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WORK-NONWORK FACTORS AS EXPLANATORY VARIABLES OF
INDUSTRIAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR IN A DEVELOPING
COUNTRY: THE CASE OF THE SUDANESE BLUE-COLLAR WORKER

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the late Ustaz Mahmoud Muhammed Taha, the Sudanese Muslim reformer, whose exceptional courage and moral stature have been an endless source of inspiration for me. I also wish to dedicate this work to my parents and to Manal and Salma as a token of love and gratitude.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in this study has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification to this or any other university or institution of learning.

ABSTRACT

The subject matter of this research project has been the attitudes and behaviour of the Sudanese industrial worker. The objective is to test the thesis that, given the novelty of the industrialization process in most of the developing countries, nonwork factors i.e., workers' experience in the wider society, are more important in shaping attitudes to work than the immediate experience of it. This hypothesis was tested via exploring (i) the priorities, goals and preferences which the Sudanese industrial worker pursues in his employment, (ii) the importance of working in his life (his central life interests), his commitment to wage-employment and the ways in which these are related to his experience on the job, (iii) the similarities and differences workers may exhibit vis-a-vis their orientations and commitment to work along their skill levels and (vi) the ways in which workers' orientations and commitment to work are constrained by their social experience outside the work domain.

The theoretical orientation within which these objectives were pursued is the social action frame of reference. The design of the research involved treating workers' skill levels (taken as surrogates of types of technology) as a

variable. Five factories in central Sudan were selected as suitable venues for the fieldwork. These, in turn, approximated three types of technology namely a craft, mechanical and process technologies. Self-administered questionnaires were distributed to 188 industrial workers whose jobs' content mirrored the production technologies of the factories concerned.

The analysis of the data collected has pointed to the failure of work conditions (technological factors) to add to our understanding of the work behaviour of the sampled workers. The high degree of commonality that is characteristic of these workers perception of and reactions to their work bears witness to this conclusion. On the other hand, acceptable evidence has underlined the significance of workers' socio-economic environment (nonwork factors) as a powerful explanatory variable of their work experience, thus upholding the main hypothesis of the study.

Acknowledgements

Writing a doctoral thesis is a mammoth task for any person to undertake alone. I would like, therefore, to extend my gratitude and heart-felt appreciation to those persons whose help has been instrumental in bringing this work to fruition. Chief among them, is my supervisor, Professor D. Weir, former chairman of Glasgow Business School and head of the Management Studies Department. His expertise and advice were always available whenever problems were encountered. His relaxed style of supervision, understanding and friendliness make him an exceptionally nice man to work with and were important contributory factors in easing the pressure that is characteristic of a thesis writing.

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I am particularly indebted to my brother and friend B. Ettaouchi from the Department of the English Language for his proofreading and insightful ideas.

Last but not least, I am thankful to the management of the factories covered by the survey for the help they readily offered me in securing access to their workers. To these workers I can only say thank you for the willingness they showed to participate in this study.

Dedication	i
Delaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xv

Page

Chapter 1 Introduction (1-27)

1.1	The Research Problem and the Thesis Proposed....1
1.2	The Theoretical Orientation and Research Questions.....8
1.3	The Significance of the Study.....10
1.4	Assessment of the Theoretical Orientation.....13
1.5	The Structure of the Thesis.....25

Chapter 2 A Literature Review (28-65)

2.1	The Action Approach: The Theoretical Origins....28
2.1.1	The Action Approach In Work Settings.....31
2.1.2	The Affluent Worker Study.....34
2.2	Orientations Typologies.....38
2.2.1	Orientations As an Explanatory Variable...42
2.3	Sources of Orientations.....45
2.3.1	Orientations As a Dynamic Process.....53
2.4	Related Literature in the Developing Countries..58
2.5	Summary.....65

Chapter 3 The Sudanese Industrial Worker in
Profile (66-101)

3.1	The Setting.....	67
3.1.1	The People of the Land.....	70
3.1.2	The Modern Sudan.....	76
3.2.	The Economy: Labour and Industry.....	80
3.2.1	Sudanese Workers Abroad.....	83
3.2.2	The History of Industry in Sudan...	84
3.2.3	Structure of Sudan Manufacturing...	94
3.2.4	The Public Industrial Sector.....	97
3.3	Summary.....	99

Chapter 4 The Research Methodology (102-134)

4.1	The Design of the Research.....	103
4.2	Fieldwork.....	105
4.3	The Sample:Firms and Workers.....	108
4.4	The Research Methods.....	118
4.5	The Analysis Plan.....	126
4.6	A Profile of the Five Firms.....	128

Chapter 5 The Sample Characteristics (135-152)

5.1	The Stratification of the Sample.....	136
5.1.1	Age.....	137
5.1.2	Length of Service.....	141

5.1.3	Formal Education.....	142
5.1.4	Rural-Urban Origin.....	145
5.1.5	Family.....	148
5.2	Summary.....	152

Chapter 6 **Orientations to Work: Empirical Findings and Analysis** (153-193)

6.1	Orientations.....	154
6.1.2	Workers Priorities and Goals.....	156
6.1.3	Importance of Work Rewards.....	159
6.2	Satisfaction with Work Rewards.....	167
6.2.1	Salience and Satisfaction.....	174
6.3	Similarities and Differences in Responses Among the Occupational Groups.....	179
6.3.1	Similarities/Differences in Satisfaction..	184
6.4	Relationship of Age, Job Longevity and Education with Orientations.....	186
6.5	Summary.....	191

Chapter 7 Respondents' Commitment to Work (194-237)

7.1	Importance of Work For Respondents.....	195
7.2.	Attitudes to Work.....	204
7.2.1	Workers' Involvement in Work.....	210
7.2.2	Workers' Non-financial Commitment to Work.....	212
7.3	Respondents' Organizational Commitment.....	218

7.4	Workers' Relationship with Co-workers and Supervisors.....	227
7.5	Summary.....	235
Chapter 8	The Social Context of Respondents' Attitudes and Behaviour	(238-286)
8.1	Respondents' Family and Kin Relations....	240
8.2	Workers' Community Involvement.....	256
8.2.1	Rural-Urban Origins.....	261
8.3	Migration to Work and its Effects on Work Attitudes	265
8.4	A Model of Multivariate Analysis.....	278
8.5	Summary.....	282
Chapter 9	Summary and Conclusions	(287-321)
9.1.	The Research Idea and Theoretical Framework....	287
9.2	The Objectives Pursued and the Design of the Study.....	290
9.3.	The Empirical Findings.....	294
9.3.1	Workers' Orientations and Commitment to Work.....	294
9.3.2	Workers' Social Context and Attitudes....	301
9.3.3	The Findings Within the Context of Existing Literature.....	307
9.4	Conclusions and Implications.....	315
9.5	Suggestions for Future Research.....	320

List of Tables

Table Number	Page
3.1 Sudan employment by sector.....	82
3.2 Growth rate of modern manufacturing (1955/65- 1980/81).....	92
3.3 Employment in modern manufacturing sector and rate of growth (1955/56-1980/1981).....	93
3.4 Size of industrial establishments in Sudan as measured by number of employees.....	95
3.5 Number of private industrial establishments and employees.....	96
3.6 Size of public manufacturing firms.....	98
4.1 The largest public firms in Sudan.....	110
4.2 The firms' sample.....	112
4.3 The distribution of the final sample by firm.....	117
4.4 The sample by skill level.....	117
4.5 The sample by firms and skill levels.....	118
5.1 The age distribution of the sample.....	138
5.2 Age distribution by skill levels.....	140
5.3 Job tenure of respondents.....	141
5.4 Job tenure by skill levels.....	142
5.5 Education by skill levels.....	145
5.6 Urban and rural origins of the workers.....	147
5.7 Rural-urban origins by skill levels.....	147

5.8	Family background of the sample.....	149
5.9	Family structure by skill levels.....	150
5.10	Respondents marital status by age.....	150
5.11	Respondents number of children.....	152
6.1	Workers priorities and goals in work.....	158
6.2	Percentage of subjects choosing a job aspect as important.....	162
6.3	Salience of rewards.....	163
6.4	Complaints regarding the adequacy of work rewards.....	166
6.5	Satisfaction with work rewards.....	167
6.6	Contribution to overall satisfaction: multiple regression summary table.....	173
6.7	The impact of satisfaction with each job facet on the explained variance in total satisfaction.....	174
6.8	Job aspects ranked by discrepancy between satisfaction and importance scores.....	176
6.9	Mean ranking of job aspects by occupational groups.....	181
6.10	Differences in the ranking of job aspects by occupational groups.....	182
6.11	Results of a multivariate analysis of variance...	183
6.12	Work goals and priorities by occupational groups.....	184
6.13	Satisfaction by occupational levels.....	185
6.14	Partial correlation between work attitudes and age, length of service and educational levels.....	190
7.1	Central life interests of workers.....	198
7.2	Respondents experience of work by skill levels...	203

7.3	Workers' attitudes to work.....	207
7.4	Relationship between workers' definition of work and job attitudes.....	209
7.5	Work involvement by central life interests.....	212
7.6	The lottery question.....	216
7.7	Reasons for stopping work.....	217
7.8	Respondents propensity to leave given a slight increase in pay.....	221
7.9	Respondents perception of their employing organizations..	221
7.10	Respondents' patterns of commitment to their organizations by skill levels.....	223
7.11	Respondents' perception of organizations by skill levels.....	223
7.12	Respondents' organizational commitment by central life interests.....	225
7.13	Intent to leave by organizational commitment.....	226
7.14	Job satisfaction by organizational commitment....	227
7.15	Relations with co-workers by skill levels.....	229
7.16	Respondents feelings if removed by skill levels..	231
7.17	No. of close friends by skill levels.....	231
7.18	Worker' perception of supervision by skill levels.....	233
8.1	No. of people workers support financially.....	244
8.2	Frequency of rendering financial help to relatives.....	244
8.3	Financial assistance to parents by work priorities and goals.....	246

8.4	The meaning of working by share of salaries given to parents.....	247
8.5	Work priorities and goals by the frequency of economic support given to kinsfolk.....	248
8.6	Meaning of working by frequency of economic support to kinsfolk.....	249
8.7	Respondents work Priorities by marital status....	250
8.8	Satisfaction with the extrinsic aspects and the job by frequency of support to kinsfolk	252
8.9	Organizational commitment by frequency of financial support to relatives.....	255
8.10	Intent to leave by frequency of financial support to kinsfolk.....	255
8.11	Frequency of participation in social events.....	258
8.12	Relationships between respondents social obligations and their work attitudes.....	261
8.13	The meaning of working, expectations from it, satisfaction and organizational commitment by rural-urban origins.....	264
8.14	Percentage of workers who migrated, planned or intend to migrate in future.....	272
8.15	The contributions of migration experience and migration intentions to meaning of working and other job attitudes.....	274
8.16	Differences between ex-migrants workers and others in commitment to organizations and intent to leave.....	276

8.17	Differences in attitudes to work based on intentions to migrate.....	276
8.18	Discriminant Function Analysis: The impact of nonwork factors on the meaning of working and expectations from it.....	281

List of Figures

Figure Number

Page

5.1	Age distribution of the sample.....	139
5.2	Variations in age between the three occupational groups.....	140
5.3	Educational levels of workers.....	144
8.1	Percentage of monthly salaries devoted to social events.....	259

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This research project represents an attempt to assess the relative importance of work and nonwork factors as determinants of industrial attitudes and behaviour of a sample of Sudanese manual workers. The purpose of this first chapter is to introduce the research problem, the proposed thesis and the specific questions to be pursued within the context of the adopted theoretical framework. The chapter also discusses the significance of the study and assesses the different theoretical approaches utilized in the study of work behaviour. Finally, the chapter provides a description of the research structure.

1.1 The Research Problem and the Thesis Proposed

It has been argued that work attitudes and behaviour in developing countries, specially those in Mid-eastern and African nations, have never been satisfactory. Workers in these countries, it is assumed, do not perceive their work as a source of satisfaction and tend to experience various forms of deprivation and withdrawal behaviour such as lateness, laziness, absenteeism, turnover and general lack of commitment to work. Moreover, workers are not punctual, reflecting in a sense the lack of awareness of the importance of time in their life. Apathy, boredom due to long hours of work and unwillingness to carry out official obligations seem to be the norm rather than the

exception. As a result of these bad work habits gross inefficiency is rampant and productivity is very low (Zureik, 1978; Abdu, 1986; Ahiauzu, 1986).

Explanations of this unhappy scenario tend to go in two directions. A European one -which is by any means suggestive- views these negative work attitudes as indicative of an absence of work values that extol the virtues of work and encourage people to be diligent, toil and work harder (Farmer & Richmann, 1965; Turner, 1974; Weber, 1986). In Africa, for instance, the general belief is that the African is not a natural urban worker. He is seen as one who because of traditions and values is unable to sever his relationship with local community. His unfamiliarity with industrial discipline makes him awkward and prone to friction with management. The Protestant Work Ethic with its concomitant cultural expectations regarding work, such as earning one's pay, acceptance of responsibility, hard work and commitment to duty is claimed to be alien to the African worker (Abdu, 1986). Hudson (1975), on the basis of personnel and other managers he surveyed, argued that a lack of identification with work roles seems to be common throughout Africa. More cynical, however, Burton, quoted by MacPhee, saw the worker in West Africa as one whose beau ideal of life is to do nothing for six days in the week and to rest on the seventh (1971:261).

A parallel picture is also drawn of workers in Asia and

the Middle East. For example, in his study of the Indian workers, Ornati (1955) concluded that the Indian workers are lacking interest in factory work and they resist adjustment to the life which goes with industrial employment. In explaining the material success of the Ismailis in Tanzania, Bocock (1971) saw it to be the result of their contact with British capitalism and their ability to adopt some rational capitalist methods from an already existing economic system (i.e. the western capitalist system). Likewise, Turner (1974) observed that any ideology stressing hard work among muslims must be a colonial importation.

A number of researchers in developing countries have pointed to some methodological weaknesses on which the European view stands. Morris, for instance indicated that "much of the literature tends to base interpretations on hypothetical, psychological and sociological propositions which themselves are highly suspect. The argument typically rests on fragments of evidence taken indiscriminately...it is impossible to generate satisfactory analysis from this sort of melange" (1965:4). To this Abdu added that, "the picture of the lazy, leisure-loving African does not stand rigorous examination. The flourishing agriculture, commerce and industry of precolonial Africa belie the notion of the lazy African...the alleged low productivity and lack of commitment of the African were largely a creation of the

prejudiced minds of the European employers whose policies were designed to confirm their biases" (1986). Finally, Sharama commenting on the quality of the available literature on the subject, noted that much of it "is either not based on first-hand empirical data or, if empirical, not sufficiently well grounded in relevant theory" (1969:161).

A second line of explanation -mainly an African one- attributes these poor work habits to deficient management practices and inadequate methods of recruitment, selection, supervision and motivation that cannot ensure any improvement in the productivity of the workers concerned (Kilby, 69; Ogunbameru, 1985; Abdu, 1986).

In conclusion, and as a sort of evaluation of the current state of the available literature, one notes the following:

1. Most of the studies findings regarding attitudes to work in developing countries were fragmented, scattered and above all contradictory and inconclusive.
2. The basic research methods used in previous studies were largely observational in nature and lacked the required depth and the comprehensive and integrated theoretical framework that can uncover the antecedents and consequences of a complex and multidimensional construct like work attitudes.

3. A major flaw of previous studies is that they seem to focus on personality differences and management practices as key determinants of attitudes to work, ignoring what is believed to be a rich line of argument concerning culturally induced attitudes to work and the social forces which have played a significant part in their development and by which they have been since influenced.

4. The bottom line of most previous studies is that compared with their counterparts in the more fortunate countries, workers in developing countries do view their work differently.

Recently a number of scholars have been arguing that work behaviour in underdeveloped countries, cannot be fully understood until the way in which social and cultural milieu help to create differing value orientations and thought systems regarding the objective world in which the individual acts, is taken into consideration. Ahiauzu (1986), for instance, asserted that "any move to the understanding of poor attitudes to work of the African, which would enable the organizational theorists to develop the appropriate administration and managerial systems, should start with the identification of the influences that shape the behaviour of the African at the workplace". He went on to suggest that "these influences are very likely to emanate from the historical and cultural origins which colour the perceptual process of the individual". In support of his argument, Ahiauzu,

quoted Hanson to the effect that "thought and behaviour are intelligible only in terms of a priori forms which condition and govern them. These forms as collective representations, vary from one society to another. Therefore, ideas, beliefs and actions should be understood from within -in terms of the culture from which they come-" (Hanson, 1975:23).

Before proceeding further to outline the major objective of the study, it is important to note that the industrial process in most of the developing countries is still a novelty, where in some countries it is barely twenty years old, and that wage employment, despite its crucial importance, still affects smaller sections in the population. Hence, one may quite rightly envisage a tiny percentage of workers in these countries who come from homes in which industrial work is the dominant way of living. This suggests that among manual workers only this tiny minority has gained some sort of industrial socialization or culture from parents or other members in the family. This is bound to have a profound effect on adaptation and attitudes to work in developing countries. Bearing this in mind, Margaret Peil (1972), in her study of Ghanaian industrial workers, summed up her analysis with a very significant proposition that society in developing countries appears to have a greater effect on workers behaviour than does industrial employment and that the work experience itself is less important as a

socializing factor or as a conditioner of attitudes. Some time later, Peil used the same supposition to explain other forms of workers' behaviour such as the absence of some sort of workers' consciousness in most developing countries that normally accompanies the industrialization process. She wrote '...the factory per se is probably less relevant to these workers than to employees in industrialized countries. Insofar as this is true, there appear to be severe limitations on the spread of class consciousness from large bureaucratically oriented workplaces to the general population. Not only is the job (and attitudes related to the relations of productions) left behind at the factory gates, but social relations based on other norms are brought into the workplace' (1981:99).

Within this focus the main objective of this study is to test empirically the thesis that: in the newly industrializing countries nonwork factors, i.e. workers' experience in the wider society are more important in shaping workers' attitudes and behaviour in the workplace, than the experience of work itself.

The field investigation for the validation of this proposition, will be carried out among a sample of industrial workers in Sudan.

1.2 The Theoretical Orientation and Research Questions

It goes without saying that a thorough understanding of any phenomenon requires, among other things, locating it within a conceptual framework. This according to Fox (1971) helps in organizing and systemizing data, structuring perceptions and definitions of social situations and processes, and in generating questions and hypotheses. It suggests that the question a scientific investigator must ask is not, how can I measure a phenomenon but rather what is it? (Locke, 1969). After an extensive review of the literature, it appears that the social action frame of reference would provide a useful theoretical yardstick by which it would be possible to identify the main influences that shape the attitudes and behaviour of the workers under study -be they external or internal to the work situation_. Derived from the work of Max Weber; the action approach advocates that explanations of human actions must take account of the meanings which those concerned assigned to their act (Silverman, 1970). In the workplace this entails that work behaviour cannot be fully and usefully considered except in relation to a more basic question of orientations to work. The starting point of the analysis should be with ordering of wants and expectations and with the meaning given to work. The workers' definition of the situation becomes a key explanatory notion (Goldthorpe, 1968).

Within this theoretical model the following specific questions will provide the basis of this study, insofar, as the answers to them would make it possible to pass judgement as to which of the two independent variables (work and nonwork factors) accounts for most of the variation in workers' attitudes and behaviour:

1. What is the pattern of the Sudanese blue-collar workers' orientations to work? what priorities, goals and preferences do they pursue in employment? what importance do they attach to the different facets of their work? and what impact do these orientations have upon their behaviour at work?
2. Are the workers concerned committed to an industrial mode of work? in other words; how does work compare in importance to other life interests mainly the home and community? how does this relate to the workers' immediate experience of work? How do the workers relate to their employing organizations, workmates and supervisors?
3. What similarities and /or differences do workers at different skill levels -taken as surrogates for types of technology- exhibit vis-a-vis the attitudes outlined in 1 and 2 above?
4. In what ways do the attitudes in focus relate to workers' social experience outside the work situation? that is, how does the workers social organization colour, condition or constrain their expectations from work and their experience of it?

1.3 The Significance of the Study

Broadly speaking, the importance of this study stems primarily from; (a) the importance of work as a life role to all human beings; economically, psychologically and socially, (b) the implications that work attitudes may have for the industrialization process that is eagerly awaited in developing countries and for any managerial programmes designed to secure favourable behaviour from workers, and from (c) the dearth of literature pertinent to work attitudes in Sudan. The following discussion is mainly an elaboration on these points.

Recent international studies on work meanings, have highlighted the central importance of work, as a life role, to all humans beings. For instance, in the modern societies of today, it is estimated that the average person spends nearly a third of his/her day's activities at work. In addition to that, the time one spends in training and preparation for work suggests that work related activities constitute a major use of time in an adult life. More important, however, is the fact that the vast majority of individuals nowadays derive the major part of their economic well being from income and fringe benefits that come primarily from their work activities (Mow, 1981, 87; England, 1986; Harpaz, 1986).

Psychologically speaking, work is believed to be one of

the necessities of man's life. This can be seen through the experience of people who have, through retirement or unemployment, stopped working. Terkel (1972) quoted by England provided vivid evidence to the identity loss undergone by an unemployed forty-five year old construction worker:

"Right now I can't really describe myself because I am...unemployed...So you see, I can't say who I am right now...I guess a man's something else besides his work, isn't he? But what? I just don't know." (1986:176)

On a sociological level Marx interpreted the whole human history through work. To him, "the human animal emerged as species from environmental conditions in which labouring, already played a prominent evolutionary part, and to that extent the humankind is shaped by work, moulded by it. The human hand, the human eye, the human brain have evolved in response to the nature of work and so of course have the human nervous system and the human imagination" (Erikson, 1986). In a very real sense, therefore, man, according to the marxist doctrine, "sees himself, measures himself, evaluates himself -even knows himself- by the things he makes.." (Erikson, 1986).

If work as a human activity commands such importance and stature, it follows that any study that tries to explore issues pertaining to work attitudes must also be viewed within this context. In the newly industrializing

countries the importance of studies of work attitudes becomes self-evident and need not be emphasized. Suffice it to say that the industrialization process, which is so eagerly sought and desired by these countries and which is viewed as the key stone for raising the living standards and achieving economic progress, might at the end of the day, depend, for its success, largely on how people view and define their work. Economic planners and policy makers options may increase or decrease depending on what attitudes people have toward their work. On managerial levels work attitudes determine to a large extent "the style of any managerial programmes designed to reduce turnover, increase loyalty, improve industrial productivity and attract new workers" (Dubin, 1976:281).

The above argument is all the more plausible when one considers the situation in Sudan; the country that provides the locale for this study. By the turn of this century the position of labour in the economy of the Sudan was one of a predominantly agricultural and pastoral nature and wage earning as a way of life was hardly known. This picture is now gradually changing. A body of more or less urbanized workers is emerging. Moreover, the movement to towns had indeed made itself very much felt in the past decades, particularly since the Second World War, as reflected by the growth of the Sudanese towns. Nowadays a growing number of Sudanese people find themselves spending a considerable portion of

their life time in a certain job with the result that modern industrial work is now an integral part of their overall life experience. What is the nature of this experience? how do these people view their work? what do they expect from it? what factors bear upon these expectations? These are some of the most salient questions that await exploration and research. Unfortunately, to the best of the present investigator's knowledge, no systematic investigation of these questions have been carried out so far. It will therefore be interesting and valuable to examine attitudes to work in the Sudan, their causes and consequences and their profound implications for cultural and economic development in the country.

1.4 An Assessment of the Theoretical Orientation

This section is an evaluation of the study's theoretical framework, that is, the action perspective. However, this would entail a brief assessment of other competing theoretical explanations of industrial problems; in particular those models which embrace a sociological conceptualization of the workplace, mainly the human relations movement and the technological implications approach. In so doing it is not necessary to recount all the details that these approaches revealed except to provide a general overview of them together with the pros and cons of each approach.

The main challenge that faced management at the turn of the century was twofold; to eradicate inefficiency in the workplace and to devise effective motivational techniques that would induce workers to work harder and increase productivity. The first reasonably comprehensive management school of thought that tried to tackle these two problems was the scientific management movement godfathered by F.W. Taylor (1911). Inefficiency in the workplace was to be solved through the introduction of scientific techniques for controlling and measuring work and monetary incentives were perceived as an answer to the problem of motivation. Underlying the use of these incentives is, in the words of Brown (1962) "a tacit implication that human nature is possessed of certain properties which decree that most men find work distasteful, are naturally lazy, solely motivated by fear or greed..., and always do little work for the largest possible wage"(p.15). The economic man that is implied in the model, "is a rational creature who uses his reason primarily to calculate exactly how much satisfaction he may obtain from the small amount of effort, or where necessary how much discomfort he can avoid" (p. 16).

Taylor's model of industrial behaviour has been criticized vehemently by social scientists, unionists and managers alike. What was resented most is the crudity of its economism. The projection of the worker as a 'monstrosity: a greedy machine indifferent to its pain

and loneliness once given the opportunity to maim and isolate itself (Rose, 1988:57). Of direct relevance to the study described here is the point that the model offers a very narrow conception of behaviour in organizations in which the individual -its sole unit of analysis- is completely immune to any other psychological or social effects. Even in its mechanistic conception, the model makes no provision for any psychological or physiological differences between individuals (Buchanan and Huczynski; 1985 Rose, 1988).

The human relations approach offers a model of industrial behaviour in which the workgroup and man's social needs assume a special explanatory role. Ironically, however, the studies that marked the beginning of this movement were designed after the very assumptions held by the scientific management approach. These studies involved experiments to identify the effects of lighting, rest periods and other physical aspects of the work situation on workers' productivity. When the test groups' productivity increased regardless of the experimental manipulation; researchers had to resort to other explanations to make sense of their results. Employees, it was discovered, bring to the work situation a complex set of social needs and motives, the satisfaction of which is an important determinant of work behaviour. In particular, social relations, supervisory style and participation and consultation in decision making were

seen as the key to higher productivity and workers' happiness and satisfaction. "To the extent that managements have insight into the skills to manipulate these social factors, they will be able to harness their employees' social needs to managerial ends" (Fincham & Rhodes, 1988:131).

The virtue of this approach can be seen in its questioning of the crude motivational assumptions that were advocated by the scientific management school, and in highlighting the need to consider the informal work group as an important influence on employees' behaviour in the workplace. It must also be said that the approach has had its marks on certain specific areas of management, such as personnel practices, management training and managerial policies and processes (Brown, 1962) (Fincham & Rhodes, 1988).

Apart from this, the approach is criticized by a number of industrial sociologists, for its reliance on explanations in terms of human needs and for not daring to venture out of the factory gates to set industrial behaviour within its social context (Goldthorpe, 1968; Silverman, 1970; Rose, 1975). In this respect it is now believed that the Hawthorne studies -the experiments that triggered the whole movement- had not considered two of the most important economic and social factors that could have a bearing on its results; the Great Depression and

the emergence of trade unionism. More important to this study, however, are two fundamental points raised by Rose in his assessment of the approach. He wrote, "the human relations approach did more than draw attention to the face-to-face relationships of the workplace...they made them the hub of their analysis. Further, by abstracting face-to-face relationships on the factory floor from the wider and objective social context, they encouraged the conception that they could be altered (improved) by purely local intervention" (Rose, 1975:106).

The third model, the technological implications approach, explicitly or implicitly regards technology to be a major explanatory variable of industrial behaviour. It is because of this that the approach is sometimes referred to in the sociological literature as technological determinism. The idea underlying this assertion is that, technology "determines the tasks which people have to perform; it determines the division of labour at work and thus influences the kinds of social interaction which are possible in the workplace and the likelihood of sociable groups being formed; it influences the occupational structure of the factory and thus the homogeneity and heterogeneity of the labour force; and it is associated with the size of the plant" (Hill, 1983:85). These, according to the exponents of the approach determine or narrowly constrain workers' morale and satisfaction and their general attitudes to work.

Some notable influential research by Blauner (1964), Woodward, (1958) and Sayles (1958) can be located within this perspective. Blauner for instance, attempted to link certain types of technology: craft (printing), machine tending (textile), assembly line (cars) and automated process (chemicals) to satisfaction with work epitomized by four dimensions of alienation; namely powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement. Alienation was found to be relatively low in the craft and process technology, higher in the machine minding and highest in the assembly line mass production. Blauner saw this to indicate that alienation was entirely a reflection of technology. Woodward (1958) also reached a similar conclusion in her comparative studies that at the ends of this technological range there was a more frequent breakdown of the workforce into small primary groups with closer and less formal relationship between workers and supervisors which she suggested contributed to better industrial relations.

Likewise, Sayles (1963) used technology as an explanatory variable of grievance behaviour among different industrial groups. He noted a striking similarity in technological characteristics among industrial groups that behave similarly. He concluded that "... if we were looking at the organization chart and work flow (layout) of an industrial plant certain prediction could be made with some confidence regarding the behaviour of work-

groups. If some concentration of jobs had certain characteristics, they would probably be centres of industrial relations problems; other characteristics would cause us to predict the absence of such friction...many persistent industrial relations problems have their roots in the technology of the plant".

The prime contribution of this approach is its incorporation of technology as a significant variable to watch for in any study that tries to investigate work attitudes. However, in doing so the approach has followed a basically deterministic view, in which behaviour at workplace is explained by a single variable; technology. Moreover, in advocating that, "industrial behaviour at all levels is a function of the work situation," and that "it is possible to trace cause and effect relationship between types of work situation and their associated patterns of behaviour" (Woodward, 1964); the approach retains an essentially closed-system conception of the workplace, in which the worker is projected as a passive being whose behaviour is a determined reaction to the physical and technical structure of his work environment.

As far as this study is concerned and in view of the novelty of the industrialization process in a country like the Sudan, it is to be expected that factors outside the work organization would assume an overriding influence on work behaviour. Thus, it would not be

possible to arrive at some sound conclusions without due regard to these socializing factors. In other words, it would be quite difficult to project a comprehensive picture of work attitudes in Sudan, if they are to be seen as a reflection of the work situation alone.

Closely related to the technological implications model of industrial behaviour, is the organizational psychology approach. The common thread that runs through the different contributions to this perspective is Maslow's (1953) need theory of human motivation. This theory postulates that human behaviour is geared towards the satisfaction of a hierarchy of needs, namely physiological, security, social and self-actualizing needs. These needs are conceptualized as relatively stable characteristics of persons (Salanick & Pfeffer, 1977) and are said to be universal in the sense of being shared by all individuals of all types (Danial, 1973). Behaviour is then explained when the motive upon which it is based is shown (Silverman, 1970).

Research by McGregor (1960), Likert (1959), and Herzberg (1959) can be considered to fall within the domain of this line of inquiry. The view seems to be that work attitudes are a reflection of the presence or absence of a positively valued job characteristics. As workers' lower order needs in most advanced societies are mostly satisfied; the higher order needs i.e., the self-

actualizing needs assume a special importance in the manipulation of industrial behaviour. Thus, for an organization to secure a favourable response from its employees it must be able to provide for the satisfaction of these higher order needs. This is to be done by ensuring that job characteristics such as the amount of variety, autonomy, responsibility and interaction with others are built into the design.

This model of industrial behaviour has been challenged on a number of points; mainly the following:

(i) In indicating that work attitudes are a function of the workplace or the job content the model offers closed-system explanation of work behaviour in which work attitudes are projected as mere abstracts and not culturally determined variables (Goldthorpe et al., 1968).

(ii) If it is accepted that needs do exist; the possibility is still there that these needs could be satisfied outside the work organization and not necessarily inside it (Silverman, 1970).

(iii) The model is much more inclined towards a behavioural orientation in offering an incomplete and a straight line causal framework of industrial attitudes with job characteristics taken to be the stimuli that would elicit an attitude from the person (Salanick & Pfeffer, 1979).

The critique outlined above of the different approaches to the study of industrial behaviour is an important prelude to the assessment of the alternative approach - the social action frame of reference- that is suggested as a viable theoretical framework within which the study's questions can be answered. Thus, the aim, in the following paragraphs, will be to provide a brief account of the pros and cons of this particular approach. In doing so, the main concern, is the relevance of any point to be raised to the study at hand.

The development of the social action approach in the Affluent Worker study came into being after researchers realized the failure of the approaches discussed above to adequately explain some of their data; notably the similarities of attitudes and behaviour among workers in different technological environments (Bechhofer, 1973). "It was then because of this outcome" Goldthorpe wrote "that we were led to consider some alternative way of making sense of our findings". Eventually they arrived at "the idea of the explanatory importance of the nature of workers' orientations to employment, this being considered as a factor influencing job choice, mediating the individual experience of work-tasks and roles, and thus necessarily influencing his definition of work situation and his conduct within it" (Goldthorpe, 1972).

Although it has been said that, the action approach does

not have equal explanatory value in regard to all industrial situations (Goldthorpe, 1973) it is the presumption of this study that the social action approach would provide a plausible model for understanding work behaviour in most of the developing countries specially African and Mid-Eastern ones. This is directly related to the particular economic and social conditions prevalent in these countries; mainly an absence of industrial culture which led in turn to an absence of industrial socialization with all its subsequent implications. Accordingly, it is expected that factors in the wider society would be more important in explaining shopfloor attitudes and behaviour than those related to the immediate work situation. The only viable theoretical framework within which it would be possible to verify this important assumption is the social action approach, through its virtue of explaining orientations and expectations in terms of men's social experience whether it be in the family, the community and/or at work.

However, this assertion is not without reservations. In particular one notes that some critics have voiced concern on some of the central propositions of the action approach as conceptualized in the Affluent Worker study (Danial, 1969; Argyris, 1972). For instance, the proposition of job choice, i.e., the idea that workers will tend as far as possible to select employment that would satisfy their priorities, has been subject to

scepticism. A number of industrial sociologists regard the relevance of this notion as strictly limited to certain situations. For example, Blackburn and Man (1979) pointed out that the question of job choice implied in the orientation model is always within certain limits. In the case of manual workers for example, the labour market allows very little scope for choice in accordance with orientations. Beynon and Blackburn indicated that "self-selection is limited by lack of information about different jobs and more basically lack of opportunity" (1972:4). Whelan (1984) argued that "the suggestion that orientations to work are relevant only where workers' job choices have been determined by priorities which have their source outside the work situation is far too restrictive. To accept it would be impossible to deal adequately with broader questions of the meanings which work has for different groups of employees and the nature of the frames of reference through which they evaluate their workings conditions (1984:17).

Moreover, the source of homogeneity itself has been subject to criticism. In particular, Brown echoed a warning against generalizing a model of orientations based on self selection as a source of workers homogeneity in terms of their priorities within particular workplaces. In his work on shipbuilding workers, he argued that "homogeneity of orientations

among any group of shipbuilding workers ...insofar as it did not come about by means of socialization in the work situation, should probably be attributed to socialization in the community. The social origins of such workers are in important respects more homogeneous and their opportunities for job choice much more restricted than in the case of the Luton Affluent workers (1973:36). Whelan contributed to this line of reasoning by saying that "it is somewhat misleading to suggest that orientations to work are relevant only where groups are homogeneous; there would appear to be no reason why the social action approach could not be employed in the study of intra-group differences.. "(1984:14). "All that is logically required in adopting a social action perspective, is evidence that the orientations in question are independent of a particular structure with which one is concerned" (1976:146).

1.5 The Structure of the Thesis

The research questions are to be pursued through nine chapters in the following way:

Chapter two focuses on the theoretical framework of the study; the social action frame of reference. It traces the theoretical origins of the approach and defines concepts within it that are central to the study of industrial behaviour. Overall, however, the chapter constitutes a review of related research within this

perspective.

Chapter three is an account of the physical, social and economic environment of the Sudanese industrial worker; the unit of analysis of this study. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part traces those social and historical events that have been instrumental in shaping the Sudanese character, predispositions and attitudes. The second part scans the worker's economic environment and depicts the history of the country's industrial development as a necessary prerequisite to know when and how modern industry came to the country.

Chapter four delineates the research strategy and the main considerations regarding the manner by which the study's empirical part was carried out. The discussion includes a rationale for the selection of the setting and design of the research and a description of the sampling procedures, data collection methods, the analysis plan and other methodological considerations. The chapter concludes with a profile of the five industrial firms in which the study took place.

Chapter five provides a description of the main features and general composition of the sampled workers by examining their distribution along a number of personal and social characteristics.

Chapters six, seven and eight represent the analysis part

of the thesis. Six and seven dwell exclusively on pinpointing workers' orientations and commitment to work and attempt to explain them in terms of workers' skill levels taken as surrogates of types of technology. Chapter eight relates respondents' orientations to work and their experience of it to a host of socio-economic factors as potential explanatory variables.

Chapter nine summarizes the findings of the study and projects the main conclusions and implications that emerged from these findings.

CHAPTER TWO

A Literature Review

This chapter is a review of related research which utilised a social action perspective in explaining industrial behaviour. Three related aspects of the approach are to be discussed. First, the theoretical origins of the approach and relevant definitions are examined. Second, the typologies and applications of the notion of orientation to work to the study of work behaviour are discussed. Third, the literature pertaining to the sources of orientations to work is considered. The chapter concludes with a critique of those studies that came closer to a social action conceptualization of industrial problems in the developing countries.

2.1 The Action Approach: The Theoretical Origins

A brief review of the literature would reveal that different terms have been used to describe the action approach, such as the social action approach, the action theory, the action frame of reference and actionalism. Thus the term 'action' appears to be the crucial thread that runs through all these terminologies. It follows that a prime concern of the action approach is to understand action and not behaviour. For while behaviour implies a mechanical response to stimuli...action implies an active, creative mental process (Weber, 1964; Parsons,

1951; Rex, 1961; Silverman, 1970). The salient characteristic of action is its meaningfulness. This feature is eloquently expressed by Weber when he wrote "in action is included all human behaviour, insofar, as the actor attaches a subjective meaning to it" (Weber, 1964:88).

Action is derived from "meanings that define social reality" (Silverman, 1970). More specifically, action can be seen "as a product of a system of expectations arising out of the actor's past experience and defining his perception of the probable reaction of others to his act" (Parsons, 1951). "At the level of cognition, the actor defines his situation in this way and becomes aware of alternative courses of possible action. Since action is goal oriented that is concerned with the attainment of certain subjectively perceived ends, the actor chooses from among the means of which he is aware, the action that seems most likely to produce what he would regard as a satisfactory outcome" (Silverman, 1970:130).

If action arises out of meanings, a logical question automatically follows; from where do these meanings emanate? David Silverman, drawing on the work of Durkheim and Parsons, provides a very elegant picture of how meanings arise. He wrote "the meaning of the social world is given to us by the past history and present structure of our society... social reality is pre-defined in the

very language in which we are socialized" (1970 :132). Through this process of socialization, "people learn the expectations contained in different social roles...They conform to them because these expectations become part of their definition of themselves (or are internalized) and because they want to retain the good opinion of those around them".

Furthermore, meanings are not only given to men by their society, they are, as well socially sustained and changed. Sustained through their "reaffirmation in action" (Bowey, 1976:56), and in the sense that "man makes the social world. The existence of society depends upon it being continuously confirmed in the actions of its members. Social structure, therefore, has no reality except a human one" (Berger and Pulberg, 1966:63). Meanings are also changed through the individuals interaction in society. Invented sets of meanings have to be changed if they fail to predict the responses of others to an individual's action.

In summary, then, the three main principles of the action approach are; (a) sociology is concerned with meaningful action; (b) particular meanings persist through their reaffirmation in action; (c) action can also lead to changes in meanings (Silverman, 1970:126,127).

Up to this point, it is hoped that the theoretical underpinings of the action approach have been, at least

in part, exposed. The aim in the next subsection is to see how the approach in question has been used in industrial settings.

2.1.1 The Action Approach in Work Settings

In the workplace, "the action approaches attempt to explore the work-community nexus and to incorporate socially generated and distributed aims, attitudes and actions in the model of work behaviour" (Rose, 1975:227). In other words, it suggests that explanations of industrial behaviour should start with the identification of the work orientations of the actors concerned, i.e. their expectations and wants relative to employment. Orientations, therefore, are at the core of the action frame of reference in work settings. Having said so, it is not surprising that most if not all of the studies which embraced an action theory began with an analysis of work orientations. Accordingly, the relevant definitions and meanings of the term need to be explored. This is the major concern of this subsection.

According to Parsons "action has an orientation when it is guided by the meaning which the actor attaches to it in its relationship to his goals and interests" (1951:4). Thus, "orientation represents a conception explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious which the actor has of the situation in terms of what he wants, what he sees, and what he intends to get from the objects he sees the

things he wants (Parsons, 1962:54). This is on the theoretical level, on a more practical conception, John Child considers orientation to work to be "the ordered expectations and goals an individual has regarding the work situation" (1969:61). Beynon and Blackburn see orientations to be "a central organizing principle which underlies people's attempt to make sense of their lives (1972:7). To Bennet (1974) the term orientations means "some reflection or representation of the total motivational state of an individual at a particular point in time, thus portraying the effects of needs, values, attitudes, abilities and other behavioural aspects".

Although there were some earlier contributions, a notable application of the action approach to the study of industrial attitudes was the Affluent Worker study by Goldthorpe et al. (1968). It was perhaps the first serious case in industrial sociology which consciously and wholeheartedly resorted to a social action perspective in order to make intelligible its unorthodox findings. In fact it represents a watershed in the history of industrial sociology in the sense that it highlighted some fundamental weaknesses in two sociological approaches to the study of industrial behaviour, namely the human relations approach and the technological implications approach (a discussion of these two approaches is given in chapter one).

