that is, 330 responses per subject. The first object

of the analysis was therefore to find meaningful ways of combining the separate responses and reducing their number.

The second problem related to the cross-cultural nature of the study. It is not valid to assume, without supporting evidence, that subjects from different cultural groups interpret questions in the same way, or attach identical meaning to similar-seeming answers (Poortinga, 1975). A simple comparison of means across groups, therefore, could not be justified. It was decided to examine scores for similarity of correlation patterns across groups. Clusters of related items would indicate possible dimensions for a model of work values, and the presence of similar clusters across groups could warrant further comparative analysis.

The first technique undertaken for the purpose of grouping responses, was the calculation of correlations. First of all, correlations between the different scales were determined, adding scores across items. This was done to discover whether any scales could legitimately be combined, and whether any scales should be excluded due to marked differences in correlational patterns across groups.

Using scale combinations suggested by the foregoing analysis, correlations of item scores were calculated, separately in each group. The matrices were then compared,

using a likelihood ratio test for the equality of correlation matrices (Browne, 1977). Because of the small sample size, the females had to be excluded from this comparison, and the numbers of items reduced for the comparison of the male samples. The 14 items which showed the highest correlations across all groups were included in the comparison.

While the test for the equality of matrices could give an overall indication of similarity or difference of correlation matrices across groups, some more nuanced analysis was required to facilitate interpretations of patterns of difference in the data. To achieve this, a cluster analysis was carried out. (The use of factor analysis, which would have been the most appropriate method of examining item associations, was precluded by the small sample size).

An average linkage cluster analysis technique was used (Dixon, BMDP Statistical Software, 1981). This is an hierarchical technique (Everitt, 1980), which computes the similarity within a group of items as measured by average correlations. A difficulty with the use of cluster analysis in general is that once an item has been placed in a cluster, it cannot appear again in another cluster, the way an item may appear in several factors when factor analysis is used. A drawback specific to the average linkage method of cluster analysis is that the use of average correlations may lead to

the inclusion of an item in a cluster when that item exhibits rather low correlations with some other items in the cluster. It is therefore advisable to refer back to the original correlation matrix when interpreting such cluster analysis results.

Means and standard deviations were calculated across the item scores, using combined scales, for different groups. No analysis of variance or t-tests were carried out, even where similar patterns of correlation occurred across different groups, due to the extreme skewness of the distribution. Due to the small sample size, no within-group examination of the effects of biographical variables was carried out.

In addition to the analysis of responses on the semantic differential scales, the frequencies of responses to questions relating to Black-White value differences were calculated. Further analysis of the responses to the other open-ended questions in the questionnaire was postponed.

CHAPTER FIVE

Results5.1 Open-ended Questions

The responses of the different groups to the open-ended questions are shown in Figures 12 and 13. The use of percentages here is a rather doubtful procedure, given the small sample sizes, but reducing all scores to percentages simplifies comparison across unequal Ns, and enables the data to be presented in a single table, more easily comprehended by the reader. The actual number of subjects responding in a given category is provided in each case.

A clear pattern of similarity and difference among the groups emerges from Figure 12. Financial security (category 1) is the most important category for the two male groups and the Black females, and the second most important category for the White females. Satisfaction (category 3) is of almost equal importance for the two male groups and the White females. Only the White males rate reward (category 4) as being of equal importance to satisfaction (category 3), while the White females and Black males rate pride in work (category 2) higher than do the other two groups.

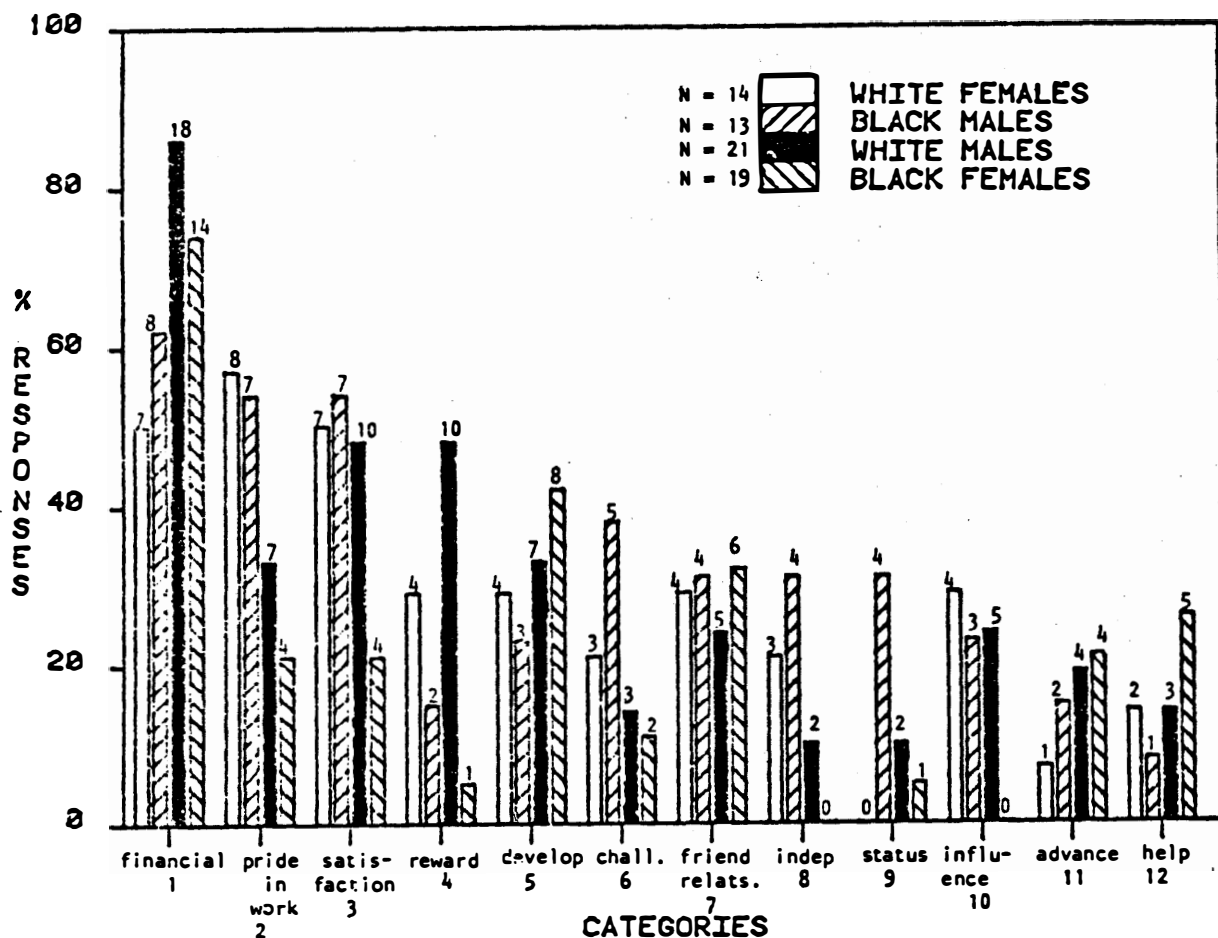


Figure 12. Responses to question: What rewards, benefits, and satisfaction do you get from working?
 Note: The figure on top of each bar gives the actual number of subjects responding in that category.

Although friendly relationships (category 7) is not given a high ranking, it is given a similar ranking by all groups. Black males give challenge (category 6) and status (category 9) a higher ranking than other groups do, while the White females do not respond at all to the status category. Black females give a slightly higher ranking to help others (category 12), and do not respond at all to the category influence (10). This last category appears to be of similar importance to the other three groups, although not given a high ranking by any group.

Table 6

Inter-rater reliabilities for categories in Figure 11.

	White females		Black males		White males		Black females	
	α^a	p^b	α	p	α	p	α	p
1. Financial Security	.72	.78	.79	.84	.74	.90	.61	.73
2. Sense of Pride & Achievement	.70	.78	.59	.69	.78	.85	.74	.89
3. Satisfaction	.52	.64	.79	.84	.66	.76	.66	.84
4. Recognition & Reward	.65	.78	.72	.92	.58	.71	1.00	1.00
5. Self Development	.72	.85	.42	.76	.76	.85	.62	.73
6. Challenge	1.00	1.00	.66	.76	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
7. Friendly Relationships	.83	.92	.86	.92	.80	.90	.57	.73
8. Independent	1.00	1.00	.42	.76	.84	.95	1.00	1.00
9. Status	.00	.92	.46	.76	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
10. Influence	.30	.64	.84	.92	.74	.90	-.01	.89
11. Advancement	.73	.92	.72	.92	.74	.90	.28	.73
12. Help Others	.73	.92	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	.91	.94

a Krippendorff's α (i.e., over and above chance)

b proportion of agreement (includes chance agreement)

As the proportion of agreement (P) includes chance agreement, this statistic would be expected to be higher than the α -statistic, which indicates only agreement above the level of chance. Category 9, White females, provides an example of the exaggerated influence of the absence of categories on Krippendorff's α , where the proportion indicates almost total agreement, but $\alpha = 0$. This should be interpreted as meaning "impossible to calculate" rather than "no agreement".