By the end of that study, Goldthorpe was convinced that the starting point for explaining industrial attitudes and behaviour is with, " the ordering of wants and expectations relative to work, and with the meaning... given to work..." and that a "key explanatory notion is... the definition of work and of the work situation dominant among the workers concerned" (1966:240). Operating from such a position, the first step according to Goldthorpe must be that of establishing empirically the way which, in any given case the wants and expectations which men bring to their employment and the interpretation which they give to their work; shape the attitudinal and behavioural patterns of their working lives as a whole (1968:184).

The value of such an approach, according to Goldthorpe lies in its emphasis that "problems of industrial work will often be neither intelligible nor manageable in terms simply of internal conditions of particular establishments" (1970:208). Moreover, it "would direct attention systematically to the variety of meanings which work may come to have for industrial employees" (1968:184).

At this point, it would seem logical to review those findings which led Goldthorpe and colleagues in the Affluent Worker study to realize some theoretical weaknesses in the approaches which had dominated the

study of industrial behaviour for quite a considerable time. It is hoped that this will cast additional light on the action perspective when it is put into practical research terms.

2.1.2 The Affluent Worker Study

The primary objective of the study was to explain the attitudes and behaviour of motor car assembly line workers at the Vauxhaul plant in Luton Town (England). Here is a job whose characteristics are perhaps better known among industrial sociologists and social scientists than any other job in industrial settings. It symbolizes the dehumanization of work through fragmentation and mechanization coupled with a reputation of providing very high earnings for semi-skilled workers (Danial, 1973). Thus, it was not surprising when Goldthorpe assemblers appeared to derive little intrinsic satisfaction from their job and experienced various forms of deprivation. These were directly related to characteristic features of assembly line jobs. "Consequently, the workers under study were for the most part attached to present employment through the extrinsic rewards which it offered them" (Goldthorpe, 1966:228). This was to be labelled by Goldthorpe as the workers "defining their work in an essentially instrumental way" (1966:229).

However, despite the apparent similarities of Luton findings to other studies of car assembly workers there

were some major deviations in these findings from established patterns that demanded explanations. Chief among these deviations are the following:

(i) A considerable number of assemblers had (purposely) left jobs which were more interesting, more demanding skill-wise and hence were more preferable than their current jobs.

(ii) Assemblers were aware of alternative jobs richer in intrinsic rewards that were available to them but they preferred to stay where they were.

(iii) While assemblers were not antagonistic to their supervision they nonetheless did not seek to be encouraged, praised or treated with respect... by their supervisors. They were quite happy as long as their supervisors left them alone (Danial, 1973).

(iv) They did not want the acceptance and membership of workgroups and approval of workmates, and they certainly did not want anything to do with workmates outside work, (Danial, 1973).

(v) Contrary to the established patterns, assemblers displayed a positive attitude towards their employing organisation. They also regarded unionism in a strictly calculative term. This was reflected in their perception of union membership and their attendance of union branch meetings.

Goldthorpe's main point was that the human relations

approach and the technological implications approach both taken as theoretical premises proved inadequate to accommodate these deviant findings. For him these findings cannot be understood as merely a reflection of the socio-technical environment, nor can they be a product of semi-satisfied or frustrated human needs. What remains, therefore, is to assume that the instrumental orientation which was characteristic of the assemblers attitudes and behaviour at work, guided and directed their entry to that kind of work from the beginning. As Goldthorpe eloquently put it "the predominantly instrumental orientation to work was not simply or primarily a consequence of these men being car assemblers; rather, one could say that most had become car assemblers because of a desire and an eventual decision on their part to give priority to high levels of economic returns from work at the expense, if necessary, of satisfaction of an intrinsic kind. In other words, their instrumental orientation had led to their present employment; rather than the vice versa" (1966:229).

On the basis of these findings, Goldthorpe came out with a very significant methodological conclusion. He stated "In any attempt at explaining and understanding attitudes and behaviour within modern industry, the probability at least must be considered that orientation to work which employees hold in common will need to be treated as an important independent variable relative to inplant

situation" (1968:183).

Thus, in conclusion, the main propositions of the action approach as advocated by Goldthorpe and summarized by Ingham are as follows:

(i) That industrial workers do not enter different kinds of employment in a quite random manner in terms of their social characteristics, but rather they tend to form labour forces which are in some respects 'self-selected' and thus in some respects relatively homogeneous.

(ii) That, this homogeneity will frequently be greater than could be explained in terms of limiting factors such as ability, training, skill levels, etc.; it will also result, and in particular under conditions of full employment, from workers making choices between different kinds of employments available to them according to their existing wants and aspirations relative to work.

(iii) That in this way, members of the labour forces of particular enterprises, or more probably sections of these, will tend as collectivities to have distinctive orientation towards work and to inject a certain set of meanings into their work situation; these meanings will then play an important part in determining behaviour within this situation.

(iv) That since the homogeneity in question results from individual choice of employment- that is a process of self-selection- the sources of the specific content of

orientations to work and of definitions of work situations will to some extent be located externally to the industrial enterprise and pertain to nonwork aspects of individuals total life situation; for instance to his community, to his status position and experience of social mobility...etc.(1970:47).

2.2 Orientations Typologies

It has been demonstrated at the beginning of this chapter that, in work settings the action frame of reference stresses the importance of orientations to work of the actors concerned i.e. the way in which workers ordered their wants and expectations relative to their employment. Given this and in order to shed more light on the problems of orientations some researchers have suggested typologies into which different kinds of orientations can be identified. These typologies, in turn can be used to explain different patterns of industrial behaviour.

One of the early users of the term orientation is Etzioni (1961). His main concern was with the orientations of lower participants to the organisation as a power system. He used the term involvement to indicate three different patterns of orientations, namely; alienative, moral and calculative. Alienative involvement designates an intense

negative orientation which is typically found where individual behaviour is severely constrained e.g. prisoners'. Calculative involvement designates either a negative or a positive orientations of low intensity. It is largely based on the perception of the exchange relationship between individuals and the organisation. That is individuals would become committed to the organisation, if they see a beneficial or equitable exchange relationship between their contributions to the organisation and the rewards they receive for service. Moral involvement designates a positive orientations of high intensity (1961:9).

In a much wider attempt to conceptualize the action approach, Goldthorpe et al.(1968) developed three distinct categories of orientations; instrumental, bureaucratic and solidaristic. Among those workers who embrace an instrumental orientation (e.g. the Luton workers) the primary meaning of work is a means to an end external to the work situation; that is work is regarded as means of acquiring the income necessary to support a valued way of life of which work is not an integral part. Workers involvement in the organisation... is primarily a calculative one; thus their ego involvement in their jobs is...weak. Consequently, workers lives are sharply dichotomized between work and non-work.

A bureaucratic orientation involves service to the

organisation in return for a career, positive involvement in work and with the organisation, and no sharp dichotomy of work and non-work.

Workers with a solidaristic orientation are seen as experiencing work as a group activity which lead to either identification with the firm, or the workgroup as a source of power against the employer; social relationships and shared activities at work are rewarding, and work relationships in some cases form the bases of occupational communities outside work (Goldthorpe et al. 1968:37-42).

Closely connected to Goldthorpe's orientation typology is Ingham's (1970:49). To him instrumentalism may be used to describe the definition of work as a means to an end, but it does not necessarily imply what these 'ends' actually are. Given this and based on the importance attached by the worker to the economic and non-economic rewards Ingham suggested four basic orientations; namely the following:

- (i) High economic; high non-economic requirements from work.
- (ii) High economic; low non-economic requirements from work
- (iii) Low economic; low non-economic requirements from work.
- (iv) Low economic; high non-economic requirements from work.

The orientation typologies discussed so far seem to have a great deal in common that it would be justifiable to

consider them as an extension of each other. Rather different typologies, however, have been formulated by a number of industrial sociologists. For instance, Box and Cotgrove (1966) in their investigation of the differences among scientists in the importance which they attach to the pursuit of scientific and professional goals such as publication and autonomy, offered three main types of orientations, conceptualized on the basis of differential attachment to the values of autonomy, disciplinary communism (e.g. publication) and commitment to a career in science. These types of orientations are as follows:

1. The public scientist (intrinsic) who identifies with the profession of science and attaches maximum importance to publication and communication as a means of achieving recognition as a scientist.
2. The private scientist (intrinsic) whose main concern will be to work under conditions which enable him to get the best results. But the public world of science is not his reference group.
3. The instrumental scientist who has acquired the knowledge and skills of science but uses them for career purposes and occupational advancement.

A somewhat different contribution by Fox (1971) added yet another dimension to the typology of orientations. He argued that the orientation an individual brings to bear upon various dimensions of work can be seen to run in two directions; namely:

(i) Substantive orientations to work which describe the individual desire for more money, or security, or a more challenging job.

(ii) Procedural orientations which describe the individual desire to play some part in decision-making procedures in the organisation.

Finally, Bennet (1974), in an elaborate attempt, developed three basic typologies of orientations; a) economic: money and security i.e. (instrumental); b) social: social relationships, friendships (i.e. relational); c) personal: job interest, use of abilities (i.e. personal growth).

The next subsection will try to see how orientations were utilized to explain attitudes and behaviour at work.

2.2.1. Orientations as an Explanatory Variable

The review of Goldthorpe et al. work has demonstrated how the instrumental orientation of Luton workers, had coloured and shaped their perception of and attitudes to work. For example with regard to job choice, it was shown that, the workers concerned had deliberately given up higher status and inherently more rich jobs in favour of those that can guarantee higher economic rewards. Thus, in the words of Danial "their instrumental orientation to work pervaded their response to all aspects of the work

situation: the content of the work, relationships with supervisors, relationships with workmates, and evaluation of the firm and the union" (Danial, 1973:43).

Ingham (1967, 1970) resorted to the concept of orientations both to solve the apparent paradoxical problem of explaining and the observed relationship between organizational size and level of absenteeism and to suggest explanations for the lack of a relationship between labour turnover and the size of industrial organisations (1970). The main point which he tried adamantly to push through was that "the problem of labour turnover can be best understood in terms of the relationship between the workers levels and types of expectations from work and the structure of potential rewards in the organisation, that is to say, the decision to leave or to stay in an organisation will be dependent upon the levels of rewards an individual receives in the system". As for absence behaviour Ingham suggested that it "can best be understood by referring, not only to the levels of rewards, but also to the effectiveness of *interpersonal* as opposed to *impersonal* controls in determining the level organizational identification of those employees who have decided to remain in an organisation" (1970:28). Ingham argued that organisations are to differ in the degree to which they are potential sources of economic and non-economic rewards. He described a situation in which the small firms offer a

high level of non-economic rewards and a relatively low level of earnings: whereas, the large plants offer lower levels of non-economic rewards and high wages. On the basis of these arguments Ingham hypothesized that "workers will select those organisations which best satisfy the rewards most desired in work, as seen through their particular orientation to work. Subsequently, there will exist a relatively high degree of congruence between expectations from work and the level and type of reward. Thus labour turnover will be low and this is most likely to take the form of a high stability rate" (1970:49).

Brown et al. (1964) used an orientation terminology to explain the problem of married women reluctance to accept supervisory jobs. To them this reluctance can be understood in terms of a lack of congruence between the content and conditions of the supervisor's job and the satisfactions which most married women seek from their work. With few exceptions, the married women's interests were found to center on the home rather than on the factory. They derived their status-satisfactions and security from their homes and it was there that their organizing abilities were used. For them, work was primarily a means of performing their home-making function more effectively by making a contribution to the family standard of living. Thus, what married women expected from their jobs was the flexibility to carry out their home duties, good friendly relations and the

opportunity to make good money. The nature of the supervisor's job denied the realization of most of these priorities and resulted in the unwillingness prevalent among married women to seek supervisory duties.

Russel (1975) tried to verify how variations in orientations to work, utilized as a starting point for analysis would modify the Herzbergian hygiene theory (Herzberg, 1959). Among 50 trainees in a government training centre in Edinburgh (Scotland), he discovered that the orientation variable does to large extent, exert a pervasive influence on the perception attitudes and values of worker and that the incorporation of this variable in a theoretical model of job satisfaction makes for more effective predictor of the function of rewards as satisfiers and dissatisfiers, which in turn serve to modify the motivator-hygiene dichotomy.

The chief objective in the following section is to seek some answers to the controversial question regarding the sources of orientation.

2.3 Sources of Orientations

The sources of orientations have been the subject of a heated controversy between those who stress the importance of non-work factors as a major source of orientations and those who stress the interaction of work and non-work variables in a dynamic process. Bennet

(1974) summarizes the controversy as revolving around two questions:

- (i) Are workers' priorities fixed by forces external to the working situation?
- (ii) Do they remain constant over a period of time?

The aim in the following paragraphs is to provide an account- which is not at all exhaustive- of the major arguments provided by the proponents of each school of thought.

Prominent among those who emphasize the importance of non-work factors to account for work attitudes is John Goldthorpe (1966, 1968, 1970, 1972). He stressed the point that "the explanatory value of the idea of orientation to work will be directly related to the extent to which certain economic and social conditions prevail; namely ones conducive to the formation of labour forces which have some degree of homogeneity in terms of their members wants and expectations from work" (1972:267). "Moreover, the values and motivations that lead worker to the view of work they have adopted must be traced back, so far as this is possible to the typical life situations and experiences. In this way, therefore, the possibility indeed, the necessity arises as it does with other approaches... for explaining and understanding the social life which goes on within the enterprise by reference ultimately to the structure and

process of the wider society in the enterprise exists" (1968:185). "For if the orientation which workers have towards their employment is to be regarded as a crucial independent variable relative to what occurs in the work situation then to account in turn for the particular nature of this orientation, in any given case, must mean investigating other non-work aspects of the social lives of the workers involved" (1966:241). The rationale for this line of reasoning could also be found in Chinoy's assertion that "men seek in their jobs to satisfy desires derived not only from their co-workers but also from family and friends and from their experience as members of the community and wider society" (1965:133).

As far as the Luton study is concerned, the most significant explanatory hypothesis that emerged from its findings was that "under certain conditions orientations to work will exert a pervasive influence on attitudes, behaviour and relationships within the work situation, while being themselves largely determined externally to this situation" (Goldthorpe, 1970: 230). Thus, if the workers in that particular study were to be considered as alienated, Goldthorpe indicated "the root of their alienation must be thought not merely in the technological character of the plants in which they are employed, but, more fundamentally, in those aspects of the wider society which generate their tremendous drive for economic advancement and their disregard for the cost

of this through the impoverishment of their working lives" (Goldthorpe, 1966:230).

On the basis of these arguments, Goldthorpe et al. explained the instrumental orientation to work that existed among Luton assemblers in terms of these workers' experience of both social and geographical mobility, their position in the life cycle and their present patterns of family and community living. "Thus, it may be regarded as an added virtue of a social action perspective" Goldthorpe wrote "that, once it is taken, the industrial sociologist cannot allow his investigation to end 'at the factory gates'; whereas the conceptualization of the social life of the enterprise entirely in 'system' terms is tempting invitation to study this without reference to the structure of the wider society in which the enterprise exists" (1966:241).

Although, Goldthorpe was perhaps the first one to systematically and methodically stress the importance of non-work factors in industrial investigations; "nonetheless by the end of 1950s a very substantial body of work have accumulated which recognized in a one way or another that organizational behaviour would not be accounted for without paying some attention to the factors outside the organisation whether these were community affiliations, social origins, or national culture" (Rose, 1975 :231).

Dalton, (1947) for instance, used an action perspective terminology to explain the behaviour of what he called the 'rate buster' and the 'rate restrictor' among workers in a number of firms in the U.S. He was seeking to understand why, on the one hand, some workers were not motivated by work incentives to increase their productivity beyond socially acceptable levels and why others were more responsive to these incentives on the other.

In a reformulation of Dalton's argument, these behavioural differences among the workers he studied were attributable to initial differences in their work orientations. For example, it can be said that the rate restrictors were socially and solidaristically oriented, while the rate busters were instrumentally oriented. Dalton then found that these different work orientations matched different social backgrounds among the workers in question. For instance, the restrictors tended to be from urban, unskilled working class families, and were democrats; while the rate busters were from rural farming, or lower middle class urban families, and were for the most part republicans...In this sense Dalton noticed that the response to economic symbols is a socially learned response and that in the case he was concerned with it originated independently of the work situation.

Another application of actionalism was the work of Alvin Gouldner (1955). His study was primarily concerned with investigating the problem associated with the functioning of various patterns of bureaucracy and a wild-cat strike in a gypsum and processing plant in the U.S. Gouldner saw the contrasting work orientations of managers and different categories of workers as the main cause that triggered the industrial conflict in the first place and which kept it going in the second. These categories of orientations mirrored various social origins, different patterns of community ties and other influences in the wider society, and encouraged the adoption of certain types of conflict strategies and counter-strategies among both managers and workers. This should not however, nullify the effect of on-going experience in the plant in modifying the strategies followed by both sides of the conflict. The result as Rose put it " is a subtle analysis of conflict and co-operation in the plant which is not abstracted from a wider social context" (Rose, 1975:230).

Robert Dubin's initial work on central life interests of 491 American industrial workers was also a notable contribution towards the adoption of the social action perspective in the analysis of industrial behaviour (1956). Dubin was specifically looking at the workers' orientations to work. Contrary to previous studies' findings he noted that about three out of four workers

did not perceive their jobs and workplace as central in their lives. Instead the worker seemed to perceive his life history as having its centre outside work in the family, leisure, recreation or voluntary activities. The job was mainly viewed as a means to an end, a way of acquiring income for life in the community. It is this typology of orientations which Goldthorpe and other writers later borrowed and used in their work in particular, the instrumental orientation typology.

Similarly, an important landmark in the study of work behaviour was an earlier attempt by Turner and Lawrence (1965) to discover a meaningful relationship between an index of job complexity and job satisfaction. To their surprise, no clear-cut association between these two variables emerged for the total population they studied. To consolidate their results more convincing, new avenues of inquiry had to be sought and resorted to. A later discovery, and perhaps an intriguing one, revealed some differences between Town and City workers in their response to very similar work tasks. Turner and Lawrence viewed these differences to be the result of different predispositions to work among the two subpopulations which, "represent two different systems of beliefs and values that effect how work experience is perceived and what aspects of it are felt rewarding" (1965:104).

Gallie (1978) carried out a comparative study on two

British and French refineries to evaluate the relative importance of technological determinants on the one hand and cultural variables on the other in explaining workers responses in the workplace. This involved a research design in which technology was held constant and cultural factors were manipulated. Gallie reported fundamental differences in the attitudes and levels of expectations between the British and French workers. In particular he noted that the French workers were dissatisfied with salaries and were more militant about problems emerging from the work process. Moreover, they tended to see the firm as exploitive, worker-management relations as dichotomous and socially distant and the authority structure as illegitimate. In contrast, the British workers were relatively satisfied had a co-operative image of the firm and of workers-management relations and viewed the authority structure as legitimate (1978:300).

Through these findings Gallie realized the irrelevance of technology as an explanatory variable of the high degree of polarization between the attitudes of the French and British workers. In explaining what he envisaged as the origins of these differences Gallie concluded that "the nature of technology per se, has, at most, very little importance for these specific areas of inquiry...instead, our evidence indicates the critical importance of the wider cultural and social structural patterns of the specific societies for determining the nature of social

interaction within the advanced sector" (1978:135).

2.3.1. Orientations As a Dynamic Process

For those who see orientations as a process work behaviour has to be understood as a joint outcome of prior orientations and situational factors (Lowbeer, 1981; Lorence and Mortimer, 1981; Silverman, 1970; Fox, 1971; Beynon and Blackburn, 1972).

Touraine for instance, saw occupational attitudes as "an encounter between the expectations of the workers and a significant work situation" (1965:29). Nichols is quoted by Brown to the effect that "the process of socialization undergone within the corporation is an equally, if not the most important factor in the development of directors' value orientations than precorporate socialization" (1973:32). Beynon and Blackburn (1972) argued that "the way in which work is experienced depends neither on work factors nor on orientation alone, but on the interaction of the two. Furthermore, an orientation to work should not be thought of as arising outside and brought into the work situation but something which derives from the individual total experience. In moving outside the factory gates we should beware of creating a false dichotomy between work and nonwork life" (1972:4). In an apparent criticism of Goldthorpe's work, Beynon and Blackburn warned that "the rejection of the adequacy of

explanations based on technological determinacy and systems needs, should not lead us to adopt one which replaces an analysis of the work situation with one based on prior orientations" (1972:4).

David Silverman (1970) perceived the action approach to the analysis of work organisations to be concerned, among other things, with "the nature of involvement of ideal-typical actors (e.g. moral, alienative, instrumental) and the characteristics of the hierarchy of ends which they pursue (work satisfaction, material rewards, security). The way in which these derive from their biographies outside the organisation (job history, family commitment, social background, and from their experience of the organisation itself" (1970:154).

To Alan Fox (1971), the major determinants of the philosophies of work include: i) the work experience itself i.e. the type of work that is required to be done and the ways in which it is organized; ii) the broad cultural values and ideologies expressed in the work situation constitute another category of potential influences upon orientations to work and upon the resultant social patterns; iii) the values of subculture are a third category of possible influences upon attitudes to work e.g. children from manual wage-earning families absorb the values and expectations within the working class subculture and tend to perpetuate these

values and ideologies in their attitudes to work. To this extent Fox postulated that "the social action approach which stresses the importance of orientations and aspirations which employees bring with them into the organisation and which shape their frame of reference and thereby their perception and behaviour, need not be seen as in any way at odds with the approach which stresses the organisation and job design upon the individual. The orientations he brings with him may be the subcultural consequences of this very job design" (1971:16).

Studies that demonstrate how work and non-work factors combine to influence behaviour at work have been rare. This rarity can be explained in terms of the difficulty in designing studies that would identify simultaneously the influence of both variables on industrial attitudes. However, there are few exceptions. Among these is an early attempt by Steven Cotgrove (1965). He tried to explore some of the factors influencing the work involvement of technicians and the consequences of differential work involvement for non-work areas. Although his inquiry confirmed that the work situation is a significant variable for the sociological analysis of occupations, it nevertheless stressed the truism that the worker's involvement in the work situation depends not only on internal factors such as the nature of work situation and of supervision, but also on the needs and expectations which he brings with him and which are

derived from experiences external to the work situation such as education.

Beynon and Blackburn examined the combined effects of work-specific factors, e.g. workgroup, specific job conditions and non-work factors (workers' values and expectations) in determining variations in the perception of work in a food factory in England. They singled out differences in work behaviour and perception among four distinct groups within the factory labour force. These differences emerged despite the fact that the four groups shared and were reacting to the same work situation. In interpreting these differences, Beynon and Blackburn emphasized the point that "a general explanation of the way in which work is experienced must take account of the objective features of the particular work situation and the whole range of social characteristics of the workers in that situation. In other words, experience within the social structure of the work situation must be related to the individual's position within the social structure of the wider society" (1972:145). Thus, "involvement depends on the relationship between orientations and objective features of the concrete situation. Which features are important depends on the expectations brought to that situation and how far these are met by the actual rewards received from work.." (1972:157).

In his study of work values in the U.S., Kalleberge

(1977) proposed a causal model in which job satisfaction is viewed as a function of values, rewards and the degree of control over the work situation. According to this model variations in work values could result from three sets of social factors, mainly the following:

- i) Socialization and other types of life experiences which occur prior to the individual's entry into the labour force and which shape one's view of the importance of various dimensions of work.
- ii) Non-work social roles which impose constraints and contingencies on the types and meanings that the individual can seek from the work activity.
- iii) Work experiences which affect the mature worker's valuation of the potential rewards associated with work.

Russel (1980) tried to test empirically the extent to which the social action frame of reference is resistant to socialization. In a study of 50 trainees at a skillcentre in Edinburgh (Scotland), he was able to provide some support for the importance of changing social situations as an influence on orientations to work and went on to suggest that dynamic orientations has greater explanatory and predictive value than fixed orientation perspective when those are considered as determinants of attitudes and behaviour.

In the previous section, an account of the sources of orientations has been given. It is being shown that the

subject has been hitherto a bone of contention between those who see orientations as a reflection of non-work factors and those who see them as a product of interaction between work and non-work variables. However, it seems justified to expect that in certain economic and social circumstances, such as those prevalent in developing countries, non-work factors would assume the lion's share in explaining work behaviour.

2.4 Related Literature in Developing Countries

In general there are few studies that deal with work attitudes in developing countries and still fewer ones that resort to a social action conceptualization of industrial behaviour. However, there is a number studies which have more or less come closer to an action perspective formulation. In the following section, a brief review and evaluation of these studies is undertaken. In doing so, it is hoped that the need for this study will further be highlighted.

Badaway (1980) demonstrated the strong impact cultural and historical values have had on the attitudes and need orientations of 248 Mid-Eastern managers. However, Al-Omar (1984) starting from a conceptual premise that values are frames of references by which individuals cope with their objective world, found no relationship between the value orientations and job satisfaction of 160 American managers and 70 Arab managers/professionals in

the Gulf states.

In evaluation of Al-Omar study, one would have to note that it was characterized by many loopholes. One such loophole, is the fact that the items selected to define value orientations i.e. traditional versus modern ones were not at all relevant to the area of job satisfaction. More relevant values, as Al-Omar himself suggested, would include attitudes towards work itself, and how these in turn represent different patterns of expectations from work which at the end of the day would bear on workers' behaviour in the workplace. One must reiterate a point made earlier that work expectations are bound to be socially generated and sustained, and must consequently differ from one society to another. In a research design of this sort this is perhaps the most probable way by which one can account for any variations in work attitudes.

Similarly, a recent study by Abbas (1985) examined the relationship between beliefs about work and selected demographic variables for a sample of 203 Iraqi managers. Abbas found that belief systems differed across income, sex, educational level, field of education and social background. So too, cultural patterns and economic conditions were found to have considerable effect on managerial beliefs.

Although Abbas' study was one of a few exceptional studies which focussed on personal beliefs systems and their social and individual correlates, nonetheless, it failed to explore the way in which these beliefs affected the perception of and attitudes to work among the managers concerned. Unless it is shown how under certain circumstances these values and beliefs would condition the managers' expectations and priorities in work, any study of this sort would be partially incomplete, if not redundant.

On the African arena a number of recent publications began to focus on work attitudes and behaviour of the African industrial worker. Margaret Peil (1972), for example, provided a comprehensive picture of the behaviour of over 1400 workers in sixteen factories in Ghana. She gathered and analysed information about workers' occupational background, their process of finding a job, the types of firms in which they existed and their reaction to their jobs in terms of their satisfaction, absenteeism and turnover and their relationship with their foremen. While trying to explain what she considered the roots of these attitudes, she concluded that "society appears to have a greater effect on the workers behaviour, than does their industrial employment. Structural transformation of Ghana's society is proceeding rather slowly, and the workers appear to be well adjusted to the society as it is today rather than

anticipating the modern industrial society which one day would appear. Early socialization and contacts outside the workplace are more important in shaping attitudes and behaviour than is the experience of work" (1972:220).

In an article which was based primarily on observation as a research method, Abdu (1986), tried to deal with the controversial notion advocated by European writers that cultural expectations relative to work in traditional African societies did not emphasize commitment, diligence and proper attitudes towards work. He argued that "these negative characteristics of the African work force can be attributed to the absence of industrial culture in Africa..." Moreover "the African reluctance to accept wage employment arose from cherished independence in agriculture, his unwillingness to sever family ties because of the security they offered, and a fear of illness and death in urban areas. European failure to appreciate these later fears spawned the notion of the lazy African" (1986:34).

Abdu, then, went on to suggest a conceptual framework within which the negative attitudes of Nigerian workers can be understood. To him these negative attitudes to work are attributable to both work-specific and societal factors. The former include inequalities in the reward system, the government use of the employment as a welfare service, and reliance on criteria other than merit in

labour recruitment, placement and training. Among the societal causes of unsatisfactory work habits are the effects of corruption, a lack of patriotism and the cultural flux in which the contemporary Nigerian worker is caught.

The major argument that can be raised against Abdu's work is the fact that he relied completely on observation to determine an otherwise complex relationship. The study failed to test empirically the causes of the unsatisfactory work attitudes rampant in present day Nigeria. Failing this, however, the study does indeed represent a very useful theoretical framework for investigating the sources and consequences of work attitudes in Nigeria and other African and Mid-Eastern countries that typify the Nigerian case.

Following the line of Abdu, Ahiauzu (1986) argued that the work behaviour in Africa is affected by the nature of the African thought system. He considered the components of this thought-system to include, " the use of symbols... proverbs, legends and ballads,...and the world of spirits and gods". In work settings, "the African industrial worker normally uses his thought system in interpreting, constructing and ascribing meanings to things in the physical environment and the managerial and organizational structures and processes...he then acts and reacts on these structures and processes on the basis of the meanings he ascribes to them" (1986:47). Bearing

this in mind, Ahiauzu argued that "any conscious effort aimed at achieving a long-lasting and continuous change in the work behaviour of the African industrial worker has to start with the wider society". For, "it is from the society outside the workplace that elements that constitute the framework within which the African indigenous thought-system operates derive" (1986:54). In other words, what Ahiauzu is advocating here is that in order to change the work behaviour of the African we need to change the values and norms of the African societies. This, as Ahiauzu admitted "cannot be sudden and traumatic; it has to be gradual and can only result from the effects of developmental processes in African societies on the worker, particularly educational, economic, political and socio-cultural development" (1986:54).

In fairness to Ahiauzu, one must acknowledge the fact that his study constituted perhaps the first serious attempt to trace the antecedents of the African industrial behaviour. Nevertheless, it did not go far enough to identify empirically the relationship between the African thought-system and his behaviour in the workplace.

Within the Sudanese arena, there there is a dearth of studies of work attitudes. The only available study in this respect is an attempt by Madut (1986) in which he

investigated the effects of culture on managerial attitudes in Southern Sudan. The main object of the investigation was to understand the mechanism of the effects of culture in management practices so that complimentary theories, techniques and practices can be developed to avoid conflict between the two. In so doing, the research used a phenomenologically-based method to explore the attitudes and practices of eight managers in public organizations. The study concluded that the conflict of culture and management practices can be resolved by two things. First by identifying the forces of convergence and divergence in the cultural and organizational environment. Second, by reducing the process of cultural and organizational divergence in order to achieve a considerable convergence through a mutually inclusive model that accommodates both the local culture and the local organizational interest.

The work of Madut must be complemented as representing a genuine effort to trace the impact of culture on managerial attitudes. However, the study has some serious limitations which severely restrict the generalizability of its findings. Chief among these is the small size of the sample (eight managers) and the restriction of the fieldwork to Southern Sudan which meant that two thirds of the country were excluded.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has tried to trace the theoretical origins of the action approach and its utilization as a frame of reference to understand industrial attitudes. It has been shown that the approach derives from the methodological tradition of Max Weber and is concerned with understanding action. Action, in turn, is derived from the meanings which define social reality. These meanings are given to men by their society. Shared orientations become institutionalized and are experienced by later generations as social facts.

In work settings the action perspective stresses the importance of work orientations as a mediating variable of the workers responses to the objective features of a work situation... Work orientations can be seen as the ordered expectations and goals an individual has regarding the work situation. The question about the sources of orientations has led to a rich controversy between those who see them to be socially produced independently of the work situation, and those who regard them as a dynamic process resulting from the individual total experience including a significant work situation. The chapter concludes with a review of some of the studies done in the Middle East and Africa, and which came closer to embrace an action perspective to understand work attitudes.

CHAPTER THREE

The Sudanese Industrial Worker In Profile:

An Account of His Physical, Social and Economic Environment

Sociologists, anthropologists and other social scientists alike, have long recognized that humans beings are, by and large, products of their environments and that, consequently, these environments are mirrored in groups and individuals behaviour.

The present chapter aims at giving an account of those social and historical processes which largely condition the attitudes and behaviour of the Sudanese individual today. In doing so, it is hoped that a definition as to who is the Sudanese industrial worker -the basic unit of analysis in this study- will be provided. This task is to be done in two parts.

The first part goes back in history to pinpoint those historical events which have since influenced if not shaped the personality of a sudanese. Chief amongst was the coming of Muslim Arabs with a culture and a religion which not only replaced earlier ones but have been of lasting effect in the Sudan. The analysis constitutes an endeavour to draw a portrait -against a background of the country's geography and demography- of the social values, customs, beliefs and religious norms that are prevalent in modern Sudan. All these variables are to be regarded

as inputs into the social processes that bear on the average Sudanese dispositions.

The second part of the chapter dwells on the particulars of the economic environment and traces the history of Sudan industrial development. This would cast some light on how and when modern forms of work organisations -as currently known- were introduced to Sudan. The chapter also discusses the basic structural features of the Sudanese manufacturing sector in order to provide relevant occupational information which is deemed essential in deciding among different alternatives during the planning stage of the fieldwork.

3.1 The Setting

Histori-linguistically, the term 'Sudan' is to be traced back to the Arabic designation 'Bilad As-Sudan' meaning 'the land of the blacks'. The word was used in this sense by medieval Arabs to designate those areas in Sub-Saharan Africa stretching from the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, which has embraced the new Islamic faith. The name, thus, included today's modern states of Somalia, Sudan, Chad, Niger, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal. However, the term nowadays refers exclusively to those territories within the Nile Valley which constitute the modern Republic of the Sudan.

The River Nile and the country's vastness and diversity

are the two dominant and unique geographical characteristics of the Sudan. In area Sudan is the largest country in Africa and the ninth largest in the world. Covering just under one million square miles (967500), the country stretches 1300 miles from north to south and over one thousand miles from east to west at the widest point, an area fractionally less than that of Western Europe and more than ten times that of Britain.

The vastness of the country is further indicated by the fact that the Sudan shares boundaries with no less than eight countries. Namely, Egypt and Libya in the north, Chad and the Central African republic in the west, Uganda, Zaire and Kenya in the south, and Ethiopia in the east. It also faces Saudi Arabia across the Red Sea.

Although the country lies entirely in the tropics there are a number of regions with some local climatic effects. These include the 'Sudd' area in the south of the country which probably constitutes the largest swamp in the world, a narrow strip of land along the Red Sea coast and some hills in the west and the central west. Apart from these exceptions the whole of Sudan constitutes a single vast plain with three relatively distinct geographical zones:

(i) The northern zone, which stretches from the present Egyptian border to a point just north of Khartoum, Sudan's major city and administrative capital. The area

forms an integral part of the Sahara, with characteristically high temperatures and dry northerly winds through-out most of the year. The amount of annual rainfall varies from almost none in the far north to a few inches within the vicinity of Khartoum. Accordingly, any agricultural activity in the area is confined to the banks of the Nile.

(ii) The central belt, which lies between latitudes 18° and 12° north contains the most rich and fertile plains of the Sudan, in particular those areas enclosed by the Nile, the Atbara, and the Blue and the white Niles. Annual rainfall ranges from 8 inches in the northern part of it to about 30 inches in its southern part. Temperatures are relatively moderate compared with the northern region, although during summer they can be equally high.

(iii) The southern zone commonly, known as the red soil country, forms about 16% of the total area of the Sudan. Here rainfall is plentiful and vegetation following the rainfall pattern varies from grassy Savannah in the northern part, to swamps and Savannah forests in the centre and typical tropical forests in the extreme south.

A unifying factor of almost all the regions of Sudan is the River Nile and its two major tributaries- the White Nile which originates from Lake Victoria and the Blue Nile flowing from Lake Tana in the Heights of Ethiopia. Of the two rivers, the later is of added significance to

the life of the people of Sudan. Its waters and the fresh rich soil it brings each year are vital for agriculture and the fertility of the land.

The White Nile and the Blue Nile merge at Khartoum and carry on their journey to the Mediterranean as the River Nile. Some two hundreds miles north of Khartoum it receives the waters of its last tributary, the River Atbara, which flows from Northern Ethiopia and contributes about 21% of the system's water during its flooding season. From that point onwards the Nile covers about 1700 miles in an increasingly dry and barren country with no further branches whatsoever. As the River continues its journey northward rainfall becomes scanty and life at all levels becomes increasingly dependent on it.

3.1.1 The People of the Land

History and geography have played a spectacular role in the resultant synthesis of the different races and colours that are characteristic of modern Sudan. However, within this variety and diversity, it is feasible, ethnologically and culturally speaking, to ascertain two broad and relatively homogeneous classes. The north which is predominantly Islamic and Arabic in religion and ethnic origins and the south which is mainly African and pagan.

Because the two classes delineated above constitute distinct ethnical and cultural identities, the study described here will focus on the northern, Islamic and Arabic part of Sudan which in many ways belongs to the Middle East.

Although the Sudan has undergone some earlier historical transformations; the coming of the Muslim Arabs represents a watershed in the history of the country. It surpassed all other events in its lasting impact and profound historical and cultural implications.

The process of Sudan islamization and arabization was the result of its links with Arabia across the Red Sea and Egypt through the River Nile which have been going on from time immemorial. For instance, The Pharaohs, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Turks and the British had all come to the Sudan through its northern frontier-Egypt-. The idea was that in order to rule Egypt one needs to take the Sudan as well. Given that, it was not surprising that when Egypt fell to the Arabs in the 7th century, military expeditions to conquer the then christian Sudan began in earnest and at once.

Ironically, however, the christian kingdoms in the Sudan did not fall because of any military conquest, but through the gradual and persistent penetration and infiltration by the nomad Arab tribes. Those nomads who were "Coming from Arabia across the Red Sea, from Egypt

after the conquest of 641, and, at a later stage from the Maghreb- gradually infiltrated the christian kingdoms of Nubia. Their readiness to mix, coupled with the matriarchal system of the Nubian, on the one hand, and the Arabian patriarchal organisation of the family and the tribe on the other, had the effect not only of facilitating the assimilation of immigrants and the spreading of their culture and religion, but also of giving them the reins of power and political leadership in the host society" (Abd Al-Rahim, 1973).

Ibn Khaldun (an Arab historian) quoted by Abd Al-Rahim eloquently summarized the process of Sudan islamization and arabization by the following lines:

"Various tribes of Juhayna Arabs spread over the country, settled in it and made it their own...At first the Nubian kings tried to resist, but failed. Later on they tried to win them {the Arabs} over by giving them their daughters in marriage. But this led to the passing of power to some of the sons of Guhayna in accordance with the customs of the {Nubians} which vests the right of succession in sisters and their sons. Thus did the Nubians lose their kingdom and their lands passed to the bedouins of Juhayna" (1973:31,32).

The consequences of such historical and social processes which the northern regions of Sudan had undergone amounted to more or less a cultural revolution and a transformation of an immense magnitude which culminated in the establishment of the Funj Sultanate, the first islamic kingdom in the history of Sudan and the

islamization and to a lesser degree, the arabization of almost two thirds of modern Sudan. Today, people in northern Sudan identify themselves with the muslim Arabs of the Middle East, behave like them and share with them their islamic and arabic heritage. "The great significance of this heritage evidenced by the wide spread use of the Arabic language by the great mass of the population and the general adherence to the Islamic religion which permeates the whole of society and provides a background for almost every event of daily life" (Wai, 1981:19,20).

Thus, although a number of ethnic groups with contrasting modes of social, structural and economic systems can be identified in Northern Sudan; historians would to a large extent agree that the region constitutes a culturally homogeneous unit. In support of this claim one may cite two Sudanese historians. Wai, for instance, pinpointed the predominance of islamic religion, culture and institutions, the racial and ideological identification with the Arabs of North Africa and the Middle East; and the wide spread use of Arabic language as the main factors which have helped in unifying the people in the North of Sudan into a single culture and identity (1981).

Abdel Rahim regarded Islam to be the main factor responsible for the cultural unity of Northern Sudan. He wrote "Islam the chief motive behind arabization also

cuts across tribal frontiers and with strong emphasis on the brotherhood of all Muslims irrespective of racial or linguistic differences cemented the Arabized sections of the population among themselves on the one hand, while on the other, uniting them with those sections of the population mainly in the eastern, southern and western fringes of the central Sudan- who accepted Islam but not likewise Arabized. The unifying process of Arabization and Islamization have gone so far that especially by comparison with Southern Sudan those tribal differences which still exist in the northern provinces today are 'mainly superficial' (Abdel Rahim, 1973).

Nadler, who served in the British colonial administration during the thirties, wrote in acknowledgment of the remarkable cultural unity and shared expectations of the people in Northern Sudan: "the district commissioner who is transferred from Berber to Bara, from Kassala to Kordofan finds that he is dealing, in different local conditions, with the same kind of people, the same mental outlook. Once he has accustomed himself to differences caused by varying modes of life, he knows what to expect" (1935:94,95).

The islamization and arabization processes described above resulted in the people of Northern Sudan accepting whole-heartedly the Islamic faith. The importance of this can be summarized in two points: Firstly; Islam is a creed as well as a social system. In other words it is a

powerful influence on social behaviour and attitudes. For it is regarded by its adherents as a complete way of life, whereby almost every aspect of a muslim behaviour is regulated. As one western observer put it "it is above all...Islam, which, after the environment has most influenced the psychology of the people {the Sudanese} and fused their religious and social ideas into a unity of outlook which excites our wonder and admiration" (Trimingham, 1949).

Secondly; social customs in muslim countries in general and in Sudan in particular take on religious and islamic sanctions. For instance, social ties which are mostly oriented to family, clan, locality and tribe do all bear religious connotations and meanings.

It appears therefore that "to understand the life apprehensions of the Sudanese we have to take into account two movements: one due to the life process of the people in contact with the environment: while the other, Islam, is one which is a universal church and a cultural and social system common to a number of different people... only by taking both these two movements into account it is possible to understand these people" (Trimingham, 1949:107).