While a few categories (category 10, White females; category 11, Black females) produce a low estimate of reliability, overall both statistics give an indication of

high inter-rater reliability. Some categories (6, 12, 9) show total agreement, and the majority of statistics are higher than .5, that is, agreement higher than 50% over and above chance. While rater judgements in some categories must be interpreted cautiously, it is clear that there is no one category, or one group of subjects, for which inter-rater reliability is consistently unsatisfactory.

Again, in Figure 13, both differences and similarities between groups emerge. As in Figure 12, the concept of challenge (category 4) appears somewhat more important for Black males than for other groups, although it is given a high rating by all groups.

Self-development (category 3) is given a similar, though not particularly high, rating by all groups. Black females rate financial security (1) high, both in relation to other groups and in relation to their own rating of other categories. Black females also rate good working conditions (8) higher than do other groups. The white respondents rate opportunities for advancement (6) higher than do Black respondents; white females rate interesting and varied work (7) higher than other subjects do.

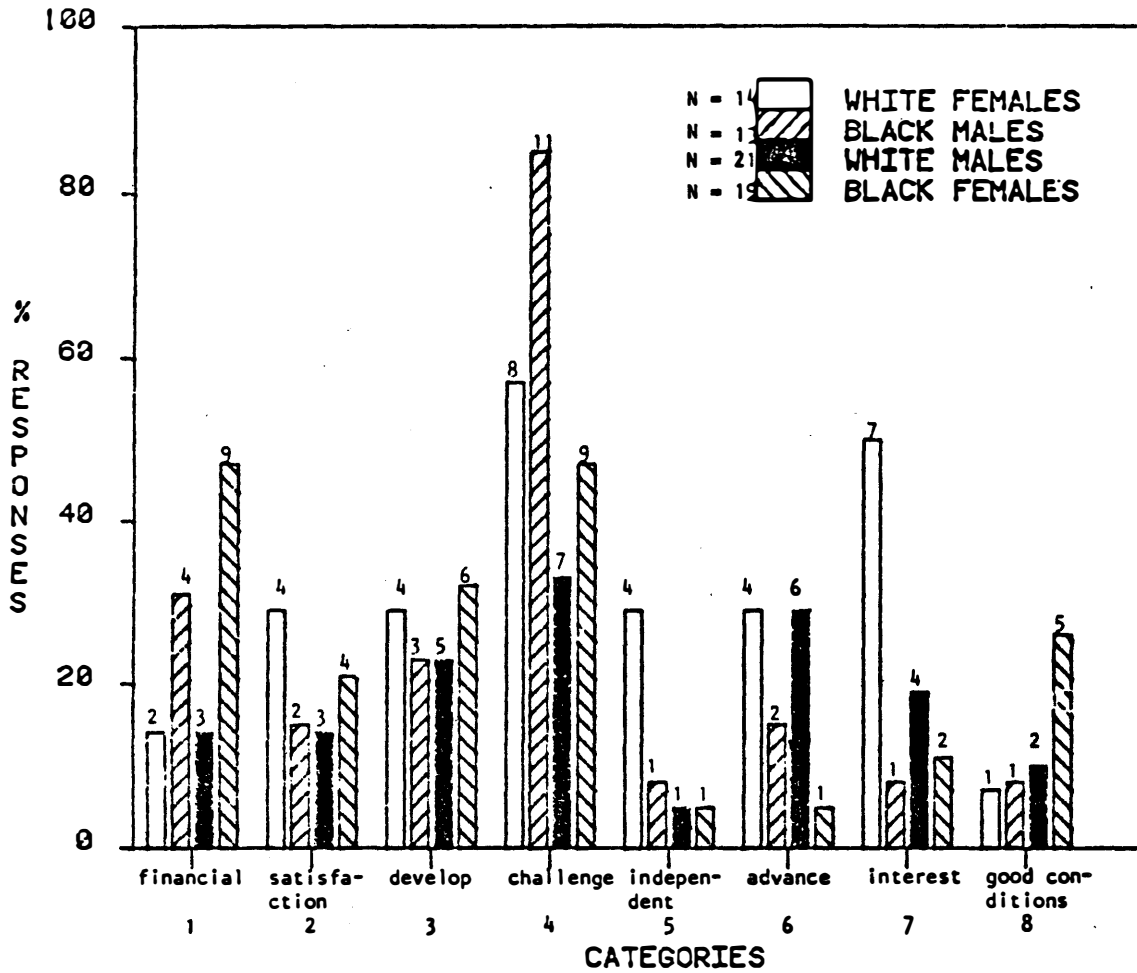


Figure 13. Responses to question: What are the characteristics of a good job?

Note: The figure on top of each bar gives the actual number of subjects responding in that category.

Because Figures 12 and 13 represent responses to two different questions, such responses should not be expected to be identical, but overlaps that do occur should be regarded as particularly important.

Table 7
Inter-rater reliabilities for categories in Figure 12.

	White females		Black males		White males		Black females	
	α^a	p^b	α	p	α	p	α	p
1. Financial Security	.16	.64	.62	.76	.74	.90	.23	.52
2. Satisfaction	.44	.71	.77	.92	.88	.95	.00	.94
3. Self Development	.59	.71	.71	.84	1.00	1.00	.58	.73
4. Challenge	.81	.85	.83	.92	1.00	1.00	.79	.84
5. Independent	.43	.64	-.05	.76	1.00	1.00	.63	.89
6. Advancement	.56	.71	.83	.92	.84	.90	1.00	1.00
7. Interesting Work	.81	.85	.72	.92	.71	.86	.20	.73
8. Good Working Conditions	.55	.85	.29	.84	.78	.95	.51	.73

a Krippendorff's α (i.e., over and above chance)

b proportion of agreement (includes chance agreement)

Again, the overall level of agreement shown in Table 7 is high. The statistics are somewhat less satisfactory than those appearing in Table 6, possibly due to the fact that different raters were used to judge these responses. Category 2, Black females, and category 5, Black males, again provide examples of a Krippendorff α which should be interpreted as "impossible to determine". While no category has a doubtful reliability across all groups, the inter-rater reliability appears to be lower for the females than for the males.

5.2 Semantic Differential Questionnaire

5.2.1 Analysis of scales.

5.2.1.1 Measures of central tendency. Because of the low numbers in

some of the samples in this study, medians have been included in tables showing distribution and central tendency, for both scale and item scores.

Table 8

Medians, means, and skewness of each scale calculated across 30 items for three groups.

	White females				Black males				White males			
	median	mean	SD	skewness	median	mean	SD	skewness	median	mean	SD	skewness
Satisfying	42.50	42.08	6.31	.25	47.00	46.18	9.52	.21	43.00	45.35	8.52	.97
Pleasant	43.00	42.12	7.01	.67	48.00	46.64	8.78	-.01	43.00	44.04	7.15	.59
Desirable	43.00	43.37	6.72	.42	47.00	46.75	9.42	-.21	45.00	46.46	7.79	.71
Right	45.00	44.04	6.50	.22	50.00	48.83	9.41	-.22	48.00	49.30	8.91	.33
Wise	44.00	45.54	7.88	.46	50.00	47.77	9.58	-.44	48.50	49.68	8.83	.56
Profitable	43.50	48.33	12.86	1.14	49.00	49.82	9.33	.33	52.00	53.63	11.45	.35
Successful	44.00	47.04	10.50	.74	49.00	47.75	10.02	-.07	49.00	50.95	9.19	.30
Strong	46.00	46.63	8.43	.25	53.00	49.89	9.78	-.16	51.00	51.30	9.51	.25
Humane	47.00	47.80	11.10	.61	48.00	47.78	11.71	.23	51.50	51.60	11.09	.76
Consider	49.00	50.15	9.77	.16	52.00	50.50	10.12	-.11	53.00	53.91	9.23	.22
Masculine	88.00	85.40	15.86	-.72	60.00	60.80	20.04	-.02	67.50	67.27	17.54	-.23

Note: As these figures were calculated across 30 items, the range, instead of being 1-5, positive to negative, is 30-150.

Note: The expected skewness value is 0 for a symmetrical distribution.

The distribution of scores across scales, as shown in Table 8, is more symmetrical than the distribution across items shown in Table 13. For all groups, the masculine-feminine scale elicits a more negative response than other scales; this tendency is more marked for the White females. For the White females, the scale profitable-unprofitable is markedly skewed.