3.1.2 A Modern History of the Sudan

There are some traces of ancient civilizations in Sudan, especially in the northern part of it, where the Egyptian influence had been very dominant and can be followed right back through the history of the country; even though at times the influence had been in both directions. For example relics of Egyptians and Sudanese Pharaohs -temples and pyramids alike- do still exist today. However, while details of this ancient history can be found elsewhere, a main concern of this subsection is to concentrate on what historians regard as the history of modern Sudan, which begins in 1821, when Mohammed Ali, the Viceroy of the Ottoman Empire on Egypt, gained control over the country at the expense of the Sudanese Sultanates of Funj, Kordofan and Fur. Some time later, the southern provinces of Bahr Al-Gazal and Equatoria were annexed and the country assumed its present boundaries. During this time, important work such as introducing the country to modern agriculture and improving communication facilities was noticeable. Cotton and sugar plantations, for instance, were introduced and telegraph services linking the remote parts of the country with Egypt via Khartoum were established.

It did not take long, however, for the dynasty of Mohammed Ali to realize that a country as vast as the Sudan is ungovernable. Corruption, harsh measures and mal

practices rendered the whole situation intolerable for the Sudanese people. When a certain Sudanese religious leader -Mohammed Ahmed Al-Mehdi- called on them to expel the infidels, supporters were not hard to find. The Turko-Egyptian government indifference and initial gross underestimation of the Mehdi's power to rally people around him led to its final fall and demise in 1885, when the Mehdi's supporters captured Khartoum, the centre of the country's government.

The Mahadia State, in turn, was not born without problems. The sudden and premature death of its founder, just six months after the fall of Khartoum and the passing of power to his deputy, Khalifa Abdul Allahi led to a bitter and prolonged crisis. In the final analysis, the country plagued by war, internal disputes, natural disaster and starvation was an easy prey for the Anglo-Egyptian military expedition which was led by Kitchener in 1889. At the battle of Omdurman, the Khalifa forces armed with swords and spears, were no match for modern weaponry. Towards the end of the day more than ten thousands Sudanese were killed and the Khalifa was left with no option but to retreat to western Sudan to be killed a short time later, when he tried to return to the Nile Valley.

Although on paper the English and the Egyptians were equal partners in running the Sudan affairs, the English

were, in effect the sole masters of the country. They were keen to see to it that the country civil service and mode of government were designed in the image of their own system. Overall, however, this period is credited with a number of some excellent achievements. Important among these was the development and the expansion of the railway network which linked the different parts of the country with khartoum and Port Sudan. That was, on any scale, a very significant achievement for the social and economic integration of a continental country with a multitude of ethnicities such as the Sudan.

Another notable achievement of this era was the building of the Sennar Dam on the Blue Nile, which enabled the irrigation of one of the largest agricultural schemes in Africa, i.e. the Gezira Scheme. The cash crops it grows contribute over 60% to the country's earnings of hard currency. It provides a living for over 80000 farmers and accounts for a large portion of the country's grown food.

The British continued to rule the country almost unchallenged until after the Second World War, when the Sudanese nationalist movement started to gather momentum and gradually became a force to reckon with. In 1953 the British, apparently convinced by the genuine and civilized manner of the movement agreed after consultation with the Egyptians to grant the people of Sudan some sort of self-government for an interim period

to be concluded by a referendum regarding the future of the country. The interim period lasted for three years and the Sudan was declared independent on the first day of January, 1956.

The country's history since it became independent is a sad reminder of the pathetic failure of national governments to realize the hopes and expectations of the Sudanese people. Welfare, peace and prosperity remain as elusive and mythical goals as ever.

Broadly speaking, the fortunes of the country since independence swing back and forth along a continuum of civilian and military rule. In 1958 internal strives and the lust for power forced the then civilian government to hand over the reins of the country to the military establishment. Six years later the soldiers were forced by the masses to relinquish power and civilian rule was once more restored. However, the instability which was characteristic of the first parliamentary system was more pronounced this time; where wide spread feelings of disappointment among the people regarding the failure of the country's politicians to solve their problems, invited the military to stage a coup d'etat in May 1969. The pattern this time took sixteen years to be broken where in April 1985 bad government coupled with soaring prices and civil war triggered off a popular uprising which culminated in a civil disobedience that forced the army to return to the barracks, only to stage another

coup in June, 1989.

3.2 The Economy: Labour and Industry

The purpose of this subsection is to provide a brief review of the Sudanese labour market and sets the ground for an adequate discussion about the study's sample in the following chapter. A discussion of the labour market must in turn, be shaped in light of the population demographic characteristics. These demographic characteristics -birth, death and fertility rates- serve as a guide in reflecting the annual increase in population and hence the labour force.

The total population of the Sudan according to the 1983 census is 21,562,582, representing an annual growth rate of 2.8%. The main characteristics of this population are summarized below:

(1) A high current birth rate of 50 per thousand of population and a current average fertility rate of 6.9. This is quite normal in a culture where any attempt to regulate fertility for economic reasons amounts to an expression of lack of faith in God, the provider, and where a newly married couple is subjected to strong pressure for 'the family to become three'.

(2) A reported mortality rate of 19 per thousand of population. This is expected if one looks at it in the context of the prevailing health conditions in the

country, where infant and women mortality rates are high.

(3) Given a high rate of growth and an ever increasing influx of migrants across the borders, the population of the Sudan is expected to be doubled every 22 to 32 years.

(4) The age structure of the population contains a very high percentage of young people with 47% under 15 and only 3% aged 65 and over.

(5) The major concentrations of population are in Central Sudan (5108 thousand), Darfur (3094 thousand) and (Kordofan (3093 thousand) Regions, (The Sudan Economic Survey, 1987/88).

Very little up-to-date statistical data on employment in Sudan is available. Hence, the 1973 population census data is relied upon when the need arises to fill any information gap on manpower.

The economically active population (i.e. the total number of gainfully employed persons) numbered 6,653(thousand) according to the 1983 census, which corresponds to an overall participation rate of 30.8 (participation rate here means the proportion of persons who are classified as being members of the labour force). This rate is a resultant of wide differences in labour force participation by age, sex and other characteristics. It is apparent that, due to strong social pressures and customs, women participate to a markedly less degree in economic activity than men. For instance, according to

the preliminary findings of the 1983 census the crude participation rate of males (age 15 and over) was reported at 47 per cent and that of females (age 15 and over) at 14.1 per cent. This is in line with a recent survey information on employment and earnings in the public sector establishments employing five or more employees and excluding government ministries and departments. The survey which was completed in 1982 and was confined only to Central Sudan, included 278,953 thousand persons of whom 24,793 were females that is about 8.9% of the total number of public sector's labour force. About 73.4% of the total female labour force was concentrated in the social and community services sector. The male labour force was put around 253498 persons that is 91.1% of the total number of the public sector's workers (Sudan Labour Department: A study of labour, wages and hours of work in Public Sector, 1983).

Table 3.1
Sudan employment by sector, 1973.

Economic Sector	Percentage
Agriculture	72.7
Manufacturing	3.7
Electricity and water	1.0
Construction	1.9
Commerce, Trade & Finance	5.2
Transport storage & Communication	3.6
Services	11.9
total	100%

Source: Lees and Brooks, 1977, P.21.

Provisional data from the 1973 census on gainful occupations in Sudan indicate the following (table 3.1):

(i) Sudan is predominantly an agricultural country with about 60% of the economic active population engaged in the agricultural sector, which contributes 40.4% of the GDP and the bulk of the country's earnings of foreign exchange.

(ii) The industrial sector in Sudan, for the time being, remains a relatively small part of the economy, with industrial activity still contributing 10% of the GDP. It produces primarily import-substitutes for consumers' goods and uses imported machinery, equipment and both local and imported raw materials.

(iii) Women participation in economic activity and in particular in the formal modern sector is very limited indeed.

3.2.1 Sudanese Workers Abroad

Any discussion seeking to provide a full account of the Sudanese labour market has to include many new elements; in particular the large numbers of workers who migrated to the neighbouring Arab oil-producing countries in search of well-paid jobs. While this might seem a somewhat recent phenomenon, dating back to the oil prices boom in the 70s, the number of workers who have already migrated -around a million according to the latest

estimate by The Middle East and African Survey, 1990- appears to be substantial compared to the modern sector work force. Its economic and social effects in terms of income distribution and social stratification and relations can be clearly seen and felt in Modern Sudan. Two points would help explain this assertion. First, most of those who migrated were from the economically active population -about 80% of them were from 20-39 age category- (Galaleldin, 1985). Secondly, they were among the most qualified and skilled workers in the country. Consequently, there has certainly been a reduction in the number of skilled workers which resulted in a decline of the quality of work and a rise in wage levels.

The labour migration and its effects on work expectations in the Sudan will be dealt with in an elaborate manner in chapter eight.

3.2.2 The History of Industry in the Sudan

Since the level of economic development is a critical indicator of workers' response to industry, a picture of the Sudanese industrial worker will not be complete without a review of the country's industrial development. A main concern here is the relevance of the discussion which follows to the research objectives and questions. In doing so, it is hoped that the following objectives will be realized:

1. To provide the relevant and required statistics pertaining to the study's sample and the industrial work organization in Sudan.
2. To verify the basic supposition on which the study's sole hypothesis is based, mainly that industry in the Sudan is of recent origin.
3. To highlight some of the structural features of the Sudan manufacturing sector according to which a number of decisions were to be made as regards the sampling criteria and sample eligibility and size.

Time-wise, the industrial history of the country can be divided into four epochs:

- i. 1900-1925: The Early Years of Colonialism.
- ii. 1925-1956: Unintegrated Industrial Development efforts.
- iii. 1956-1969: National Industrial Development Efforts.
- iv. 1969-1979: The Years of Great Expectations.

Creating and developing a manufacturing sector was not among the priorities of early colonial administrations. The country's new rulers were too occupied with the establishment of their authority and the setting up of the necessary administrative machinery to devote any efforts to industrial planning and development. 'Available data indicate that almost all development expenditures went into infrastructural projects like railways, road construction, post and telegraph and other public works...Industrial activities were limited to

cottage type industry. The manufacturing of cotton into coarse grey fabric known as 'damour' constituted the most famous of these, in addition to ivory, leather and wood products which were occasionally exported' (Osman, 1985:10).

The genesis of the Sudan modern industry can be traced back to the expansion of cotton production after the completion of the Sennar Dam in 1925, which spurred the establishment of cotton ginning factories. The first four of which were constructed in the Gezira Province in 1925. Two other ginneries were set up at Atbara. By 1933 some 21 ginneries were in operation in the Sudan (Nimeiri, 1976:77).

'The development of cotton ginning resulted in the encouragement of some second stage industries like edible oils. Cotton seed oil production started in the country as early as 1935 and by 1943 a few modern oil mills existed in the Sudan' (Osman, 1985 :11).

Fear of shortages during World War II induced the development of certain import substitution industries. As a result, several branches of manufacturing, including textiles, flour milling, cigarettes, footwear, soft drinks, cosmetics and soap were erected. However, after the war ended, cheap imported products mostly of European origin, once again flooded the sudanese market and

hampered the development of these infant industries, when it did not bury them altogether.

Although by January, 1956 the Sudan was politically independent, the state of its economy was far from satisfactory. With a per capita income of \$100, a share of manufacturing in GDP of less than 2%, an illiteracy rate of 75% or higher and a heavy dependence on exports of agricultural and primary products [mainly cotton], the country was one of the twenty-five least developed countries.

Realizing all these economic difficulties, the first national government embarked on an economic and social development programme aimed at increasing per capita income and widening the country's economic structure. Industry was expected to play a significant role in the fulfillment of these objectives. This was to be accomplished by adopting an official policy primarily geared towards creating an atmosphere conducive for private initiative to undertake industrial ventures.

Shortly afterwards the "Approved Enterprise [Concessions] Act, 1965, was declared. By giving generous incentives to infant industries the Act represented the first serious and systematic step towards the industrialization of the country. In 1961 the Industrial Bank was established to assist in the financing of private sector-projects and to facilitate the acquisition of machinery and equipment

needed in the process of industrial production. The Bank was also expected to help in rendering technical advice and expertise by undertaking industrial research and feasibility studies.' Since then, numerous industries of vital importance and a number of small and medium size industries to meet domestic demand have been established. These produce textiles, flour, other foods, beverages and plastics to mention only some,' (Nimeiri, 1976).

Another landmark in the history of the Sudanese industry was 'The Ten Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1960/61-1970/71'. It heralded a new era of direct state involvement in manufacturing activities, as the government felt that the private sector would neither possess the resources nor the will to develop certain types of industries which were regarded as important, such as strategic and defensive industries and industries which require large amounts of capital or take longer to complete.

The main objectives of the plan revolved around an import-substitution strategy designed to produce locally those goods which had to be imported. Hence, a number of large-scale manufacturing enterprises were started by the public sector in the early sixties. By 1968 the government had two large sugar mills, a tannery, a cardboard factory and five food processing plants. 'Accordingly the share of the manufacturing sector in

GDP...rose from 1% in 1955/56 to 9.4% in 1970/71, and employment rose from about 9000 employees to over 40000 employees during the same period' (Nimeiri, 1976:78).

As the government became very much involved in industrial development, an independent administrative entity -the Industrial Development Corporation- was established in 1962 and entrusted with the task of managing and promoting large-scale industries in the public sector...A separate ministry for industry- The Ministry Of Industry and Mining- was established in 1966, and in 1967 the 'Industrial Organization and Promotion of Investment Act' was approved providing more concessions for private investment and remedying some of the shortcomings of the 1965 Act, (Nimeiri, 1976; Suliman, 1975).

The coming of a socialist orientated government in May 1969, has had a dramatic effect on the structure of the Sudanese industrial sector. A believer in central planning the new government stressed the leading role which the public sector could play to spearhead the country's industrialization process. On one the hand, the regime nationalization and confiscation policy of almost all large private industrial establishments that existed in the country, had resulted in the public ownership of 59% of all invested capital in the industrial arena. 'Contrary to the situation that existed before May 1970 when the public ownership was limited only to nine firms and the public role was largely to stimulate private

initiative and the growth of the industrial sector through industrial incentives policies, now the public sector was to become the pioneer in the industrial field' (Osman, 1985).

Incidentally however, following a failed communist attempted take-over in July, 1971, the government decided to revise all its nationalization and confiscation policies, giving the impression that it was all communist inspired. By the end of the seventies some nationalized local firms were denationalized and most confiscated ones were returned to their original owners.

On the other hand the government development plans, such as the 'Five Year Plan 1970/71-1974/75', had made a considerable contribution towards widening the industrial base and increasing the level of industrial employment.

Thus, a cross-sectional view of the manufacturing sector today would reveal that some modest industrialization of the Sudan economy has been achieved. For example, when the country attained its political independence in 1956, industrial activity represented a negligible portion of the Gross Domestic Product. As a result of policies initiated by successive governments the contribution increased to approximately 8% of GDP in 1987/88. In a parallel development the number of manufacturing firms expanded markedly from 52 firms in 1956 to 621 firms by

1980/81. Likewise, the number of workers employed in manufacturing did increase from 7198 to 70815 during the same period. Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below provide the growth rate of modern manufacturing firms and industrial employment, respectively.

Table 3.2
Growth rate of modern manufacturing firms
(1955/65-1980/81)

Year	No of firms	Increase in no. of firms	average annual growth rate (%)
1955/56	52	-	-
1956/57	60	8	15.4%
1957/58	67	7	13.5
1958/59	83	16	16.9
1959/60	99	16	17.5
1960/61	116	17	17.4
1961/62	120	4	12.0
1962/63	137	17	14.8
1963/64	149	12	14.1
1964/65	167	18	13.8
1965/66	194	25	14.0
1966/67	216	24	13.8
1967/68	238	22	13.5
1968/69	273	35	13.6
1969/70	308	35	13.5
1970/71	338	30	13.3
1971/72	358	20	12.8
1972/73	380	22	12.4
1973/74	417	37	2.3
1974/75	446	29	12.0
1975/76	488	42	11.8
1976/77	521	33	11.6
1977/78	557	36	11.4
1978/79	592	35	11.2
1979/80	611	19	10.8
1980/81	621	10	10.4

Source: Osman, Industrial Policies and Industrialization in The Sudan, 1985 p. 94.

Table 3.3

Employment in modern manufacturing sector and rate of growth (1955/56-1980/81)

Year	No of workers in modern manufacturing	Annual increase of workers	average annual growth rate of employment (%)
1955/56	7198	-	-
1956/57	8641	1443	20.0
1957/58	9721	1080	16.2
1958/59	11094	1373	15.5
1959/60	13343	2249	16.7
1960/61	14513	1170	15.1
1961/62	15116	602	13.2
1962/63	23730	8614	18.6
1963/64	27174	3444	18.1
1964/65	32168	4994	18.1
1965/66	33784	1616	16.7
1966/67	35552	1768	15.6
1967/68	36355	803	14.4
1968/69	38888	2533	13.9
1969/70	40443	1555	13.1
1970/71	41725	1282	12.4
1971/72	43087	1362	11.8
1973/74	48573	3720	11.2
1974/75	50500	1927	10.8
1975/76	54045	3545	10.6
1976/77	59885	5840	10.6
1977/78	63574	3689	10.4
1978/79	64741	1167	10.0
1979/80	70667	5926	10.0
1980/81	70815	148	9.6

Source: Osman, Industrial Policies and Industrialization in the Sudan, Khartoum University Press, 1985, p. 84.

3.2.3 The Structure of Sudan Manufacturing

Considering the purpose of this research exercise and the availability of data the basic structural features of the Sudanese industry can be discussed along a number of lines mainly; (i) ownership (ii) regional distribution (iii) patterns of growth, and (iv) size of industrial establishments.

The Sudanese industrial sector can be divided according to the type of ownership into privately-owned and publically owned enterprises. Prior to 1960 almost all industrial investment was privately initiated and sustained. As a result 98% of the total investment in industry during that period came from private capital and so did most of manufacturing output and employment. Despite some notable public achievements during the seventies, the share of the private sector's in industrial establishments is still very considerable. According to the latest published figures there are 621 industrial establishments in the country employing ten or more workers. Out of these 592 are privately owned -that is about 95.4% of the grand total-. Among them they provide employment for more than two thirds of the total labour force in industry.

The salient features with regard to the structure of the Sudanese private industrial sector are exhibited in table 3.4 below and can be summarized by the following points:

(a) The preponderance of private firms amount to what is known among industrial economists as an informal industrial sector; i.e. a non-modern sector comprising family-owned small industrial enterprises and artisan workshops, using traditional and labour intensive technologies and largely located in Greater Khartoum; the capital city of the country. For instance, only 147 private firms are located in small towns and rural areas i.e. 24.8% of a total of 592 firms. The rest, i.e. 445 firms or 75.2% of the total number of firms are located in Greater Khartoum (table 3.4). Because of that and due to the inability of the private sector to develop large-scale industrial enterprises, most private industrial firms are of lesser importance than public ones in terms of economic impact despite the fact that they are greater in number.

Table (3.4)

Size of industrial establishments in Sudan as measured by the number Of employees

Employees	10-49	50-99	100-499	500	Total
absolute no. of establishments	373	147	77	23	621
No. of establish. as % of total	60.1 %	23.8	12.4	3.7	100

Source: Osman, Industrial Policies & Industrialization in the Sudan, 1985, p.65.

(b) It is evident from table (3.5) that in terms of employment and the number of establishments the food, beverages and tobacco sector and the textile branch are the most important ones. About 54.3% of the total number of establishments and 63.8% of the labour force are within these two categories.

Table (3.5)

No. of private industrial establishments and employees

Activity	No. of firms	% from total	No. of employment	empl. as % of total
Food, beverages and tobacco	190	37.8	11396	23.9
Textile, wearing apparel & leather	99	16.5	19019	39.9
Wood and wood products inc. furniture	8	1.5	778	1.6
Paper & paper products, printing and publishing	59	8.9	2862	6.1
Chemical and chemical products inclu. petroleum products	101	15.1	6207	13.1
Non-metallic products except coal and petroleum products	62	10.3	3490	7.3
Metallic products (including basic metals, machinery and equipment)	73	10.3	389	58.1
Total	592	100.0	47647	100.0

Source: Osman, Industrial policies and Industrialization in the Sudan, Khartoum University Press, 1985 P. 62.

(c) Of all the industrial activities in the private sector, the textile category is the most prominent employer despite the fact that it is second to the food subsector in terms of the number of establishments thanks to a labour-intensive technology and to the larger size of textile factories.

(d) Chemical products such as soap, perfumes, cosmetics pharmaceuticals, and dry cell batteries as well as rubber and plastic products such as vehicle tires, footwear and household utensils are primarily produced in the private sector (Osman, 1985:63).

3.2.4 The Public Industrial Sector

Public participation in manufacturing began in the late fifties, when the government realized the reluctance of the private sector to engage in the development of large-scale industrial enterprises, which it regarded as significant to the economy of the country. Since then, successive administrations have, at least in part, succeeded in establishing a number of public firms in all industrial activities. Towards the end of the sixties there were nine large public factories, and in 1970 the public investment in manufacturing amounted to 59% of the total investment in industry. By 1980 there were 29 public manufacturing establishments, including five sugar mills, seven spinning and weaving factories, two cement works and a number of food producing firms and edible oil

mills. Because of their large size and the modern production technology they use, the public manufacturing firms contribute about 32.7% [23168] of the total industrial employment [70815], even though they represent only 4.6% of the total number of manufacturing firms in the country.

Table (3.6)
Size of public manufacturing firms*

No of Employees	1-49	50-99	100 and above	total
No of Establishments	1	4	24	29
% of Establishments	3.4	13.8	82.8	100.0

Source: Based on statistics gathered from the Sudan Labour Department, 1983.

*The size is measured in terms of employment.

The public manufacturing sector is dominated by the food and the textile industries. Overall, however, the food industry is the most important subsector considering its size of investment, employment and the number of establishments. Within it the sugar industry -in which the government invested heavily during the seventies- stand out as the largest branch, where three more mills were added to the existing two.

Until the early seventies the textile industry was a

monopoly of the private sector. In 1972, the government, encouraged by the availability of raw materials, launched an ambitious programme of textile manufacturing aimed at achieving self-sufficiency. Seven factories were built and the textile industry today constitutes the country's largest employer.

3.3 Summary

The first section of this chapter attempted to define the Sudanese industrial worker in terms of his physical and social setting. The underlying theoretical premise on which this supposition is based is the notion that man in social life is conditioned by his environment, geographical and human, which determine his way of life and his psychological make-up, (Trimingham, 1949).

On the social dimension a most fundamental influence was the process of arabization and islamization which Northern Sudan has undergone centuries ago. The perception of the average Sudanese is coloured by it and his values, customs and ethics are products of it. Given this, it would seem logical to argue that the unit of analysis of this study is a Muslim of an Arab decent or an Arabic speaking Muslim. The behavioural implications of this statement are quite obvious; the individual's social ties to family, locality, clan and tribe assume special importance. Consequently individuals are outward looking, constantly seeking the approval of family,

friends and community. Traditional values of courage, generosity, hospitality, honour and self-respect are perceived as virtues by the society at large.

No study of industrial attitudes and behaviour in Sudan can afford to overlook these variables if it is to reach some sound and meaningful findings.

The second section of the chapter traced the history of industry in the Sudan and went on to sketch a contour of the country's prevailing industrial structure. The following points provide a summary of the major characteristics of the Sudan industrialization process and its industrial structure.

(i) Although first stage industry appeared on the Sudanese scene at the turn of this century, genuine industrialization efforts did not start until after 1956, when the country attained its political independence.

(ii) Large scale industries manufacturing import substitutes emerged in the Sudan only after 1960.

(iii) It follows from (i) and (ii) above that most present industrial workers are first or at most second industrial generation.

(iv) Until 1970 direct public participation in the industrial field was relatively small- only nine public firms-, nevertheless, it increased sharply due to the nationalization and confiscation policies of 1970, and

two development plans in the 1970s. Since then the expansion of public investment in the industrial arena has tipped the balance in its favour at the expense of the private sector.

(vi) The manufacturing sector in Sudan can be divided into two components: (a) a modern component comprising the largest industrial enterprises and using comparatively modern technology (all public industrial firms can be located within this category); and (b) a non-modern component comprising numerous small industrial enterprises characterized by their small-scale operation and labour-intensive technology (most private firms would fall into this category).

(vii) The picture of the regional distribution of industry in Sudan shows that the central region has attracted the major part of industry. Available statistics, though a little out-dated, indicate that the region accounts for 88 per cent of the establishments, 95 per cent of production and 94 per cent of the labour force (the Sudan Industrial Survey of 1970-71). There is no reason to believe that this pattern has changed since then.

Having said that, one feels that the stage is now set for a discussion of the research methods and procedures. This is the main objective of the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Research Methodology

As it was mentioned earlier in the introductory chapter, this study is concerned with investigating the behaviour and attitudes of factory workers in the Republic of the Sudan. The intention, it will be remembered, is to test a core proposition that in the newly industrializing countries nonwork factors (workers' experience in the wider society) are more important in shaping behaviour at work than the immediate experience of work itself (i.e. on-the-job-conditions). At a macro level the study represents an endeavour to ascertain whether an industrial culture has been able to gain some grounds in what has hitherto been described by social scientists as a traditional culture.

This chapter outlines the project operationalization process i.e. steps and decisions taken regarding the manner by which the research empirical part was executed. It provides a description of, as well as a rationale for the selection of factory work to be the focus of analysis as opposed to other types of works, and for the choice of the specific geographical area to which the study confines itself. The discussion also extends to the particulars of the fieldwork, the sampling procedures, data collection methods, the data analysis plan, a profile of the firms included in the survey or any other

methodological and design considerations and the practical problems associated with such a process.

4.1 The Design of the Research: Some Primary Considerations

Before a discussion can be given of the main prerequisites of the design of the study, it has to be said that the choice of factory work as a sphere of investigation was deliberate and intentional for the following reasons:

(i) Factory work is largely considered to be synonymous with industrialization, and the spread of it in any country is taken to mean an emergence of an industrial culture (Kerr et al., 1973).

(ii) More than work in mines or agriculture or service industries, factory work represents the essentially modern forms and principles of work organisation and design that characterize industrial economies (Salaman, 1985).

(iii) It seems to generate distinctive workers' responses of satisfaction, alienation, anomie ...that have been the focus of social scientists and practicing managers with an interest in improving productivity or morale, solving personnel problems, reducing absenteeism and turnover (Salaman, 1985).

To test the study's main hypothesis involves an investigation into the relationship between workers'

attitudes to work on the one hand and both their social relations outside work and their immediate experience of work on the other. The implications of this for the nature of the data to be collected and the methods through which they were to be collected are obvious. The nature of the data to be gathered is attitudinal and behavioural in both form and content. According to the accumulated experience in the social sciences the most effective way to tap attitudes is through questions. Asking questions plus the exploratory nature of the research project have made the adoption of a survey design not only logical but imperative.

Furthermore, the investigation into the relationship between on-the-job experience and workers' reactions dictates that the former has to be regarded as an important dimension in the analysis. On-the-job experience is largely considered to be a function of the technological bases of production and the content of jobs. Differences in technology and work content manifest themselves as differences in skill levels and trades which in turn are expected to result in variation in workers' responses. This meant that certain prerequisites have to be met as far as the design of the research is concerned.

First the design has to provide for the manipulation of the technological factors by adopting an analysis

strategy in which the variable in question is left to vary. This is to be accomplished through the selection of different firms with different technological characteristics.

Secondly and closely connected to the above consideration, the design has to allow for some sort of variation in skill levels among the sample to be selected. This would serve to reflect variation in the production processes of the selected firms as well as the sampled workers' jobs' contents.

Thus, for the main assumption of the study to come true workers' behaviour has to remain the same in different technological environments and across different skill levels and at the same time it has to be shown that nonwork factors bear considerably on these attitudes (Bechthellor, 1973). Similarly to invalidate the hypothesis requires the identification of significant differences in responses among workers with different skill levels that do not relate to their social experience outside work.

4.2 Fieldwork

Central Sudan and in particular the provinces of Khartoum and Gezira provided the locale for the field investigation. The area is chosen for a number of reasons; among them is the fact that this is relatively

the most prosperous area in Sudan. Early industrialization efforts began here and it can be expected that industrialization with all its inherent cultural characteristics (i.e. an ideology oriented towards work, accumulation, and responsibility to the job and the norms or standards of performance (Kerr et al., 1973) has been able to claim some penetration of the traditional values of a preindustrial society (i.e. strong family and community obligations and diffusion of roles). If the study's main proposition is validated and if this is taken to indicate that an industrial culture is yet to gain grounds in this particular region then it follows that the same will hold true in other parts of the country.

Secondly, the availability of basic agricultural industrial inputs such as cotton and sugar canes, the relatively good transportation and energy facilities and the existence of the necessary market potential conducive to industrial development had all helped in the emergence of large scale public industries such as cotton ginneries, weaving and textile factories and sugar and tobacco plants. Consequently, manufacturing industry is highly concentrated in this region where more than 82% of all industrial establishments are to be found. These in turn contribute over 76% to the total manufacturing production in Sudan, and provide employment for 85% of the total industrial labourforce (Nimeiri, 1976). Thus,

the region represents an added advantage in terms of economy of effort and resources required to cover the sample of workers in question.

Bearing the above argument in mind, the fieldwork was carried out in the period from April to October 1988. The first two months amounted to more or less a pilot study. The objectives were to:

(a) reach a final selection of the establishments to be covered by the project. In fact, the choice was between two alternatives; the first was to select one factory from each of the main production systems that were regarded as appropriate to satisfy the study's objectives i.e. chemical, mechanical and craft. The second was to give added weight to certain production technologies (for example textile factories are more numerous compared to others).

(b) familiarize oneself with the production process within each of the factories in question and gather some information regarding employment policies and conditions by talking to workers, union officials and departmental managers and by consulting personnel records if that was permissible.

(c) work out plans regarding the sampling criteria and sample sizes. This raised a number of questions for which answers were needed; among them were; Who is eligible to be included in the sample? how to reflect the variety in the production systems of the factories to be selected?

how to tackle the problem of illiteracy prevalent among unskilled workers? and how many workers to include in the sample?

(d) Testing predesigned questionnaire forms for relevance and clarity of questions and scope of coverage.

The sections below represent a discussion of how the pilot survey objectives were materialized.

4.3 The Sample: Firms and Workers

The process of choosing a sample was carried out in two stages; the first was the selection of industrial establishments and the second was the selection of unit of analysis (individuals) within establishments. Choosing establishments was largely guided by the principle of choosing ones objects according to their theoretical relevance rather than by some criteria based on their frequency in a population (Prandy & Blackburn, 1982: 29). Thus, in many ways, the sample of the establishments chosen resembles what Willier (1967) described as a scope sample where cases are selected to fit conditions appropriate to a theory model. The importance of this distinction according to Prandy and Blackburn lies in the fact that most sampling procedures are concerned with adequately representing and generalizing to a population. Theories on the other hand are not concerned with specific population but with general hypotheses, though they may of course hold only under specific conditions to

be found in a particular population (1982:29).

It was thus, decided that, the study should concentrate on public establishments whenever that was feasible. The rationale for this restriction was that, although the Sudanese private sector predominated in both industrial output and investment until the early seventies...public ownership of manufacturing firms increased substantially after the nationalization and confiscation policy of 1970. After 1972, direct public investment became very active in the industrial field as the government decided that the public sector should be leading and pioneering the industrial arena (Osman, 1985:49,60).

Today the public ownership in terms of the number of manufacturing firms is very considerable and its significance to the national economy cannot be exaggerated. It monopolizes or nearly so, some certain industries such as sugar and leather industries and its share in others is very substantial indeed.

A further obvious reason for the exclusion of private firms from the domain of this study is that of size. Public factories are large in terms of both investment and output and they provide a very substantial part of employment in Sudan. This is attested by the fact that public sector establishments employ 269 persons on average, as against 68 persons per unit on average in the private sector (El-Hassan, 1976).

Among public firms the study concentrated on those which are employing 500 workers or more and which are enjoying some administrative and financial independence from the control of the central government. These are in effect reputable for their relatively good wages, fringe benefits and other employment conditions.

Statistics from the Ministry of Industry and The Department of Labour helped in the construction of the sample frame of all public industrial establishments in Sudan and in particular of the size which was the focus of the study. All in all there are 35 large industrial establishments in Sudan, the distribution of which is exhibited in the table below.

Table (4.1)
The largest public firms in Sudan

Type of industry	No. of firms	Percent
Food industries	12	34.3
Sugar industries	5	14.3
Building Materials Firms	3	8.6
Leather and Plastic industries	6	17.1
Spinning and Weaving Firms	8	22.9
Paper, publishing and Printing firms	1	2.8
Total	35	100%

Source: Based on statistics gathered by the Ministry of Industry.

In line with the initial consideration that was dictated by the study's design and the need to incorporate in the sample different factories with different production systems a reclassification of the above industrial firms was needed. In doing so, some sectors were left out of the selection process for reasons of inaccessibility. Among those discarded were firms in the food and building materials sectors. Nonetheless, the remaining firms were quite adequate and suitable in providing a sufficient pool from which a sample that would satisfy the selection guidelines may be drawn. As to the number of the firms selected, it is hoped that a survey involving five factories, if and when based on the selection criteria spelled out in this chapter would suffice to verify the study's proposition. Besides, limiting the sample to five firms instead of spreading it over a large number of firms would help speeding up the process of gathering information without, at the same time, violating the design requirements.

Table (4.2) sheds more light on the reclassification of firms and the distribution of those that were selected.

Table (4.2)
The firms' sample

Type of production process	Sector	No.	No in the sample	%
chemical	Sugar & Leather	8	2	25.0
mechanical	Textile	9	2	22.2
Craft	Printing	1	1	100.0
Total		18	5	27.8

The five firms selected were; The Guneid Sugar Factory, Gezira Tannery, The Hassaheisa Textile Co., Gezira and Managel Textile Co. and The Government Printing Press. (a profile of the factories is given at the end of the chapter). With the exception of the Government Printing press in Khartoum, all other factories are located in the Gezira Province.

The selection of individuals from within firms was also firmly guided by the purpose and intent of the study. The male manual workers provide the population from which the sample is to be drawn. This restriction to male workers reflects the researcher's desire to test the study's core proposition among workers who have been relatively exposed to longer periods of industrial experience. It is obvious that the employment of women in a country like the Sudan, particularly in industrial jobs, is still a novelty which means that their experience of industrial work would ultimately differ from men.

Moreover, it was decided that the individuals selected must portray -through their skill levels- a picture of the different production systems within the factories. The approach devised by Goldthorpe in his Affluent worker Study was of great help in this respect. The idea was to concentrate in the case of each plant on men performing types of work which were central to the main production systems (Goldthorpe et al. 1968:4). Thus, in the two textiles factories process workers were singled out as the most relevant group, while maintenance and process workers were the concern of the study in the sugar factory and machine operators in the other two factories (i.e. The printing press and the tannery).

The study was also restricted to those workers who have an acceptable command of Arabic, and who were in a position to read and understand the questionnaire items and respond accordingly. This meant that the unskilled group of workers was dropped from the selection process since it was noted that a sizable number of them do not read or write well. Despite that, it was possible to secure variation skill-wise by categorizing workers in three groups; namely:

- (i) highly skilled: maintenance workers, mechanics, electricians and carpenters.
- (ii) relatively skilled: foremen, inspectors, and drivers.

(iii) semi-skilled groups: process workers and machine operators.

In view of the fact that the sample composition has to contain a sufficient number of individuals with varying levels of skill and given the fact that workers were not evenly distributed along these lines -there were fewer individuals classified as relatively skilled in comparison with the other two groups- random sampling become decidedly inappropriate as it does not guarantee adequate units of observation that would allow some flexibility when the final analysis of data is undertaken. Thus, in contradistinction from random selection the choice of individual workers from within industrial firms, was rather a purposive one, guided mainly by our intention to secure a suitable number of workers from each skill grouping. Nonetheless, the special nature of the sample of both firms and individual workers exemplified by the specific geographical area to which the study was restricted and the particular workers selected plus the homogeneity of the workers' social origins provide a strong case to argue for the representativeness of the study's expected findings to all workers in the industrial sector. If industry proves to be -as it is claimed- a very strong socializing agent; then these workers must be the first among the Sudanese manual workers to adapt to an industrial way of life. If, on the other hand, industry fails to do so, and if this

is taken as a vindication of the study's hypothesis, then the same must also be true for all other workers in the country.

Although every effort was made to avoid nonresponse it must be said that it was perhaps unfortunate that the fieldwork was done during exceptionally bad weather in Sudan. Unusual heavy rains coupled with floods took their toll on a country which was completely unprepared for it. The country was paralyzed. There was a time, particularly in August (1988), where life seemed to have virtually stopped. There was no food, no clean water, no electricity and no means of transportation. Most factories were closed for some time because power production in the country approached the zero-point. The researcher was caught right in the middle of it. Even when things started to improve, transportation from factory to another proved to be extremely difficult. The whole process of the fieldwork became tiring, frustrating and time consuming, specially, when one had to travel across a distance of 300 kilometers in order to cover the five factories.

Getting back the completed questionnaires was also fraught with difficulties and proved to be a daunting and frustrating exercise. The questionnaires were distributed to the targeted workers within each factory late in July 1988, with the understanding that a period of one week

would be sufficient to fill in the questionnaires and hand them back. However, as rains started to fall heavily and continuously, telephone lines were cut-off. There was no other means -apart from travelling- to contact the firms to make sure that the questionnaires were filled in, prior to collection, so as to save one's efforts. Travelling was not also an easy task. Muddy roads rendered it virtually impossible to reach some factories. Sometimes one managed to get through, only to find that the workers were sent home because the power supply was cut-off. This trivial mechanical process was not completed until Mid-October, 1988.

Doing fieldwork under such circumstances is bound to affect the response rate. Out of a total 272 questionnaires distributed to targeted groups in the five factories 204 were returned, a completion rate of 74%. Additionally, sixteen forms were either incomplete or improbably filled (about 6% of the original sample). Tables (4.3), (4.4) and (4.5) shows the distribution of the sample by firms and skill levels.

Table (4.3)

The distribution of the final sample by firm

Firm	Questionnaires Distributed	Returned	Response rate in each firm
Guneid	60	42	70%
Gezira Tannery	52	29	55%
Gematex	50	24	48%
Government Print.P.	65	49	75%
Hassaheias Textile c.	50	44	88%
Total	272	188	

Table (4.4)

The sample by skill level

Skill level	Number	Percentage
A.Highly-skilled (maintenance, mechanics electricians & carpenters)	70	37.3
B.Relatively-skilled (foremen, inspectors & drivers)	42	22.2
C.Semi-skilled (process workers & machine operators)	76	40.5
Total	188	100.0

Table (4.5)

The sample by industrial firms and skill levels

Firm	semi- skilled	relatively skilled	highly skilled
1.Govt. Printing Press	14	5	30
2.Gezira Tannery	10	4	15
3.Gunied Sugar Factory	10	7	25
4.Gematex textile Co.	13	11	--
5.Hassahiesa Textile Co.	29	15	--
Total	76	42	70

4.4 The Research Methods

The research instruments utilized in gathering the relevant information as regards the research questions were self-administered questionnaires. The advantages of this particular research method are well documented in the literature (Moser & Kalton, 1986; Openheim, 1986). It can be used to survey relatively large groups of people in a relatively short time and with a minimum of cost compared to other methods. It also has the appeal of producing a higher response rate than would otherwise be obtained. Moreover, and due to the nature of the population studied, the researcher felt that questionnaires have the added merit of encountering the politeness tendencies prevalent in the Sudanese society and would encourage people to be more truthful and open than when they find themselves in an interview situation.

Self-administered questionnaires were supplemented by information obtained from varied documentary sources. Book and journal literature, for instance, played a substantial part in the discovery of the research idea and in the specification of the objectives to be pursued. Related studies done in the West were indispensable in focusing on relevant and verifiable research questions. As for the statistics pertaining to the sample, publications by the Sudan Ministry of Industry, Department of Statistics and the Labour Department were invaluable in this respect.

An important salutary outcome of the pilot survey were those insights gained about the production processes and the actual work behaviour of respondents in the five firms, through the opportunity to observe and converse with workers, union officials and management. These insights are expected to be of considerable help when the final analysis of data gets underway in the following chapters.

The pilot study helped also in testing the questionnaire items on 2% of the sample. As a result of that, some questions were left out because they were felt unnecessary. For instance, detailed questions regarding the way by which workers came to know their current jobs were discarded and replaced by one question about their recruitment patterns. Moreover, some alterations were

introduced to the format of the questionnaire, whereby more structured questions were added as this was felt to facilitate the data analysis process.

In broad terms the objectives of the questionnaire was to collect information permitting the theoretical proposition spelled out in the introductory chapter to be tested. This meant that one needed to move from a theoretical concept to valid empirical indicators (Rose, 1982). Within this focus, the specific objectives of the questionnaire were:

Firstly: To trace the possible existing patterns of orientations to work which the sample as a whole might display or sustain. The term orientations here is taken to mean, "the ordered expectations and goals an individual has regarding the work situation" (Child, 1969:19).

The research developed a number of interrelated dimensions along which work orientations can be identified; among them were some questions that relate to:

- a) The importance (i.e. salience) the sample attributes to various work rewards (question no. 6).
- b) Work priorities and goals of respondents (questions no. 5, 15).
- c) Complaints workers might have regarding the adequacy

of different work rewards (question no. 7).

d) The satisfaction workers express regarding the conditions of their jobs (questions no. 11, 12).

Saliency is a basic aspect of orientations. Insofar, as orientations to work are a matter of priorities in rewards sought, they entail the relative importance of various rewards (Blackburn & Man, 1979:159). It is the extent to which, given the individual current situation, a reward acts as an actual or potential motivating force for behaviour (Prandy & Blackburn, 1982:82).

The theoretical importance of saliency lies in the fact that the actions of humans and the decisions they make are determined in part by their behavioural intentions which depend in turn on the outcomes they expect such actions to provide. Goals or desired outcomes explain why people behave in certain ways or make particular decisions (Hulin & Triandis 1981; Locke, 1968).

Work outcomes have been classified in many ways. Prominent among these is the intrinsic-extrinsic dichotomy. With the intrinsic factors being directly related to the actual performance of the job (e.g. the nature of work) and the extrinsic factors to the environment in which the job is being performed e.g. the presence of friendly co-workers, working in pleasant conditions or receiving a good salary are considered extrinsic outcomes (Saleh & Grayier, 1969). It was

against this background of extrinsic-intrinsic dimension of work rewards that most, if not all, of the questions about orientations were designed.

The format of the questions that were designed to tap workers' goals and priorities in work and the importance they attributed to different work rewards was borrowed from a number of sources, namely Karpick (1968), Ingham (1970), and Blackburn & Man (1979). On some occasions, however, minor modifications have been introduced in the wording of the questions to suit the purpose of the study at hand.

Moreover, the questionnaire attempted to test consistency in workers' responses to specific questions regarding their work orientations. For instance, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with statements containing complaints regarding the adequacy of the levels of different work rewards. It is expected that workers who would complain most about the adequacy of a specific work reward, would be more likely to persistently stress this reward. The procedure was developed and used by Blackburn & Man (1979) in their study, "The working Class in the Labour Market".

By the same token, respondents were asked to indicate whether they are satisfied or not with the different levels of work outcomes. Satisfaction is regarded here as a reflection of an emotional state resulting from the

appraisal of one's job as facilitating or frustrating the achievement of specific rewards (Locke, 1969).

Although it is not a measure of orientations, satisfaction may serve as an implicit indicator to the existence of them. The idea is that, "if workers do have orientations which they bring to the work situation these will influence the evaluation made. Thus we may be able to observe their effects in expressions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction" (Blackburn & Man, 1979:168).

Secondly: The questionnaire attempted to gather information about the sample work behaviour operationalized by the following variables:

(i) The experience of work: (questions no.8, 9 & 10).

The aim behind these questions was to gain an insight into the dynamics of respondents perception of the pace of their jobs, whether they experience any sense of monotony while working or whether they find their work absorbing and entirely fulfilling.

(ii) Organizational and occupation commitment: (Questions no. 13 & 14). The questions designed to account for these variables were based on the idea of Becker's (1960) side-bets conceptualization of commitment- that a person invest in his organization or occupation -places side-bets- by staking something he values in it. The more side-bets are at stake, the greater becomes the

commitment to the organisation or occupation, Alluto et al. (1967).

Subsequent research which followed in the footsteps of Becker, used a question asking respondents if they would definitely change, were undecided or would not change employing organisation or occupation given, (a) no (b) a slight (c) a large increase in different work rewards.

Thus, with Becker's conceptualization in mind, commitment is tapped by two questions; the first assesses the probability of turnover among the sample given an increase in salary and the second requested an evaluation of the employing organization vis-a-vis others (Buchanan, 1974).

(iii) Central Life Interests: This variable was developed and operationalized by Robert Dubin (1956). The definition he provided perceived it as the expressed preference for a given locale or situation in carrying out an activity. In work settings it indicates the significance of one's work role compared to other life roles. The questions used to tap this variable were inspired by a similar work done by Cotgrove (1972) (questions no.22 & 23).

(iv) Attitudes to Work: (Questions 16 to 21). The questions relevant to this variable attempted to trace the meanings which work has for the sample and to provide

an overall picture of the respondents attitudes toward work in general rather than to the particulars of their jobs.

Other questions that investigated the work behaviour of the sample were those that asked about: a) workers relationship with their workmates; b) workers relationship with their supervisors (questions 25, 26, 27).

Thirdly: In order to understand workers orientations to work the study followed a very broad approach and tried to view the individual within a much wider social and economic environment. In this sense information was needed about the whole history of a person, his family and kin relationship, his social life, the extent to which he accepts and participates in social activities and any other socio-economic variable that may have a bearing on his work role and attitudes. This was the main aim of the second and the third parts of the questionnaire.

The above discussion is not exhaustive, only by looking at the questionnaire (see Appendix) can a fuller picture be achieved of the data that one intended to be collected.

4.5 The Analysis Plan

The size of the expected sample as well as the anticipated complexity of the analysis of the variables under examination, have made essential the use of the computer in the processing and analysis of the raw data. The statistical package of the social sciences (SPSSx) has over the years proved to be suitable for the analysis of social science data and for providing a comprehensive range of statistical tests in addition to the customary descriptive statistics, frequency distribution and crosstabulations. Moreover, the availability of some very handy manuals on this package, plus the fact that it is the package most commonly used and upon which advice is more readily and freely offered have made the package an attractive option compared to other available packages. It is because of these reasons that the SPSSx was chosen to process the research data.

The aim next is to delineate the main components of an analysis plan for the set data to be collected. Three factors bear considerably on such plan. These are the complexity of the research question that needs to be verified (hypothesis), the number of variables under consideration and the level of measurement of these variables.

As stated before, the overall objective of the research

project is to assess the relative importance of work and non-work factors as predictors of industrial attitudes and behaviour of a sample of Sudanese blue-collar workers. Work factors are in this respect taken to be synonymous with the nature of work that respondents do, which is in turn reflected in their skill levels. Thus the first stage of the analysis process would be an examination of the relationship between workers skill levels and their attitudes and behaviour in the workplace. This is to be approached in two steps. The first step provides a description of the main features of respondents' expectations from and commitment to work and examine ways in which these relate to other job attitudes and behaviours. The second step addresses the question of whether workers differentiation according to skill levels would result in corresponding variation in their orientations to and perception of work.

It is worth mentioning here that, the nature of the data at hand is mostly nominal and categorical and that because of this one must be cautious in using statistics which involve certain rigid assumptions about the parameters of the population and should instead resort to the more flexible distribution-free statistics whenever that is feasible. When in certain cases parametric statistics are used, the purpose is to confirm results that have already been achieved through nonparametric statistics. The methods of analysis that would be

utilized range from simple frequency distribution and crosstabulation to correlation and multiple regression analysis. Specific statistical techniques and tests to be used may include the Chi-square(X^2), Kruskal-Wallis (X^2_{critical}), one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA).

The last stage of the analysis links the sampled workers' attitudes and behaviour to their social life outside work. The chief method of analysis here is crosstabulation; however, the use of multivariate analysis cannot be ruled out. Particular tests to be used in this stage are the Chi-square, Kruskal-Wallis (X^2_{critical}), correlation and the discriminant function analysis. The conventional level of significance 0.05 is to be used in evaluating the results expected.

4.6 A Profile of the Five firms

This final section of the chapter provides a sketch of the general characteristics of the five firms that were the subject of the study.

The Government Printing Press (Khartoum)

This firm, established at the turn of the century, was until 1955 known as Mackor kodale Ltd., when an agreement with the then firm's owners enabled the government of Sudan to buy half of its capital stock. Meanwhile, negotiations continued for a final resolution of the

firm's future ownership. This was achieved in 1960, when the government finally agreed to buy the remaining shares, and the firm came to bear its present name; the Government Printing Press.

The main objectives of the firm can be seen in its capacity as a public entity that is entrusted to print all public and confidential documents such as forms and receipts, nationality and passport papers, public sector banks' cheque books, stamps, excise duty stamps, elections forms and logos and any other financial documents, forms, books and book-notes for public sector institutions.

Since the takeover by the government, the firm has experienced considerable growth in both size and output, where a new unit was added to the existing craft section and assigned the task of printing confidential documents. The firm has also made a notable contribution towards creating a professional and skilled labour force- it now employs 1350 persons- and in advancing the cause of the printing profession in Sudan by keeping up-to-date with the latest printing technology in the world. In doing so, it saved considerable amounts of hard currency for the country, by printing locally what the government machinery needs for its day to day office work.

The firm is included in this survey because it symbolizes craft industry where the production process is less

standardized and the level of mechanization is very low (Blauner, 1964). These particular features are known among industrial sociologists to induce certain responses from workers that are quite distinct from those spurred by other types of technology.

The Gezira and Managel Textile Co. (Gematex)

This company is a joint venture between the Gezira and Managel Tennants Co-operative, the Sudan Development Corporation and a number of private sector firms, namely the Sudanese International Bank, The international Finance Co-operation and the Maurer Textile Co. (a Swiss Co.). The factory is located seven miles east of the Blue Nile on the main road between Wadmedani and Port Sudan. The contract for the establishment of the factory was signed on the first of June 1978, and production started in November, 1981. Today, the factory has three production lines; spinning, weaving and bleaching. It employs about 1200; 55% of them are male workers.

The company boasts of its recruitment and employment policies. It offers an integrated package of incentives, free health care, free transportation, a co-operative shop with prices well below those of the market and some meal allowances. During the last two years, however, the company has been plagued by a myriad of problems and misfortunes. These include difficulties to obtain hard currency to buy spare parts and production inputs,

frequent power failures, unfavorable climatic conditions specially during the rainy season, the high mobility of labour in that area and the refusal of families to allow their girls to work in night shifts. These difficulties caused frequent interruptions in production and in some cases led to the closure of the factory for prolonged periods of time.

In the sociological literature, textile industry is known to be highly mechanized, its work processes are standardized and its workers are by and large machines tenders (Bluaner, 1964).

The Guneid Sugar Co.

Since it appeared that Sudan has some comparative advantage in sugar production and that increasing sugar imports constituted a drain on the country foreign exchange reserves; the Sudan government decided to pursue self-sufficiency and exportation policies from this commodity. That was why the Guneid agricultural and cotton producing scheme was transformed into a sugar producing one. In 1959 a German company was entrusted with the construction of the factory and early production began in 1961.

The total area of the project which is planted with sugar canes is 18000 acres, irrigated by water pumps from the Blue Nile. 2500 farmers look after the plant until it is

ready to be crushed. The plant production capacity is put around 60000 tons of sugar per year, although only 45.3% of it is utilized. The factory also provides employment for 1474 persons.

Although, in many ways the Gunied factory represents the first major public industrial investment in the country, the transformation of the scheme from cotton to sugar production was never an easy option. In addition to the technical problems that needed to be solved, the venture was met by adamant resistance from farmers, who found it very difficult indeed to adjust and adapt to the new crop and most of them were not at all co-operative with the factory's new management. This was an important factor which had affected the smooth operation of the factory for a number of years following its launch.

Sugar production is a continuous chemical process in which workers monitor panel boards or repair the machinery when necessary (Blauner, 1964).

The Hassaheisa Textile Co.

The location of this factory as the name implies is on the outskirts of the city of Hassaheisa which lies on the west bank of the Blue Nile; mid-way between Khartoum and Wadmedani.

The factory -now a public company- is a product of

Chinese-Sudanese economic co-operation. The construction of the factory started in 1972 and finished in 1976. Its maximum production capacity is estimated at 16 million meters of cloth annually; providing employment to 1950 workers in addition to 200 employees, technicians and engineers.

Apart from frequent power failures and other production problems, the company is hailed as a great success and its impact is clearly visible on the surrounding environs. It is thought to have increased per capita income and led to a substantial improvement in the general standards of living in the area.

The Gezira Tannery in Wadmedani

The Tannery is a product of a bilateral agreement between the Government of Sudan and the French Arab Bank. Construction of the plant started in June, 1973 and full production commenced in October, 1977. Wadmedani -the capital city of the central region- was carefully selected as a locale for the factory because it is an important centre for skins and hides trade and constitutes an administrative, commercial and communication hub.

The maximum production capacity of the factory is 3500 of cox, calf, sheep and goats skins per day. Due to various reasons, however, the factory nowadays has settled for

only 1950 skins per day. The plant is composed of two production lines; the heavy skins section which processes cow and calf skins and the light skins section which operates on sheep and goats skins. Although the factory production was initially designed for export purposes, international competition and other local factors have forced the factory in recent years to gear its production solely to the Sudanese market; mainly local shoe makers and skins and hides traders. In doing so the factory provides employment for 437 persons of whom 331 are workers.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Sample Characteristics

One of the chief concerns of this study is to test the theoretical proposition that nonwork factors have a greater impact on work behaviour in developing countries than does the experience of work itself. Testing this proposition involved stratifying the sample along two dimensions; (a) skill levels taken to reflect on-the-job conditions, and (b) the workers' socio-economic environment taken to indicate non-work factors. The variation in skill level was possible because of a corresponding variation in the technology utilized by the five factories covered by the survey, i.e. the selection of respondents was restricted to those whose jobs were central to the main production systems within these factories. Broadly speaking, three types of production systems were identified; mainly (a) a craft technology symbolized by the printing company, (b) a chemical technology represented by a sugar mill and a tannery, and (c) a mechanical technology symbolized by two textiles mills. Bearing this in mind three occupational clusters of workers were identified; namely highly-skilled, relatively-skilled and semi-skilled workers.

The aim of this chapter is to give a detailed

description of these groups as well as the sample as a whole and examine the patterns of their distribution along a number of personal and social characteristics. The main reason for doing so is to provide the necessary background material which is deemed crucial in setting the stage for the analysis of data in the following chapters. Thus, towards the end of this chapter, it is expected that the most relevant background variables have been identified and their potential contribution to the study's results highlighted.

5.1 The Stratification of the Sample

Empirical evidence implies that background variables (be they personal, social or socio-economic) condition the attitudinal frame of reference to the work experience (Shimmin, 1962; Mannheim and Cohen, 1978; Smith, Kendall and Hulin, 1969). 'Such a notion is all the more plausible in an economy where agriculture is the dominant occupation of the people and where the rural sector caters substantially to the demand for industrial labour' (Sharama, 1969:165).

The problem is, there are numerous background variables which seem suitable for the purpose of the sample stratification. What variable to use involves an element of choice; and whenever there is choice, there is always need for justification. Nevertheless, previous research

and the researcher intuitive sense of the importance of certain variables in the life of the workers concerned, guided the selection process of some variables which were seen as potentially useful. Below is a detailed discussion of each of these variables.

5.1.1 Age

Among the various factors comprising the social background of the industrial labour force, age is of special relevance. It is believed to contribute to variations in the perception of work rewards and work-related attitudes. However, empirical evidence regarding the extent and consistency of such an effect varies and at times seems even contradictory (Smith, Kendall and Hull, 1969; Beynon and Blackburn, 1972). This also extends to the explanation given pertaining to the effects of age on work attitudes and behaviour. For instance, no consensus exists in explaining the reported divergence in attitudes between older and younger workers. Wright and Hamilton (1978) summarized the controversy as revolving around three possibilities. The first one tries to explain the divergence in terms of value differences between the young and the old workers; with the young subscribing to orientations and values qualitatively different from those of older generations. The second hypothesis postulates that differences in expectations from work arise because people are ground down by their years in the system. Each

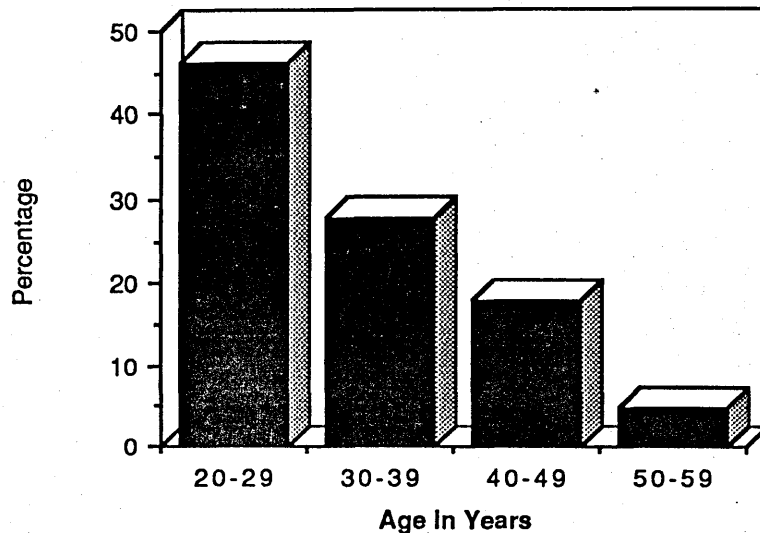
generation enters its productive adult life imbued with high hopes and expectations but these early standards are lowered as their attainment becomes progressively more difficult. The third possibility assumes that age relationship represents life-cycle-effects. Older people may differ from younger people because they are farther along in the career lines, thus having better jobs. While younger workers as beginners... are confined in consequence to positions that are often less satisfactory.

The age distribution of the sample is given in the table below. A casual look at the table would reveal that most respondents were astonishingly young. About 74.3% of them were under the age 40 and 95.2% were below the age of 50. This is due entirely to the young nature of the parent population and to the novelty of industrial work organizations in the country. A more clearer picture of the sample's age can also be grasped from the Figure (5.1) below.

Table (5.1)
The age distribution of the sample

Categories	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total
No. of workers in each category	87	50	39	9	185
Percentage	46.6%	27.7	20.9	4.8	100%

Figure (5.1)
Age distribution of the Sample

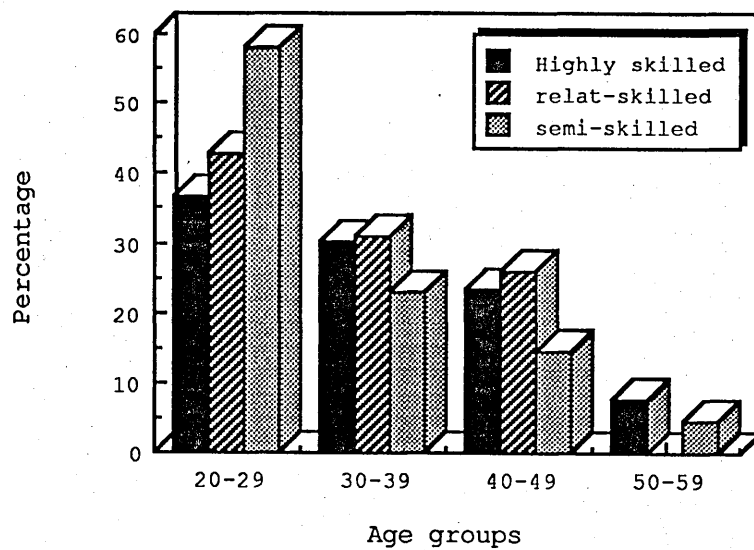


Although most respondents in the sample are young, some significant variation within the groups can be discerned. For example, it can be seen that semi-skilled workers are much younger than the other two groups. Specifically 57.9% of them were under the age of 30 compared with 42.8% and 36.8% from the relatively and highly skilled groups, respectively. While at the other end, only 14.6% of the same group are in the age category of 40-49 compared to 23.% and 26.1% of the highly and relatively skilled workers. Table (5.2) and Figure (5.2) illustrate the general pattern of age differences between the three groups.

Table (5.2)
Age distribution by skill levels

Years	highly skilled	relatively skilled	semi- skilled
20-29	36.8%	42.8%	57.9%
30-39	30.1%	31.1%	23.0%
40-49	23.4%	26.1%	14.6%
50-59	07.8%	----	04.5%
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
$\chi^2=9.80$ $df=6$ $Sig.=0.050$			

Figure (5.2)
Variation in age between the three groups



5.1.2 Length of Service in Current Organization

Further knowledge can be gained about the workers concerned by examining their current jobs' tenure, which is known to have a bearing on job attitudes in general and on satisfaction with promotion opportunities and pay in particular (Smith, Kendall and Hull, 1969). The data for the sample as whole and for the three different groups is summarized in tables (5.3) and (5.4) below. A prominent feature of the first table is the predominance of workers with relatively fewer years in their current jobs. More than fifty per cent of them have been in their present jobs for less than five years; while only a small proportion has a relatively longer time in present jobs ranging between ten to fourteen years.

Table (5.3)
Job tenure of respondents

Years	number of workers	%
0-4	95	51.1%
5-9	73	39.2%
10-14	18	9.6%
Total	186	100%

In comparing the three groups of workers it appears that there are broad similarities between them as concerned length of service. All groups, for example, have considerable proportions of workers with comparatively short service with their present employers. About 53.4% of

the semi-skilled group, 52.4% of the relatively-skilled group, and 46.6% of the highly skilled group have a job tenure of less than five years. Disparities, however, are visual when considering the category of long service workers. Almost a quarter of the highly skilled workers had over ten years service compared with only 2.6% of the semi-skilled workers and none in the case of the relatively skilled.

Table (5.4)
Job tenure by skill levels

Years of experience	high-skilled	Relatively-skilled	semi-skilled
0-4	46.8%	52.9%	53.9%
5-9	30.6%	47.1%	43.4%
10-14	22.6%	0.00	2.7%
Total	100%	100%	100%
$X^2=23.58$	df=4	Sig.=0.0001	

5.1.3 Formal Education

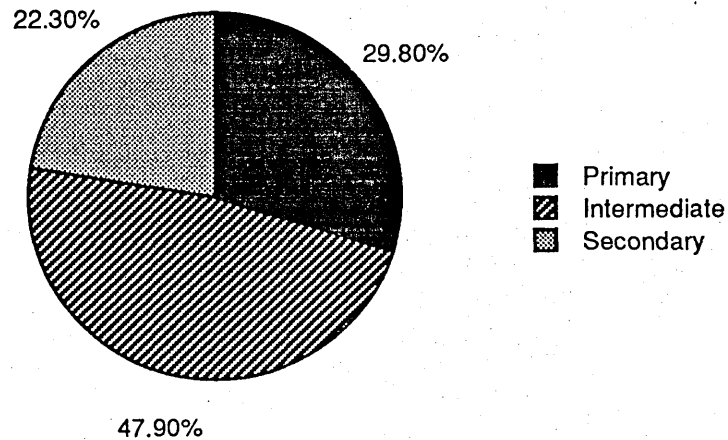
The rationale for the selection of education as a stratification variable lies in the reported relationship between education and job attitudes which in turn is based on the notion that the latter enhances one's self evaluation and thereby leads to higher expectations with regard to work rewards in general. Man (1953), for example, has argued explicitly that the expectations should be higher for workers exposed to greater education,

since it is common situation to encourage additional education as a means to more of the 'good things in life'

Educational variables can be important for the issues with which this study is concerned provided there are considerable variations among respondents with respect to them. While variability can not always be guaranteed in the case of blue-collar workers, a certain degree of discrepancy that warrants some attention is, however, visible in the educational attainment of the workers concerned.

The chart below portrays a broad picture of the educational attainment of the sampled workers. General education in Sudan consists of three levels; primary, intermediate and secondary. Primary schooling lasts for six years and both intermediate and secondary schooling last an additional six years. Specialization occurs during secondary schooling as there are three types of secondary schools; normal academic secondary schools which prepare students for a university level of education, technical secondary schools which offer training specifically related to industrial careers, and commercial schools which offer instruction in basic accounting methods and other aspects of financial management.

Figure (5.3)
Educational levels of workers



As the chart shows, almost half of the workers in the sample had completed an intermediate level of education and about 22.3% had been to secondary schools. This was not expected and it appears that respondents' full-time education is much better than the general population. Yet, one could argue that most of those workers who claimed having finished a secondary education level were not significantly successful in their studies to the extent that they passed the General Education Certificate crucially required by most government offices in the recruitment of new employees. In a considerably tight labour market, people are left with no option but to take whatever job they may find.

Table (5.5)
Education by skill levels

Level of education	Highly skilled	Relatively skilled	Semi-skilled
Primary school	27.5%	9.5%	43.2%
Intermediate	46.4	57.2	44.0
Secondary	26.1	33.3	11.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0
$\chi^2=18.08$	df=4	Sig.=0.002	

Table (5.5) above presents the distribution of the sample according to their skill and education levels. It can be seen that there are some differences in educational attainment of the three groups. Relatively skilled workers tend to be better educated than the other two groups; 57.2% of them had completed an intermediate educational level compared with 46.4% of the highly skilled group and 44% of the semi-skilled. Correspondingly, 33.3% of the same group had had secondary education, against 26.1% of the highly skilled and 11.8% of the semi-skilled workers.

5.1.4 Rural-Urban Origins

This variable was chosen to add to the long raging debate regarding urban-rural differences in work adaptation (Afouja, 1979). Broadly speaking the controversy revolves around two hypotheses (Form, 1971). The first and widely accepted hypothesis assumes that workers with rural social background experience more difficulty in adjusting to work

than do those with an urban background. This is because they find urban factory work restrictive, bureauratic and alienating.

The second hypothesis advocates that there are no differences in work adjustment because of the overriding influence of the norms of industry; and that when given the opportunity rural people, eagerly leave their home communities to work in industry. The massive shift of rural people to urban areas all over the world suggest that income and well-being are more important to them than preserving a traditional way of life.

A third emerging hypothesis suggests that there should be no rural-urban differences in work adaptation because rural and urban areas belong to a single field of social relationships in which the overlapping fields compromise the total social system.

Table (5.6) presents a resume of the sample distribution along the urban-rural dichotomy. Three quarters of respondents are from rural origins compared with only 25% who said they spent most of their childhood in an urban environment.

Table (5.6)
Urban and rural origins of the workers

Origin	No of workers	%
Rural	139	75.5%
Urban	45	24.5%
Total	184	100.0%

The picture does not show much variation when one looks at the pattern within the three groups. As table (5.7) indicates, apart from some minor variation; the three groups display a broad degree of similarity as far as their origin is concerned. To verify the validity of this similarity statistically, a chi-square test of significance was conducted. It revealed that at a significance level of .05 there are no significant differences between the groups in terms of their urban or rural affiliations.

Table (5.7)
Workers skill levels and their rural-urban origins

Origin	Semi-skilled	Relatively skilled	Highly skilled
Rural	71.2	69.0	69.7
Urban	28.8	31.0	30.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
$X^2=4.94$	D.F=4	Sig.=0.292	

The result outlined above was not a surprise, given the fact that the Sudanese society is, by and large, a rural one. Afterall, 'urbanization is an outgrowth of the commercial, industrial and administrative institutions which are products of foreigners who have brought with them the experience of urban life and have therefore created towns, in the midst of people whose social life was organized on a rurally based tribal life,' (Mitchell, 1966).

5.1.5 The Family

The family is an important social unit in the life of all individuals. In non-industrial societies in particular, it is all pervasive and constitutes a very important influence on behaviour. In it, people find a main source of security and towards it they feel obliged to win its approval, secure its integrity and seek its welfare.

In work settings, there is a wealth of literature pertaining to the effects of family experiences on work and work related attitudes. For instance, it has been pointed out that family situations can define work orientation, motivation, abilities, emotional energy and demands people bring to the workplace, (Burkle & Greenglass, 1987:289). In particular, variables such as absenteeism, readiness to work overtime and the intensity of participation in union activities were shown to be related to whether people were single or married and with

or without children/dependents (Shepard and Walker, 1958).

Given the above line of reasoning, it was decided that a number of family-related variables should be incorporated in the cluster that was intended for stratification purposes. These include respondents marital status and the number of children/ dependents. Table(5.8) presents a summary of the first variable; the respondents marital status.

Table(5.8)
Family background of the sample

Marital Status	No of Workers	%
Single	72	39.4%
Married	114	60.6%
Total	186	100%

The answers of respondents were reduced to a dichotomy of single and married men by considering both the divorced and the widowed as also married. Motivating this was the attempt to account for differences in work behaviour between the two groups. About 60% of the sampled workers were married and 40% were single. One would expect that in a conservative society where both religious and social norms are very much in favour of married life.

The proportions of married and single workers in each of

the three groups covered by the survey display a marked similarity to the overall pattern of the sample (Table 5.9). About 62% of the semi-skilled workers, 55% of the relatively skilled and 65% of the highly skilled ones were married, compared with 38%, 45% and 35% who were single in each of the three groups, respectively.

Table (5.9)
Family structure by skill levels

Family structure	Semi-skilled	Relatively skilled	Highly skilled
Single	38.3%	45.2%	34.8%
Married	61.7	54.8	65.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi-square =4.18766. D.F.= 4 Sig.=0.167			

In contrast, workers' marital status shows a strong tendency to be associated with age (table 5.10). For instance, 87.5% of single workers were aged between 20 to 29, compared to only 20.2% of the married ones who were in the same age category. Moreover, there were about 80% of married workers and only 12.5% of single workers aged between 30 and 59.

Table (5.10)
Respondents' marital status by age category

Marital status	<u>Age categories</u>		
	20-29	30-39	40-59
married	20.2%	41.2	38.6
single	87.5	6.9	5.6
X ² = 80.48 df=2 Sig.=0.000			

Closely related to the discussion about the family structure is the number of children married workers have. The point to remember here is that children are highly valued in the Sudanese society, and a marriage without them will not be considered successful. The mean number of children for the sample as a whole is four. Based on this, the average size of a workers' family will probably be between six and seven, which is a large family by western standards. Nonetheless, this is quite normal in a culture where any attempt to regulate fertility for economic reasons amounts to lack of faith in God, the provider, and where a newly married couple is subjected to strong pressure for 'the family to become three'.

The average number of children does not vary much from one occupational group to the other. For example the average highly skilled worker has four children while both the semi/relatively skilled ones have an average of three children. Overall, however, only 4.4% of the total number of married workers have no children, whilst about 60% of them have at least one child and more than a quarter have a minimum of four children (table (5.11)).

Table (5.11)
Respondents number of children

Category	Frequency	Percentage
No children	5	4.4
1-3	70	61.4
4-7	38	33.3
8-11	1	0.9
Total	114	100.0
$\chi^2=5.70$	df=8	Sig.=0.671

5.2 Summary

The chapter represents an attempt to describe a sample of Sudanese manual workers in terms of their occupational, personal and social characteristics. The focus was mainly on skill levels which are symbolic of the degree of control the worker has over his work. Along this dimension three groups of workers were identified, namely semi-skilled, relatively skilled and highly skilled. The rest of the chapter traces the similarities and differences among the three strata of workers regarding their personal and social features. Some significant differences in age, length of service and educational attainment among the groups in focus were noted. However, in their familial background and rural-urban origins, the workers make a relatively homogeneous population. An important discussion concerning workers' kinship ties, community involvement and work migration experience is to be incorporated as part of the data analysis process.

CHAPTER SIX

Orientations to Work: Empirical Findings and Analysis

This chapter introduces and outlines the analysis proposed for the set of data collected from a sample of manual workers in the Republic of the Sudan. It would be recalled that the grand objective of the analysis is to verify whether the behaviour of the workers under study can be mainly explained by the general conditions of work (i.e. technology) or by their social experience outside it. The aim of the present and the next chapter is to provide an answer to the first hypothesis i.e., to present some evidence that would bear upon the question of whether the workers' definition of the situation (their orientations to work) is largely shaped by technology or in-plant factors (Bechhofer, 1973). Technology, which is mirrored through workers' skill levels, is in this regard treated as a variable. The implications of this research paradigm are bound to culminate in differences in workers' responses to their work (see sect. 6.3).

The basic theoretical framework adopted in approaching the main questions of this study is the social action approach. A central theme of this approach is the notion of orientations to work, that is, the ordered goals and expectations regarding the work situation (Child, 1969). These goals and expectations reflect the individual's

definition of the work situation and the meanings he assigns to his job.

Against this theoretical background, this chapter sets off to achieve three main objectives:

- (i) Identify the various patterns of work orientations as portrayed by respondents in answers to the stated questions (section 6.1).
- (ii) Examine the nature of the relationship between respondents work orientations and their perception of the different work rewards and outcomes (section 6.2).
- (iii) Account for similarities and/or differences regarding orientations to and perception of work among the three occupational clusters of workers (section 6.3).

6.1 Orientations

Before embarking on the first of the objectives designated above, some points pertaining to the nature of orientations to work need to be discussed. The first one relates to the considerable degree of confusion and ambiguity that characterizes the use of the term in the literature. Much of this confusion and ambiguity is due, as pointed out by several industrial sociologists, to the absence of a precise theoretical delimitation (Brown, 1973; Bennet, 1974). Nonetheless, there is some degree of consensus among those who used the approach in their explanation of industrial attitudes, that the word refers

in one way or another to the 'aspirations', 'goals', 'priorities', 'expectations', 'wants' and 'objectives' workers have regarding employment (Goldthorpe et al.1968; Ingham, 1970; Child, 1969; Beynon & Blackburn, 1972; Brown, 1973; Blackburn and Man,1979; Prandy & Blackburn, 1982).

A second point concerns the measurement of the construct. Goldthorpe (1968) and Ingham (1970) used to focus on two primary areas in trying to determine an individual orientations to work. These are the following:

- (i) What attraction does the job has for the actor? What is it in the job that is most appealing or rewarding to the individual?
- (ii) What is it about the job that hold a person in a particular job? and how strong is the attachment?

However, determining orientation by focusing on the areas mentioned above alone, is bound to tap attitudes that are merely a reaction to the present job and not necessarily independent of it as the orientations model requires. The strategy utilized in the study described here is to use a blend of questions that would trace general attitudes to work as well as to present jobs held by the workers. In so doing, it would be possible to test for independence and stability of orientations and for consistency in workers' responses across different frames of reference.

Having said that, orientations were traced along the following dimensions:

- 1) Workers' priorities and goals when selecting a job.
- 2) The importance and salience of different work rewards as perceived by workers concerned.
- 3) The satisfaction they express and the complaints they have regarding the adequacy of these rewards.

6.1.2 Workers Priorities and Goals

There is an explicit assumption in most of the studies which tried to explore industrial attitudes that people undertake work because it facilitates the accomplishment of desired goals and outcomes otherwise unobtainable. Such goals and outcomes constitute an integral part of the overall picture of the meaning of working. The importance of gathering information concerning these priorities and goals has been repeatedly stressed in the literature. It has been argued, for instance, that this type of information "sheds light on the basic question of why people work -and to some extent on why they exert more or less effort at work or why they be more or less effective workers-" (MOW, 1987:111). Also, such information is largely relied upon "to explain why individuals may be satisfied with some jobs and occupations and not with others and why some work situations are attractive to individuals while other work situations are unattractive" (P.111). Lastly, such

information, "provides the rationale for making plausible suggestions concerning ways of designing work organizations which might be optimal for individual, organizational and societal purposes at the present time and in the future" (P.111).

With the above argument in mind, the concern now is to describe the main procedure used to account for work priorities and goals of the sampled workers. All respondents were asked: suppose you were looking for a job, what would be your most important consideration?

In view of the present economic situation in Sudan, as is manifested in high rapid inflation and harsh stabilization measures, and given the rising expectations of the working class due to alternative employment opportunities and higher wages offered in neighbouring Arab states, one would expect a significant proportion of workers to stress the economic aspects of work.

Following an earlier classification by Ingham (1970) answers were grouped in three categories namely; economic considerations (e.g. pay, security, fringe benefits...etc); non-economic considerations mainly interest, skill, variety and autonomy) and relational i.e. good workmates (Table 6.1).

Table (6.1)
Workers priorities and goals in work

Categories of priorities & goals	Number of workers	Percentage
Economic considerations (pay, security... etc.)	114	60.7%
Non-economic considerations (autonomy, interest...etc.)	51	27.2
Relational (good workmates)	23	12.1
Total	188	100%

As expected, nearly two thirds of the workers indicated that economic considerations are the most important things they look for in a job. Specifically their priorities included good wages (mentioned by 26.2% of them), good promotional opportunities (13.3%), security (12.2%) and fringe benefits (8%).

On the other hand, in contrast to this emphasis on economic considerations, it appeared that respondents accorded less importance to non-economic rewards as the basis for evaluating jobs where only 12.2% of them have priorities relating to interesting, varied and skill utilizing work, 10.1% preferred work that would give them the opportunity to exercise their own judgement and discretion in deciding how to do one's job and 4.8% stressed pleasant physical working conditions to be their main priority when seeking work.

A third dimension of priorities mentioned only by 12% of respondents resembles what Bennet (1974) labelled as relational i.e. an orientation towards interaction with other people and establishing meaningful relations with them. Although the percentage of respondents who gave priority to this particular aspect is by any standard a modest one, there is every reason to believe that the workers in question are highly sociable individuals who place high value on interaction with their colleagues in work (see the relevant discussion in chapter seven).

It remains to be seen that the responses to this particular question are indicative of the existence of stable and consistent orientations patterns among the workers concerned.

6.1.3 Importance of Work Rewards

In chapter four it has been stated that one of the dimensions along which work orientations can be identified is the importance (salience) which the sample attributes to the various economic rewards. This is approached in two ways (Prandy and Blackburn, 1982). The first approach is to determine the relative rather than the absolute importance of each job reward. This would make it possible to ascertain the salience of the different work rewards pertaining to work in general and not in connection to a particular job or work situation. Furthermore, since all of job factors can be considered

important, "it appeared inadvisable to use a rating scale technique. It is likely that most, if not all, of the factors would have been given the highest possible rating with the consequent result that little differentiation would have been obtained" (Jurgensen, 1947).

The dichotomy of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards was considered useful in providing the basis for selecting an adequate range of work rewards. Intrinsic components refer, here, to job content factors such as the nature of the work, achievement, responsibility and growth in skill while the extrinsic components refer to job context factors such as working conditions, salary, security, co-worker relations (Saleh & Hyde, 1969). The number of job factors selected was rather arbitrary and can only be justified by the desire of the researcher to simplify things for respondents.

Thus, each respondent was asked to rank-order the following eight job facets according to their relative importance to him:

1. Nature of work (work which is interesting, full of variety, skillful, and well liked by you).
2. Good pay.
3. Good workmates (fellow workers who are pleasant, agreeable, and good working companions).
4. Fringe benefits (vacation, sick pay, pension, insurance, etc.)

5. Pleasant working conditions.

6. Advancement (opportunity for promotion)

7. Security (steady work, no lay-offs, sureness of being able to keep your job)

8. Autonomy (i.e. the opportunity to make your own decisions relating to the work process).

The ranking is done by placing (1) in front of the item considered to be most important, (2) for the one considered to be second most important and so on till the least important item is ranked (8). A resume of respondents answers is provided in table (6.2). The table reveals similar and almost identical pattern of answers to those unearthed by the question regarding work priorities and goals, where it appears that a sizable proportion of respondents has ranked pay first. It was clearly perceived to be the most valued work outcome. Good friendly workmates was ranked second in importance, security, interesting work and pleasant working conditions were ranked third, fourth and fifth, respectively. At the other end of the table fringe benefits was rated as the least important among this set of rewards followed by autonomy and promotional opportunities.

Any interpretation of the above results must be done in light of the serious weaknesses that beset the rank order technique. Relevant to the study described here is the

danger of relying on self-report techniques in ascertaining importance. This is very much in evidence in the percentage of respondents -which in fact less than expected- who ranked pay as a job factor first. One is tempted to believe that, respondents have done so because they did not find it morally and socially acceptable to admit that their reactions are entirely materially motivated (Lawler, 1971; Opshal and Dunnette, 1966).

Table (6.2)

Percentage of subjects choosing a job aspect as important: Combined first, second and third choices.

Job factor	Frequency	%	Rank
Wage	104	55.3%	1
Good workmates	76	40.4	2
Security	72	38.3	3
Interest, skill & variety	65	34.6	4
Work conditions	64	34.0	5
Promotion	63	33.5	6
Autonomy	61	32.4	7
Fringe Benefits	57	30.3	8
Total	562	300%	

Note: Percentages add to 300%.

Two respondents missed to rank one or two aspects and were excluded from the ranking.

The second approach in accounting for salience was inspired by the notion that one should get individuals to consider possible changes within the present job context. Salience in this respect, is the extent to which an

individual is motivated to pursue an improvement in a particular reward (Prandy and Blackburn, 1982).

The procedure was to ask respondents "no one has a perfect job and every one thinks of ways in which his job could be improved; would you name one thing in which you would most welcome an improvement?". The question, being primarily related to aspects of respondents current jobs, serves a twofold objective; on the one hand it constitutes a double check on the consistency of respondents replies to the preceding questions; and on the other hand it unravels the most salient aspects of the workers' present jobs. Table (6.3) provides a summary of respondents responses.

Table (6.3)
Salience of work rewards

Rewards	Frequency of choice	Percent
Wage	93	49.4%
Promotion	39	20.7
Autonomy	21	11.2
Work conditions	16	8.5
Fringe Benefits	11	5.9
Skill, interest	8	4.2
Total	188	100%

The reward in which respondents would most welcome an improvement is pay. Almost 50% of respondents indicated

that they would like to see their pay improved. If one adds to that the percentage of respondents who chose promotion as their main target for any improvement (20.7%) then more than two thirds of the sample felt that the economic dimension of their work needed to be improved. Comparatively no respondents wanted to see either job security or their social relations in work improved. Also less frequently chosen were the intrinsic factors of the sampled workers' work, where only 11.2% and 4.2% of respondents felt a need for improving their skill or the opportunity to do their work their own way.

The divergence that is noticeable in responses to this question and the foregoing ones, may be partly due to the fact that this question had touched on the most salient facets of the jobs currently occupied by respondents, whereas previous questions were more or less related to work in general.

Another dimension along which orientations can be traced is to present respondents with statements embodying complaints regarding the adequacy of work rewards (Blackburn & Man, 1979). It can be expected that respondents who value certain rewards would continue to reflect this in their agreement or disagreement with the statements. Data which confirm this expectation are classified in table (6.4). From this table it can be seen that there is a general tendency for respondents to agree with statements that point to some deficiency in the

levels of all rewards. However, there is marked variation in the degree of agreement from one statement to another. For instance, 81.8% of respondents agreed with a statement which complained about an assumed unfairness regarding workers' pay, while about half of them did agree with a statement complaining about the lack of opportunity to use their skills and abilities at work and another suggesting that management should leave workers to organize their work their own way. This brings out more clearly the essentially economistic view of work which is prevalent among the workers under study.