5.2.1.2 Correlation of scales. The correlation of the different semantic differential scales with one another is shown in Tables 9-11.

Table 9

Correlations of subtotals, over 30 items, on each scale: White females.

	Satisfy	Pleasant	Desirbl	Right	Wise/F	Proftal	Succes	Strong	Humane	Consdr	Masc/F
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Satisfy . 1	1.0000										
Pleasant 2	.8862*	1.0000									
Desirbl 3	.9033*	.9020*	1.0000								
Right 4	.7749*	.7134*	.8444*	1.0000							
Wise/F 5	.7366*	.6853*	.8367*	.8783*	1.0000						
Proftal 6	.5292*	.5485*	.7236*	.7250*	.8133*	1.0000					
Success 7	.6442*	.6585*	.7834*	.7147*	.9226*	.8213*	1.0000				
Strong 8	.7099*	.6430*	.6835*	.7682*	.7576*	.5275*	.6094*	1.0000			
Humane 9	.4932*	.5327*	.6268*	.7876*	.7423*	.6985*	.6711*	.8231*	1.0000		
Consdr 10	.4781*	.5272*	.5846*	.6244*	.6118*	.7032*	.5501*	.7249*	.8955*	1.0000	
Masc/F 11	-.4729*	-.5112*	-.3553	-.2921	-.2408	-.2119	-.2799	-.2960	-.2030	-.1440	1.0000

* $p < .05$

Table 10

Correlations of subtotals, over 30 items, on each scale: Black males.

		Satisfy	Pleasant	Desirable	Right	Wise/F	Profitable	Successful	Strong	Humane	Considered	Masculine/F
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Satisfy	1	1.0000										
Pleasant	2	.9008*	1.0000									
Desirable	3	.9359*	.8909*	1.0000								
Right	4	.7432*	.7819*	.7453*	1.0000							
Wise/F	5	.7881*	.8114*	.7924*	.7514*	1.0000						
Profitable	6	.6978*	.7071*	.6953*	.5735*	.7089*	1.0000					
Successful	7	.8706*	.8420*	.9060*	.6995*	.8073*	.7511*	1.0000				
Strong	8	.6994*	.8174*	.7716*	.8174*	.8118*	.6669*	.8130*	1.0000			
Humane	9	.8290*	.7991*	.8190*	.7640*	.8577*	.7595*	.8580*	.7397*	1.0000		
Considered	10	.7205*	.6953*	.7744*	.7802*	.7685*	.7831*	.8148*	.7773*	.9105*	1.0000	
Masculine/F	11	.5536*	.5040*	.4568*	.6953*	.6762*	.3488*	.6147*	.6124*	.5919*	.5130*	1.0000

*
p < .05

Table 11

Correlations of subtotals, across 30 items, on each scale: White males.

		Satisfy 1	Pleasant 2	Desirabl 3	Right 4	Wise/F 5	Profitabl 6	Success 7	Strong 8	Humane 9	Consider 10	Masculine/F 11
Satisfy	1	1.0000										
Pleasant	2	.7165*	1.0000									
Desirabl	3	.8786*	.7682*	1.0000								
Right	4	.7522*	.7045*	.7833*	1.0000							
Wise/F	5	.7089*	.7421*	.7711*	.8850*	1.0000						
Profitabl	6	.5079*	.5229*	.5479*	.5791*	.5975*	1.0000					
Success	7	.7616*	.6619*	.7531*	.8025*	.8224*	.6559*	1.0000				
Strong	8	.6015*	.6749*	.6692*	.6847*	.7122*	.7255*	.7129*	1.0000			
Humane	9	.6165*	.5594*	.6090*	.8128*	.7792*	.6507*	.7039*	.7482*	1.0000		
Consider	10	.6301*	.6102*	.6774*	.7731*	.8141*	.6699*	.7316*	.7893*	.8229*	1.0000	
Masculine/F	11	.1788	.2423	.2876*	.1158	.0619	.2854*	.1988	.3797*	.2066	.1319	1.0000

*
p < .05

The first interesting point to note in these tables is that the only negative correlations occur in the masculine-feminine scale, for the female subjects. In this instance, a negative correlation indicates a high correlation with the feminine side of the scale. This may be interpreted to mean that female subjects tended to use feminine in a positive sense, associated with pleasant, successful, etc. The males tended to use masculine more positively, although for White males in particular the masculine-feminine scale shows the lowest correlation of all scales, with the other scales. The responses of the three groups of subjects on the masculine-feminine scale provide the first clear warning that different groups may use or respond to scales in different ways, and their results may therefore not be directly comparable.

With the exception of the masculine-feminine scale, most scales showed a high degree of correlation with one another ($> .71$). Because of the problem of comparability across groups, however, it seemed important to determine which scales consistently showed high correlation across all groups. It is clear that the highest correlation across all groups is consistently obtained by two pairs of scales: humane/considerate and desirable/satisfying.

Table 12 shows the number of times a particular scale was marked "irrelevant" by a particular group, across all items.

A low "irrelevant" score indicates that subjects found the scale easy to combine with items, a high score appears when subjects found a scale difficult to apply.

Table 12

Frequency of "irrelevant" responses on semantic differential questionnaire scales: No. of subjects endorsing irrelevance option; No. of endorsements per scale; Mean no. of endorsements per subject in each group.

	White females			Black males			White males		
	No. of Subjects	No. of Responses	Mean response per subject ^a	No. of Subjects	No. of Responses	Mean response per subject ^a	No. of Subjects	No. of Responses	Mean response per subject ^a
Satisfying	3	5	.20	6	19	.51	8	11	.16
Pleasant	5	7	.29	10	23	.62	10	11	.16
Desirable	3	5	.20	6	20	.54	14	21	.31
Right	10	50	2.08	9	44	1.18	23	89	1.32
Wise	9	28	1.16	10	68	1.83	23	63	1.70
Profitable	10	59	2.45	12	80	2.16	33	177	2.64
Successful	9	67	2.79	17	141	3.81	32	244	3.64
Strong	13	96	4	18	118	3.18	39	404	6.02
Humane	19	165	6.80	13	123	3.32	41	439	6.55
Considerate	16	180	7.50	13	106	2.86	44	365	5.44
Masculine	17	294	12.25	25	339	9.16	48	918	13.70

Note: Each subject may produce more than one "irrelevant" response of each scale.

^a Over all subjects in the group, not just those endorsing the irrelevance option.

In this table, it is possible to detect differences between groups on the same scale, and differences across the scales for all groups. All groups show the highest number of "irrelevant" responses on the masculine-feminine scale, and the lowest number for the scales satisfying, pleasant, and desirable. Black subjects produced fewer "irrelevant" responses for the scales humane and considerate than Whites did.

The rather high frequency of "irrelevant" responses accorded to the scales humane and considerate, and also the difference between race groups on these scales, indicate that responses to these scales need to be interpreted with some care. For further analysis it was therefore decided to focus on that pair of scales which showed consistently high correlations, and consistently low irrelevance frequencies, across all groups, viz. satisfying and desirable.

5.2.2 Analysis of items.

5.2.2.1 Measures of central tendency. The means, medians, and skewness coefficients of the item scores, added across the scales, appear in Table 13. A graphic representation of the distribution of responses is given in Figure 14.

Table 13

Medians, means, standard deviations and skewness coefficients of item scores for three groups.

	White females				Black males				White males			
	median	mean	s d	skew ness	median	mean	s d	skew ness	median	mean	s d	skew ness
Train	2.00	2.42	.71	1.30	2.00	2.62	1.08	1.52	2.00	2.67	1.12	2.25
Dignity	2.00	2.16	.63	3.74	2.00	2.51	.98	1.78	2.00	2.60	.94	1.38
Justice	2.00	2.08	.40	4.30	2.00	2.19	.52	2.52	2.00	2.70	1.07	1.69
F-ship	2.00	2.41	.77	1.34	2.00	2.78	1.05	1.11	2.00	2.90	1.20	1.27
Share	3.00	3.33	1.76	1.52	3.00	3.13	1.39	.92	3.00	3.37	1.51	1.70
Respect	2.00	2.58	1.74	3.32	2.00	2.72	1.12	1.22	2.00	2.70	1.00	.97
Help	2.00	2.62	1.17	2.27	2.00	2.94	1.09	.49	2.00	2.79	1.08	1.26
Team	2.00	2.58	.88	1.22	3.00	3.37	1.49	.52	4.00	3.46	1.31	1.04
Loyalty	2.00	2.25	.67	2.13	3.00	3.17	1.52	2.43	3.00	3.06	1.25	1.33
Structure	3.00	4.62	3.07	.55	3.00	3.80	2.35	1.23	2.00	3.16	1.70	2.01
Expect	2.00	2.66	1.16	1.42	2.00	2.97	1.44	1.56	2.00	2.43	.72	1.28
Reward	2.00	2.12	.44	3.34	2.00	2.27	.60	1.99	2.00	2.41	1.04	4.04
Contl Wrk	2.00	2.20	.65	3.30	2.00	2.38	.68	1.41	2.00	2.72	.94	1.00
Stim Wrk	2.00	2.12	.44	3.34	2.00	2.63	1.37	2.95	2.00	2.42	.74	1.35
Enjoy Wrk	2.00	2.04	.20	4.30	2.00	2.25	.55	2.02	2.00	2.28	.69	3.09
Develop	2.00	2.04	.20	4.30	2.00	2.16	.47	2.03	2.00	2.39	.76	2.30
Pride Wrk	2.00	2.08	.40	4.30	2.00	2.62	1.00	1.44	2.00	2.35	.75	1.84
Initive	2.00	2.29	.69	1.88	2.00	2.37	.89	2.41	2.00	2.64	1.24	3.42
Competent	2.00	2.12	.44	3.34	2.00	2.65	.99	1.39	2.00	2.52	.97	1.86
Challenge	2.00	2.12	.44	3.34	2.00	2.55	1.18	2.90	2.00	2.57	1.13	2.47
Handicaps	2.00	2.12	.44	3.34	2.00	2.80	1.48	3.20	2.00	2.50	.89	1.86
Cont Oth	4.00	3.52	1.27	.52	4.00	4.63	2.42	.67	4.00	3.83	1.45	.49
Status	2.00	2.78	1.27	1.64	3.00	3.11	1.27	.98	3.00	3.00	1.06	.60
Advance	2.00	2.16	.56	2.83	2.00	2.37	.75	1.52	2.00	2.35	.66	1.57
Compete	2.00	2.54	.93	1.28	2.00	3.11	1.58	1.38	3.00	2.85	.95	.70
Power	4.00	4.30	2.07	1.10	3.00	3.25	1.42	.93	4.00	3.67	1.55	1.20
Wealth	3.50	3.45	1.14	.27	4.00	3.44	1.15	.08	2.00	2.98	1.34	1.83
Provide	2.00	2.41	1.01	2.23	2.00	2.45	.70	1.14	2.00	2.27	.79	3.83
Sake of Wrk	8.50	7.50	2.94	-.76	9.00	7.51	2.70	-.87	9.00	7.87	2.38	-.96
Keep Busy	8.00	6.29	3.30	-.15	6.50	6.40	3.02	-.18	8.00	6.40	3.05	-.14

Note: As these figures were calculated across two scales a mean or median =2 should be interpreted as 1 on a 5-point scale.

The expected value of skewness is 0 for a symmetrical distribution.

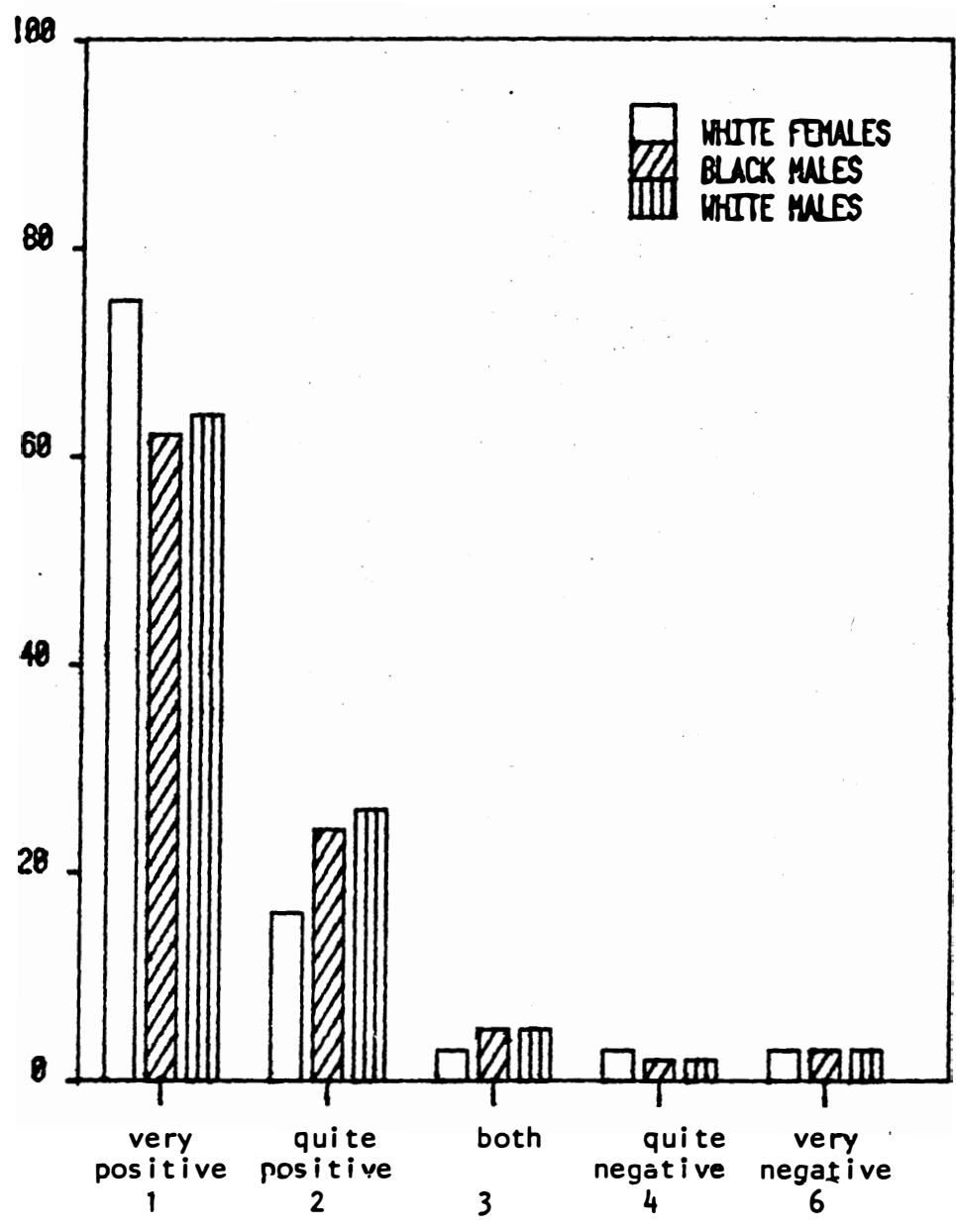


Figure 14.. Semantic Differential Questionnaire: Distribution of responses across scale (for scales desirable/satisfying only).

It should be borne in mind in interpreting Table 13 that possible scores range from 2 (extremely positive) to 10 (extremely negative), as scales were scored 1 to 5, and the figures in Table 13 are derived from a combination of two scales. Most subjects responded positively to most items. The two items which elicited negative responses are work for the sake of working (item 29) and work in order to keep busy (item 30).

Figure 14 gives a clear indication of the extreme skewness of the overall distribution of responses. This figure also shows a male-female difference in distribution of responses, with Black and White males exhibiting an almost identical distribution.

5.2.2.2 Correlation of items. In Table 14, the correlation matrices for the items selected for comparison of equality of matrices appear. (Reference to Tables 15 to 17, showing items found to be significantly linked by cluster analysis, will confirm that no important item has been excluded from this table). As explained in section 4.3.3, due to small sample sizes only the male sample groups could be compared on a limited number of items.

Table 14

Correlations of subtotals over two scales (satisfying and desirable) on each item.