Table (6.4)

Complaints regarding the Adequacy of work rewards

Statement	Agree		Disagree	
	Frequency	%	frequency	%
1. There is a lot of talk about fair wages, but no body pays a fair wage for people like me.	135	81.8%	53	28
2. In this country there is not enough opportunity for people like me to be promoted and get ahead.	125	66.5	63	33.5
3. To me the workplace means warm and friendly relations with my co-workers.	127	67.6	61	32.4
4. Management should let people like me organize our work in our own way.	107	56.9	81	43.1
5. People like me have no opportunity to use their abilities and skills at work.	112	59.6	76	40.4
6. I think workers have much security nowadays- we should learn to stand on our two feet.	58	30.9	130	69.1
7. Most workers nowadays work in very unpleasant workplaces, under the most hazardous conditions.	115	61.2	73	38.8
8. In this country a worker is not entitled for anything apart from his salary.	110	58.5	78	41.5

6.2 Satisfaction With Work Rewards

Some clue to the question of orientations to work can further be gained from an examination of the workers expressed feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction towards varied aspects of their jobs. These feelings may serve to reflect what the workers regard are the most rewarding aspects of work and indicate whether their expectations from it have been met or not.

The data on satisfaction came from a question which has four response alternatives ranging from not at all satisfied to very satisfied and scored from one to four. The replies that were made were classified in table (6.5).

Table (6.5)
Satisfaction with work rewards

Work reward	Satisfied	Not satisfied
Security	122 (64.9%)	66 (35.1%)
Nature of work	90 (47.9%)	98 (52.1%)
Fringe benefits	64 (35.6%)	122 (64.4%)
Workmates	127 (67.6%)	61 (32.4%)
Pay	41 (21.8%)	147 (78.2%)
Promotion	58 (30.9%)	130 (69.1%)
Work conditions	104 (56.4%)	82 (43.6%)
Autonomy	92 (48.9%)	96 (51.1%)

The most noticeable feature of the table is the prominence of workers dissatisfaction with the extrinsic aspects of their work. Specifically 78.2%, 69.1% and 64.4% of respondents were not satisfied with their pay, promotional prospects and fringe benefits, respectively. The significance of this finding is that, it substantiates and emphasizes the essentially economic view of work held by the respondents towards their work and manifested in the earlier answers they gave to questions pertaining to the importance they attributed to work rewards and outcomes.

A second feature of the table is the general satisfaction workers expressed with security (64.9%), working conditions (56.4%) and their relationship with co-workers (67.6%). Two points may explain the high level of satisfaction with security; one relates to the heavy unionization of the Sudan labour force which acts as a guardian against any sort of job losses as might be dictated by some economic considerations; and the other point stems from the recruitment policies of the public sector which are pursued more like a welfare programme than what the sector needs. In fact successive governments have taken it as a moral responsibility to secure work for every adult person in the country. Combined together, these two points have made this work function to be taken for granted by most of sampled workers.

Part of the explanation for the workers' satisfaction with the physical working conditions derives from the fact that most of the factories included in the survey were of recent origin, with the oldest of them dating as far back as the early seventies, which means that the physical conditions of working are generally satisfactory and in some quite good.

The overwhelming satisfaction workers expressed with their relationships with co-workers can be partially attributed to the norms by which these workers have been recruited. The relevant discussion about recruitment patterns will be undertaken in chapter eight. It suffice to say at this point that about two thirds of the workers in the sample have been employed through friends and relatives either in their current places of work or elsewhere.

Without being accused of reading too much in the figures, most workers seemed undecided in their attitudes towards the intrinsic aspects of their work. In view of the notion that satisfaction scores tend to take importance into account i.e., the most important items tend to be scored as either very satisfactory or dissatisfactory (Lawler, 1979); this indeterminacy in attitudes may be taken to indicate that these items (the intrinsic aspects) do not figure high in the priorities of the workers under study.

It is rather interesting to note that respondents did not shy away from expressing their feeling of dissatisfaction with some aspects of their work eventhough the questions utilized were fairly direct and straight forward. In this, the sampled workers seem to be in sharp contrast to the western industrial worker who is believed "to find it very difficult to admit he dislikes his job without thereby threatening his self-respect" (Goldthorpe et al., 1968:11). For, in western societies "a man's work tends to be a more important determinant of his self-image than most other social activities. Thus there is a considerable pressure on the individual to say that he finds his job acceptable; to say otherwise will be tantamount to admitting that he does not find himself acceptable" (1968:11).

Whether this forthcomingness on the part of the workers under study implies the insignificance of work in their lives or not, is a matter that requires further evidence (see chapter seven for a discussion about the importance of work in the lives of respondents).

The discussion so far, has centered on satisfaction with individual aspects of the workers' jobs. It is now possible to see their contribution to overall job satisfaction. Worth mentioning here, is the idea advocated by a number of industrial psychologists that there is a connection between how important employees say

job factors are and how much job factors influence overall job satisfaction (Lawler, 1979). Accordingly, the importance of various job aspects must be considered as an influential variable in the determination of overall job satisfaction. The study described here adopted this approach and the facet-satisfaction scores have been weighted according to their importance and added to arrive at an overall score. In symbols the formula looks as follows:

Overall satisfaction = Summation of {facet satisfaction x facet importance}.

Since an element of causality can be inferred from the above discussion, it was considered reasonable to perform a step-wise multiple regression analysis with job aspects taken as predictors or independent variables and overall satisfaction as the criteria or the dependent variable. In such an equation, the variable that explains the greatest amount of variance in the dependent variable (overall satisfaction) will enter first; the variable that explains the greatest amount of variance in conjunction with the first will enter second, and so on. Thus, the variable that explains the greatest amount of variance unexplained by the variables already in the equation enters the equation in each step, (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbr & Bent, 1975). Although there might be some objections regarding the adequacy of such a model given the type of data with which one is dealing the aim is to get an idea -at least a rough one- about the

relative importance of the predictor variables in terms of their contribution to overall job satisfaction. An additional merit of this particular model is that it has the advantage of removing and eliminating the effects of correlations among the predictor variables.

In assessing the contribution of the predictors (i.e. satisfaction with job aspects) to the criteria variable (i.e. overall satisfaction) three sets of information are needed:

- 1) The correlation between the dependent variable and the entire set of the independent variables (referred to as multiple R).
- 2) The proportion of variance in the dependent variable associated with the variance in the independent variables (R^2). This proportion is a good indicator of the explanatory power of the regression model and gives an indication of the usefulness of the predictors, that is {the amount the squared multiple correlation would drop if the variable were removed} (Blood, 1971).
- 3) The beta weights i.e the standardized regression coefficients which represents the effect that a standard deviation difference in the independent variable would have on the dependent variable in standard deviation, (Hedderon, 1987:105).

Table (6.6)

Contribution to overall satisfaction: Multiple regression
summary table

Multiple R = 0.62
 $R^2 = 0.38$

Job aspect	B	Beta	T	Significance
Work conditions	3.46	.32	5.2	.0000
Co-workers	3.40	.31	5.2	.0000
Pay	4.4	.36	5.8	.0000
Security	2.6	.23	3.8	.0002
Promotion	3.1	.26	4.1	.0001
Fringe benefits	2.4	.24	3.9	.0001
Autonomy	1.9	.19	3.2	.0014
Nature of work	1.8	.16	2.7	.0084

Table (6.6) presents a summary of the results of the regression model. Among themselves satisfaction with all job-facets explain about 40% of the variance in overall job satisfaction ($R^2 = .38$). The correlation between them (multiple R) is .62. Although all variables in the equation add significantly to overall satisfaction, they do not carry equal weights in doing so. Three variables seem to have contributed more than the others to the explained variance. These are satisfaction with pay, working conditions and co-workers. In particular, satisfaction with pay has the highest beta weight among the cluster(0.36) and is thus the most important of all in the determination of the state of overall satisfaction. This is the main message conveyed by table

(6.7) which enlists the impact on the amount of variance (R^2) when each of the predictors variables is added to the equation. Four variables have the greatest impact on (R^2) when they were added. Chief amongst is satisfaction with pay followed by working conditions, security and satisfaction with co-workers. Some way behind comes satisfaction with fringe benefits, autonomy and promotion. The least contributor to overall satisfaction is satisfaction with nature of work with only .16 beta weight and 2% increase in the value of R^2 when it is added to the equation.

Table (6.7)

The impact of satisfaction with each job facet on the explained variance in total satisfaction (R^2)

Changes in the of equation Mult.	R^2	Size of change in R^2	Multiple R	Size of change in R
1.work Conditions	0.06	0.06	0.24	0.00
2.workmates	0.12	0.06	0.34	0.10
3.pay	0.19	0.08	0.43	0.10
4.security	0.25	0.06	0.50	0.07
5.promotion	0.29	0.04	0.54	0.04
6.fringe benefits	0.33	0.04	0.57	0.03
7.Autonomy	0.36	0.04	0.60	0.03
8.nature of work	0.38	0.02	0.62	0.02

6.2.1 Salience and Satisfaction

This subsection examines the nature of the relationship between the importance of a job aspect to a worker and the extent of his satisfaction with that aspect. Table

(6.7) ranks job aspects according to the discrepancy scores obtained by subtracting the mean satisfaction for a given aspect from the mean importance of it. The data in the table reveal that workers felt dissatisfied with those aspects which they rank as most important. No where in the table is this noticeable than in the discrepancy between the mean satisfaction and the mean importance of pay. To some extent, this is also the case with both the security and nature of work aspects. However, as revealed by the average importance ranking assigned to promotion by respondents, it appears that the low level of satisfaction workers felt towards it has contributed significantly to the discrepancy between its importance and satisfaction score. The deviant case of the table seems to be the workmates' friendliness, which has combined both high satisfaction and high importance ranking. The lower part of the table contain those aspects of work which combined low importance and high satisfaction as indicated by the respondents.

In general it seems that the data lend partial support to a claim put earlier by Hulin (1963) that the most dissatisfying factors in a worker's environment are those which are most important to him.

The data also upholds results reported in earlier studies mainly of a higher correlation between attitudes toward more important job aspects and overall satisfaction as

compared with attitudes toward less important aspects, (Mobley and Locke, 1970).

The aggregate of satisfaction scores for the three most highly rated job aspects, that is, pay, security, friendly workmates and nature of work correlated significantly higher with overall job satisfaction ($R = .4$ at $P = .000$) than did sums of satisfaction scores for less highly rated job aspects i.e. fringe benefits, promotion, autonomy and work conditions ($R = .32$; $P = .000$).

Table (6.8)

Job aspects ranked by discrepancy between satisfaction and importance mean scores .

Job aspect	Discrepancy score
Pay	1.15
Promotion	.24
Security	.10
Nature of work	.07
Good workmates	-.11
Autonomy	-.19
Fringe benefits	-.20
Work conditions	-.25

** The negative sign indicates that the mean satisfaction score is greater than the mean importance score.

It has been argued at the beginning of this chapter that for orientations to exist, they must reflect some degree of stability and independence across different frames of reference. The empirical evidence given thus far, reveals that the workers in the sample seem to view their work in

a single, discernable and consistent manner; namely that of an economistic orientation in which the majority of respondents define their work, primarily, in terms of the economic rewards it yields. Questions that traced this dominant way of defining work had to deal with (1) the most important consideration when a respondent is looking for a job (2) ranking job facets in terms of their importance (3) naming the most salient reward in which respondents would most welcome a reward (4) the voiced opinion regarding the adequacy of different work rewards, (5) feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with job aspects.

In this the workers under study do not constitute a deviant or an exceptional case compared to their counterparts in other parts of the world. Scores of examples of studies can be given in which workers perceived their work purely as an instrumental activity. For instance, a classical piece of research by Dubin (1956) has shown that work and the workplace are not central life interests for the majority of the industrial workers studied. Etzioni had observed that, 'in a modern market economy all orientations to work are basically instrumental. The fundamental reason for people work in a market economy is for external rewards; primarily money' (1960). Since then, dozens of studies of manual workers have managed to establish empirical evidence supporting Etzioni claim. Goldthorpe et al. in their

acclaimed Affluent Worker Study, for instance, have come to the conclusion that the modern industrial operative was becoming increasingly instrumental in his views about work (1968). Similarly, Cotgrove (1972) identified a marked instrumental orientation in which pay and security accounted for an overwhelming proportion of the answers of a sample of process operatives, despite the fact that their work had a good deal of inherent interest. The same result was also reported by Vampew (1973) when he found that his workers were instrumentally oriented to the extent that they give priority to high pay. Others studies by Ingham (1970), Prandy and Blackburn (1972) and Blackburn and Man (1979) have also pointed to the same conclusion.

In Africa several studies can be cited in which this instrumental outlook of work has also been reported. For example, Peil quoted a Ghanaian worker as saying, 'in fact I don't like (my job), but because I can't get any other I am bound to it, it's the money that keeps me here,' (Peil, 1972:85). A second worker in Kenya said 'I have no choice but to come to town because I need money. Why should a man undergo such hardship for any other reason? I must help my family, if that means working everyday... I will do it, I can't let my family suffer (Blunt, 1983:39). In Nigeria, Kaydoe has also found that the most important factor of a job to the average worker is pay, (1970:55).

6.3 Similarities and Differences in Responses Among the Three Occupational groups

In the previous part of this chapter the concern was to test for the existence of orientations to work across different frames of reference and among the entire group of workers. This was undertaken through different questions tapping almost identical attitudes. Having established that, the intention now is to see whether the economistic manner in which workers define their work pervades the occupational divisions of workers. This is to be done by eliciting similarities and differences among the occupational groups in terms of their work responses.

The consensus tends to be that variations in skill levels bring about corresponding variations in the perception and motivation of workers. Two interrelated points can be given in justification of this assertion:

(i) Skilled workers tend to be high on the occupational ladder vis-a-vis semi-skilled and relatively-skilled workers. Such differences will be reflected in differential patterns of prestige, esteem, remuneration, status...,etc. that would accrue to skilled workers by virtue of the position they hold (Blauner, 1964).

(ii) Factory work is essentially characterized by its lack of variety, fragmentation and its speed (Goldthorpe,

1968; Friedmann et al., 1954). Variations in skill levels would prompt similar variations in the degree of control workers' feel over the time, physical movement and pace of their work that may result in different motivational patterns among the workers concerned.

Table (6.9) presents the mean ranking of job aspects by the three occupational groups according to their perceived importance. As the data show the groups do not differ in their perception of the importance of pay; all uniformly ranking it first. They are also in agreement in their consideration of the three most important factors in a job. Pay, the presence of friendly work-mates and security appear among the top three of each group ranking. A second look at the data, however, reveals some deviations from the similarity pattern that characterized the ranking of the first three factors. For instance fringe benefits is ranked last by the semi-skilled group, 7th by the relatively skilled and 4th by the highly skilled workers. Promotional opportunities is ranked 4 by the semi-skilled, 5 by the relatively-skilled and 8 by the highly skilled ones. It remains to be seen whether these differences are statistically significant.

Table (6.9)

Mean ranking of job aspects by occupational groups*

Job aspects \ occupational groups	Semi-skilled	Relatively skilled	Highly skilled
1. nature of work	5 (4.8)	4 (4.4)	5 (4.4)
2. Autonomy	6 (4.9)	6 (4.7)	7 (4.8)
3. Workmates	2 (4.2)	3 (4.1)	2 (4.30)
4. Fringe benefits	8 (5.4)	7 (5.0)	3 (4.33)
5. security	3 (4.3)	2 (4.0)	6 (4.6)
6. Work conditions	7 (5.0)	8 (5.3)	4 (4.34)
7. Promotion	4 (4.4)	5 (4.6)	8 (5.0)
8. Pay	1 (3.0)	1 (3.3)	1 (4.2)

* The nearer the mean to one the more important the item is.

Towards this end, two statistical tests were carried out; the first consists of a series of nonparametric tests of significance -Kruskall-Wallis-, and the second is the more robust multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) followed by univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) to ascertain the individual-variable contributions to any significant multivariate effects.

Table (6.10) lists the Kruskal-Wallis X^2_{critical} values and the corresponding levels of significance. Out of the eight job factors, the groups differed significantly in the ranking of two items; namely pay and fringe benefits with X^2_{critical} values of 10.2 and 8.62, respectively. This is confirmed by a significant F-ratio of the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and by the

univariate F-statistics of ANOVA which indicate only pay and fringe benefits have contributed significantly to the multivariate F-ratio. Needless to say that, pay was ranked first by all the three occupational strata, and that its significant contribution to the F-ratio should only be seen as 'a variation on a theme', that is a variation in the degree by which the groups have seen it as the most important factor in work. It would therefore be logical to argue that apart from fringe benefits the rankings of the three occupational groups seem remarkably similar and that for these workers a universal criteria appear to have been used in evaluation of what is important in work.

The major conclusion that can be drawn from the two tables below, is that commonality rather than differences in responses is elicited and that the effect of variations in skill levels among the workers under study is negligible.

Table (6.10)

Differences in the ranking of job aspects by occupational groups (Kruskall-Wallis)

Job Aspect	χ^2 critical	Significance*
1.nature of work	2.54	0.28
2.autonomy	0.15	0.93
3.co-workers	0.27	0.87
4.fringe benefits	8.63	0.01
5.security	1.57	0.46
6.work conditions	5.60	0.07
7.promotion	2.69	0.26
8.pay	10.12	0.006

* Kruskall-Wallis.

Table (6.11)

Differences in the ranking of job aspects by occupational groups (MANOVA)

Job aspect	F-ratio	Significance of F
Nature of work	1.26	0.28
Autonomy	0.10	0.91
Workmates	0.13	0.87
Fringe benefits	4.25	0.01
Security	0.79	0.46
Work conditions	3.03	0.06
Promotion	1.27	0.28
Pay	6.23	0.002

The Multivariate F-ratio = 2.17 Sig. = .000

This conclusion is one that is supported further by the data obtained from the question regarding workers' goals and priorities in work. As table (6.12) shows the majority of workers in all of the three groups have indicated goals and priorities that are mostly related to the economic aspects of their work. 68.4% of the semi-skilled workers, 57.2% of the relatively skilled ones and 67.9% of the highly skilled fall in this category. Whereas 13.2%, 35.7% and 23.1% of the three groups respectively have singled out priorities and goals that concern intrinsic features of work. In doing so, there are no significant differences among them. The differentiation of the three groups according to skill has not led to similar differentiation in their priorities and goals in work.

Table (6.12)
Work goals and priorities by occupational groups

Considerations	<u>Occupational Groups</u>		
	Semi-skilled	Relatively-skilled	Highly-skilled
Economic	47 (67.9%)	52 (68.4%)	24 (57.2%)
Non-economic	10 (13.2%)	15 (35.7%)	16 (23.1%)
Relational	14 (8.4%)	3 (7.1%)	6 (8.7%)
Kruskall-Wallis	$\chi^2_{\text{critical}} = 0.46$ Sig. = 0.79		

6.3.1 Similarities and Differences in Satisfaction

For the same reasons that were given in the preceding subsection it can be anticipated that workers stratification by skill levels would be reflected in corresponding differences in satisfaction with different job-facets. Results of tests for differences are reported in table (6.13) and summarized as follows:

(i) There are some significant differences in satisfaction among the three groups of workers.

(ii) These differences are primarily associated with extrinsic or job context factors such as pay, fringe benefits and work conditions, and not with job content or intrinsic aspects of workers' jobs i.e. nature of work and autonomy.

(iii) A second closer look at the table reveals that the

majority of workers in the three groups were decidedly dissatisfied with pay and promotional aspects of their work and that the differences among workers in this regard must be interpreted as variations in the extent by which they were dissatisfied with the aspect in question.

(iv) The wide spread feeling of dissatisfaction among workers regarding some of the extrinsic aspects of their jobs reflect the importance of these factors to them and in a much wider sense, their definition of work.

Table (6.13)

Satisfaction by occupational levels (Percentage)

Groups Job aspects	Semi-skilled		Relatively skilled		Highly skilled		P*
	NS %	S %	NS %	S %	NS %	S %	
1.Nature of work	60.5	39.5	45.2	54.8	47.8	52.2	.12
2.Autonomy	63.2	36.8	40.5	59.5	44.9	55.1	.07
3.Workmates	38.2	61.8	42.9	57.1	52.2	47.8	.51
4.Fringe benefits	31.6	58.4	52.4	47.6	71.0	29.0	.0001
5.Security	57.9	42.1	28.6	71.4	59.4	40.6	.001
6.Work conditions	53.9	46.1	35.7	64.3	36.2	63.8	.03
7.Promotion	69.7	30.3	69.0	31.0	68.1	31.9	.61
8.Pay	85.5	14.5	76.2	23.8	71.0	29.0	.0001
N	78		42		69		

*Kruskall-Wallis

NS = Not satisfied

S = Satisfied

6.4 Relationships of Age, Job Longevity and Education with Orientations

The foregoing discussion represents an attempt to seek an explanation of the workers' attitudes in terms of their stratification according to their skill levels. But, as indicated by the findings, it appears that skill levels have failed to provide an adequate premise through which the results presented so far can be made intelligible. The aim in this subsection is, therefore, to try out the possibility of other potentially explanatory variables.

In chapter five it has been shown that age, job longevity and educational levels were the only variables in which the distribution of respondents showed some significant differences. These variables may, therefore, suggest possible explanations for the attitudes and behaviours of the workers concerned.

Among the age effects of particular relevance here are what Rhodes (1983) categorizes as psychological, i.e. those which refer to systematic changes in personality, needs, expectations and behaviours as well as performance in a sequence of socially prescribed roles and accumulated experiences. It is to be noted, however, that our interest in this category of age effects on job attitudes should not imply that the evidence bearing on it is conclusive. For instance, in a recent massive

review of more than 185 research studies, Rhodes cited some evidence indicating both significant and insignificant relationships between age and overall job satisfaction. Equally, studies examining age-related differences in satisfaction with specific job facets such as satisfaction with work itself, pay, promotion, supervision and co-workers have reported mixed results (see Rhodes 1983, and references cited there).

Closely related to age is the length of time an individual has been working in the same organization. The question to be answered here, is whether the workers at different stages of their jobs display significant and similar differences in their attitudes to work?

The theoretical argument pertaining to effects of this variable on job attitudes is similar to that of age. For example, it is assumed that the individual undergoes changes in his performance and motivation following changes in the way he perceives himself as he progresses through his career. Likewise, his needs and expectations are expected to vary in their importance and strength as the years go by (Mansfield, 1975). The argument relating to the effects of educational levels on job attitudes draws mainly on the thesis that education enhances one's self-evaluation and thereby leads to higher expectations with regard to pay and other work rewards. Within this context there is some empirical evidence indicating a negative relationship of education with the extrinsic

aspects of the job; in particular pay (Klein & Maher, 1966).

Given such a premise, it was perceived that the best way to account for the effects of the variables in question on importance ranking and satisfaction is through a simple correlation model, controlling for skill levels. The correlation coefficients are reported in table (6.14). As the table shows, apart from a weak but significant relationship with the ranking of the 'nature of work' and 'promotion', no statistically significant associations exist between age and the ranking of the rest of the factors. Similarly, with few exceptions, no significant relationship are evident between respondents' length of service or educational levels and their ranking of job-facets partialling out skill levels.

In ascertaining the magnitude and direction of the relationship between the ranking of the 'nature of work' and both age and length of service, it becomes evident that the relationship though significant, are too weak to contribute to any significant differences among groups within the variables in focus. ($X^2 = 4.8$ D.F. = 9 Sig. = .852 for three age groups; $X^2 = 9.04$ D.F. = 9 Sig = .433 for three length of service groups).

Turning to the relationship between job-facet satisfaction with the variables concerned, a similar

pattern of insignificant relationships can also be recognized. It is rather striking that age has no effect neither on satisfaction with individual job-facets nor on overall job satisfaction. The same can also be said regarding the effects of respondents' length of service and educational levels on satisfaction.

The correlation results described above have not validated the explanatory importance of age, job longevity and education that is frequently reported in the literature. The variables have failed to provide any illumination that might help in understanding the data at hand. The implication of this to the present study lies in the fact that the attitudes of the sampled workers have, hitherto, cut across different frames of reference, different skill levels, and above all different age, length of service and educational patterns.

Table (6.14)

Partial correlation between work attitudes and age,
length of service and educational levels

Variables	Age		length of service		Education	
	R	Sig	R	Sig.	R	Sig
<u>Facet-importance</u>						
1.nature of work	.22	0.01	.17	0.05	-.09	0.09
2.autonomy	-.10	0.17	.04	0.32	-.04	0.27
3.co-workers	.02	0.42	-.005	0.50	.08	0.14
4.fringe benefits	.01	0.44	.04	0.33	.06	0.21
5.security	.03	0.40	.09	0.19	.008	0.46
6.work conditions	.02	0.42	-.06	0.27	.21	0.02
7.promotion	-.21	0.02	.10	0.15	.02	0.38
8.pay	.04	0.34	.05	0.30	-.000	0.50
<u>Facet-satisfaction</u>						
1.security	.04	0.34	.02	0.44	.06	0.18
2.nature of work	.03	0.28	.16	0.03	.05	0.25
3.fringe benefits	.04	0.22	-.12	0.22	.03	0.32
4.co-workers	-.12	0.21	.001	0.34	.15	0.02
5.pay	.03	0.38	-.06	0.19	.06	0.19
6.promotion	-.10	0.23	-.11	0.25	.06	0.19
7.work conditions	-.16	0.26	-.13	0.05	.09	0.09
8.autonomy	.05	0.34	.11	0.18	.06	0.18
<u>Job satisfaction</u>	.04	0.34	-.08	0.23	.08	0.12

6.5 Summary

Before drawing this chapter to a close, it is pertinent to recapitulate some of the most important points that have been stressed through out the discussion. The chapter has examined the work orientations of a sample of Sudanese industrial workers. Orientations were viewed, in this regard, as the ordered goals and expectations workers have regarding the work situation. The analysis has confirmed a central expectation that the workers under study would essentially define their work in purely economic terms. This perception of work has been traced across different frames of reference and dimensions. The questions used in this respect, included the following:

1. The most important consideration when a respondent is looking for a job.
2. The ranking of job factors in terms of their relative importance.
3. Naming the most salient factor in which respondents would most welcome an improvement.
4. Agreements or disagreements with statements regarding the adequacy of different work rewards.
5. The feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with different job aspects and with the job.

The main feature of work which respondents have

persistently continued to stress and emphasize in their answers to these questions is their concern with the extrinsic aspects of their jobs; specifically pay. It was the most important and salient aspect of their work, the most complained about and the one in which they would most welcome an improvement. The workers were decidedly dissatisfied with it and it contributed markedly towards their overall job satisfaction. Moreover, respondents dissatisfaction with their promotional opportunities and fringe benefits can also be viewed as an indication of their perception of work.

In seeking to explain and understand the attitudes in focus, an analysis strategy in which technology -skill levels- was treated as an independent variable was adopted. In so doing it was possible to explore the relationship between workers' skill levels and their reactions to objective aspects of their jobs.

The important conclusion that emerged from the analysis is the considerable degree of commonality and conformity that characterized workers' responses. Statistical tests have to a large extent failed to detect any significant differences in the attitudes and behaviour of the sampled workers in the three groups. Where differences have been found -as in the case of respondents satisfaction with job-facets- they were only in the degree and intensity of feelings towards specific features of work. This

similarity appears to have transcended workers divisions of skill, age, length of service and educational levels.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Respondents' Commitment to Work

The idea of commitment to work -the centrality of the work role as a source of intrinsic satisfaction relative to other nonwork roles- has for long attracted the attention of industrial psychologists and sociologists alike. The interest in the subject has been so high that it generated over 25 concepts and measures (Morrow & McElory, 1986). These measures include, among other things, central life interests (Dubin, 1956), job involvement (Lodahi and Kejner, 1965) and organizational commitment (Mowday, Steers and Porter, 1979).

The purpose of the present chapter is to provide some information regarding the sampled workers' commitment to work. The concern is to account for similarities and/or differences among the three groups of workers with respect to the theme in question. It is, therefore a continuation of the analysis introduced in the previous chapter, in that it seeks an explanation of workers' behaviour through their immediate experience of work as exemplified by their skill levels. This task is to be tackled in four parts. Section one presents evidence on the question of whether the job and the workplace represent a major life interest for respondents or whether their main interest lies elsewhere; and how a central life interest in the work domain relates to the

objective conditions of work and to the workers' immediate experience of work tasks and roles. Section two provides a broader view of respondents commitment to work through a discussion of the concept from a number of different angles and dimensions. Section three considers the way in which respondents view and relate to their work organizations and how that is influenced by their central life interests and their general attitudes to work. Section four turns to respondents' relationships with workmates and supervisors. Needless to say, the aim throughout the discussion would be to map out a picture of the similarities and differences that respondents may exhibit according to their skill levels in relation to the issues in focus.

7.1 Importance of Work For Respondents

In this section the discussion will largely center on the assessment of the importance of work in the lives of sampled workers. Our conceptualization of the importance of work relies heavily on Dubin's (1956) notion of central life interests. This concept was later specified to indicate the institutional settings in which the individual places his or her strongest affective self-investment (Dubin et al. 1975).

The concept has been measured differently in different scholarly works (e.g. Dubin, 1956; Parker, 1965;

Mannheim 1978; MOW, 1987). The procedure used parallels that of Dubin's in which respondents were presented with specific modes of behaviour and alternative settings for its occurrence were specified. They were then asked to name the locale with which they would associate that kind of behaviour (Dubin et al., 1975). This procedure enabled us to compare the relative importance of work with the importance of other major life areas (MOW, 1987). Two questions were used in this regard. Variations on these questions can be found in works by Dubin (1956), Parker (1965), Cotgrave (1972) and MOW (1987). The scale consists of three items and respondents were requested to specify the source of their (a) worry, and (b) their interest, among the following life settings:

- Work
- Family, relatives and the community.
- Just little things/ just every thing you do.

Responses to the two questions are summarized in table (7.1). As can be seen from the table work is certainly not a central life interest for the majority of workers. A very modest percentage of them finds it either a prime source of interest in life or a cause for concern/worry. For about 60% of them the family and the community provide the main source of interest or worry in their life. This result corroborates findings reported in similar studies of industrial workers. For example, in

Dubin's study it was reported that for almost three out of four industrial workers studied work and the workplace are not central life interests (1956). In a much recent study, Dubin, Champoux and Porter (1975) have cited a number of studies in which an even lower percentage of industrial workers have been found to have a central life interest in work (see Dubin et al. 1975 for references cited there).

A number of British studies have also reached similar conclusions. Parker (1965), for example, found workers in three different occupations to be mostly leisure-centered rather than work-centered. In the Affluent Worker study work was regarded among certain groups of male manual workers as a means of acquiring the income necessary to support a valued way of life of which work is by no means an integral part (Goldthorpe et al., 1968). Equally, work was not a salient role for the majority of Cotgrove's automated workers. very few found it either the main source of interest, or anxiety or rated it important compared with family life (1972).

Table (7.1)
Central life interests of workers

Category	Work	<u>life Spheres</u>	
		family and Community	Just everything/ little things
The most interesting	47 (25.3%)	99 (53.2%)	40 (21.5)
The usual source of worry	51 (27.1%)	119 (63.3%)	18 (9.6%)

Two respondents missed to answer the first question.

Having accounted for workers central life interests, and given the fact that this study is primarily concerned with explaining workers' behaviour rather than providing a mere description of it, the question of whether workers search for meaningful roles away from work has been caused by unrewarding work experience, or whether their central life interests have led, in one way or the other to their perception of their jobs, needs to be verified.

The first part of the question relates to the area of workers' relationship with technology and whether that has influenced in a discernable and predictable manner their involvement in or alienation from work. For 'it is plausible that experiences on the job, providing rewards of intrinsic and extrinsic character, would enhance the centrality of work overtime. When occupational rewards are low, one might expect that a person would channel interests and involvement towards nonwork areas of life

in an attempt to compensate for the absence of satisfaction in the work sphere,' (Lorence & Mortimer, 1981). The second part of the question concerns the verification of the existence of some significant differences in work centrality among respondents according to their skill levels.

In chapter four and five it has been stated that the selection of the study's sample was done in such a way as to reflect the main characteristics of three lines of technology. These include a craft technology, a machine tending technology and an automated technology. These different production systems -which are reflected in respondents' skill levels- are expected to lead to variations in the way work is experienced by the three groups of workers (Blauner, 1964; Goldthorpe et al. 1968; Shepard, 1971). Three representative variables of work alienation were used to trace workers' experience of work-tasks and roles. The exact wording of the questions was borrowed from Seeman (1967) and read as follows:

1. Do you find your present job monotonous?
2. Do you find you can think about other things while doing your job?
3. Do you ever find the pace of your job too fast?

The expectations are that if any alienating tendencies are to be found they will mostly be among the semi-skilled group whose work nature is more standardized and

highly specialized than the other two groups. These characteristics are known to result in a reduction of 'understanding of total operation and dilutes a worker's feeling of purpose' (Blauner, 1964:45).

This expectation is largely supported by the data provided in Table (7.2). It is apparent that the semi-skilled group has experienced significantly more monotony in their jobs than either of the relatively and highly skilled groups (59.2 percent for the semi-skilled versus 26.2 and 21.7 percent for the relatively and highly skilled groups, respectively).

There are also significant differences among the three groups of workers on whether they think about things while doing their jobs, even though the differences are smaller than those mentioned above. In this the workers bear a remarkable similarity to Goldthorpe's Affluent workers in that most of those who did not complain their work was monotonous nonetheless found that they could think about other things while doing their jobs; that is to say their work did not absorb their full attention (Goldthorpe et al. 1968). This experience of unabsorbing jobs may, in the words of Goldthorpe and his colleagues, also be regarded as being for most individuals a further form of deprivation in work (p.19).

Finally in regard to the question of whether respondents find the pace of their jobs too fast, it is the semi-

skilled group who once more emerged to be more alienated than the other two groups of workers. More than sixty percent of the them (i.e. the semi-killed) indicated that they found the pace of their jobs too fast, compared to only 12.1 percent and 14.5 percent of the relatively and highly skilled groups, respectively. It is important to note that all the differences among the three groups of workers in their immediate experience of work are significant at 0.05 level of significance. As mentioned earlier, this result is broadly in agreement with other results of similar investigations regarding the effect of technology on workers' attitudes and behaviour (Blauner; 1964, Goldthorpe et al., 1968; Shepard, 1971).

To account for differences in work centrality among the three occupational clusters of workers it was thought useful to combine the two indicators of the concept to provide a unified single measure of work centrality, eventhough the correlation between them was not as high as expected ($\text{Gamma} = 0.44$). Having done that, a Kruskal-Wallis test of significance - a non-parametric equivalent of a one way analysis of variance- was administered. The test reveals no significant differences among the groups concerned regarding their central life interests ($\chi^2_{\text{critical}} = 3.15$ $P = 0.206$). Likewise, no significant relationships were found between work centrality and both age and length of service, ($r = -.07$ $\text{sig} = 0.143$; $r = -.03$ $\text{sig} = 0.391$ for age and length of service respectively).

These findings are different from earlier ones reported in a number of studies where a significant relationship has been found between work centrality and some background and occupational variables and other situational conditions such as production systems (Mannheim, 1975,78; Mannheim and Dubin, 1986). On the basis of the evidence presented so far, it appears that the objective conditions of work were not the main reason that have led respondents to place their life interests in non-work roles. In that the workers did not show any significant differences despite their stratification by skill, age and length of service. In the light of this it can be concluded that workers' central interests should be considered as an independent and a possible explanatory variable that bears on the behaviour and attitudes of the workers concerned.

Table (7.2)

Respondents' experience of work by skill levels

	semi-skilled (n=76)	relatively skilled (n=42)	highly skilled (n=69)
	Percentage		
1.Find job monotonous	Yes	59.2	26.2
	No	25.0	59.5
	D.K.	15.8	14.3
			23.2
2. can think of other things while doing job	Total	100.0%	100.0%
		100.0%	100.0%
	Chi-square =	28.93	Sig=0.0001
	Yes	68.4	69.1
	No	25.0	14.3
3.find pace of job too fast			26.1
	D.K.	6.6	16.6
			24.6
	Total	100.0%	100.0%
		100.0%	100.0%
	Chi-square =	12.78	Sig=0.046
	Yes	61.8	12.2
	No	29.0	61.0
			59.4
	D.K	9.2	26.8
			26.1
	Total	100.0%	100.0%
		100.0%	100.0%
	Chi-square =	49.12	Sig=0.000

In the preceding section it has been said that work is not a central life interest among the workers in question and that although workers differed significantly in their experience of work tasks and roles this has not been a factor that pushed them to place their life interests in other nonwork roles, namely the family and community.

The aim next is to further shed light on workers' commitment to work via a discussion of their general attitudes to work and the nature of their involvement in it. The issues at stake here are:

- (i) How do respondents view their work? Is it regarded as something mandatory to earn their daily bread or is it viewed as a worthwhile, valuable part of their lives?
- (ii) To what extent are the workers preoccupied with their work? How does workers' involvement in or alienation from work relates to their central life interests? Are the higher skilled workers more involved in their work than the other two occupational groups or is the pattern of their involvement in work similar?
- (iii) What would be the nature of respondents' commitment when work ceases to be a financial necessity?

7.2 Attitudes to Work

This section is an extension of the previous one, in that it traces additional alienation symptoms among the workers in question. The first of these elements is known

as the instrumental orientation to work which is conceptualized as, " the degree to which work is valued primarily as a means to nonwork ends rather than its intrinsic rewards. In other words, instrumental orientation is said to exist when work is viewed as an instrumental rather than a consummatary activity" (Shepard et al.,1979:457).

The theoretical rationale of this dimension lies in Seeman's idea of self-estrangement which is viewed as "the degree of dependence of the given behaviour upon anticipated future rewards, that is upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself" (1959:790).

It is for the purpose of assessing this dimension that respondents were asked:

-Do you consider your work a worthwhile and valuable part of your life, or is it something you have to do to earn a living?

-worthwhile.

-not sure.

-earn a living.

The exact wording of the two-part question, which bears a close relationship to those designed to tap alienation from and/or involvement in work in sociological research, was borrowed from Blackburn and Man (1979). (Cf.

Mackinnon, 1980; Shepard, 1971 to cite just a few).

Respondents replies are summarized in table (7.3). Those who were 'not sure' have been combined with those who were in the 'earn a living' category on the grounds that a state of being unsure regarding the importance of work in one's life may be indicative of some alienative tendencies among respondents regarding their work. As the data in the table show, nearly two thirds of respondents perceived their work as an inevitable burden, a means to earn one's living. Is this a result of workers' immediate experience of work? It appears not; the test of significance of differences detects no significant variance among the three occupational strata of workers in their responses to this question. In other words this particular attitude is not a product of the work situation nor is it a reflection of respondents experience of work ($\chi^2_{\text{critical}} = 0.9164$ Sig=0.632).

Table (7.3)
Workers' attitudes to work

	Frequency	Percentage
Earn a living	74	39.4
Not sure	45	23.9
Worthwhile	69	36.7
Total	188	100.0

To explore the issue further, and to get a clearer view of how the workers feel about their work, a related question to the one above was put to the respondents; it reads as follows:

Do you enjoy the time you spend at work or don't you get much pleasure out of it?

- Enjoy
- Not sure
- Not pleasurable

67.4% of respondents this time reported that they find their work 'not pleasurable' or they 'were not sure' compared to only 32.4% who said that they 'enjoy work'. This result gives an unambiguous support to the one in response to the previous question where a majority of respondents had viewed their work as an essential means to acquire their daily bread ($\gamma = .44$).

Those respondents who said they found work 'not pleasurable' or who were 'not sure' were further asked whether they found themselves 'grown used to it' or they 'dislike it'. 60.5% of them said they have grown used to unpleasurable work whereas 39.5% said they dislike it.

The conception of the majority of workers of their work as something obligatory and the fact that most of them don't find it pleasurable can be construed as a strong evidence for the argument that these workers are alienated. This is grossly manifested in respondents' answers to questions pertaining to (i) their satisfaction with their jobs (ii) whether they would choose the same job, if they were to start their working life all over again (iii) whether or not they would recommend their jobs and/or occupation to their children and (iv) the frequency of experiencing apathy feelings towards work.

62.8% of respondents were either 'not satisfied' or 'not at all satisfied' with their jobs. 55.3% of them expressed their unwillingness to choose the same occupation if they were to start all over again. 67% of them indicated that they would not recommend their job/occupation to their children (13% were undecided). Finally, 43.6% of respondents reported that they 'often' or 'sometimes' experience a feeling similar to 'I don't like to go in today' when they start off to work. Only 19% of them 'never' experienced this sort of feeling.

In table (7.4), an attempt is made to relate all of the variables discussed above to workers' instrumental orientation to work. As the figures indicate there is a significant association between the way in which workers view their work and their job attitudes. It appears that workers' instrumental orientation to work has coloured and conditioned most of the job attitudes in focus.

Table (7.4)

Relationship between workers' definition of work and their job attitudes.

Job Attitudes	co-efficient*	Significance
1.Satisfaction with the job	.137	0.031
2.Recommend Job to children.	.126	0.044
3.Frequency of apathy feelings about work.	.189	0.005
4.Choose same job, if to start all over again.	.195	0.004
5. Frequency of thinking about work problems after work.	.141	0.027
6. Whether respondents find work pleasurable or not	.333	0.001

*Spearman Rank Correlation

It should be interesting to note that when compared with workers in industrialized countries the workers under study appeared to be more dissatisfied and alienated. This lends credence to a similar proposition put forward by Shepard and his colleagues that the extent of

alienation and dissatisfaction workers may experience is associated with the degree of industrialization (Shepard et al. 1979). Ample evidence is available that workers in newly industrializing countries experience various problems in adjusting to factory work and to the technology therein (Moore, 1951; Feldman & Moore, 1960).