	ENJOY			CHALLENGE			REWARD			DEVELOP			HELP			SHARE		
	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM
Enjoy																		
Challenge	.89*	.56*	.56*															
Reward	.89*	.37*	.79*	.78*	.05	.67*												
Develop	1.00*	.63*	.68*	.89*	.12	.51*	.89*	.36*	.76*									
Help	.24	.35	.12	.58*	.40*	.13	.17	.10	.10	.24	.29*	.00						
Share	.08	.12	.21*	-.00	.18	.26*	.38	-.11	.21*	.08	.24	.23*	-.02	.61*	.39*			
Team	.10	.24	.15	.35*	.35*	.15	.02	.09	.26*	.10	.03	.17	.47*	.64*	.45*	.14	.64*	.32*
Friendship	.16	.37*	.45*	.09	.13	.26*	.34*	.00	.45*	.16	.36*	.35*	-.01	.58*	.25*	.40*	.71*	.32*
Justice	1.00*	.42*	.62*	.89*	.41*	.27*	.89*	-.05	.47*	1.00*	.26	.45*	.24	.28*	.23*	.08	.23	.35*
Dignity	.94*	.27*	.49*	.98*	.03	.20	.83*	.43*	.35*	.94*	.15	.22*	.49*	.37*	.61*	.02	.25	.20
Competent	.89*	.16	.59*	1.00*	.41*	.65*	.78*	.30*	.62*	.89*	-.01	.51*	.58*	.13	.08	-.00	-.10	.11
Stimulate	.89*	.00	.29*	.78*	-.12	.23*	.78*	.05	.33*	.89*	-.00	.34*	.17	.01	.44*	.05	-.02	.23*
Pride in Work	1.00*	.26	.29*	.89*	.10	.19	.89*	.16	.34*	1.00*	.28*	.36*	.24	.04	.39*	.08	.20	.04
Compete	.33	.19	.47*	.24	.31*	.36*	.24	-.02	.36*	.33	.15	.32*	.04	-.00	.35*	.20	.13	.11
	TEAM			FRIENDSHIP			JUSTICE			DIGNITY			COMPETENT			STIMULATE		
	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM	WF	BM	WM
Friendship	.07	.56*	.35*															
Justice	.10	.18	.33*	.16	.24	.31*												
Dignity	.28	.47*	.26*	.11	.45*	.16	.54*	.24	.57*									
Competent	.35*	.24	.27*	.09	-.00	.50*	.89*	.12	.38*	.98*	.29*	.15						
Stimulate	.24	-.10	.22*	.34*	-.10	.07	.89*	-.12	.15	.83*	.06	.45*	.78*	-.06	.11			
Pride in Work	.10	-.07	.38*	.16	.20	.25*	1.00*	.33*	.26*	.94*	.22	.46*	.89*	.18	.36*	.89*	.40*	.34*
Compete	.12	.02	.23*	.27	.08	.32*	.33	-.02	.26*	.28	-.14	.30*	.24	-.03	.32*	.24	.37*	.31*
COMPETE																		
	WF	BM	WM															
Pride in Work	.33	.32*	.32*															

* $p < .05$ (one-tailed)

The equality of the Black and White male correlation matrices, given in Table 14, was tested. The resulting chi-square statistic was 202.43 which, with 91 degrees of freedom, indicated a significant difference at level .00.

Although Table 14 combines the correlation coefficients for the different groups into one table for ease of comparison, it is the structure of the correlation patterns within different groups which ought to be compared, and not

individual coefficients with one another. The first four items provide an example of structural difference. For the White females, the correlations between enjoy, challenge, reward, and grow and develop, are consistently high, the lowest being .78. The pattern is different for the Black males. They obtain relatively high correlations for enjoy/challenge and enjoy/grow and develop, but lower correlations for the other items, and an extremely low correlation for reward/challenge. The White males obtain relatively high correlations for all the items.

The different structure becomes apparent if we examine the next three items: help, share, and team. Here it is the Black males who obtain consistently higher correlations on all these items. The correlations of the White females vary from low (.47) to extremely low (-.02), while the correlations of the White males are average to low (.45 to .25).

The correlations in the White female group are noticeably higher than the other groups. This may indicate that this was a more homogeneous group, a suggestion which is given some support by the sample characteristics provided in Figures 6 to 11.

5.2.2.3 Cluster analysis. Figures 15-17 show the dendograms obtained by the application of an average linkage cluster analysis technique to the item score correlations. The ordering of

the items differs across the three figures, as items have been re-ordered in terms of their correlation with one another. The level at which items correlate may be discovered by reading off the level of the horizontal line linking particular items, or groups of items as the case may be.

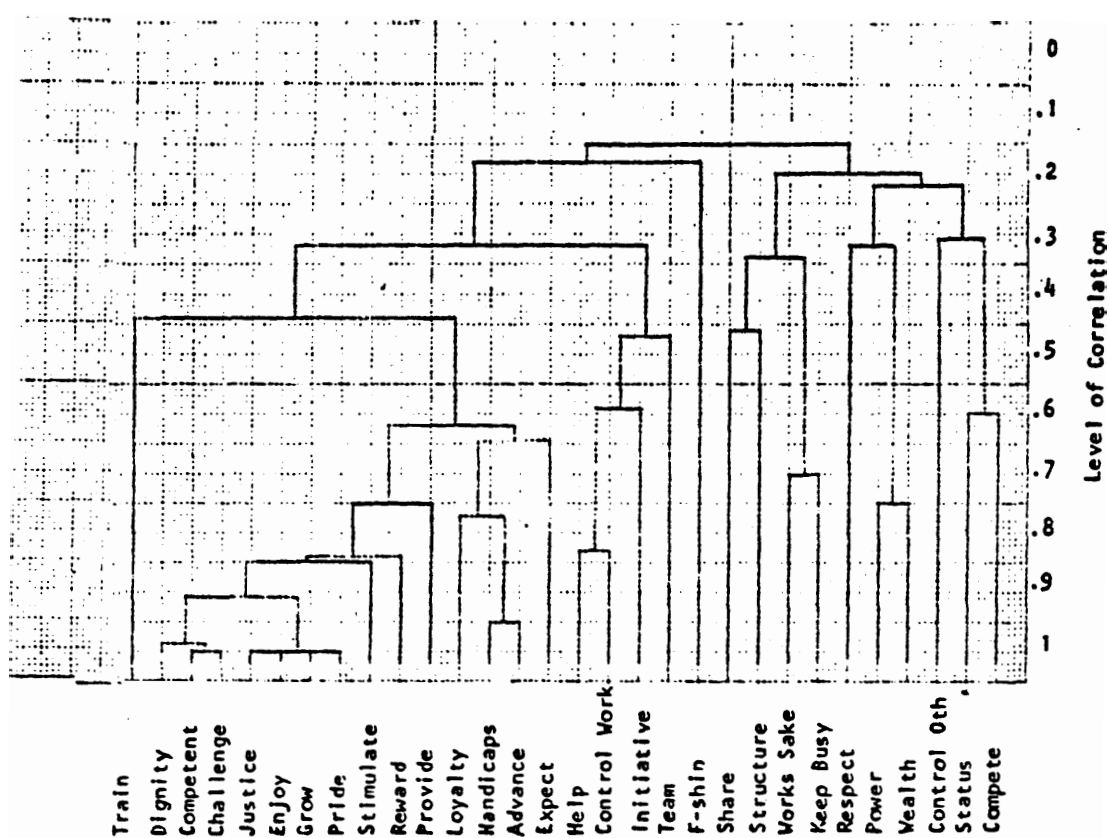


Figure 15. Cluster analysis performed on item scores: White females.

Figure 17. Cluster analysis performed on item scores: White males.