7.2.1 Workers' Involvement in Work

Closely related to the discussion in the preceding section is the notion of workers' involvement in work, how it relates to or influenced by their central life interests and whether there are any similarities and/or differences in involvement or alienation between the highly skilled workers and semi-skilled ones.

Previous studies have viewed 'work involvement' in different ways. Most important to this study is a definition provided by Jans (1982) in which a work-involved person is depicted as one who "takes his job and/or career seriously, has important values and components of his identity at stake in it, will be affected emotionally and significantly by work experiences and will be mentally preoccupied by work" (1982:57).

Respondents were asked: If a problem comes up in your work which is still unsettled when you go home, how often, if at all, do you find yourself thinking about it

after work? Would you say:

- often
- sometimes
- rarely
- never.

9% of respondents 'never' think of work problems after work, 40.4% rarely, 31.9% sometimes and 18.1% often. One respondents missed to answer the question. Without running the risk of reading too much in the figures, respondents, on the whole seem less inclined to think about their work after the end of a working day.

How do the workers' central life interests bear on this result is the subject matter of table (7.2). The table is a resultant crosstabulation of respondents' central life interests by the frequency of thinking about work after work; with the former being treated as the independent variable and the latter as the dependent.

From the percentages given and the summary statistics provided, it appears that there is an association between respondents' central interests and their involvement in work ($\chi^2 = 19.137$ Sig= 0.014). On the whole it seems that more than 50% of respondents who are family/community centered reported that they 'never' or 'rarely' think about a work problem when at home. On the other hand more than 55% of those who were work-centered indicated that

they 'sometimes' or 'often' find themselves thinking about work matters after work.

If workers' involvement in work differs according to their central life interests; does it also differ across their skill levels? Not this time. A Kruskal-Wallis test of significance of differences unveils no significant disparities among the three occupational groups of workers in their work involvement ($X^2_{\text{critical}} = 0.0486$ $P = 0.976$).

Table (7.5)
Work involvement by central life interests

Frequency of thinking about work after work	<u>Central life interests</u>		
	just little things	family & community	work
Never	11.1	8.5	9.8
Rarely	44.4	44.1	31.3
Sometimes	38.9	35.6	21.6
Often	5.6	11.8	37.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
<hr/>			
$X^2 = 19.137$	D.F. = 6	sig. = 0.014	

7.2.2 Workers' Non-financial Commitment to Work

In chapter six, it was asserted that people undertake work because it facilitates the attainment of goals and outcomes otherwise unattainable. These goals and outcomes have been classified in various ways by different

writers. Prominent among these classifications is the extrinsic-intrinsic dichotomy; i.e. the instrumental and non-instrumental reasons for working (Saleh and Hyde, 1969; Warr, 1982). The instrumental reasons for working are essentially economic, whereas the non-instrumental are expressive in nature (Harpaz, 1989). The latter have been referred to as 'non-financial employment commitment' (Warr, 1982). This construct is tapped by what is to be known in the literature as the 'lottery question', which proposes a situation in which the economic rationale for the necessity of working has been removed, thereby setting the stage for assessing the extent to which the job is important to the individual for other than monetary reasons (Morse and Weiss, 1955; Harpaz, 1989).

In addressing this version of commitment to work among the workers under study, one had in mind two objectives:

i) To cross-examine workers' earlier answers pertaining to their work preferences and priorities, in which they placed heavy emphasis on the economic aspects of their work.

(ii) To see whether or not work in the absence of the financial necessity has become an important life role in the lives of respondents.

Respondents were asked, "imagine that you inherited a large sum of money and could live comfortably for the rest of your life without working; what would you do

concerning working?

- (a) I would stop working.
- (b) I would continue to work in present job.
- (c) I would continue to work but in renewed conditions.

It should, however, be mentioned that part of the question that speaks about respondents winning a lottery and from which the question derives its name has been omitted in this case due to the fact that the majority, if not all, of respondents were muslims and may consider that to be an immoral way of getting rich.

The pattern of non-financial work commitment among the entire sample of respondents is summarized in table (7.3). As the table shows, a majority of respondents indicated that they would continue working even when that is not dictated by economic necessity. 25.2% of them said that they would continue working in their present jobs, while 41.5% of them said that they would consider working in renewed conditions, implying that they would change their present jobs in favour of new ones, possibly to set up their own businesses. All in all, the proportion of respondents who said they would continue working either in their present jobs or elsewhere amounts to more than two thirds of the sample; only 31.4% of respondents have pointed out that they would stop working altogether. This later category was further requested to state reasons for

stopping work (Table 7.4). 44.1% of them said that they would stop working because they want to devote more time to their families; 32.2% said they want to render service to their communities; 15.3% want to enjoy the money and the sense of being free, whereas 8.5% said that there is no need for working after inheriting such an amount of money.

Thus, the main motive for the preponderance of those who said they would stop working when the economic need is no longer present relates either to the family or to the community at large; a result which substantiates respondents earlier answers to questions regarding their central life interests. In fact there is a positive and significant relationship between respondents' central life interests and their work-continuation intentions as revealed by their answers to the lottery question ($\text{Gamma} = .31$). This relationship provides what some writers have described as a moderate support for the theoretical soundness of the concept of central life interests and the important and significant impact it may have on individuals, organizations and societies (MOW, 1987).

It is somewhat intriguing to note that although the question was hypothetical, and that respondents have exhibited significant differences in their immediate experience of work, no significant differences were observed -along respondents' skill levels- in replies to

the question at hand ($\chi^2_{\text{critical}} = 0.424$ Sig.= 0.830).

In explaining the results prompted by the question above one must echo a note of caution demanded by those who used the approach in verifying non-financial commitment to working. "The lottery question proposes a situation that is hypothetical; it is unlikely that respondents would actually be faced with the opportunity to stop working because they had come into an unexpected fortune. Therefore, the question of how expressed attitudes might be linked to actual behaviour remains" (Harpaz, 1989:149). Furthermore, "responses are likely to be influenced by what is thought to be a conventionally desirable answer at the time..." (Warr, 1982:309). This is of particular relevance to the study described here, since the intention is to trace work attitudes as socially constrained phenomena and not as individuals' characteristics.

Table (7.6)
The lottery question

	Frequency	Percentage
1.I would continue to work in present job.	48	25.5
2.I would continue to work in renewed conditions.	78	41.5
3.I would stop working.	59	31.4
Total	185	100%

Table (7.7)
Reasons for stopping work

Category	Frequency	Percentage
1. There is no need for work anymore.	5	8.5
2. to enjoy money and the sense of being free.	9	15.3
3. You want to devote more time to your family.	26	44.0
4. You want lead a happy social life by rendering service to the community	19	32.2
Total	59	100%

In the absence of these reservations, and if the lottery question is to be taken as a reasonable indicator of non-financial commitment to working, then, the sampled workers would compare fairly well with their Western counterparts in this respect. A few examples of some studies may verify this claim. In what is now believed to be a classic study, Morse and Weiss (1955) used the lottery question to trace the function and meaning of work among a national sample of employed men in the United States. 80% of respondents indicated that they would continue working even in the absence of financial necessity. Some 69% of full-time British employees have also reported their desire to continue in employment in a similar study that utilized the lottery question (Warr, 1982). This pattern is confirmed in a recent study in

which a significant proportion of a representative sample of the labour force in seven industrialized nations opted to hold on to their jobs when they are no longer financially necessary (Harpaz, 1989).

7.3 Respondents' Organizational Commitment

One of the few areas that have been the focus of recent substantial academic interest is organizational commitment. This interest in the subject is due in part to the importance of the concept as a potential determinant of employee performance, absenteeism and turnover (Ferris and Aranya, 1983). It is to this concept that the attention now turns.

Although there are a number of diverse definitions and measurements of organizational commitment, the approach used in this study is based primarily on Becker's notion of side-bets. According to this notion, "commitments come into being when a person, by making a side-bet, links extraneous interests with a consistent line of activity" (Becker, 1960:32).

Bearing the above argument in mind, organizational commitment is tapped by a question which assesses the employee's propensity to leave an organization given a slight increase in pay (about 10% of present salary). The merits in using such a question have been well stated in

the literature. For example, according to Hrebiniak and Alutto the employment of a slight increase in pay, "sets a low threshold for changing organizations in the hypothetical situation. Even a slight predisposition toward leaving the organization, then, should be reflected in the commitment score" (1972:556). Moreover, "requesting respondents to assume they are offered a position in a different organization partially controls for problems surrounding a respondent's perception of his ease of movement and allows attitudes concerning his perception of the desirability of movement from the organization to play a greater role in responses to the inducements conditions" (March and Simon, 1958:93). Because of its emphasis on rewards this measure of commitment has been referred to as calculative instrumental involvement (Etzioni, 1961; Sheldon, 1971).

Table (7.8) summarizes the pattern of respondents' commitment to their employing organizations obtained across the three occupational clusters of workers. Overall, a sizable proportion of workers were either prepared to leave their firms for others, if by doing so they could earn a slight increase in their present salaries, or they were 'undecided' about such a prospect. Only over one third of them said they would rather stay at their present jobs. Such a result is largely in line with the established evidence that blue-collar workers do not perceive the employing organization as a major source

of rewards and satisfaction (Chinoy, 1955; Hrebiniak and Alutto, 1972).

This pattern of organizational commitment which respondents have displayed, weak though it might be, is reinforced by the data provided by the question which requested respondents' evaluation of their work organizations vis-a-vis others. It is often used by industrial sociologists and its theoretical roots are found in the extensive work done on the subject of commitment by Porter, Steers, Mowday and Boulian (1974) (1981).

Respondents were asked: Of all the firms that you had heard about or had experience of, how would you rate yours?

- the best
- one of the best
- about average
- one of the worst
- the worst

37.8% of respondents reported that their firms were either 'worst' or 'one of the worst' than most other firms. Almost a similar percentage rated their's as 'about average' in comparison to others. Only 28.8% of respondents seemed to be pleased with their present firms and rated them as either 'the best' or 'one of the best' (table 7.9).

Table (7.8)

Respondents propensity to leave given a slight increase in pay

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes (low commitment)	83	44.1
No (high commitment)	72	38.3
D.K. (undecided)	33	17.6
Total	188	100%

Table (7.9)

Respondents' perception of their employing organizations

	Frequency	Percentage
Worst	22	11.9
One of the worst	49	26.1
Average	64	34.0
One of the best	37	19.7
The best	16	8.5
Total	182	100%

In search of explanation, workers' organizational commitment pattern is crosstabulated with their skill levels and their central life interests. Its relationship with age and length of service of respondents is also explored. As table (7.7) illustrates there are significant differences among the three groups of workers in their propensity to leave their current firms given a slight increase in pay. In other words, workers'

organizational pattern varies according to their skill levels. As can be expected, the highly skilled workers emerge as the more committed group than either of the other two groups. Among the three groups the semi-skilled are the most likely to leave their current jobs and therefore are the least committed group. For instance, more than half of them (i.e., the semi-skilled group) indicated that they would quit if they were offered an increase of 10% on their current salaries. This is compared to 42.9% and 31.9% of the relatively and the highly skilled groups, respectively. Similar significant differences were also found among the three occupational strata of workers regarding the relationship between their perception of present employers and their skill levels (table 7.8). An interesting point to note, is that no one among the highly skilled group has rated his firm as 'the best' in comparison to others. This is despite the fact that most if not all of the firms covered by the survey are relatively speaking renowned for their good employment conditions and other fringe benefits in comparison with those of the civil service employees and even some private firms in the country.

Table (7.10)
 Respondents' patterns of commitment to their
 organizations by skill levels.

Commitment Patterns	<u>skill levels</u>		
	semi- skilled (n=76)	relatively skilled (n=42)	highly skilled (n=69)
High	55.2	42.9	31.9
Low	30.3	33.3	50.7
Undecided	14.5	23.8	17.4
Total (n =187)	100%	100%	100%
$\chi^2 = 10.17$	D.F.=4	Sig = 0.037	

Table (7.11)
 Respondents' perception of organization by skill levels

Category	<u>Skill levels</u>		
	Semi- skilled (n=76)	relatively skilled (n=42)	highly skilled (n=69)
worst	14.5	11.9	8.7
one of the worst	26.3	14.3	33.3
average	26.3	26.2	46.4
one of the best	19.7	33.3	11.6
the best	13.2	14.3	----
Total (n=187)	100%	100%	100%
$\chi^2 = 25.499$	D.F.= 8	Sig = 0.001	

Similarly central life interests have been found to
 differentiate significantly among workers in their

community than the other two groups. On the other hand, a majority of workers who are work-centered declined the offer of another job that provides a slight increase in pay. This result validates a hypothesis put forward by Dubin et al. (1975) that workers with central life interest in work may be viewing their current work environments through a filter which leads to a high level of commitment and features of the work environment appear attractive regardless of their objective attractiveness... whilst the overall commitment of workers with a central life interest in institutions away from work is low.

Although workers' commitment to their organizations has been, at least in part, explained by their skill levels and central life interests, other background variables, namely age and length of service, have failed to contribute significantly to any variance in the variable in question (the correlation co-efficients of both age and length of service with commitment is .061 and .0305, respectively which are not significant at .05 level of significance). An examination of the literature, however, has revealed that these two variables are related to the growth of side bets or investments in the organization and hence, to commitment to it (Sheldon, 1971; Morris et al. 1981).

Table (7.12)
 Respondents' organizational commitment by central life interests

Commitment Patterns	<u>Central Life Interests</u>		
	Just little things (n=18)	Family and community (n=119)	Work (n=51)
High	11.1	21.8	9.8
Low	44.4	30.1	52.9
undecided	44.4	47.1	37.3
Total (n=188)	100%	100%	100%
$\chi^2 = 8.845$ D.F. = 4 Sig. = 0.051			

The foregoing discussion has, by and large, focused on commitment as a dependent variable. The concern now is to see -at least at a conceptual level- how organizational commitment relate to or affect a number of behavioural and affective outcomes (Weiner and Vardi, 1980).

Among the variables that have been particularly cited to be associated with organizational commitment is the intention to stay in the organization and satisfaction with the job, eventhough, there is still some confusion as to the nature, direction and magnitude of such relationships (Steers, 1977; Weiner and Vardi, 1980; Porter, 1981).

Tables (7.13) and (7.14) provide strong evidence regarding the relationship between organizational commitment and both of the variables mentioned above. For example, it is apparent from the first table that workers who are highly

committed to their present firms are more likely to stay in them than workers who are low in commitment or undecided.

More specifically, an overwhelming majority of workers' who are more committed have not thought of leaving (more than 3/4 of them). In contrast a majority of those who are less committed (about 2/3 of them) have actually thought of quitting. The same can also be said regarding the relationship between satisfaction with the job and commitment, mainly that workers who were high in commitment were more satisfied with their jobs than those who are low in commitment or undecided. To put it differently, satisfied workers are more committed to their organizations than dissatisfied ones.

Table (7.13)

Intent to leave by organizational commitment

Intent to leave	<u>Commitment Pattern</u>		
	High (N=72)	Low (N=83)	Undecided (N=33)
Yes	22.5	63.9	72.7
No	77.5	36.1	27.3
Total	100%	100%	100%
<hr/>			
$\chi^2=34.609$	D.F. = 2	Sig= 0.000	

Table (7.14)
Job satisfaction by organizational commitment

Satisfaction	<u>Commitment Patterns</u>		
	High (N=72)	Low (N=83)	Undecided (N=33)
very satisfied	20.8	14.5	3.0
satisfied	38.9	8.4	21.2
not satisfied	27.8	57.8	57.6
not at all satisfied	12.5	19.3	18.2
Total	100%	100%	100%
<hr/>			
$\chi^2=30.6337$	D.F.= 6	Sig=0.000	

7.4 Workers' Relationship with Co-workers and Supervisors

The aim in discussing respondents relations with their workmates as well as that with supervision is to cast additional light on the attitudes and behaviour of the sample. In this connection, it will be remembered that the formulation of the questions posed and the analysis of respondents' answers to these questions are both guided by the assumptions and ideas of the technological implications approach. According to this approach, 'the social relations of the workplace are significantly influenced by the way in which the actual processes of production are designed and organized; that is, by the way in which work tasks are specified and work roles defined and by the way in which these tasks and roles are related to each other and co-ordinated' (Goldthorpe, 1968:52).

In view of the variations in the production processes of the factories covered by the survey, and if technology is to be considered as a key explanatory variable of workers' relations on the shop floor, then, significant and meaningful differences should characterize respondents' responses to questions pertaining to their relations with co-workers and supervision. The rationale for this expectation is best articulated by Goldthorpe and his colleagues that technology or any form of it, 'has to be seen as imposing at a minimum certain constraints of the structuring of work relations and probably as forcing these into certain more or less specific patterns rather than others...' (1968:52).

Given such a premise, respondents were first asked: how often would you say you talk with the people who work with you? (would you say):

- very often
- a good deal
- now and then
- hardly at all
- never

A sizable proportion of respondents indicated that they found themselves talking 'a good deal' or 'very often' with co-workers. Only a small percentage of them reported that they hardly talk with them. Given such a high percentage,

it is not foreseeable to expect any radical variations among the three occupational groups of workers in this regard. Indeed, as revealed by the data provided in table (7.15) a majority of workers in each group talk at least 'a good deal' with fellow workers. Thus, the noticeable differences among them, symbolized by a significant chi-square, should only be interpreted as variations on this general trend.

Table (7.15)
Relation with co-workers by skill levels

	<u>Skill Levels</u>		
	semi-skilled	relatively skilled	highly skilled
very often	29.0	47.6	56.5
a good deal	36.8	26.2	36.2
now and then	22.4	19.0	7.2
hardly at all	11.8	7.1	—
Total	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2=22.344$ D.F.= 9 Sig= 0.0078

Next an attempt was made to ascertain whether this high frequency of interaction, which is revealed in respondents' answers to the above question is indicative of a much deeper satisfaction with their social environment. Two interrelated questions were put to the sample. The first one asked them, 'how would you feel if you were forced to move from your present workmates? would you say:

- very upset
- fairly upset
- not much bothered
- not bothered at all

A recapitulation of respondents' answers across their skill levels is given in table (7.16). As evident from the table the vast majority of workers reported they would feel upset if forced to move from their workmates. Overall, more than eighty percent of them said they would be at a minimum 'fairly upset' if they were to leave present fellow workers. Only a tiny percentage indicated they would not be upset by it. This pattern does not change much, when one looks at the replies of each of the three group of respondents, separately. Again, more than seventy percent of workers in each group said that they would be bothered by the spectre of being removed from their co-workers.

The second question -which is more direct- asked respondents to state specifically how many of the men they work with they can call close friends (table 7.17). Nearly a third of workers in each group indicated they have one or two friends among fellow workers, about half of them said they have more than two and only less than 10% of the semi-skilled and the highly skilled groups said they call 'none' of those in their work organizations close friends.

Table(7.16)
 Respondents feelings if removed by skill levels

	<u>skill levels</u>		
	semi- skilled (n=76)	relatively skilled (n=42)	highly skilled (n=69)
Very upset	34.2	45.2	42.0
fairly upset	42.1	38.1	46.4
not much bothered	14.5	14.3	8.7
not bothered at all	9.2	2.4	2.9
Total (n=188)	100%	100%	100%
<hr/>			
$\chi^2=8.19$	df.=4	Sig.=0.08	

Table (7.17)
 No. of close friends by skill levels

Category	<u>skill levels</u>		
	semi- skilled (n=76)	relatively skilled (n=42)	highly skilled (n=69)
none	9.5	-	7.2
one or two	29.9	42.9	46.4
more than two	60.6	57.1	46.4
Total (n=188)	100%	100%	100%
<hr/>			
$\chi^2=6.17$	df.=6	Sig.=0.404	

The second important dimension of workers' relations on the shop floor is that with supervisors. To examine the nature of a such a relationship respondents were asked, "how do you get on with your supervisor; would you say:

-very well

-pretty well

-not so well

-very badly

The exact wording of the question -which is borrowed from Goldthorpe et al. (1968)- is based on a notion advocated in similar American studies on the subject, mainly that where a high rate of informal interaction occurs between foremen and their subordinates, the latter tend to be more favorably disposed towards supervision...than where the rate of such interaction is low, (Turner, 1955, 57; Walker et al., 1956).

In table (7.18) a resume is given of respondents' replies to the question across their skill levels. The main feature of the table is that the majority of workers in the three occupational groups is pleased with their supervision, eventhough workers vary in the extent to which they are pleased. Broadly speaking, the relatively skilled group appears to be more satisfied with their supervision than either of the other two groups, (71.5% of the relatively skilled group vs. 56.5% and 50.7% of the semi- and highly skilled groups, respectively). This may be partly due to

the fact that a number of foremen existed among the relatively skilled workers, who may, because of their own experience of supervision tend to view their own bosses in a more favourable light. Another feature of the table to be observed is that a large portion of those who did not look favorably towards supervision are surprisingly found among the highly skilled group. However, as the chi-square statistics at the bottom of the table shows, these disparities in workers' disposition towards supervision are not statistically significant.

Table (7.18)
Workers' perception of supervision by skill levels

	<u>Skill Levels</u>		
	semi- skilled (n=76)	relatively skilled (n=42)	highly skilled (n=69)
very well	26.3	31.0	24.6
pretty well	30.3	40.5	26.1
not so well	27.6	21.4	30.4
very badly	15.8	7.1	18.8
Total (n=188)	100%	100%	100%
$\chi^2 = 8.111$ D.F.= 9 Sig.= 0.523			

In sum, then, workers appear quite satisfied with their general social surrounding in the factories that have been the subject matter of this study. Most of them converse oftenly with their work colleagues, would feel upset if they were forced to leave them, and many of them have more

than two persons whom they would call close friends. It was also demonstrated that the majority of workers enjoy a good relationship with their supervisors.

To understand workers' satisfaction with their social interaction in the workplace, it is necessary to know the methods through which they were recruited. As has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter, about two-thirds of them had sought employment in their present factories through kinsmen, neighbours, villagers friends and friends' friends. These modes of recruitment, it can be argued, have created a workplace of socially interrelated people; i.e. the social ties outside work have simply, been ushered into the workplace. Based on this, the notion that workers' affective involvement with co-workers is to be taken as an evidence of their commitment to the industrial way of life may prove to be contentious.

On the other hand and in the absence of meaningful and significant differences among workers in their responses to questions relating to their social relations on the shop floor, including that with supervisors, one can conclude, with some minor reservations, that these relations patterns are not explicable in terms of in-plant factors nor are they the effect of different production processes exemplified by workers' skill levels.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter, the ways in which the workers under study relate to their work have been explored. Prominent among these, is the importance of work in the lives of respondents i.e., whether work and the workplace constitute a central life role and how that is influenced by the objective conditions of their work experience. The chapter also examined a host of other work attitudes, including workers' definition of and commitment to work, their perception of present employers and their relationship with workmates and supervisors.

The analysis of data has revealed that, work is not a central life concern for the majority of workers. For them, the family and the community provide the main sources of interest, concern and worry in their lives. This, it was shown, is independent of workers immediate work experience, despite the fact that it was found unrewarding and alienating. It was also not a resultant of different production processes of the factories investigated, because no significant differences were visible among groups of respondents whose work nature reflected these variations.

This fact bears significantly on workers attitudes to their work and led most of them to define it in terms of the economic rewards it provides. This prominent attitude to work has, to a large extent, coloured and constrained

workers' other attitudes and behaviour in the workplace. It has rendered work an unenjoyable and inherently unrewarding activity and led to a wide spread feeling of dissatisfaction among the sample. This was conveyed by workers' responses to questions regarding whether or not they would choose the same job if they were to start all over again and whether or not they would recommend their occupation to their children and resulted in lack of commitment to organizations . In a nutshell, then, the vast majority of workers studied were clearly alienated from work, a feeling that was not associated with any particular characteristics of their work and epitomized by an absence of significant differences among occupational groupings of workers concerning most of the attitudes in question.

The investigation into workers' relationship with workmates and supervisors has revealed that almost all of the workers enjoyed an affective and warm relationship with co-workers and thought positively of supervision. Explanation of these shop floor relations draws mainly on the recruitment patterns of these workers which have been, for most of them, through either relatives or friends in or outside their present places of employment. As for the positive relationship with supervision, the lack of any significant differences among the three occupational clusters of workers has almost but ruled out any elucidation based on technological factors.

In sum, ample evidence in this and the foregoing chapters

has clearly demonstrated that in-plant factors have been found wanting as crucial explanatory elements of the attitudes outlined above.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Social Context of Respondents' Attitudes and Behaviour

In chapter six, it has been stated that the ultimate goal of the data analysis process is to assess the relative importance of work and non-work factors as explanatory variables of industrial behaviour in a developing country, namely the Republic of the Sudan. In view of the evidence presented in the foregoing chapters, it can be said that the general conditions of work, that is the technological factors, have to a large extent proved to be inadequate on their own as explanations of the attitudes and behaviour of the workers studied.

The central objective of this chapter is to place the attitudes in focus in a broader social context and to see whether or not that has affected or shaped respondents' reactions to their work. The justification in resorting to a social explanation of industrial behaviour is well grounded in the traditions of industrial sociology (Dalton, 1947; Firth, 1948; Shimmin, 1962; Goldthorpe et al. 1968). The idea is that, " the attitudes which men hold towards work are a reflection of a complex set of interrelated values which exist in each culture. Work may be regarded as a means of satisfying economic needs, it may be valued as a creative activity, or it may assume the characteristics

of a virtue: a present self-denial for future gratification. Work motivation requires an appraisal within its social context. It should not be regarded as an isolated activity which may be transposed from one group to another without taking account of the customary attitudes of both groups to this facet of their culture" (Gutkind, 1968:153).

The problem to be faced here is that, while the researcher's resources in terms of both time and money are limited, there is an unlimited number of background variables that may provide suitable avenues of exploring the data at hand. One has, therefore, to make a choice about what factors look potentially more relevant to the questions which this study seeks to explore. The only guide to such a selection is the researcher's knowledge of the values and the forces at work in the society in which he lives, i.e., the Sudanese society.

Having said that, three sets of possibly useful variables were chosen. These are mainly biographical variables, social involvement indicators and socio-economic variables. The discussion of these sets of variables determines the structure and framework of this chapter. Its first section reflects on respondents in their capacity as fathers, sons and relatives by reviewing their relationships with family and kin and

the obligations that normally emanate from such relationships. The second section considers respondents as members of a wider social community and analyses the intensity of their participation in social events and examine the financial implications of such involvement for them. The section also dwells on respondents' rural-urban origins and the implications this variable might have for their adaptation to an industrial mode of living. The final section considers the experience of Sudanese migration to the oil-rich Arab countries and its impact on economic-stratification and interpersonal relations in the society. Throughout, the emphasis will be on relating these variables - individually as well as collectively- to respondents' behaviour and attitudes in the workplace.

8.1 Respondents' Family and Kin Relations

Although considerable time had elapsed since the industrial revolution took place, a number of western studies have documented the continuing existence and importance of kinship ties or at least some variations of the extended family relations (see Bennet and Despres (1960) for a list of these studies). This is contrary to the hypothesis that urbanization and modernization would in the final analysis strip the family to its bare essentials (Aldous, 1962).

If this is the case in countries where the industrialization process has been going on for centuries, it would then be logical to argue that traditional family and kin relations do still bear considerably on the behaviour and attitudes of the individual in newly industrializing countries. Considering the purpose of this investigation this argument is all the more plausible, given the fact that respondents' central life interests lie predominantly in the family and the community (see the relevant discussion on respondents' central life interests in the previous chapter).

The purpose of this section is to shed some light on respondents' family life and to explore the possibility of explaining their behaviour at work in terms of their roles and statuses in the family. To realize this objective, it is pertinent to establish some empirical referent for the discussion that will follow.

Four criteria were used to assess the potency of respondents' family and kinship ties. These were (i) a fixed share of salary allocated to parents on monthly basis, (ii) the number of people who were financially dependent on a respondent, (iii) frequency of financial assistance given by respondents to relatives (iv) respondents' marital status. With the exception of marital status which has been dealt with in chapter

five, the following paragraphs represent a description of respondents position along these criteria, before going on to relate them to their work behaviour.

Respondents were asked to specify whether they allocate a certain amount of their salaries to parents. 78.2 per cent replied affirmatively, 17 per cent negatively and 4.7 per cent reported living with their parents, indicating that the whole family share equally in the salary. Although the amount given is difficult to estimate, as is the spirit in which it is given, respondents were asked to provide an estimation of it relative to their monthly salaries. To 31.9 per cent of them it ranges between 10% to less than 20% of their salaries, to 35 per cent it is between 5% and 10% while to 11.2 per cent it is less than 5%.

This strength of financial support for parents is also reported by other studies carried out in similar African societies. Summarizing the findings of a number of extensive studies in Ghana and Nigeria, Cadwell (1976) indicated that almost 70% of his respondents got some assistance from their children and most of the rest were either so well off that no help was needed or had no adult children. Parents need not be old, ill or poor to receive help; children feel it their duty to repay parents if they can.

In addition to parents it is also customary for workers to lend financial support, possibly on regular basis, to

other relatives and kinsfolk. The list here, might well include cousins, aunts, brothers...etc. Workers may also contribute to the cost of education of their younger brothers and sisters, rears nieces and nephews and support married sisters. Respondents were asked to estimate the number of people they support financially. A summary of their responses is provided in table (8.1). As the table shows more than sixty percent of respondents have at least four persons who were financially dependent on them, a third of them have less than four persons and about one tenth have at minimum eight. On average, however, the number per worker is five.

The solidarity with relatives can also be seen in the number of times respondents find themselves rendering financial help to them. Table (8.2) shows that 34.1 per cent of respondents do it regularly, 25 per cent occasionally, 34.1 per cent rarely and 6.8 per cent never give any financial support to relatives.

Thus, it appears that most workers regard the needs of their parents and kinsfolk as an integral part of their own needs. Although this might seem to an alien observer a financial burden, it is not resented by the individual; in fact he regards it as his direct responsibility.

Table (8.1)
No of People workers Support Financially

Category	Frequency	Percentage
0-3	55	29.6
4-7	114	60.3
8-11	17	09.0
12-15	2	01.1
Total	188	100.0%

Table (8.2)
Frequency of rendering financial help to relatives

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Never	12	06.8
Rarely	60	34.1
Occasionally	44	25.0
Regularly	60	34.1
Total	176	100.0

Having demonstrated how respondents value their relations with parents and kin, the question now arises about the ways in which these relations touch upon their attitudes toward work.

A comprehensive picture regarding the manner in which the workers view their work is provided in chapter seven; mainly that for the vast majority of them work serves purely instrumental purposes. This is also clearly displayed in their responses to questions relating to their work priorities and goals which heavily tilted towards the economic or extrinsic aspects of work. It is to the relation between these attitudes and respondents' family and kin relations that the analysis now turns. Specifically, the following two questions are to be addressed:

1. Do workers who support their parents and relatives financially differ in their expectations from work and in the meanings they attach to work from those who do not?
2. Does the amount of financial help given and the frequency with which it is given differentiate significantly among workers in the meanings they attach to working and in their behaviour at work?

Table (8.3) provides a fairly acceptable evidence that workers who support parents financially are more likely to stress the economic rewards of work than those who do not

(gamma = 0.37). Specifically, 69.4% of those who allocate a certain percentage of their monthly salaries to parents, indicated work aspects relating to wages, fringe benefits, promotion and security as the most important things they look for in their jobs, in comparison to 50% of those who do not lend financial help to parents. On the other hand, only 19.7% of the first group stressed work aspects that are of intrinsic nature as their main concern in work, whilst 37.5% of the second group reported such aspects.

Table (8.3)

Work priorities and goals by financial assistance to parents

Work priorities	<u>Financial Assistance Given</u>	
	Yes	No
Economic	69.4	50.0
Intrinsic	19.7	37.5
Relational	10.9	12.5
Total	100%	100%
<hr/>		
$\chi^2 = 5.183$	D.F. = 2	Sig. = 0.073

Equally, the amount of economic assistance that respondents allocate to parents significantly differentiates between them in terms of the meanings they attach to work (gamma = -0.27). The tendency is that workers who give parents a slightly bigger bite of their salaries are more likely to perceive their work in a distinctly instrumental manner. The reverse is also true, that is workers who allocate a slightly lesser percentage

of salaries to parents are more inclined to see their work as a worthwhile and valuable part of their lives (table 8.4).

Table (8.4)

The meaning of working by share of salaries given to parents

Meaning of working	<u>% of respondents in each category</u>			
	less than 5% (n=21)	less than 10% (n=66)	less than 15% (n=46)	more than 15% (n=15)
1.Earn a living (instrumental)	28.6	34.8	54.4	33.3
2. Not sure	9.5	25.8	21.7	40.0
3.worthwhile (intrinsic)	61.9	39.4	23.9	26.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
$\chi^2 = 15.721$ Df = 8 Sig. = 0.046				

Closely related to the above discussion is the relationship between the frequency with which respondents support their kinsfolk financially and what they want from their jobs.

Tables (8.5) and (8.6) show that the frequency with which economic support is given is related to what respondents expect from work and eventually to the meaning they ascribe to it. The basic message conveyed by both tables is that those respondents who reported rendering economic support to relatives on regular basis, are more likely to

emphasize the economic facets of work as their most salient considerations when undertaking a job and are more likely to define their work essentially in terms of the material benefits it brings. In contrast, those workers who less frequently provide material support to their kin are more likely to accord less importance to economic factors and more to the intrinsic ones and are more inclined to see their work as a worthy and valuable role in life.

Table (8.5)

Work priorities and goals by the frequency of economic support given to kinsfolk

work goals and priorities	<u>Frequency of Rendering Economic Support</u>			
	<u>never</u> (n=12)	<u>rarely</u> (n=60)	<u>occasionally</u> (n=44)	<u>regularly</u> (n=60)
	(percentage)			
Economic	83.3	66.7	84.1	88.3
Intrinsic	16.7	31.7	13.6	06.7
Relational	00.0	01.6	02.3	05.0
Total (N=176)	100	100	100	100

$$\chi^2 = 14.84, \quad df = 6, \quad \text{Sig.} = 0.021$$

Table (8.6)

Meaning of working by frequency of economic support to
Kinsfolk

category of meaning	<u>Frequency</u>			
	<u>never</u> (n=12)	<u>rarely</u> (n=60)	<u>occasionally</u> (n=44)	<u>regularly</u> (n=60)
Earn a living	33.3	41.7	40.9	33.4
Not sure	08.3	15.0	22.7	38.3
worthwhile	58.4	43.3	36.4	28.3
Total (N=176)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
$\chi^2 = 16.57$ $df=6$ $Sig.=0.011$				

The discussion about family and kin relations would not be complete without reference to respondents' marital status and whether that has touched upon their work goals and priorities. It can be envisaged that the financial responsibilities would increase with marriage and with the coming of children (Shephard and Walker, 1958; Goldthorpe et al., 1968) and that may lead to differences between married and single workers in what they want from their jobs. The evidence appears to indicate that this is the case; that is, being married has some influence on respondents' work expectations ($\gamma=0.29$). Nearly 3/4 of workers who were married reported economic factors to be at the top of their priorities list; while about half of the single workers indicated similar priorities. On the other hand, a lesser percentage of married workers

reported priorities that are of intrinsic nature in comparison with single workers (table 8.7).

Table (8.7)
Respondents' work priorities by marital status

work priorities	<u>Marital status</u>	
	married	single
Economic	71.9	54.2
Intrinsic	20.2	26.4
Relational	7.9	19.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%
<hr/>		
$\chi^2=7.65$	df=2	Sig.=0.021

It is rather striking to note that, neither the number of children nor the number of financially dependent people per worker have contributed significantly to any differences relating to perception of work or what they expect from it. The fact that in a society such as the Sudanese one almost all of the working population have dependents -be they their own children or relatives- that may partly explain the lack of significant differences among respondents in this respect.

After discussing the implications of respondents' obligations to parents and kinsfolk for the evaluation of different work rewards and for the meaning given to work, the stage is now set to investigate the influence of such relations on respondents behaviour at work. A bivariate analysis relating the frequency of rendering financial

help to relatives and the following affectional and behavioural attitudes is performed:

- Workers' satisfaction with pay, promotion, fringe benefits and the job as a whole.

- Organizational commitment.

- Intent to leave

The rationale for the selection of these specific variables lies in the idea that the financial responsibilities that respondents undertake towards their immediate families and kinsfolk would have made them more sensitive to the economic aspects of work and we expect this sensitivity to be manifested in several ways, including (a) feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the levels of these rewards, (b) acceptance of a hypothetical alternative job offer with a slight increase in pay over the current one and (c) the possibility of thinking of leaving present jobs in favour of new ones. Thus, one expects all of these variables to relate significantly to respondents financial responsibility for others as exemplified by its frequency of occurrence. The results of the analysis are shown in tables (8.8, 8.9 and 8.10).

Satisfaction with promotion bears the strongest relationship with the frequency of support given; followed by satisfaction with fringe benefits and that with the

Table (8.8)
Satisfaction with extrinsic aspects and the job by frequency of support
to kinsfolk (percentage)

	<u>Frequency of support</u>				<u>Frequency of support</u>			
	never (n=12)	rarely (n=60)	occasionally (n=44)	regularly (n=60)	never (n=12)	rarely (n=60)	occasionally (n=44)	regularly (n=60)
<u>Fringe benefits</u>								
not at all satisfied	41.7	16.7	15.9	23.3	8.3	15	29.5	31.7
not satisfied	16.6	20.0	29.5	41.7	41.7	46.7	45.5	40.0
satisfied	41.7	35.0	27.3	26.7	8.3	28.3	20.5	25.0
very satisfied	0.00	28.3	27.3	8.3	41.7	10.0	4.5	3.3

$\chi^2=20.60$ sig.=0.014 gamma=0.16

$\chi^2=25.96$ sig.=0.000 gamma=-

0.26

<u>satisfaction</u> <u>with the job</u>	<u>pay</u>				<u>pay</u>			
	never	rarely	occasion.	regularly	never	rarely	occasion.	regularly
not at all satisfied	30.0	0.00	11.7	41.7	50.0	53.4	45.5	35.0
not satisfied	35.0	56.8	50.0	58.3	25.0	25.0	38.6	43.4
satisfied	23.3	22.7	18.3	0.00	25.0	13.3	15.9	18.3
very satisfied	11.7	20.5	20.0	0.00	0.00	08.3	0.00	03.3

$\chi^2=28.65$ sig.=0.000 gamma=-0.01

$\chi^2= 11.95$ sig.=0.216 gamma=0.129

job. Surprisingly, the exception in the table appears to be the lack of a significant relationship between satisfaction with pay and frequency of help given. That may be due to the fact that dissatisfaction with pay is so pervasive among the workers that differences pertaining to the frequency by which they render support to relatives failed to contribute to similar differences among them in this respect. This lends credence to the view that workers of all orientations may evaluate their present work environment in the same way if a particular feature of the environment is outstandingly good or extremely bad (Dubin, 1977). However, a weak signal can be detected from table (8.8) that workers who oftenly provide financial help to next of kin are less satisfied with their pay than those who less frequently do so.

Similarly, individuals who more frequently provided financial backing to relatives are more prone than others to accept an offer to change their present employers given a small increment in salary. Also, they are more apt to quit present jobs in search of better-paid ones.

The foregoing analysis has tried to explain at least in a partial manner the attitudes and behaviour of respondents in the workplace through their financial obligations to the family, parents and relatives. The evidence- albeit a modest one- appears to lead to the conclusion that the meanings respondents ascribed to working and their

behaviour at the workplace are partly shaped by their familial commitment as sons, fathers, or relatives. In short, the importance of extended family to respondents appeared to have effectively reduced their working activity to an instrumental one, serving obligations that largely arise from these relations.

Similar findings to the one described above have been reached by a number of sociological studies of work behaviour. An earlier investigation by Shepherd and Walker (1958) related both the absence from work and overtime working to differing family responsibilities. For example, absence was found to be higher among single men than among married ones with dependent children. Closely related to this argument is that reported in Zweig's (1961) study in which he linked what he described as the quest for overtime to different groupings of workers with varying degrees of familial obligations. Millward (1967) developed an approach in which he used the domestic arrangements by which workers contribute to family income to help explain changes in behaviour at work. In the Affluent Worker study, the instrumental attitude to work was traced to an outside life dominated by home and family concerns (Goldthorpe et al. 1968). The only exception to these results is reported in a study by MOW Research Team (1987) in which no significant relationship was found between different patterns of work meanings and financial responsibility reflected in the number of financially

dependents persons per worker.

Table (8.9)

Organizational commitment by frequency of financial support to relatives

Commitment patterns	<u>Frequency of support</u>			
	<u>never</u> (n=12)	<u>rarely</u> (n=60)	<u>occasionally</u> (n=44)	<u>regularly</u> (n=60)
High	25.0	50.0	40.9	25.0
undecided	08.3	05.0	13.6	31.7
low	66.7	45.0	45.5	43.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
$\chi^2=20.755$ $df=6$ $sig.=0.002$ $gamma=-0.21$				

Table (8.10)

Intent to leave by frequency of financial support to kinsfolk

	<u>Frequency of Support</u>			
	never	rarely	occasionally	regularly
Yes	50.0	35.6	59.1	58.3
no	50.0	64.4	40.9	41.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0
$\chi^2 = 8.01$ $df=3$ $sig.=0.045$ $gamma=0.25$				

8.2. Workers Community Involvement

Besides their obligations to their immediate families and kinsfolk, respondents are expected to express solidarity and sympathy with the communities in which they live if they are to win their approval. This is something demanded and regulated by custom and is rooted in a sense of mutual responsibility reinforced by public opinion and common values. The purpose of this section is to examine respondents relations with their communities and to underline their potential contribution to an understanding of their work behaviour. The focus here is on the frequency and nature of participation in social events.