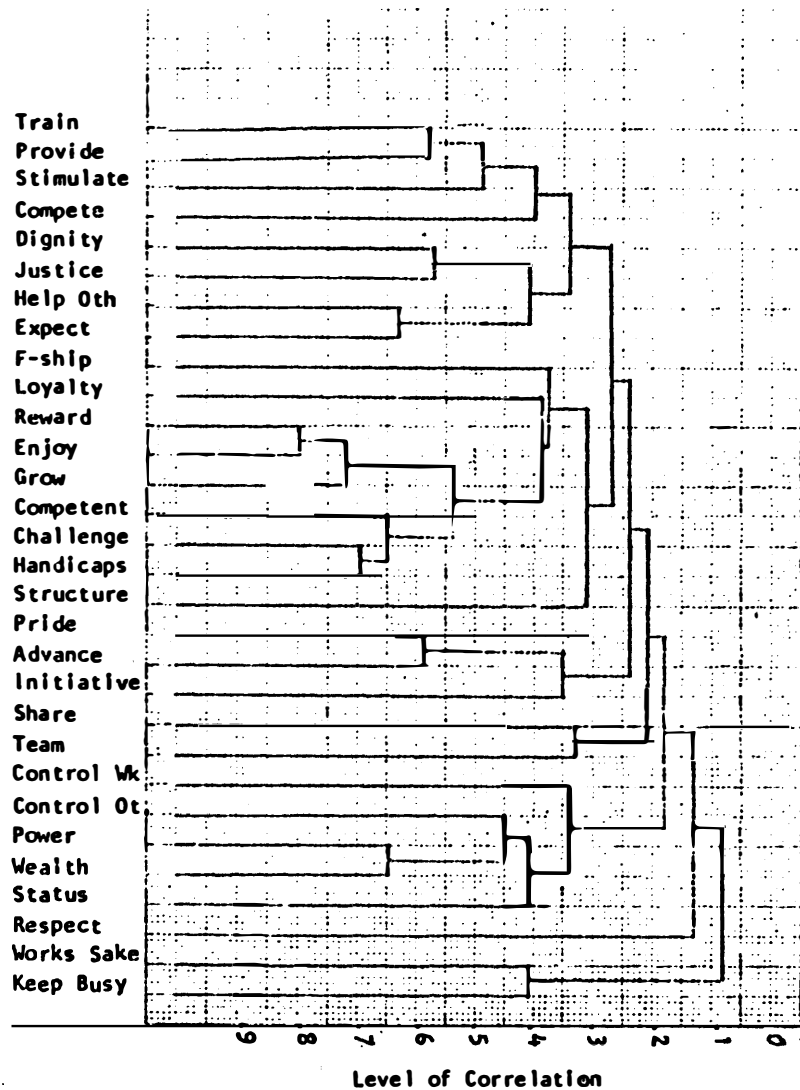
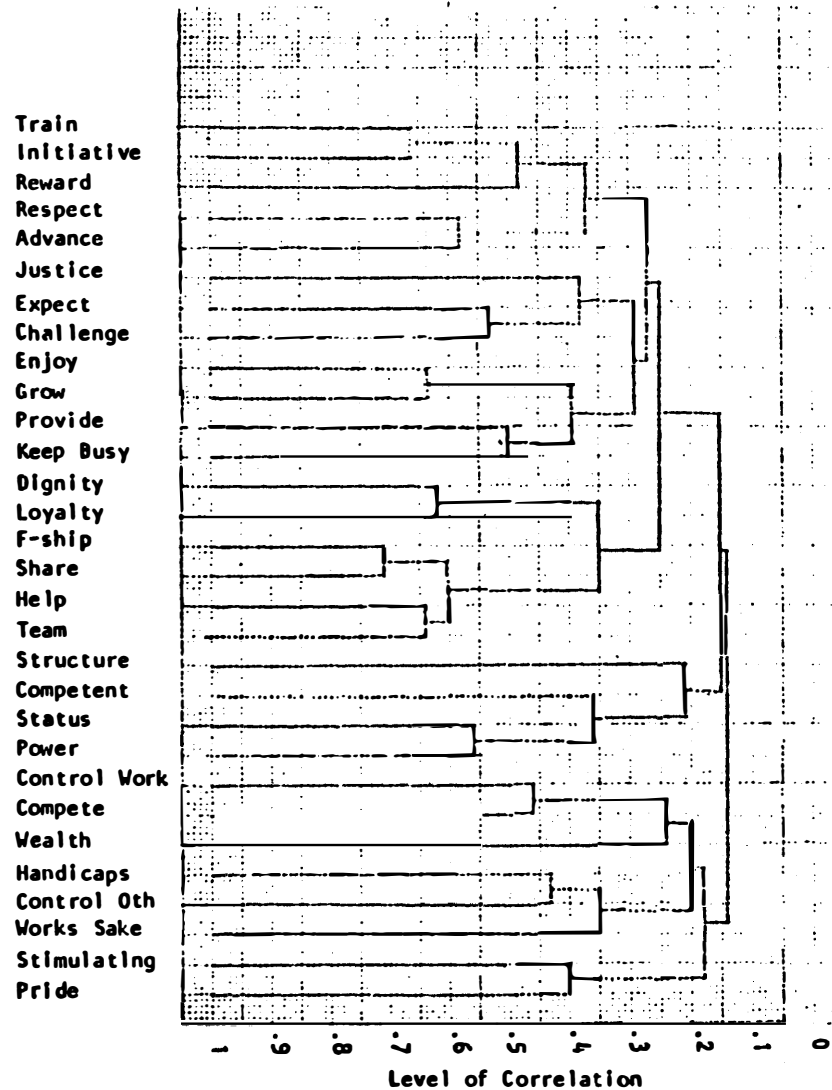


Figure 16. Cluster analysis performed on item scores: Black males.



If we examine those clusters which emerge at the highest correlation levels within each group, the following clusters appear to be important: For the White females, a cluster appears at a level of 1, consisting of enjoy work, grow and develop, pride in my work, and people treated fairly and equally. The cluster extends, at the .84 level, to include: good work recognised and rewarded, stimulating work, challenging work, feel competent, and people treated with dignity. This is similar to one of the White male clusters. Another cluster, at .65, includes loyalty, overcome handicaps, opportunity for advancement, and know what is expected of me.

For the Black males, the first cluster, at a level of .6 is: friendly relationships, share with others, help others, team member. At a level of .48, another cluster is formed by train others, good work recognised and rewarded, and independence. This cluster is expanded, at a level of .37, to include respect and opportunities for advancement.

For the White males, the earliest cluster occurs at .72 and consists of: good work recognised and rewarded, enjoy work, and grow and develop; at a level of .54, this cluster expands to include feel competent, challenging work, and overcome handicaps. Another cluster at .41 comprises: people treated with dignity, people treated fairly and equally, help others, and know exactly what is expected of me.

A danger present in the use of the average-linkage method of cluster analysis is the possible inclusion of some elements with relatively low correlations with some other elements in the cluster. Tables 15-17 present the correlation matrices for the clusters identified above.

Table 15
Selected correlations for White females

	D	C	C	J	E	G	P	S	R
Dignity									
Competent	.50								
Challenge	.50	1.00							
Justice	.47	.89	.89						
Enjoy	.47	.89	.89	1.00					
Grow	.47	.89	.89	1.00	1.00				
Pride	.47	.89	.89	1.00	1.00	1.00			
Stim.	.37	.78	.78	.89	.89	.89	.89		
Reward	.37	.78	.78	.89	.89	.89	.89	.78	
Provide	.82	.83	.83	.74	.74	.74	.74	.64	.64

	L	H	A	E		H	C	I	T
Loyalty					Help				
Handicap	.75				Cntl Wrk	.83			
Advance	.79	.94			Init	.57	.62		
Expect	.66	.66	.61		Team	.47	.60	.35	

From Table 15 we see that a better cluster may be obtained for the White females if we exclude the item dignity, and possibly also provide, from the first cluster. This leaves us with a strong cluster comprising competent, challenge, justice, enjoy, grow and develop, pride, stimulation, and reward. Within this cluster, the items justice, enjoy, grow, and pride, have particularly high correlations with one another. The level of correlation in the two remaining clusters is not as high as in the first cluster.

Table 16

Selected correlations for White males.

	R	E	G	C	C		C	P	W
Reward						Contl Oth			
Enjoy	.79					Power	.49		
Grow	.76	.68				Wealth	.41	.60	
Competent	.62	.59				Status	.39	.51	.33
Challenge	.67	.56	.51	.65					
Handicap	.53	.44	.39	.64	.69				

For the White males, the exclusion of the item overcome handicaps will improve the overall level of correlation in the first cluster. The major cluster for the White males then becomes: reward, enjoy, grow, competent, challenge. The second cluster, although conceptually attractive, is rather weak.

Table 17
Selected correlations for Black males.

	F	H	S		T	I	R	R
F-ship				Train				
Help	.58			Initiat	.66			
Share	.71	.61		Reward	.49	.47		
Team	.56	.64	.64	Respect	.16	.16	.31	
				Advance	.38	.43	.49	.58

The first cluster in Table 17 is strong, relative to the overall level of correlation within the Black group. The second cluster could be improved by the omission of respect, and possibly also of advance.

5.2.3. Responses to value questions. Tables 18 and 19 show the responses to the two questions: Do you believe that Black managers have a different set of values [to White managers] in the work situation? and Do you think that some differences may be due to Blacks treasuring, and displaying, the qualities of ubuntu/botho? For the second question, only the responses of Black subjects are recorded.

Table 18

Perceived value differences between Black and White managers.

	White females	Black males	White males
Yes	12	12	33
No	7	18	19
No response	5	7	15

Table 19

Ubuntu/Botho as a source of value difference.

	Black males
Yes	8
No	8
No response	21

More Black subjects feel that no value difference exists, whereas more Whites indicate that a difference does exist. The majority of Black subjects did not respond at all to the question relating to ubuntu, but it should be noted that 40% of these subjects were able, in response to the final open-ended question, to provide examples of the functioning of ubuntu in the workplace.

CHAPTER SIX

Discussion6.1 Interpreting the Results of an Exploratory Study.

This discussion of the findings of this study falls into two parts. The first part involves an examination of the extent to which the data support the hypothesis. The second part concerns the exploration of the nature of the values elicited across different sample groups and methods of data collection.

Often, in an exploratory study, no clear guidelines exist for the interpretation of results. On the one hand, the researcher, unfettered by rigorous experimental criteria, is free to follow any lead which may open up exciting new avenues of research. On the other hand, the danger exists that the findings of an exploratory study may consist of a conglomeration of small, unrelated, "interesting" findings, which do not form any coherent whole.

In interpreting the present study, the emphasis will be on the delineation of trends and patterns, across different sample groups and across different methods of data collection. This approach should prevent the study from degenerating into the examination of isolated

score-differences without any context, while at the same time allowing maximum freedom for incorporating those tenuous trends which nevertheless appear to be part of a pattern.