In chapter three it has been said that the inhabitants of northern Sudan are mostly Muslims religiously and to a large extent Arabs ethnically. One of the major implications of this cultural heritage is that the individual faces each of the rejoicings or crises of life not on his own but with the support and co-operation of all those related to him either by blood, marriage, friendship, neighbourhood and of his fellow villagers.

The manifestations of this can be found in the compelling moral obligations regarding some social events, in which the individual has to participate in order to express his sympathy with his community. In providing some examples of such social events, Ammar's description of the social

organization in an Egyptian village is equally true of the Sudanese situation. For instance, the individual is expected to visit the sick, comfort him, attempt to alleviate his pain, pray for safety and contribute some money to help cover medical and other expenses.

Death is another event where the individual is expected to offer his condolences and sympathies with the sufferers from his kinsfolk, villagers, intimate friends...etc. The individual is also expected to contribute some money to assist in meeting the expenses of the funeral and to help in receiving guests. If the deceased is a close relative the individual shall stay away from work, remain in the guest house for up to a week and frequently sleep there.

The same solidarities and mutual family clan/or village obligations manifests themselves on occasions of rejoicings such as birth, circumcision and weddings by giving money, sending gifts and by helping in the preparation of the ceremony, or at least by merely attending.

A number of questions were asked to tap the intensity of worker' social involvement. Table (8.11) summarizes responses to a question regarding the frequency of workers participation in the social events described above.

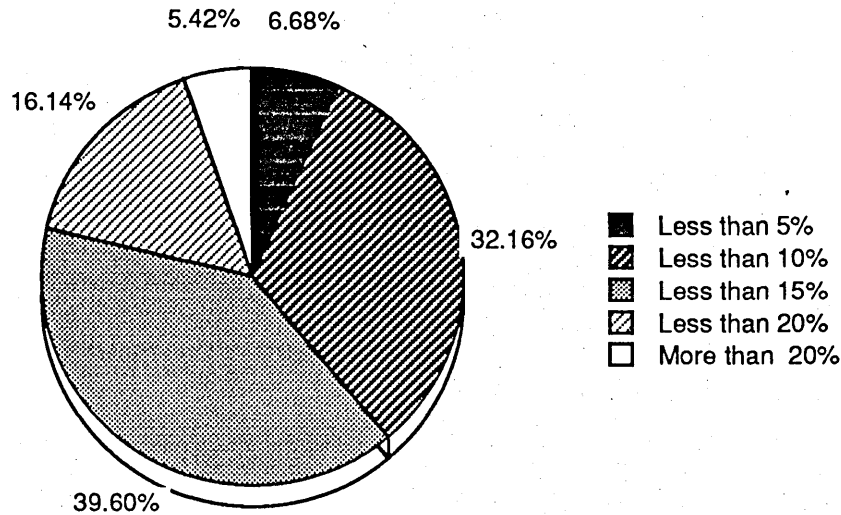
Table (8.11)
Frequency of participation in social events

Frequency	Number	percent
Never	19	10.2
Seldom	51	27.5
Sometimes	45	24.1
Often	71	38.2
Total	186	100.0%

An overwhelming majority of respondents are very much socially involved; 38.2 per cent of them reported participating oftenly, 24.1 per cent said sometimes, 27.5 per cent seldomly and a mere 10 per cent reported no participation at all. Regarding the nature of this social involvement, 77.6 per cent respondents said their participation included material contribution against 22.4 per cent who said it did not. Those who reported that their participation in social events included some material contribution were further requested to estimate the amount they give as a percentage of their monthly salaries. As shown in the chart below, about 6 per cent of respondents indicated that their material participation amounts to less than 5% of their monthly payments, 5.4 per cent of them said it adds up to more than 20% while the majority -about 88%- indicated that it constitutes between 5% and less than 20% of their monthly salaries.

Figure 8.1

Percentage of monthly salaries devoted to social events



Having accounted for the ways in which respondents relate to their communities and the obligations which they have to undertake to win the blessings of such communities; one main task remains: to explore the relationship between respondents' social obligations and their work behaviour and attitudes. The questions to be raised here are similar to those in the previous section; in particular, did a very active and materially taxing social life contribute, in any way, to the workers' instrumental attitude to work and eventually to their dissatisfaction with the extrinsic components of their jobs?

Table (8.12) relate the meanings which respondents ascribed to their work and some other attitudes to the:

- frequency of their participation in social events.
- nature of participation in such events (i.e. material vs. nonmaterial participation).
- amounts of money that cater for social obligations expressed in terms of percentage relative to their monthly salaries.

As the table indicates, the nature of participation in social events is positively related to the meaning respondents associate with work and with the priorities and goals they look for to be fulfilled by working. So is the percentage of salaries allocated to these events, although in the latter case the correlation coefficients are less in significance and magnitude than in the first case. In addition to that there is a weak relationship between the frequency of participation in social events and what respondents expect from their jobs. Against all expectations, however, no significant relationships were found between respondents' participation in social events or the financial implications of such participation and their satisfaction with the extrinsic aspects of their jobs, their intent to leave, their commitment to their present firms or their overall satisfaction.

It seems that the pervasive nature of respondents' material participation in social events -most of those who participate in these events end up somehow contributing some money to the occasion- has precluded any significant variations among them in the attitudes in question despite

the fact that they vary in the intensity of their participation and in their material contribution to such events.

Table (8.12)
Relationships between respondents' social obligations and their work attitudes

Attitudes	Nature of Participation in social events	Frequency of participation	Percentage of salary allocated to social events
1. Meaning of work	(.125)**	.000	(.147)**
2. work priorities	(.163)**	(.104)*	(.112)*
3. satisfaction with:			
a. pay	.036	-.099	.094
b. promotion	.094	.061	-.009
c. fringe benefits	-.026	-.070	-.127
d. job	-.077	.091	.004
4. organizational commitment	.067	-.073	.050
7. intent to leave	.045	-.106*	-.024

**significant at 0.05 level.

* significant at .07.

All others are not significant.

8.2.1 Rural-urban Origins

As mentioned in the discussion in chapter five, the rural-urban dichotomy is chosen as a stratification variable because it is believed to be closely associated with workers' adaptation to work. The explanation given to this presumption lies in the fact that, 'there exists almost a relationship of polarity between the rural and the urban ways of life. The former, in an ideal sense, approximate to

a status bound society' in which 'the individual is bound to his community through various intimate personal ties, whereas the latter correspond to the contractual type... This kind of alleged dichotomy between rural and urban ways of life leads to the hypothesis that a worker who comes from rural background to work in an urban setting suffers from a psychological 'pull back' which militates against his commitment to the industrial way of life' (Sharma, 1969:165).

Considering the purpose of this study, if rural-urban differences would, as it is assumed, lead to differences in workers adaptation to work, one would expect this to be reflected in:

- the meaning given to work.
- expectations from it.
- satisfaction with it, and in
- workers' organizational commitment and their intentions to turnover.

The results reported in table (8.13) indicate no significant disparities in work commitment between rural and urban workers. In other words no relationship was found between rural-urban origin on the one hand and either the meaning of working, the expectations from it, satisfaction with it or commitment to and intent to leave present organizations on the other.

The gamma coefficient of association between workers' origin and the rest of the commitment variables referred to above ranges between .04 and .19. In no case was the coefficient statistically significant, although there is a small but non-significant trend for rural workers to be less committed to their present firms and more of them were thinking of changing their present jobs than their urbanite colleagues. In short, differences between rural and urban workers in their commitment to work were negligible. Such a result is expected. The Sudanese society is, by and large, a rural one, and urbanization as a way of life is still a relatively new phenomenon, mainly 'an out growth of the commercial, industrial and administrative institutions which are products of foreigners who have brought with them the experience of urban life and have therefore created towns in the midst of people whose social life was organized on a rurally based tribal life' (Mitchel, 1966:37). This is attested to by the fact that most of those who now reside in the big cities of the Sudan have only recently moved to these places.

Given such a proposition, it can be argued that origin does not influence workers' commitment to an industrial way of life, not because, as has been argued by some writers, mostly Africans, that industry has similar influence on workers because it resocializes them in a similar way (Inkeles, 1960; Form, 1971; Grille, 1973; Afonja, 1979), but because both of the rural and urban workers in most under

developed countries do, in the final analysis, belong to a single social field, namely a rural one. This may explain the remarkable degree of similarity in responses to work that is found among the workers concerned.

Table (8.13)

The meaning of working, expectations from it, satisfaction and organizational commitment by workers' rural-urban origins (N=184)

<u>Commitment indicators</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
<u>A.Meaning of working</u>		
1.instrumental	36.7	46.7
2.intrinsic	38.1	31.1
3.others	<u>25.1</u>	<u>22.2</u>
$\chi^2=$	7.48	
Gamma=	-.040	
<u>B.Work Expectations:</u>		
1.economic	78.4	84.4
2.intrinsic	03.6	02.2
3.relational	<u>18.0</u>	<u>13.3</u>
$\chi^2=$	6.411	
Gamma=	0.098	
<u>C.Satisfaction with Job:</u>		
1.not at all satisfied	15.8	17.7
2.not satisfied	46.8	46.7
3.satisfied	22.3	20.0
4.very satisfied	<u>15.1</u>	<u>15.6</u>
$\chi^2*=$	5.0718	
Gamma=	-0.0804	
<u>D.Organizational Commitment:</u>		
1.high	36.0	42.2
2.low	43.9	46.7
3.others	<u>20.1</u>	<u>11.1</u>
$\chi^2=$	3.367	
Gamma=	0.140	
<u>E.Intent to Leave:</u>		
1.yes	50.7	46.7
2.no	<u>49.3</u>	<u>53.3</u>
$\chi^2=$	4.438	
Gamma=	-.196	

*All the Chi-square statistics are not significant at .05.

8.3. Migration to Work and Its Effects on Work Attitudes

Following the huge rise in the crude oil prices during the nineteenth seventies, the oil exporting countries of the Middle East and North Africa experienced dramatic increases in their foreign exchange earnings which allowed them to embark upon very ambitious developmental programmes. The sheer volume of the investment programmes and the speed with which they have been pursued required manpower stocks greater than those available internally. These shortages led to a large scale labour migration from neighbouring countries. Of these, the Republic of the Sudan is considered to be one of the major labour exporting countries.

This process of migration is known among those concerned to have wide ranging demographic, social and economic implications for both the sending and receiving countries (Ecevit, 1983). The aim of this section is to examine the effects of this phenomenon as it relates to the attitudes and behaviour of the sample in the workplace. However, prior to that it would be appropriate to say a few words about the nature, destination and magnitude of such a process pertaining to the Sudan experience.

Given the clandestine nature of the Sudanese out-migration it is very difficult to give accurate and reasonable estimates of the number of people working in

oil-producing countries, even though such a process has been going on for more than twenty years to the day. It is reckoned that the number of those who left the country is around one million (The Middle East and North Africa Survey, 1990). Over two thirds of these are thought to be in Saudi Arabia and the rest are to be found in Libya, U.A.E., Qatar, Oman and Iraq. Although a million workers is not a large number in relation to Sudan's total population, its proportion to the country's modern work force is considerable. This is because most of those who migrated are predominantly male, skilled and highly qualified personnel and the majority of them are from the economically active population -80% of them from the 20-39 age category- (Galaleldin, 1985).

An understanding of the impact of migration on work attitudes is to be sought through an analysis of its social, economic and psychological effects on the class structure of the Sudanese society. This entails, however, drawing a portrait of the class structure and social relations prevalent before migration became a widely spread phenomenon. In this respect, an earlier description provided by Bechtold (1976) will guide the discussion. In addition, two other studies provide an adequate framework for the analysis of the impact of migration on the Sudanese social structure. The first is an attempt by Reichert (1982) to examine the changes brought about by migration on a Mexican community; and

the second is a study -by Hussain, 1987- of the effects of the international labour migration to Middle East with a special reference to Bangladesh.

Prior to the 1970s -the decade in which the exodus began- the Sudanese society was by and large a relatively homogeneous social system in which a climate of egalitarian values rooted in Muslim, Arab and African heritage, prevailed. This homogeneity transcended the boundaries of all social classes that existed at that time. There was an extraordinary small upper class composed mainly of a few hundreds of businessmen, landlords and otherwise influential families- that had not up to that time acquired the tastes for imported luxuries that may be observed elsewhere. As a result the level of expectations among this class was relatively limited in terms of consumption. In their behaviour, the people who belonged to this class had always tended to de-emphasize, even hide possessions which might label them as rich in the eyes of their communities. They avoided as much as possible outward displays of wealth by leading a very simple life style that was well below their means. Thus, in many ways the Sudanese millionaires used to dress very much like everyone else ...eat virtually the same food, listen to the same music and attend the same kind of social events.

The other social classes included the masses of subsistence dwellers, a salaried middle class composed

primarily of civil servants and professionals and an urban proletariat. The masses used to be a happy lot and for good reasons. Basic foodstuffs were plentiful and affordable; life luxuries for them consisted mainly of items such as all weather housing and a few goats and cattle for personal security. Furthermore, the modest level of expectations of the other two classes contributed to their satisfaction and made their frustration gaps tolerably small.

By the beginning of the seventies this rosy picture of a utopian, almost classless and peaceful society started to crumble. Several factors contributed to its demolition. Among these, migration for employment must be the most important. It has provided migrants and their families with higher incomes that afforded them access to the scarce local resources and resulted in a concentration of wealth in their hands. Today, families with migrants are likely to possess modern well furnished homes, own an automobile or a pick up truck and spend comparatively large amounts of money on clothing, medical care and personal entertainment that non-migrants would hardly think of. On the other hand, the hard cash migrants are sending to their families and the amounts they bring with them when they come home have simply changed the consumption patterns of these families and fueled inflation.

Moreover, the influx of money from migrants is having a marked effect upon the internal economic structure of the country as well as a noticeable impact upon social relations and interactions as migrants become a source of envy and threat to those who do not have access to their purchasing power. In short, as the years pass by, a consistent pattern of economic stratification gradually replaced the old homogeneous and traditional social system. As expectations started to rise, migrating becomes the dream of every single person or so in the country. For the masses the only way to own a house, a car, a fridge and a colour television -like those the migrant neighbour has- is to follow the get-rich-quick strategy by finding a job in one of the oil producing countries.

To recap, the impact of the process of migration for employment that the Sudan has witnessed during the last two decades can be summarized in two points: First, the windfall earnings of migrants and the purchasing power that befell them by virtue of these earnings have raised the expectations of almost the entire population to an extent that is beyond the economic ability of the country. Secondly, the inflow of hard cash brought about by this process has been largely spent on imported consumption goods and luxury items that resulted in rapid inflation which in turn culminated in a deterioration of the standards of living of the masses and aggravated the

country's worsening economic condition.

The sampled workers, being at all times an integral part of the picture drawn above, found themselves caught in a swirl of rising expectations and rapidly increasing prices that have defied governmental control. It is expected that their attitudes toward work and their behaviour in the workplace will bear the hallmark of this monumental social and economic upheaval that the country has undergone.

Accordingly, and in view of the lucrative jobs and high wage differentials that an opportunity to migrate offers, the expectations are that this process has, at least partially, contributed to:

First: The instrumental attitude to work prevalent among the sample.

Second: The dissatisfaction with wages and other extrinsic aspects of jobs.

Third: The lack of commitment to work organizations, jobs and to work in general.

Moreover, differences may be expected along the above lines between workers who have first hand experience of migration or those contemplating migration in future, on the one hand, and those who have neither the experience nor the intention to migrate, on the other.

Table (8.14) shows that about 23.4% of the sample are returned migrants. As expected the prospects of good wages and economic security were the main motives that led the vast majority of these workers to migrate. Towards this aim, field observations indicate that most migrants are ready to work as unskilled or general labourers or undertake any other jobs that do not match their educational and skill qualifications (Galaleldin, 1985).

The table also indicates that 59% of workers had planned, at least once in their career, to migrate. While 42.6% of workers in this category took some practical steps towards migrating, such as preparing the necessary travel documents or attending selection and recruitment interviews, migration has for the majority of them, remained largely an idea. More important, however, are workers' responses regarding whether, given the opportunity, they intend to migrate in future or not. 50.5% replied affirmatively, 27.1% negatively and 21.3% of them were not sure.

In short, the basic message portrayed by the table is that the process of migration for employment has affected almost every single worker in the country. One would hardly be exaggerating in saying that the Sudanese blue-collar worker is in effect, either an ex-migrant, or in the process of migrating or is thinking about migrating.

Table (8.14)

Percentage of workers who migrated, planned or intend to migrate in future

Category	Frequency	Percentage*
1.workers who are returned migrants	44	23.4
2.Workers who had planned to migrate	111	59.0
3.Workers who, given the opportunity, will migrate	95	50.5

*Percentages are not mutually exclusive.

What remains therefore is to see how this process has constrained the ways in which work is viewed and experienced in this study. The results reported in table (8.15) show that the experience of migration has contributed significantly to most of the sampled workers' attitudes. The co-efficients of association, though low in most cases, are significant. The ex-migrant worker in this case, having had his savings -accumulated through his brief encounter with migration- being eroded by a galloping uncontrolled inflation and having already being sensitized, by virtue of the experience, to high payments and excellent fringe benefits, would most probably in his inner mind compare and contrast the amount of money he used to get when he was in Saudi Arabia and the salary he gets now. This, among other things, must have led to his frustration and dissatisfaction with the job, its promotional aspects and payment and made him more prone to turnover. His main hopes hinge on getting a second

shot at migration -a remote prospect now, given the extra cost required to see him through- or find a good alternative job inside the country, possibly in a private company, or struggle to improve the promotional prospects of his present job. This may partly explain his dissatisfaction and frustration with the promotional opportunities of the job.

These relationships are also reinforced by similar ones between intentions to migrate in future and most of the attitudes under scrutiny. More specifically, the variable in question has contributed significantly to workers' instrumental attitude to work, their dissatisfaction with pay, organizational commitment and their intentions to quit. No significant relationships, however, were observed between intent to migrate in future and work priorities, satisfaction with the job or its promotional opportunities. This may be attributed to a feeling of indifference on the part of the workers to express their genuine feelings towards these specific aspects of their work, having already started thinking seriously of migrating. Otherwise, one can only say that respondents were not consistent in their answers to these particular questions.

Table (8.15)

The contribution of migration experience and migration intentions to meaning of working and other job attitudes

Variables	Migration experience	Intent to migrate in future
1.work priorities	.1324	.0085*
2.Instrumental attitude to work	-.0581*	.1970
3.organizational commitment	-.0534*	.1471
4.intent to leave	.2277	.1376
5.Satisfaction with:		
(a) job	.1208	.0096*
(b) pay	.1387	-.1943
(c) promotion	.1546	-.0203*
(d) fringe benefits	.1556	-.0262*

* not significant.

All other co-efficients are significant at .05.

All correlations are Spearman Rank Correlation (rho).

Following the foregoing results, one would anticipate the experience of migration and the intention to migrate to differentiate significantly among workers in their attitudes to work; particularly their behavioural attitudes. This latter expectation is confirmed. Table (8.15) indicates that workers who happened to be ex-migrants are more likely to quit their present jobs than those who did not experience migration. Similarly ex-migrant workers displayed a much weaker commitment to present firms than others. The experience of migration did not, however, lead to significant differences among workers in other work and job attitudes.

On the other hand, intent to migrate in future has also

discriminated significantly among workers in the meaning they ascribed to working, their satisfaction with pay, commitment to organization and in their intent to leave (table 8.16). Broadly speaking, workers who intend to migrate in future are more inclined than others to define their work in a purely instrumental manner, be dissatisfied with pay, exhibit low commitment to employing firms and are more apt to quit present employment. No significant disparities were noticed among workers in their work priorities and in their satisfaction with the job, promotion and fringe benefits on the basis of their intentions to migrate in future. The rising expectations and the consumption fever that are characteristics of the country nowadays appear to have unified the feeling of workers towards the aspects in focus despite their differences in regard to whether, given the chance, they intend to migrate or not.

Table (8.16)

Differences between ex-migrants workers and others in commitment to organizations and intent to leave.

	Ex-migrants (n=44)	Others (n=143)
<u>A.Commitment patterns:</u>		
High	20.5	43.4
Low	47.7	43.4
Others	<u>31.8</u>	<u>13.3</u>
$\chi^2=11.34$	sig.=0.003	gamma=-.10
<u>B.Intent to leave:</u>		
Yes	70.5	43.7
No	<u>29.5</u>	<u>56.3</u>
$\chi^2=9.6$	sig.=0.001	gamma=.51

Table (8.17)

Differences in attitudes to work based on intentions to migrate

	Intend to migrate (n=95)	No intention (n=51)	D.K. (n=41)
<u>1.Attitudes to work:</u>			
Earn a living	47.4	31.4	30.0
worthwhile	25.3	23.5	22.5
D.K.	<u>27.3</u>	<u>45.1</u>	<u>47.5</u>
$\chi^2=7.89$	sig.=0.095	gamma=-.27	
<u>2.Satisfaction with pay:</u>			
Not at all satisfied	54.8	37.0	27.5
Not satisfied	26.6	41.2	45.5
Satisfied	14.7	17.6	25.0
Very satisfied	<u>3.9</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>2.5</u>
$\chi^2=11.16$	sig.=0.083	gamma=-.26	
<u>3.Commitment to organization:</u>			
High	33.7	29.4	57.5
Low	52.6	39.2	32.5
Other (D.K.)	<u>13.7</u>	<u>31.3</u>	<u>10.0</u>
$\chi^2=16.09$	sig.=0.002	gamma=.20	
<u>4.Intent to leave:</u>			
Yes	54.9	54.3	32.5
No	<u>45.1</u>	<u>45.7</u>	<u>67.5</u>
$\chi^2= 6.06$	sig.=0.048	gamma=.23	

The migration process has also touched upon behaviour at work in another direction. This may be seen as an outgrowth of the nature of the process. The prime characteristic of the Sudanese migration abroad is that it is an extremely time consuming and lengthy exercise. It may probably take months to obtain the necessary travel documents. Having got them, is no guarantee that one is on his way to Saudi Arabia, either. One can hardly tell when he is going to get the chance to migrate. The whole endeavour demands patience and prolonged periods of waiting. Everyday, workers and employees alike throng specific premises in Khartoum in which they expect to get their chance. This may come overnight, in a week or a month time or it may become a nightmare and drag on for years. The only recipe to migrate is to constantly and persistently keep looking. The implications of this for commitment to work are not hard to see. Increased turnover, frequent absenteeism and customary tardiness have become the pillars of the Sudanese work ethic. In a recent survey that explored this phenomenon, 70% of a sample of Sudanese migrant workers left work without notice. It will probably take months to find out who have abandoned their jobs and probably a longer period to act upon their cases and have their jobs filled by other workers (Galaleldin, 1985).

8.4 A Model of Multivariate Analysis

As the analysis presented thus far firmly implies that certain factors emanating from respondents' socio-economic context are important determinants of their orientations to work, one can hardly resist the temptation to undertake some sort of multivariate analysis to verify the most salient contributory factors to respondents' attitudes to work. However, given the nature of the data at hand (being mostly categorical data) one has to be cautious in using multivariate models of data analysis that can only be suitable for metric data. A viable alternative model, however, that may satisfy part of the reservation raised and at the same time enable us to single out those variables that contribute most than others to the variance in the criteria variables, is the discriminant function analysis.

The specific predictor variables that entered the equation are: the experience of migration, intent to migrate, marital status, frequency of rendering financial support to relatives, frequency of participation in social events, nature of relationship with parents (material vs. non-material), percentage of salary allocated to parents, number of financially dependents people per worker and percentage of salary devoted to social events. The dependent variables at stake are

respondents' expectations from work and the meaning of working.

The model produced two discriminant functions for each criteria variable. The first two in both cases are significant. The correlations coefficients between each of the predictor variable and the two discriminant functions {known as the standardized discriminant function coefficients (SDFC)} were computed to identify those scales that mainly define the functions. These correlations are reported in table (8.18).

The size of coefficients for the meaning of working indicates that 'the percentage of salaries allocated to parents', 'the frequency of rendering financial support to relatives', 'the percentage of salaries devoted to social events' and 'the nature of relationship with parents' have made the major contribution to the variance in that variable. 'Intent to migrate', 'number of financially dependents persons per worker' and the 'frequency of participation in social events' contributed to a lesser extent with the 'experience of migration' and 'marital status' making a negligible contribution.

In contrast, the variables with the biggest impact on expectations from work are: 'marital status', 'number of financially dependent people/worker', 'experience of migration', the 'nature relationship with parents' and the 'frequency of giving financial assistance to

kinsfolk'. Some way behind come 'percentage of salary devoted to social events' and the 'frequency of participating in these events'. The black sheep of the table this time seems to be the 'intent to migrate' which has a very meagre contribution indeed.

The multiple discriminant analysis also shows that the total discriminatory power of the first function for 'meaning of working' is 30% and that of the first function for 'expectations from work' is 20%. This means that the cluster of nonwork factors that entered the equation as predictor variables explained about 30% and 20% of the variability in the two criteria variables, respectively. In other words, nonwork factors are significantly related to the meaning of working and to expectations from it.

Table (8.18)

Discriminant Function Analysis: The impact of nonwork factors on the meaning of working and expectations from it.

Predictor variables	Meaning of working (Standardized discriminant function coefficients)	expectations
Experience of migration	.005	.456
Intent to migrate	.252	.018
Marital status	-.040	.705
Frequency of giving financial help to relatives	.593	.404
Frequency of participation in social events	.151	.119
Percentage of Salary allocated to social events	-.390	.154
Nature of relation with parents	.35	.426
Percentage of salary given to parents	.669	0.000
No Financially dependents people per worker	.235	.570

Total discriminatory power*	30%	20%
Significance	0.008	.038
Wilks' Lambda**	.699	.795
Eigen value	.22	.14
Number of cases correctly classified	59.4%	70.6%

* The total discriminatory power of the model is given by the formula $1 - \text{Wilks' Lambda}$.

**Wilks Lambda is the within group sum of squares divided by the total sum of squares.

8.5 Summary

The point of departure of this chapter has been the thesis that the behaviour and attitudes of the workers studied can only be understood if an adequate account is taken of their social context, i.e. the ways in which they relate to their families, relatives, friends and community and by understanding the socio-economic factors that condition these relationships. This realization came into being after sufficient evidence has indicated the failure of technological factors in making the results outlined throughout the analysis process intelligible.

Within this context, it was concluded that for the average Sudanese relationship with kinsfolk (parents, family, relatives and other dependents) is tantamount to something sacred; a belief rooted in his Islamic ideals and reinforced by cultural heritage that leans heavily towards Arab values and customs. This emotional identification with kinsfolk has a concrete material component to it, which though very taxing, spurs an immense feeling of achievement and satisfaction when regularly undertaken, and results in huge disappointment for both the individual and his relatives when not undertaken.

In addition, these same values and lofty ideals constitute also the bedrock on which the individual's

relationship with community rests. Certain social obligations have to be met as a token expression of the individual's solidarity with his community. These largely arise from occasions of rejoicing (mainly, weddings, naming and circumcision ceremonies) and illness and death events. Like the obligations towards the family and kinsfolk, these relations have similar material implications.

Given such a premise, evidence in this chapter has shown beyond reasonable doubt that most respondents allocate a fixed percentage of their monthly salaries to cater for parents needs and they regularly render financial support to relatives such as married sisters, nieces, brothers, aunts, cousins, grandfathers and grandmothers.

Besides that, it has been shown that respondents are active social participants in social and communal events and that in participating, the overwhelming majority of them end up contributing some money to cover costs incurred in the process of these events. This sense of community acts as a cushion of security against an otherwise harsh economic life and an inhospitable climate.

However, the point that was made and to a large extent substantiated, is that such a spirit of togetherness and the prevalence of values that seemed to elevate personal relations over material comfort and spiritual over

physical contentedness which has been the source of admiration for non-Sudanese (Bechtold, 1976) is, materially speaking, very demanding. While these relations are highly valued, their maintenance is bound to bear considerably on respondents' expectations from work and eventually upon their behaviour in the workplace. Acceptable evidence has demonstrated quite clearly how respondents' relations with parents and how their participation in social events relate significantly to their expectations from work and hence to the meanings they ascribe to it.

More than that, significant differences were found in orientations to work, organizational commitment, intent to leave and satisfaction with the job and other extrinsic aspects of it between: (i) Workers who support parents financially and those who do not, (ii) workers who give out a bigger percentage of salaries to parents and those who provide a smaller share, (iii) workers who financially help relatives on regular basis and those who less frequently do so, and (iv) married and single workers. In a similar fashion, workers' participation in social events has also contributed significantly to their orientations to work.

In sum, then, the attitudes and behaviour of the workers in focus appear to be, at least in part, socially motivated and constructed.

In another direction, however, the evidence presented in this chapter indicated no significant disparities between rural and urban workers in their attitudes towards work and in their adaptation to an industrial way of life. The justification of this result draws mainly on the fact that urbanization in a country like the Sudan is still a relatively new phenomenon and that in this sense both the urban and the rural workers do, in the final analysis, belong to a single social field, namely a rural one. This challenged a widely held proposition advocated by a number of African and Western scholars that both rural and urban workers would, in time, respond in a similar fashion, to an industrial mode of working, because industry -being a powerful socializing agent- is bound to eliminate any disparities between workers of different community origins.

Next, the analysis went on to introduce a very important explanatory variable of industrial attitudes and behaviour in Sudan; that is the process of migration for work in the neighbouring oil producing countries of the Middle East which has been going on since the early 1970s. This phenomenon, it was shown, has helped in the emergence of a new picture of economic stratification in the country that replaced an earlier homogeneous and traditional social system. Further, the earnings that resulted from this process were largely channelled into consumption and luxury items; a contributory factor to

inflation. These profound changes in the social and economic structure of the country culminated in raising the expectations of the Sudanese individual to levels that were difficult to meet.

Considering the purpose of this study, the argument put forward is that, rising expectations caused primarily by the prospect of lucrative jobs in Middle-Eastern oil producing countries, coupled by a gradual process of economic differentiation at home, an unabated consumption spree and a run-away inflation are bound to influence respondents' attitudes to work. The meaning of working among the workers in question, is effectively reduced to the economic rewards it yields. Since these rewards did not match expectations, frustration gaps became wider and dissatisfaction with wage and other extrinsic work aspects was the logical outcome to follow. As most workers in the country became preoccupied with migration, at least mentally, current jobs became merely transient, stealing of official time in pursuit of job opportunities across the Red Sea permeated almost the whole of the hierarchy of wage-earning employees, discipline collapsed and commitment to work weakened.

CHAPTER NINE

Summary and Conclusions

The preceding chapters explored the meaning of working for the Sudanese blue-collar worker and the different ways in which he relates to his work. The aim was to test the thesis that non-work factors (i.e. workers experience in the wider society) must assume a leading explanatory role relative to inplant factors (i.e. general conditions of work) if an adequate understanding of industrial attitudes and behaviour is to be achieved in developing countries. It is hoped that this proposition has by now been verified. The prime objective of this chapter is to summarize and restate some major points that have, throughout, been the theme of the discussion and to highlight the main conclusions and theoretical implications that emerge from the empirical evidence presented.

9.1 The Research Idea and Theoretical Framework

The basic question that triggered-off the research idea can be stated as follows: Are workers in developing countries work-shy, or, in more accurate terms, do they naturally have negative attitudes toward work? Available knowledge on the subject is often contradictory and at best inconclusive. Generally speaking this knowledge revolves around two perspectives: (a) a highly

speculative European view that seems to take the stand that workers in developing countries are incapable of integrating effectively in a wage economy on an European pattern given their agricultural and non-industrial background and the absence of social values that extol the virtues of hard work; (b) a rather defensive view advocated mainly by some African writers which seems to take the position that there is no reason, whatsoever, to believe that workers in developing countries, have basically different attitudes toward work from workers anywhere else in the industrialized countries and that if differences do exist, they are primarily the responsibility of the management that employs these workers.

Overall, however, the existing literature on attitudes to work in industrializing countries appears to lack a coherent theoretical framework within which an integrated picture of these attitudes can be provided. Further, it mainly focuses on personality and individual differences as key determinants of industrial attitudes virtually overlooking the social and cultural milieu that have played a significant part in the evolution of these attitudes and by which they have been since influenced.

In view of the poor quality of the available literature on work attitudes in developing countries, a number of scholars have advocated that problems of work motivation

and industrial behaviour in these countries can only be understood in the light of participants' social context and their images of it (Muna, 1980; Ahziauhi, 1986).. It is for the verification of this supposition that the study described here was set up.

The conceptual framework within which it was possible to provide answers to the research questions is the social action frame of reference. This choice followed a realization that other competing theoretical models of work motivation i.e. the scientific management school, the human relations approach, the psycho-analytic approach and the technological implications approach have some serious limitations mainly a closed-system conception of the work situation and a tendency to explain industrial behaviour solely within factory gates. Rooted in the methodological traditions of Max Weber, the action approach advocates that explanations of human actions must take account of the meanings which those concerned assigned to their acts. In the workplace this entails that work behaviour cannot be fully considered except in relation to a more basic question of orientations to work. The starting point in the proposed analysis should be with the ordering of wants and expectations and with the meaning given to work. The definition of the work situation becomes a key explanatory notion (Goldthorpe et al., 1968).

9.2 The Objectives Pursued and the Design of the Study

Within this theoretical orientation the study sets-off to:

(i) examine the major patterns of workers' orientations to work and underline the implications of these orientations for other job attitudes and behaviours. The range of patterns here included the priorities, goals and preferences the Sudanese industrial worker pursues in his employment and the importance he attaches to the different facets of his work.

(ii) draw a portrait of the main characteristics of workers' commitment to work. This objective suggested an examination of the meaning and significance of working in the life of the worker in question -his central life interests- and the ways in which he relates to his work organization, workmates and supervisors.

(iii) account for any similarities and/or differences among workers at different skill levels with respect to the attitudes outlined in objectives one and two above.

(iv) identify the ways in which workers' attitudes and behaviour relate to their social experience outside the work situation. This involved an analysis of workers' social organization i.e. their relationships with families, kinsfolk and communities plus any other socio-economic factors that may have coloured, conditioned or constrained their work experience and expectations from

work.

At a macro level, however, the work described here has posed some rather broad but important questions regarding whether or not an industrial culture has been able to gain grounds in what has hitherto been described by social scientists as a traditional society. This had some profound implications for the setting as well the design of the study; mainly a need to concentrate on those parts in the country in which industrial work as a mode of living is more pervasive compared to other regions and on people in the working population who have been relatively exposed to longer periods of industrial experience.

The first consideration led to the choice of central Sudan to provide the appropriate locale for the field investigation as early industrialization efforts in the country began here and in consequence the region now commands a very significant portion of the total number of the country's industrial establishments. Within this area the study's was restricted to publically owned industrial ventures as opposed to the privately owned ones because the former are bigger in terms of employment, investment and output than the latter and as such more important to the national economy. Among public establishments and bearing in mind the same foregoing considerations the study was restricted to those employing 500 people or more. The second

requirement led to the decision to restrict the study to male manual workers as an adequate pool from which the sample was to be drawn given the fact that the Sudanese women are still relatively new comers to the industrial arena.

The exploratory nature of the research questions and the quality of data that needed to be collected have together spawned the adoption of a survey design as a suitable premise within which the study's objectives were to be materialized. The main concern was to identify as well as compare the relative influence of work and non-work factors on industrial attitudes and behaviour. Work factors in this respect refer to the production processes of the factories covered by the survey while non-work factors indicate workers' relationship with the family, kinsfolk and community plus the degree to which they were affected by the tide of work migration to the oil-producing countries of the Middle East that has been going on in the country since the early 1970s. The production processes (technology) were approximated by skill levels. On the basis of that, the sampled workers were classified into three categories; semi-skilled comprised mainly of process workers and machine operators, relatively-skilled comprised of foremen, inspectors and drivers and highly-skilled workers mainly maintenance workers, mechanics, electricians and drivers.

To reduce the complexity of the research design, the survey was restricted to five factories approximating three types of technologies; namely a mechanical technology (two textile factories), a craft technology (a printing firm), and process or chemical technology (a sugar mill and a tannery). The total number of the sampled workers was 188; 76 of them were semi-skilled, 42 were relatively skilled and 70 were highly skilled. Although the selection of industrial establishments and of individual workers within them was not done on a random basis, the special nature of the sample and the restriction of the study to a specific geographic area plus the homogeneity of the sampled workers' social origins provide a strong case to argue for the representativeness of the sample of all industrial workers in the country.

The methods of data collection were mainly self-administered questionnaires. This particular research method has the advantage of producing a high response rate at a minimum of time and cost compared to other procedures. Within the Sudanese context the method has the appeal of encountering the politeness tendencies that are characteristic of the Sudanese people as the anonymity of the situation might have induced them to be more open and objective than when they find themselves in a personal interview.

9.3 The Empirical Findings

In light of the foregoing discussion on the research design and questions, the analysis was divided into three parts; the main objective of the first two was to evaluate the relative importance of technological determinants as constraints on work attitudes while the third part dwelled exclusively on workers' social context and explored the manner in which it bears upon their behaviour in the workplace.

9.3.1 Workers' Orientations and Commitment to Work

The first part of the analysis was further divided into two main chapters. In the first chapter, respondents' orientations to work and the ways in which they relate to their perception of different work facets were explored. Orientations were defined as the ordered goals and expectations regarding the work situation (Child, 1969). These goals and expectations reflect the individual's definition of or the meanings he assigns to his job. Four empirical dimensions were used to tap orientations; namely workers' main considerations in seeking a job; the importance (salience) they attach to different work rewards; the satisfaction they express and the complaints they have regarding the adequacy of these rewards.

The second chapter provided an overview of workers'

attachment to working by examining the significance and meaning of work as a life role for the sampled workers. This was approached through a number of operational indicators, mainly central life interests and how they relate to workers' immediate experience of work; general attitudes to work; non-financial commitment to work; organizational commitment and workers' relationships with supervisors and workmates.

The following points may provide a summary of the main features of workers' orientations and commitment to work along the empirical dimensions outlined above:

(i) The underlying theme of our findings is the essentially economistic view of work that is so pervasive among the sampled workers. This view was primarily evident in the workers' almost paranoid concern with pay. Nearly two thirds of these workers have indicated that pay or other economic considerations are the most important things they look for when seeking a new job. Moreover, a sizable proportion of them have rated pay to be the most important aspect of their work and have singled it as the reward in which they would most welcome an improvement. A large majority complained about it, were decidedly dissatisfied with it and it contributed markedly towards their overall job satisfaction. The dissatisfaction workers expressed with other extrinsic job rewards may also be viewed as an

indication of their preoccupation with the material rewards their work brings. In contrast, respondents accorded less importance to factors that relate to the content of the work they do. Specifically 12% of them have priorities relating to interesting, varied and skill utilizing work whilst 10.1% showed a preference for work that give them an opportunity to exercise their own judgement and discretion.

(ii) With the main patterns of workers' orientations in mind, a number of explanatory variables were ushered in to help making sense of the data at hand. Chief among these variables were the workers' skill levels used here as surrogates of technology. Furthermore, workers' responses were also put in the context of their age, education and length of service, as these were the only variables in which the distribution of the occupational groups of workers showed some significant differences. The important conclusion that emerged was the considerable degree of commonality and conformity that characterized workers' responses. Statistical tests have to a large extent failed to detect any significant differences in the attitudes and behaviours of the sample. Where differences were found as in the case of respondents' satisfaction with the different facets of their jobs; they were only in the degree and intensity of feelings towards these aspects. This similarity appeared to have transcended the workers division of

skill, age, education and length of service.

(iii) The findings revealed a very modest percentage of workers who find work to be either a prime source of interest in life or a cause for concern. For about 60% of them the family and the community provide the main source of interest and worry in life. This, it was shown, is independent of workers' immediate experience of work, despite the fact it was found unrewarding and alienating. It was also not a resultant of the different production processes of the factories investigated, as no significant differences were noted among groups of respondents whose work content mirrored these variations.

(iv) Another significant point highlighted by the findings was that the overwhelming majority of respondents defined their work in purely instrumental terms; a means to earn a living. This definition was also not a reflection of workers' immediate experience of work. Tests for significance of differences detected no significant variance among the three occupational strata of workers in the meaning they attached to working. In another direction, 67.4% of respondents reported that they find their work 'not pleasurable' compared to only 34.4% who said they 'enjoy work'. Of the former group, 60.5% felt they have 'grown used to' unpleasurable work, while 39.5% of them said they 'dislike it' altogether.

(v) The economistic view of work reported above, appeared to have coloured and constrained workers attitudes and behaviour in the workplace. It has rendered work an unenjoyable and inherently unrewarding activity and led to a wide spread feelings of dissatisfaction among the sample. This was conveyed by workers' responses to questions pertaining to (a) their satisfaction with their jobs (b) whether they would choose the same job/occupation if they were to start all over again (c) whether or not they would recommend their jobs to their children, and (d) the frequency of apathy feelings experienced towards work.