6.2 The Hypothesis.

A general hypothesis for this study was formulated in section 3.3.1 as follows: Differences in work values will be exhibited by sample groups which have been exposed to different socialisation processes.

In South Africa, it is safe to assume that Black and White subjects have indeed experienced different socialisation processes, certainly with respect to education, general socio-political environment, informal job-oriented exposure; and probably in regard to other less tangible cultural influences. There is also evidence in the literature to indicate that women who have ostensibly been exposed to a similar environment to that of their male counterparts, have in fact been socialised in different ways to the men (Hennig and Jardim, 1978). If the present study had found no male-female or Black-White value differences, the hypothesis would have had to have been rejected.

We cannot reject the hypothesis on the basis of the present study, which found differences and similarities between groups at all stages.

Black subjects appear to place a higher value on relationships with other people than White subjects do. During group discussions, Black respondents stressed the unique value of ubuntu (humaneness); and in their responses to the semantic differential questionnaire, the items fellowship, help others, share with others, and work as part of a team were correlated. No such cluster of items emerged for the White subjects. Ubuntu is a traditional value which has been referred to in the literature (section 5.2.3), so although its expression in this context was not anticipated, it is not novel. What is significant is that senior employees, who have been extensively exposed to Western educational and social influences, still cherish this value.

White females appear to value interest and stimulation, as well as a sense of pride and accomplishment in their work. In the responses to the open-ended questions, White female subjects rated sense of competence and pride in my work, and interesting and varied work, higher than did other respondents. In the major cluster of items obtained from the semantic differential responses, the White females included stimulating work and pride in my work, which were not included by any other sample group.

The Black females are not easy to classify, as their limited numbers could not be included in the semantic differential analysis. However, their responses to the open-ended questions indicate the possibility of a unique

profile (placing particular value on good working conditions and financial security; no value on influencing people and company policy) which deserves further study.

The White males as a group are surprisingly difficult to characterise. They appear to hold certain values in common with the other sample groups, but not to exhibit value characteristics unique to White males as a group. For example, during the group discussions and in the responses to the open-ended questions, both male groups attached importance to the concept of challenging work. In addition, the Black males stressed the importance of humaneness. The White males do not appear to share this value, and do not exhibit another unique value pattern in its stead.

In the same way, a strong cluster was formed for both White samples by the semantic differential items: good work recognised and rewarded, enjoy work, grow and develop, feel competent, and challenge. The White female cluster extended beyond these items to include additional, unique items (work in an organisation where people are treated with dignity; work in an organisation where people are treated fairly and equally; feel pride in my work; do stimulating work). The White male cluster included no additional items unique to the White male group.

Some reasons for the appearance of both similarities and differences across different sample groups and methods of

data collection will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

6.3 Trends Across Groups and Methods.

Two major purposes underlay the application of multiple methods in this study. The first was to determine whether any one method—group discussion, open-ended questions, or semantic differential questionnaire—was more sensitive or effective than another in eliciting particular values. The other was to determine which values appeared consistently across more than one method. Of course, carried to the extreme these expectations would contradict one another: if only one method of data collection were to be successful in eliciting values, no values could appear across more than one method. Fortunately, in the present study, both unique and common values were elicited by the different methods.

6.3.1 Trends across groups.

6.3.1.1 "Ubuntu". An important theme to emerge from the group discussions, was the value placed on the concept ubuntu, or humaneness (see section 4.2.3) by some Black participants. No support for the existence of this theme appears from analysis of responses to open-ended questions. A degree of support for the existence of the theme may be derived from the analysis of the semantic differential questionnaire responses. In responding to this questionnaire, Black

subjects recorded fewer "irrelevant" responses for the scales humane and considerate (Table 12) than did the Whites, despite the overall higher tendency of Black subjects to produce "irrelevant" responses. This may be interpreted to mean that White subjects had greater difficulty than Blacks in applying these essentially ubuntu-derived scales to a wide range of work situations. The Black subjects perceived these scales as being more appropriate than did the Whites, although they found them less appropriate than most other scales.

For the Black subjects, the cluster analysis of the semantic differential responses groups together the four items help others, work as part of a team, friendly relationships with other people and share with others. This may be interpreted as additional evidence for the existence of an ubuntu-type construct among Black subjects, as this grouping does not occur for the Whites. The most compelling evidence for the existence of this construct would have been the existence of significant score differences between subjects on the ubuntu-related items. This did not happen for any of the items in the extremely skewed distribution shown in Figure 14, however, and the only differences among groups appear to lie in patterns of correlations.

It should perhaps not be so surprising that the ubuntu concept emerged most strongly during group discussions. Group discussions involved a process of value clarification,

amenable to the exploration of an inclusive or over-arching value concept such as ubuntu. The other two methods, the open-ended questions and semantic differential questionnaire presented rather limited and fragmented value categories which were not necessarily linked to the ubuntu concept as a whole. Also, in the discussion groups it was possible to communicate the idea that difference was not the same thing as inferiority, that admitting to the importance of ubuntu was not an admission that Blacks could not be good managers. It was not possible to make this distinction in the open-ended questions, and the light in which the question relating to ubuntu (Table 19) was viewed by some Black subjects is illustrated by the respondent who wrote "ubuntu is a figment of a racist imagination". The rejection by Black subjects of ubuntu (Tables 18,19) may have been increased by a feeling that admitting difference meant admitting inferiority. The accusation of racism should not be rejected out of hand, however, and it should be borne in mind that the White support for the existence of value differences might have been inflated by a simple acceptance of racial differences rather than an understanding of role of values in an organisation.

The influence of social pressure in group discussions should not be underestimated. Once the ubuntu concept had been raised, there may have been group pressure to exaggerate its importance. Ubuntu may also exist as an idealised concept which has little relevance to the work situation.

However, the fact that 40% of Black subjects were able to give examples of the functioning of ubuntu in the workplace does provide some support for a belief in its influence.

The large number of Black respondents (Table 19) who did not answer the question relating to ubuntu is probably a fair indication of the confusion surrounding the concept. It may confidently be stated that this study raises the possibility of the important influence of ubuntu on senior Black employees. It cannot be concluded that it is important for all or even most such employees. It is not yet possible to spell out the form such influence may take.

6.3.1.2 Challenge. Another important theme to emerge from the group discussions was challenge as a value. Where the previous value, ubuntu, emerged as a concept which separated Black from White subjects, challenge was a value on which all agreed. This group discussion pattern appears to be substantiated by the answers to the open-ended questions. Challenging and stimulating work is the most important category for all groups in Figure 13, although more important for Black males in Figures 12 and 13. When we come to the semantic differential questionnaire, however, a different pattern emerges. While it is important to stress again that all groups responded extremely positively to most items, including challenging work, the patterns of correlation

incorporating challenging work differed across groups. For the White males, one strong cluster of challenging work, enjoy work, grow and develop and feel competent appeared. For the White females, a similar cluster appeared, extended to include the items stimulating work, pride in work and people treated fairly and equally. No such cluster seemed to exist for Black subjects.

Why should this be so? One possible explanation would appear to be that although Black subjects responded positively to an individual concept such as challenging work, this concept was not linked with other concepts such as grow and develop or feel competent. This may be because these subjects have not experienced these linkages in their own work lives, or been able to observe them in others. The findings about out-groups being cut off from information (section 3) may be pertinent here. Conversely, the Black experience of ubuntu may have caused Black respondents to link items such as help others and share with others, as being part of one coherent value system. White experience has provided no counterpart to this.

A related explanation could be that Blacks in senior organisational positions are still evolving an integrated value system which incorporates challenge, achievement, and important aspects of ubuntu. (This certainly seemed to be what some participants in group discussions were saying). As yet, only the ubuntu concept exists as a whole value system,

the other values are isolated. For the Whites, a more integrated value system has already been developed around the idea of challenge and achievement. If this is indeed the case, mapping the development of a new and coherent value system for senior Black employees should prove most enlightening.

6.3.2. Different methods of data collection.

6.3.2.1 Group discussion. The advantage of group discussion in eliciting a concept such as ubuntu has already been discussed. This method appears to provide a process of value clarification which is beneficial in several ways. If the values being examined are "new" (in the sense of being new to the researcher, and not previously described in the literature) the process provides valuable insights and illustrations. If the participants in the discussions find themselves in a new situation, or a state of transition, as was the case for many of the Black subjects in this study, group discussion provides scope for expression of contradictions and tentative solutions inherent in such a situation. The use of group discussion has the advantage of not imposing too many of the researcher's perceptions on the research situation. The process of value clarification also appeared helpful to participants, regardless of ultimate findings.

Problems of quantification remain the great drawback to the successful application of this technique. The use of categories derived from group discussions for rating the open-ended question responses, and for developing the semantic differential questionnaire, did not prove entirely satisfactory.

Reducing the broad concepts expressed to limited categories sometimes resulted in superficial and fragmented concepts. Perhaps this was because an attempt was made to include all the concepts which were articulated in the course of group discussions, rather than concentrating on major themes and repeated ideas.

It seems fair to conclude that group discussion is a necessary but not sufficient technique for the study of values. Its application must be accompanied by the application of more easily quantifiable techniques.

6.3.2.2 Open-ended questions. Open-ended questions appear to provide a happy union between the qualitative and quantitative study of values. The subject is free to write down his or her own views, within limitations that make quantification possible. The first problem with this method is that the researcher has no indication whether questions have been interpreted in the same way by different subjects. This becomes particularly important in a cross-cultural study. The influence of the

phrasing of a question on responses is clear from the differences between Figures 12 and 13, where responses might have been expected to cover a similar area. Results were also affected by variations in amount of material produced by different subjects, with some subjects writing one phrase and others several sentences in response to each question.

In analysing the responses to the open-ended questions, it is difficult to separate the effects of past experience and of future expectation on responses. For example, in Figure 13 Black females particularly stress the importance of good working conditions. From section 4.3.1 we know that the Black females are working in lower-status positions than other subjects. Could their stress on good working conditions, and financial security, be the result of their more recent experience of bad working conditions and poor remuneration? Could the stress of the Black males on challenge be the result of their lack of challenging jobs (Black Management Forum, 1983) as well as an especial valuing of challenging work?

An item which did not emerge from group discussion, but appeared to be most important in the open-ended questions, was that of financial security. This may underline the social pressure present in the group situation—no-one was prepared to lower the tone of the discussions to include mere money. It also emphasises the different levels of response elicited by the different methods. The group discussion,

having been geared specifically to the discussion of values, elicited the concept of "being wealthy" as a desirable state, rather than the necessary, but not perhaps as desirable, state of being financially secure.

Altogether 11 categories of the 30 derived from group discussions were endorsed by responses to open-ended questions. Two additional categories, not derived from group discussions, were endorsed, viz. financial security, and good working conditions. The responses to the open-ended questions differentiated among all four sample groups (White and Black females, White and Black males), but the small sample sizes and number of respondents rendered difficult the calculation of the significance of these differences.

Those categories which were derived from group discussion and endorsed across two different open-ended questions must be regarded as representing the strongest trends, particularly bearing in mind that to be endorsed across two questions required that they be identified by two separate sets of raters (see section 4.3.2). Five value categories were thus endorsed: do challenging work, opportunities for advancement, independence, grow and develop, enjoyment/satisfaction.

The open-ended questions may be considered to have performed satisfactorily in that they confirmed some of the group discussion findings, produced some unique findings, and

were sensitive to both group differences and group similarities.

6.3.2.3 Semantic differential questionnaire. Although useful information was gained from the application of the questionnaire, this was perhaps the least satisfactory of all three methods of data collection. A major problem was the lack of differentiation of responses across groups or across items, with most subjects responding positively to most items (Table 13).

This might at first be regarded as a fault of the semantic differential format. However, two items were rated negatively (that is, means greater than three) for all groups, viz. to work for the sake of working and to work in order to keep busy. This indicates that subjects were certainly able to respond negatively within the given format; they simply did not choose to do so for most items. A better explanation seems to be that this questionnaire tapped the realm of the desirable rather than the desired (Hofstede, 1980). In other words, consensus was achieved as to what was generally or socially desirable, but greater differentiation might have been achieved if the questions had focussed on what was personally desired by respondents.

The achievement of consensus as to what is desirable is in itself an important finding, which should not be disregarded, but some differentiation would have provided

more information.

The cause of the lack of differentiation seems to be, not the (semantic differential) form of the questionnaire, but the questions actually asked. That these questions, derived from the group discussions, were all important is clear, and to this extent the results for this questionnaire provide an endorsement of the group discussion findings. The disagreement which occurred in the group discussions, and the differences which appeared in the responses to the open-ended questions, are reflected only in the correlation patterns across items and not in the level of positive or negative responses to items.

It is worth noting that the ubuntu difference, first noted in the groups discussions, is reflected in the correlation patterns, while the White feale emphasis on stimulation and pride in work, which first appears in the responses to the open-ended questions, is also reflected in these correlations. At the level of the correlation differences only, this instrument is sensitive to some of the differences which are elicited by other methods.

6.3.3 Validity. One final question needs to be put in this discussion: what were these different methods actually measuring? No external criteria exist for the measurement of

values (Rokeach, 1973). For the group discussion, participants were specifically asked to talk about work values, and attempts were made by group moderators to keep discussion focussed in the values area. If we recall Kluckhohn's definition of a value as a "conception of the desirable", then using the desirable and satisfying scales from the semantic differential questionnaire for further analysis ought to have ensured that at least some values were being measured. Of course, merely requiring people to respond in terms of what they regard as "desirable" or "valued" is no guarantee of eliciting values.

There is no indication of whether or not values were being tapped by responses to the open-ended questions.

6.4 Conclusion.

In section 3.2, the aim of this study was expressed as follows: to a) explore different methods of eliciting values, b) develop a preliminary measuring instrument, and c) provide tentative descriptions of work values held by senior South African employees.

a) It may be concluded from the results of this study, that a multi-method approach is essential to the study of values. A process which allows the participants to examine and clarify their own values is more likely to elicit integrated responses, and uncover value systems. The responses elicited

by other methods tend to be rather fragmentary. Because of the difficulties of quantification, a qualitative method such as group discussion does need to be balanced by more easily quantifiable methods.

Content analysis of responses to open-ended questions appeared to work well as a means of quantification, although responses obtained in this fashion seemed rather fragmentary. The calculation of inter-rater reliability is an issue which has not yet been satisfactorily resolved.

b) As it stands, the semantic differential questionnaire used in this study does not provide an adequate measuring instrument for work values. Items need to be modified to tap the area of the desired as well as the desirable, and the questionnaire as a whole needs to be shortened, to reduce response time and simplify analysis.

c) Although the conclusions from such an exploratory study can only be tentative, some comments may be made relating to the work values of the groups studied. Both group differences and group similarities were detected. Each group—White males, Black males, White females—exhibited some unique characteristics. There appear to be no significant differences in conceptions of the desirable relating to work, as measured by the semantic differential questionnaire. Items from this questionnaire do, however, cluster differently for different groups. In the Black male

sample, the clustering supports the importance, suggested by group discussions, of the value of ubuntu or humaneness. The White males and females show a similar clustering of values relating to challenge, competence, and self-development. The additional White female cluster of pride in work and stimulating work is supported by findings from the open-ended questions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Organisational Implications of Findings:

Need for Further Research

Can any useful conclusions be drawn for South African organisations from the tentative findings of this exploratory study? Certainly the conclusions relating to value difference and value similarity should be noted. Although Adler (1980) does not explicitly say as much, two criteria appear to exist for the successful implementation of culturally synergistic strategies. One is enough difference to make the effort involved in incorporation of different values worthwhile; the other is enough similarity to make some degree of consensus possible. Both criteria appear to be present in the sample under study. It is worth noting that although value differences are most usually thought of in terms of Black-White differences, male-female differences also emerged as important. This finding should lead to an awareness that any grouping within an organisation which has undergone significantly different socialisation experiences to the dominant grouping, could potentially make a unique contribution based on unique values, and could also experience particular problems of assimilation and performance, due to value differences.

This issue immediately highlights the first need for further research. What are "significantly different socialisation experiences"? How do value differences develop, and which groupings are likely to exhibit important value differences? Because the understanding of value differences is difficult, and the development of culturally synergistic solutions complex and time-consuming, criteria need to be developed to enable organisations to decide when such an approach would be worthwhile or appropriate.

The implications of value differences in the work setting also need to be explored in depth. Although this study has suggested possible implications based largely on non-South African literature, in-depth studies of this aspect of organisational functioning in South Africa are required. In addition to the in-depth studies, broad-ranging studies using large samples are also required to test whether the value characteristics of the small sample used in the present study can be detected in a larger population. No generalisations about South African work values can be made until this has been done.

Some of the particular issues raised during this study require further research. The ubuntu value in particular requires further clarification. Firstly, an attempt must be made to discover what, if anything, distinguishes ubuntu from other humane value systems such as, for example, the

Judeo-Christian ethic. Secondly, the prevalence of the ubuntu ethic must be further studied—this ties in with the point made in the previous paragraph about the need for a values study on an extended sample. Finally, it is most important in practical terms to understand more clearly how ubuntu is likely to affect behaviour in the workplace.

There can be no doubt that work values in South Africa provide a rich field for further study. Results of further research should be of academic interest in terms of shedding light on group and individual behaviour, and cross-cultural interaction, in organisations. These results should also be of practical benefit to those concerned with the management of human resources in South African organisations.

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