(vi) It was also found that respondents' involvement in their work was minimal. About 49.4% of them 'never' or 'rarely' think of work problems after work compared to 31.9% and 18.1% who reported that they 'sometimes' or 'often' find themselves thinking about work when they are away from it. These involvement patterns were found to be significantly related to workers' central life interests. For instance, 50% of those who were family/community centered reported that they 'never' or 'rarely' think about a work problem when at home. On the other hand 55% of those who were work centered indicated that they 'sometimes' or 'often' find themselves thinking about work matters after work.

(vii) Our evidence also indicated a weak commitment of workers to the organizations that employ them. A sizable proportion of them were either prepared to leave their

present firms for others, if by doing so they could earn a slight increase in their present salaries, or they were undecided about such a prospect. This pattern was reinforced by a negative evaluation of respondents' present firms vis-a-vis others. About two thirds of respondents viewed their firms as either 'the worst', 'one of the worst' or 'about average' in comparison to other firms. Only 28.8% of them seemed to be pleased with their current employers and rated them as either 'one of the best' or 'the best'. Contrary to previous results, these patterns showed significant variation along workers' skill levels; with the highly skilled group emerging as more organizationally committed than either of the two groups. They also showed a significant relationship with workers' central life interests. For instance, the tendency to leave was evidently higher among those whose central life interest lies in the family and in the community than those who were work centered and vice versa.

(viii) The investigation into workers' relationships with workmates and supervisors has revealed that almost all of the workers enjoyed an affective and warm relationship with co-workers and thought positively of supervision. Explanation of these shop floor relations had to draw mainly on the recruitment patterns of these workers which have been, for most of them, through either relatives or friends in or outside their present places of employment. As for the positive relationship

with supervision, the lack of any significant differences among the three occupational clusters of workers, has almost but ruled out any elucidation based on technological factors.

In sum then the investigation into workers' orientations and commitment to work and how they relate to their skill levels can be put into two points:

First: that work for the majority of the sample is pursued mainly as a means of supplying an income essential to finance other important life activities and not for any inherent reasons related to the activity itself. That, this dominant attitude has almost but cut across the stratification of workers along their skill levels, education, length of service and age. Moreover, a vast majority of the workers studied have, on the whole, displayed a weak commitment to their work and were largely dissatisfied with if not alienated from it. With some minor exceptions, these attitudes were not significantly associated with any particular characteristics of respondents' work.

Secondly: the attempt to explain workers attitudes and behaviour through inplant factors (skill levels) has been to a large extent unsuccessful. The similarities of workers responses across different levels of skill and the absence of any significant and meaningful differences have belied the notion that technology would

in all contexts assume a paramount importance in understanding work behaviour.

9.3.2 Workers' Social Context and Attitudes

Having realized the inadequacy of inplant factors to make sense of the Sudanese manual worker's attitudes and behaviour, the analysis turned to his social context to provide a much needed explanation. This was the main task undertaken by the third chapter of the analysis.

The theme has been to explore ways in which workers' family, kin and community relations impinge upon their attitudes to and behaviour at work. The emphasis was on the obligations that emanate from these relationships and the manner by which these, in turn, colour their expectations from work. The analysis also dwelled on workers' rural-urban origins and the implications these might have for their adaptations to an industrial way of life. Finally, the analysis considered the experience of migration for work to the oil-rich Arab countries and its subsequent impact on economic stratification and interpersonal relations in the country and the implications of all that for an understanding of industrial attitudes and behaviour.

Within this context, it was concluded that for the average Sudanese relationship with kinsfolk (parents, family, relatives and other dependents) is tantamount to

something sacred; a belief rooted in his islamic ideals and reinforced by cultural heritage that leans heavily towards Arab values and customs. This emotional identification with kinsfolk has a concrete material component to it, which though very taxing, spurs an immense feeling of achievement and satisfaction when regularly undertaken, and results in huge disappointment for both the individual and his relatives when not undertaken.

In addition these same values and lofty ideals constitute the bedrock on which the individual's relationship with community rests. Certain social obligations have to be met as a token expression of the individual's solidarity with his community. These largely arise from occasions of rejoicing mainly, weddings, naming and circumcision ceremonies and illness and death events. Like the obligations towards the family and kinsfolk, these relations have similar material connotation.

Given such a premise, it was shown that most respondents allocate a fixed percentage of their monthly salaries to cater for parents' needs and they regularly render financial support to relatives such as married sisters, nieces, brothers, aunts, cousins, grandfathers and grandmothers.

Besides that, respondents appeared to be active social participants in social and communal events and that in

participating, the overwhelming majority of them end up contributing some money to cover costs incurred in the process of these events. This sense of community acts as a cushion of security against an otherwise harsh economic life and an inhospitable climate.

However, the point that was made and to a large extent substantiated, was that such a spirit of togetherness and the prevalence of values that seemed to elevate personal relations over material comfort and spiritual over physical contentedness which has been the source of admiration for non-Sudanese (Bechtold, 1976) is, materially speaking, very demanding. While these relations are highly valued, their maintenance is bound to bear considerably on respondents' expectations from work and eventually upon their behaviour in the workplace. Acceptable evidence has demonstrated quite clearly how respondents' relations with parents and how their participation in social events relate significantly to their expectations from work and hence to the meanings they ascribe to it.

More than that, significant differences were found in orientations to work, organizational commitment, intent to leave and satisfaction with the job and other extrinsic aspects of it between: (i) Workers who support parents financially and those who do not, (ii) workers who give out a bigger percentage of salaries to parents

and those who provide a smaller share, (iii) workers who financially help relatives on a regular basis and those who less frequently do so, and (iv) married and single workers. In a similar fashion, workers' participation in social events has also contributed significantly to their orientations to work.

In sum, then, the attitudes and behaviour of the workers in focus appear to be, at least in part, socially motivated and constructed.

In another direction, however, no significant disparities were observed between rural and urban workers in their attitudes towards work and in their adaptation to an industrial way of life. The justification of this result draws mainly on the fact that urbanization in a country like the Sudan is still a relatively new phenomenon and that in this sense both the urban and the rural workers do, in the final analysis, belong to a single social field, namely a rural one. This challenged a widely held proposition advocated by a number of African and Western scholars that both rural and urban workers would, in time, respond in a similar fashion to an industrial mode of working, because industry -being a powerful socializing agent- is bound to eliminate any disparities between workers of different community origins.

Next, the analysis went on to introduce a very important

explanatory variable of industrial attitudes and behaviour in Sudan; that is the process of migration for work in the neighbouring oil producing countries of the Middle East which has been going on since the early 1970s. This phenomenon, it was shown, has helped in the emergence of a new picture of economic stratification in the country that replaced an earlier homogeneous and traditional social system. Further, the earnings that resulted from this process were largely channelled into consumption and luxury items; a contributory factor to inflation. These profound changes in the social and economic structure of the country culminated in raising the expectations of the Sudanese individual to levels that were difficult to meet.

The argument put forward, therefore, was that rising expectations caused primarily by the prospect of lucrative jobs in Middle-Eastern oil producing countries, coupled by a gradual process of economic differentiation at home, an unabated consumption spree and a run-away inflation are bound to influence respondents attitudes to work. The meaning of working among the workers in question was effectively reduced to the economic rewards it yields. Since these rewards did not match expectations, frustration gaps became wider and dissatisfaction with wage and other extrinsic work aspects was the logical outcome. As most workers in the country became preoccupied with migration, at least

mentally, current jobs became merely transient, stealing of official time in pursuit of job opportunities across the Red Sea permeated almost the whole of the hierarchy of wage-earning employees, discipline collapsed and commitment to work weakened.

The analysis was concluded by an attempt to determine the most important contributory factors in workers' socio-economic environment to the variance explained in their work attitudes and behaviour. A discriminant analysis of the factors involved was used. Two models were produced, enabling 59.4% and 70.6% of the cases to be correctly classified. The first discriminant function, explaining 30% of the variance, contained 'the percentage of salary allocated to parents', 'the frequency of rendering financial support to relatives', 'the percentage of salary devoted to social events' and 'nature of relationship with parents' as the main predictors of the meaning the subjects assigned to working. The second discriminant function explained 20% of the variance and included 'marital status', 'number of financially dependents people/worker', 'the experience of migration', 'the nature of relationships with parents' and the 'frequency of giving financial assistance to relatives' as the most important distinguishing factors between ratings on expectations from work.

The summary outlined here is not exhaustive. Only through a thorough review of the whole thesis can a fuller

picture of the Sudanese industrial worker's attitudes, social background...etc. be grasped. However, the aspects one has touched upon are among the most important in the discussion provided. It is now clear that nonwork factors in the Sudan assume an overriding importance in understanding industrial behaviour than do on-the-job conditions.

9.3.3 The Findings Within the Context of Existing Literature

The object of this section is to compare and contrast the findings produced by this work with those of similar studies done in the West or in the developing world. Three major aspects would guide the discussion; the economic attitude that was a distinguishing characteristic of the sampled workers' perception of work; the way in which this attitude is fostered by the subjects' socio-economic environment and the failure of technological factors to account for any significant variations in the way the workers relate to their work.

The instrumental orientation underlined by this study appears to be a common feature of blue-collar workers' attitudes toward work everywhere. It has been extensively reported in scores of Western and African studies (Dubin, 1956; Etzioni, 1960; Ingham, 1970; Kay doe, 1970; Cotgrove, 1972; Peil, 1972; Blunt, 1983). However, as the

findings of this study can be firmly located within the domain of the action theory and since the Affluent Worker Study by Goldthorpe and his colleagues (1968) represents a notable contribution to the study of industrial behavior and is largely hailed as one of the most important works in industrial sociology, be it British or otherwise, it would be logical to start the comparison of our findings with those reported in that particular study.

Obviously the common thread that ties together the present study and the Affluent Worker study is the instrumental attitude to work that characterizes workers' attachment to their present employment. However, it has to be said that the similarity between the two studies ends here. It is natural that, given the different objectives pursued, different methods utilized and the different implications sought, that the two studies differ fundamentally on a number of points:

First: the homogeneity of workers in the Affluent Worker study was largely a product of workers making choices between different kinds of employments available to them according to their existing wants and expectations relative to work; wants that were primarily geared to the maximization of economic returns from work. In other words, the instrumental orientations of these workers has led them to their present employment. The homogeneity in the case of the Sudanese workers, however, was a

resultant of a combination of two factors; mainly (a) the homogeneity of their social backgrounds, and (b) the fact that the labour market in Sudan and probably in similar developing countries still operates on the basis of a highly 'particularistic' and 'ascriptive' mechanism that plays an essential part in the allocation of labour power. To put it differently, the recruitment patterns in Sudan are still heavily dependent on kin networks and friendship ties as the most effective channels of information regarding employment opportunities. Empirical evidence in this study has shown that about 2/3 of the sampled workers have sought employment either through relatives, relatives' friends, friends, or friends' friends.

Secondly: with regards to the sources of the instrumental attitude to work Goldthorpe et al. linked it to four backgrounds variables, namely geographic, intergenerational and career mobility and age. The burden of the argument is that workers who experienced geographic, downward social and career mobility are more instrumental than non-mobiles. Moreover, younger workers by virtue of the economic pressures generated by the stage in their life cycle are, *ceteris paribus*, more likely to be instrumental than older workers (Goldthorpe et al., 1968:147). None of these factors were responsible for the development of the instrumental attitude of workers in this study. The attitude in focus has been

largely brought about by an elaborate familial responsibilities, a large number of dependents, a strong community attachment that involves not only emotional interdependence but material givings as well and on top of that an increasingly differentiated socio-economic environment that was largely the work of a galloping uncontrolled inflation and the spectre of lucrative jobs caused by an on-going process of migration for work in the oil-producing countries of the Middle-East.

These findings are, nonetheless, in agreement with those reported in a rather different study about the Arab executive mind by Muna (1980). The study explored how the thinking and the decision making of the Arab executive are constrained by his social environment. The subjects of the study were fifty-two Arab executives from six Arab countries; Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The study concluded that the Arab executive managerial behaviour is heavily influenced by society's social structure and by the values, norms and expectations of people around him.

Of particular relevance to this study, is an important attempt by Hedley (1984) to address, via a crucial test, the issue of whether work conditions or social conditions are more important in the determination of attitudes toward work. The results using a data set of more than one thousand Australian industrial workers employed in

four factories indicated that the immediate context of work has little or no effect on orientations to work. Regardless, of whether specific or general attitudes were elicited, workers in each of the four factories responded in a remarkable similar vein. This result prompted a search for those factors that might produce variation and occurred in time prior to the immediate context under examination. After a systematic analysis of a number of variables including gender, age, education, size of birthplace, country of birth, present occupational level and intergenerational occupational mobility in relation to work orientations, the study found that occupational level and intergenerational mobility clearly produced the most variation, although all factors did make a difference.

Although the objectives of the present study and Hedley's attempt seem to have a great deal in common, there are, however, some principal points on which the two studies differ. The first point relates to the fact that the present study was carried out in a different social and cultural setting from that of Hedley's study. Further, while Australia is well a head on the road to industrial development, the Sudan is still taking its first, sometimes faltering steps along that path. The second point of divergence between the two studies relates to the operational definition of work context (factors) and social conditions (nonwork factors). The present study

defined technology in a much broader way and considered skill levels (occupational levels in the words of Hedley) as surrogates of types of technology. In contrast, the Australian study opted for a much narrower definition that culminated in regarding skill levels as a nonwork factor. With this in mind the Australian study concluded that skill levels are among the most important independent variables that explained the largest amount of variation in work orientations; whereas the evidence presented in this study did point to an opposite conclusion in which skill levels failed to make any notable contribution to the understanding of the data at hand.

It has been said more than once that this study is a miniature of a much broader argument that has been going on for a considerable length of time regarding whether the forces of modernization (industrialization) would lead to a convergence in response or whether the effects of cultural diversity are sufficiently strong to resist such powers (Form, 1972; Hedley, 1980, 84; Kerr, 1973). The inability of technological factors to render any meaningful explanation of the results reported here, puts this study at variance with a host of studies that advocate a 'logic of industrialism' as a powerful unifying force that would in time overcome varied sources of diversity (Kerr, et al. 1973). This view, which came to be known as the 'convergence theory', is echoed in a

number of studies that attributed technology a global impact on the work organization and eventually on workers attitudes to their jobs (Woodward, 1958, Sayles, 1958; Blauner, 1964; Perrow, 1967; Form, 1969). Explicitly, our findings appear to be incompatible with the results of two studies whose setting included two developing countries that may bear some, albeit a remote, resemblance to the Sudanese situation. The first is a study by Form (1972) and involved testing the hypothesis that workers exposed to similar technologies, whatever their previous socialization, local culture or society's level of industrialization will respond to that technology similarly. In more concrete terms the study postulated that the spatial distribution of machines, the routine required to operate them, and the behaviour necessary to link work functions heavily influence social interaction at work. The design entailed examining the social behaviour of workers in factories with similar technologies located in societies which vary in industrialization; namely the United States, Italy, Argentina and India. The study concluded that, whatever the level of industrialization and whatever their past exposure to industry, workers' responses to the work situation are strongly influenced by technology. Even where industry is young and workers are newly exposed to industrial discipline, factory social life is apt to be similar to that in mature industrial societies. In an apparent rejection of a cultural explanation of

industrial behaviour, Form's study appeared to take the view that the social world of the factory worker everywhere is conditioned primarily by the technological environment.

A second study by Shepard et al. examined the relationships between technology on the hand and job attitudes and work alienation on the other in an industrialized nation, the United States, and an industrializing society, Korea. The major question explained in the study was whether workers in the two nations have similar patterns of reactions to technological conditions. The investigation involved two samples of blue-collar production workers drawn from two refineries and two automobile plants in the countries under consideration. The study's results appeared to be in line with the convergence hypothesis as it was found that in both settings (Korea and the States), workers in assembly line situations were more alienated and less satisfied than those in either craft or automated situations. On the basis of this Shepard et al. concluded that a given technology will have similar effects regardless of the setting.

Needless to say the findings reported in this inquiry do not obviously subscribe to any of the conclusions underlined by both of the studies reviewed above. On the contrary, our evidence implies that given the novelty of

the industrial process in Sudan factors outside the work situation appeared to have contributed more to the variation in workers' reactions to their work than does their immediate experience of work tasks and roles. In light of all this, one may argue that in Middle- Eastern and African societies which have a great deal in common with the Sudanese Society, an understanding of work behaviour would ultimately entails a look beyond factory gates to unearth those factors that do still bear considerably on the lives of workers in the industrial arena.

9.4 Conclusions and Implications

Having summarized the main findings of the study and having discussed their similarities and differences with the prevailing literature, the aim in this section remains to stress those points that one thinks have much wider implications for an understanding of industrial behaviour in the Sudan.

1. The evidence presented in this study can be regarded as a contribution to an on-going debate regarding the impact of industry on the lives of industrial workers. This debate was summarized by Form (1969) in two propositions (a) The industrial man hypothesis which asserts that industry everywhere has similar and immediate impact upon the lives of workers, and this impact destroys previous socio-cultural arrangements. The

second proposition postulates that industry accommodates to the previously existing culture and the adaptation which people make to industry are determined by elements in the older socio-cultural order. The main message of this inquiry can be seen as a vindication of the second hypothesis; mainly that because of the special nature and character of the socio-cultural forces at work in the Sudan which are deeply embedded in the Islamic doctrine and backed by Arab and African values and heritage it will require more than time for an industrial culture to gain grounds or surmount and smother these forces. This argument suggests that these socio-cultural forces will have to be viewed among the most important explanatory variables in any investigation of industrial attitudes and behaviour in the Sudan and probably in countries that parallel its socio-cultural order.

2. The study described here represents, to the researcher's knowledge, the first systematic application of the social action frame of reference as a viable theoretical framework for explaining workers' attitudes and behaviour in an industrializing society. The main conclusion one would like to advance in light of this experiment is that, for researchers in developing countries, and in view of the particular economic circumstances prevalent in most of them, the social action approach offers a relevant and useful design in which greater insights into the determinants of

industrial behaviour can be gained -be they external or internal to the work situation-.

3. The spring board for this study has been the hypothesis that nonwork factors are more important as determinants of industrial attitudes and behaviour than inplant factors in developing countries. Sufficient evidence has proved that this is the case for the Sudanese industrial workers. These workers it was revealed shared a common predisposition toward work; mainly an economistic view in which work and the work situation were perceived as a necessary evil that would earn them an income so desperately needed to support themselves and fulfill obligations emanating from a complicated web of familial and social relations that are of first degree importance to them. Bearing this in mind, it is only natural that these workers become dissatisfied with their work, frustrated, less committed and above all alienated as the rewards they get from work fail to satisfy the obligations in question. The argument one wishes to advance here, is that these negative attitudes to work would prevail for a considerable time to come. The following points explain why one predicts the persistence of such a forlorn and gloomy picture.

i) A hundred years ago, for an average Sudanese the basic incentives to work, which was largely pastoral and agricultural in nature, were his immediate needs for shelter and food. Since his wants were extremely limited and hardly extended beyond the basic necessities of life,

efforts to build a surplus of wealth were not needed. Housing was very primitive indeed. Everybody was poor and happy as a climate of an egalitarian poverty rooted in, and sanctioned by Islamic ideals and Arab values, prevailed. The emergence of an open monetary economic system together with the disparities in wealth it created, brought with it new wants and better styles of living to be emulated. The phenomenal communication explosion of our time is expected to accentuate such a process. As this process continues, expectations are bound to rise and, in the words of Goldthorpe, 'the pressures on the manual workers will intensify. Models of new standards and styles of living will, become both more evident and more compelling' (1968:175). As the rewards workers receive from work fail to meet these rising expectations, given the prevalent economic situation of the country, frustrations gaps will widen and dissatisfaction with the extrinsic aspects of work will permeate the whole hierarchy of the salaried employees.

(ii) Among the consequences of the oil bonanza of the seventies, was the phenomenon of mass migration by the Sudanese workers in search of work in neighbouring Arab countries. In view of the grave economic situation of the country as manifested in a run-away inflation and continuous increases in the prices of basic goods, and given the spectre of high wages that an opportunity of work across the Red Sea offers, the higher standards of living returned migrants enjoy and the 'demonstration

effect' of the vanity goods they own; one expect considerable numbers of workers to contemplate migration. The implications of this for attitudes to work are profound. In search of job opportunities abroad, present jobs will become increasingly transient and temporary. Workers will continue to come late to work, absent themselves from it and some of them will, at the end of the day, eventually leave. For the less lucky ones, however, the failure to migrate will simply mean more frustration and dissatisfaction with everything that relate to their present jobs.

(iii) Economic experts believe that the economy of the Sudan has proved to be unable to recover from the mortal blow dealt to it by the oil prices hikes of the seventies which have brought with it severe imbalances, chronic shortages, massive increases in the cost of production and of living and a galloping inflation that defied all governmental control. As the state of the economy continues to deteriorate, workers and in particular the low-paid ones will find themselves increasingly caught up in a swirl of rising expectations, rapidly rising prices and in consequence compressed wages. These conditions must be viewed as the seeds that will hatch all bad working habits and pervasive feelings of dissatisfaction not only with work and its different facets but may well extend to all spheres of life.

(iv) The evidence presented in this study has shown quite

clearly that the sampled workers were emotionally anchored in their families, kinsfolk and communities. Our expectations lead us to conclude that these relations would continue to be at the forefront of these workers' life interests, however quick the momentum of the industrialization process may be. The implications of this are twofold: (a) that work will continue to occupy second place importance relative to these relations and that the relation of the worker to his work is most likely to be reduced to one of a purely instrumental kind. (b) As these relations involve obligatory material givings, work and primarily the proceeds that come from it will increasingly be looked upon to strengthen and maintain these relations. Bearing in mind the catastrophic economic conditions in the country, it is to be expected that wages will continue to fall short of meeting the demands that largely arise from these relations; a situation which will ultimately culminate in further dissatisfaction with jobs, apathy and general lack of commitment to work.

9.5 Suggestions for Future Research

In drawing this study to a close, it is hoped that some interesting questions have been raised. Obviously one cannot claim to have answered all of them nor that the investigation was flawless and complete. Human frailty and limited resources are always impeding factors to produce an immaculate work. However, self-satisfaction

may be gained if the inquiry described here provides a starting point for future studies of industrial attitudes and behaviour in the developing world. Below are some concrete proposals in this respect:

(i) Since the present query was primarily confined to blue-collar workers in the public sector, there is certainly a need for further research on attitudes to work in other sectors of the economy. Such investigation may usefully concentrate on identifying the similarities and differences in attitudes between workers doing different types of work and may verify whether the findings reported here extend to other sectors or were merely an exception.

(ii) A replication of this study in a Mid-Eastern country using the same theoretical approach may serve to put the results of this study into perspective and can provide valuable information that may help negate or confirm them.

(iii) For a more ambitious researcher, perhaps a cross-cultural study using the social action frame of reference as a suitable theoretical framework and which involves more than one country that approximate culturally as well as economically the Sudanese order may cast additional light on the relative importance of work and nonwork factors in explaining work behaviour in these countries.

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Appendix

The Questionnaire (English version)

A covering letter (Arabic)

The Arabic version of the Questionnaire

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION ONE:

In this section, we would like to know how you feel about your job, your relations with your workmates, supervisors and your firm.

1. What is your present job? Could you write briefly in your own words just exactly what is it you do? _____

2. Who/what made/helped you getting your present job?(Please tick one)

- ____ a) Friends/relatives already working in the firm.
- ____ b) friends/relatives elsewhere.
- ____ c) General reputation of the firm, hearsay.
- ____ d) Just turned up.
- ____ e) Advertisement.
- ____ f) Others.

3. How long have you been at _____?
____ years.

4. Of all the firms that you had heard about or had experience of, how would you rate yours?

- ____ (i) the best.
- ____ (ii) one of the best.
- ____ (iii) average.
- ____ (iv) one of the worst.
- ____ (v) the worst.

5. Suppose you were looking for a job, what would be your most important consideration? _____

6. Here are some of the things often thought important about a job; could you rank them in order of importance?

- ____ 1. Nature of work (work which is interesting, full of variety, skillful and well liked by you).
- ____ 2. Good pay.
- ____ 3. Good workmates (fellow workers who are pleasant, agreeable, and good companions).
- ____ 4. Fringe benefits (vacation, sick pay, pension, insurance... etc.).

- ☐ 5. Pleasant working conditions.
- ☐ 6. Advancement (possibilities of promotion).
- ☐ 7. Security (steady work, no lay-offs, sureness of being able to keep your job).
- ☐ 8. Autonomy (i.e. the opportunity to make your own decisions relating to the work process).

7. Below are some general statements about conditions of your work, we would like you to voice your opinion about them by indicating to what extent, you agree or disagree with them:

(a) In this country there is not enough opportunity for people like me to be promoted and get ahead.

- ☐ strongly disagree.
- ☐ disagree.
- ☐ agree.
- ☐ strongly agree.

(b) There is a lot of talk about fair wages, but no body pays a fair wage for people like me.

- ☐ strongly disagree.
- ☐ disagree.
- ☐ agree.
- ☐ strongly agree.

(c) To me the workplace means warm and friendly relations with my co-workers.

- ☐ strongly disagree.
- ☐ disagree.
- ☐ agree.
- ☐ strongly agree.

(d) Management should let people like me organize our work in our own way?

- ☐ strongly disagree.
- ☐ disagree.
- ☐ agree.
- ☐ strongly agree.

(e) People like me have no opportunity to use their abilities at work.

- ☐ strongly disagree.
- ☐ disagree.
- ☐ agree.
- ☐ strongly agree.

(d) Most workers nowadays work in very unpleasant workplaces, under the most hazardous conditions.

- ☐ strongly disagree.
- ☐ disagree.
- ☐ agree.
- ☐ strongly agree.

(g) I think workers have too much security nowadays; we should learn to stand on our two feet.

- ☐ strongly disagree.
- ☐ disagree.
- ☐ agree.
- ☐ strongly agree.

(h) In this country a worker is not entitled for anything else a part from his salary.

- ☐ strongly disagree.
- ☐ disagree.
- ☐ agree.
- ☐ strongly agree.

8. Do you find your present job monotonous?

- ☐ Yes.
- ☐ No.
- ☐ Don't know.

9. Do you find find you can think about other things while doing your job?

- ☐ Yes.
- ☐ No.
- ☐ Don't know.

10. Do you ever find the pace of your job too fast?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

11. Indicate below how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with the various aspects of your present job;

(a) Autonomy (i.e. the opportunity to make your own decisions relating to the work process).

- ☐ very satisfied.
- ☐ satisfied.
- ☐ not satisfied.

___ not at all satisfied.

(b) Job security

___ very satisfied.

___ satisfied.

___ not satisfied.

___ not at all satisfied.

(c) Opportunities to use your skills and abilities in your job.

___ very satisfied

___ satisfied

___ not satisfied

___ not at all satisfied

(d) Fringe benefits like pension, sick pay and other facilities.

___ very satisfied.

___ satisfied.

___ not satisfied.

___ not at all satisfied.

(e) The friendliness of the people you work with.

___ very satisfied.

___ satisfied.

___ not satisfied.

___ not at all satisfied.

(f) Pay.

___ very satisfied.

___ satisfied.

___ not satisfied.

___ not at all satisfied.

(g) Working conditions.

___ very satisfied.

___ satisfied.

___ not satisfied.

___ not at all satisfied.

(h) Promotional chances.

___ very satisfied.

___ satisfied.

___ not satisfied.

___ not at all satisfied.

12. Thinking of your job as a whole, would say you are:

- ☐ very satisfied.
- ☐ satisfied.
- ☐ not satisfied.
- ☐ not at all satisfied.

13. Would you be prepared to leave your present firm for another, if by doing exactly the same kind of job and working the same number of hours, you could earn an increase of 10% on your current salary?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

14. Have you ever recently thought of leaving your present job at _____? Say within the last year?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

15. No one has a perfect job, and almost every one thinks of ways in which his job could be improved; if it were possible for you to have a small improvement in any one thing, which one would you choose? What would be your second choice?

16. Imagine that you inherited a large sum of money and could live comfortably for the rest of your life without working; what would you do concerning working?

- ☐ (a) I would stop working.
- ☐ (b) I would continue to work.
- ☐ (c) I would continue to work but with renewed conditions.

If your answer is (a): why would you stop working; is it because:

- ☐ (i) There is no need for working anymore.
- ☐ (ii) You want to devote more time to your family.
- ☐ (iii) You want to enjoy the money and the sense of being free.
- ☐ (iv) You want to lead a happy social life by rendering service to your community.

If your answer is (b): Why would you work in the same job? _____

If your answer is (c): What are the changed conditions, and why would you continue working? _____

17.(a) If you were to start all over again, would you choose your occupation or would you choose a different one?

____ Different occupation.

____ Same occupation.

(b) Would you recommend your occupation to your children for their work?

____ Yes.

____ No.

Why would you make this recommendation? _____

18. If a problem comes up in your work which isn't settled when you go home, how often, if at all, do you find yourself thinking about it after work? Would you say:

____ often.

____ sometimes.

____ rarely.

____ never.

19. When you start off for work, how often, if at all, do you find yourself thinking, "I don't want to go in today"?

____ often.

____ sometimes.

____ rarely.

____ never.

20. Do you feel your work is worthwhile, valuable part of your life, or is it just something you have to do to earn a living?

____ worthwhile.

____ not sure.

____ earn a living.

21. Do you enjoy the time you spend at work, or don't you get much pleasure out of it?

____ enjoy

____ not sure

____ not pleasurable

If, "not sure" or "not pleasurable":

(a) Do you actually dislike it, or have grown used to it?

____ dislike it.

____grown used to.

22. When you get worried, is it normally about :

____work.

____family, relatives, or things that happen in the community.

____just little things.

23. Thinking about your life as a whole; what things please you most:

____things that you usually do around the house or in the community.

____just every thing you do.

____work.

24.(a) How often would you say, relatives and friends visit you at your workplace?

____often.

____sometimes.

____seldom.

____never.

(b) What is the normal nature of your relatives and friends visits? Would you say they come:

____Just say hello

____Pass family, village or town news

____Ask for help to find a job

____Ask for financial assistance

____Others

25.(a) How often would you say you talk with the people who work with you?

____very often.

____a good deal.

____now and then.

____hardly at all.

____never.

(b) How would you feel if you were forced to move from your present workmates? would you say you will be:

____very upset.

____fairly upset.

____not much bothered.

____not bothered at all.

26. How many of the men who work near to you would you call close friends?

____none.

___ 1 or 2.
___ more than 2.

27. How do you get on with your supervisor? would you say:

___ very well.
___ pretty well.
___ not so well.
___ very badly.

Section Two: During the last twenty years large numbers of sudanese workers sought work in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. In this section, we need to know, if you have any experience of migration or is planing or thinking to migrate:

28. Had you any experience of migration for work outside the Sudan?

___ Yes.
___ No.

If yes: (a) to what country? _____

(b) what made you go there in the first place? _____

(c) why did you come back? _____

29. If you had no migration experience, had you at any time in your career, thought of migrating to work in Saudi Arabia or the Gulf?

___ Yes.
___ No.

If yes: (a) did you do anything about it, or did it just remain an idea?

___ Done something
___ Remained an idea

(b) if you had done something about it what was it? _____

30. Given the opportunity, do you intend to migrate in the future?

___ Yes.
___ No.
___ Don't know.

If yes: (a) what made you think so? _____

(b) what do you think a job over there would offer you? _____

If "NO" or "DON'T KNOW"; do you have a relative or a friend works there or who is contemplating going there ?

☐ Yes.
☐ No.

Section Three: In this final section, we need to know, some information about your background, your family and your social life in the community.

31. How old are you?
_____ years.

32. What was the higher formal education which you completed?(check one please)

☐ Primary school.
☐ Secondary school or further vocational training.
☐ Some college or similar vocational training below university level.

33. Are you:

☐ married?
☐ single?
☐ widowed?
☐ divorced?

If married (a) how many children do you have? _____

34. (a) Concerning the community where you spent most of your childhood; was it primarily:

☐ a city or a big town.
☐ a village or a small town.
☐ rural.

(b) How often do you visit your hometown?

☐ very often.
☐ a good deal.
☐ just now and then.
☐ hardly at all.
☐ never.

(c) When was the last time you visited your hometown?

☐ within the last month.
☐ within the last three months.
☐ within the last six months.
☐ within the last year.
☐ more than a year ago.

35. How often do you participate in social events (e.g marriages, funerals, naming ceremonies etc.)?

- ☐ never.
- ☐ seldom
- ☐ sometimes
- ☐ often

36. Does your participation in these social events include some material contribution?

- ☐ Yes.
- ☐ No.

If yes: how much would you estimate your contribution as a percentage of your salary each month? Would you say;

- ☐ less than 5%.
- ☐ less than 10%.
- ☐ less than 15%.
- ☐ less than 20%.
- ☐ more than 20%.

37. Do you normally allocate a fixed amount of your salary each month to your parents?

- ☐ Yes.
- ☐ No.

If yes, how much would you estimate this amount as a percentage of your salary each month? _____

38. How many persons do you support financially (including your self)?

39. How often do you extend financial help to relatives or kinsfolk ?

- ☐ regularly.
- ☐ occasionally.
- ☐ rarely.
- ☐ never.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم



جامعة الجزيرة
كلية الاقتصاد والتنمية الريفية
وادماني - سودان

التاريخ ١٩٨٨ / ٥ / ٦

السيد / مدير

تحية طيبة، وبعد

الموضوع: بحث أكاديمي

يقوم الأستاذ/ جعفر الماحي بكلية الاقتصاد جامعة الجزيرة بدراسة أكاديمية تهدف للحصول على درجة الدكتوراة في الإدارة من جامعة قلاسنكو بالمملكة المتحدة، وفي هذا الصدد يحتاج لبعض المعلومات والإحصاءات عن الجوانب المختلفة للعملية الإدارية.

نرجو شاكركم التكرم بمده بالمعلومات اللازمة وتسهيل مهمته ما أمكن.

ولكم فائق الشكر والتقدير

د. عبد القادر محمد أحمد
رئيس قسم الإدارة

إستبيان

الإستبيان أدناه يخصص بحث في الإتجاهات والميول نحو العمل.... ويأتى البحث كجزء من رسالة دكتوراة يجري العمل فيها الآن بالمملكة المتحدة. عليه فإن تعاونكم معنا بالتكرم بالإجابة علي الإستئلة المطروحة في متن هذا الإستبيان، يأتي كمساهمة هامة منكم لإنجاز هذا العمل الهام، وخدمة لأغراض البحث العلمي المتجرد.

تنويه : نرجو أن نؤكد بأنه ليست هنالك إجابة صحيحة أو خطأ، وليست هنالك حاجة لأن تذكر إسمك في إستمارة الإستبيان. ومساهمة منك في تعزيز نتائج الدراسة نرجو أن تعكس في إجابتك شعورك الحقيقي تجاه أحوال وظروف عملك.

الجزء الأول:

فى هذا الجزء نود أن نعرف بعض المعلومات عن عملك الحالى، علاقتك مع رؤسائك وزملائك فى العمل والمصنع أو الشركة التى توجد بها.

١. ما هى وظيفتك الحالية؟ هل يمكن أن توضح بكلمات قليلة طبيعة العمل الذى تؤديه؟

٢. ما / من الذى دفعك علي الحضور إلي هنا؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يأتي) :

- أ) أقارب وأصدقاء يعملون في الشركة. _____
- ب) أقارب وأصدقاء يعملون في أماكن أخرى . _____
- ج) سمعة الشركة الحسنة. _____
- د) عرضاً (صدفه). _____
- هـ) إعلان. _____
- ز). أسباب أخرى (نرجو التوضيح). _____

٣. كم مضي عليك من الزمن وأنت تعمل هنا؟
_____ سنوات .

٤. من كل الشركات والمؤسسات التي سمعت بها أو لديك تجربة عمل فيها أين تضع الشركة أو المصنّع الذى تعمل فيه الآن؟

- أ) الأحسن. _____
- ب) من أحسن الشركات أو المؤسسات. _____

ج) وسط. _____

د) من أسوأ الشركات أو المؤسسات. _____

ه) الأسوأ. _____

٥. افترض أنك تبحث عن عمل، ما هو أهم عامل تضعه في إعتباراتك لإختيار وظيفة معينة؟

٦. أدناه بعض الأشياء التي تعتبر مهمة عند البحث عن عمل، هل يمكنك ترتيبها حسب الأهمية؟
(إعط رقم (١) للأهم، رقم (٢) للثاني في الأهمية، رقم (٣) للثالث في الأهمية، وهكذا حتى رقم ٨).

أ. عمل يتطلب مهارة، متنوع وممتع. _____

ب. الأجر المجزي. _____

ج. زملاء عمل يسهل التفاهم معهم، حميمين، وحلوى المعشر. _____

د. ظروف عمل محببة. _____

هـ. مزايا الوظيفة (الإجازات، المعاش، العلاج، الضمان الإجتماعي... إلخ). _____

و. ضمان الوظيفة. _____

ز. فرص الترقى. _____

ح. الحرية في تأدية مهام العمل. _____

٧. إلي مدى توافق أو لا توافق علي وجهات النظر التالية:

أ) في هذا البلد لا توجد فرص كافية لأمثالي للترقى في العمل والتقدم إلي الأمام.

أ) موافق تماماً. _____

ب) موافق. _____

ج) غير موافق. _____

د) غير موافق إطلاقاً. _____

ب) هنالك كلام كثير عن الأجر العادل في العمل، ولكن لا يوجد من يعط أجراً عادلاً.

أ) موافق تماماً. _____

ب) موافق. _____

ج) غير موافق. _____

د) غير موافق إطلاقاً. _____

ج) علي الإدارة أن تتيح الفرصه للعاملين لتنظيم عملهم بأنفسهم.

أ) موافق تماماً. —

ب) موافق. —

ج) غير موافق. —

د) غير موافق إطلاقاً. —

د) أمثالي من الناس ليست لديهم فرصة لاستغلال مواهبهم في العمل.

أ) موافق تماماً. —

ب) موافق. —

ج) غير موافق. —

د) غير موافق إطلاقاً. —

ه) محل العمل يعنى بالنسبة لى علاقات ودية وطيبة مع الزملاء.

أ) موافق تماماً. —

ب) موافق. —

ج) غير موافق. —

د) غير موافق إطلاقاً. —

و) معظم العمال هذه الأيام يعملون فى أماكن عمل خطيرة وغير صحية.

أ) موافق تماماً. —

ب) موافق. —

ج) غير موافق. —

د) غير موافق إطلاقاً. —

ز) العامل فى هذا البلد لا ينال أى شئ علاوة على الأجر الذى يتقاضاه.

أ) موافق تماماً. —

ب) موافق. —

ج) غير موافق. —

د) غير موافق إطلاقاً. —

ح) الإحساس الزائد بالأمان عند العمال سببه أن الوظيفة فى القطاع العام مضمونة مدى الحياة.

- أ) موافق تماماً. _____
ب) موافق. _____
ج) غير موافق. _____
د) غير موافق إطلاقاً. _____

٨. هل تجد عملك مملاً؟

- نعم. _____
لا. _____
لا أدري. _____

٩. هل تجد نفسك تفكر في أشياء أخرى أثناء تأدية عملك؟

- نعم. _____
لا. _____
لا أدري. _____

١٠. هل تجد وتيرة العمل في مؤسستك سريعة؟

- نعم. _____
لا. _____
لا أدري. _____

١١. أدناه بعض العوامل التي تؤثر سلباً أو إيجاباً في العمل، نرجو أن توضح إلي أي مدى أنت راء أو غير راض عنها:

١. ضمان الوظيفة.

- أ. راضٍ تماماً _____
ب. راضٍ _____
ج. غير راضٍ _____
د. غير راضٍ إطلاقاً _____

٢. الفرص المتاحة في وظيفتك لاستغلال مهاراتك وقدراتك في العمل.

- أ. راضٍ تماماً _____
ب. راضٍ _____
ج. غير راضٍ _____
د. غير راضٍ إطلاقاً _____

٣. مزايا الوظيفة (الإجازات، المعاش أو الضمان الاجتماعي، العلاج.. الخ).

- أ راضٍ تماماً _____
ب) راضٍ _____
ج) غير راضٍ _____
د) غير راضٍ إطلاقاً _____

٤. روح الإلفة والتواد بين من تعمل معهم .

- أ راضٍ تماماً _____
ب) راضٍ _____
ج) غير راضٍ _____
د) غير راضٍ إطلاقاً _____

٥. الأجر (المرتّب).

- أ راضٍ تماماً. _____
ب) راضٍ. _____
ج) غير راضٍ. _____
د) غير راضٍ إطلاقاً. _____

٦. أحوال وظروف العمل.

- أ) راضٍ تماماً. _____
ب) راضٍ. _____
ج) غير راضٍ. _____
د) غير راضٍ إطلاقاً. _____

٧. فرص الترقية.

- أ راضٍ تماماً. _____
ب) راضٍ. _____
ج) غير راضٍ. _____
د) غير راضٍ إطلاقاً. _____

٨) فرص إتخاذ قرارات تتعلق بعملك.

أ) راضٍ تماماً. —

ب) راضٍ. —

ج) غير راضٍ. —

د) غير راضٍ إطلاقاً. —

١٢. تأمل أحوال وظروف وظيفتك بشكل عام، هل يمكن أن تقول بأنك:

أ) راضٍ تماماً عنها.....

ب) راضٍ.....

ج) راضٍ الي حد ما.....

د) غير راضٍ.....

هـ) غير راضٍ إطلاقاً.....

١٣. لو عرضت عليك شركة أو مؤسسة نفس وظيفتك بزيادة ١٠٪ من راتبك الحالي، فهل توافق علي ترك الشركة التي تعمل بها الآن؟

.....

١٤. هل فكرت ابدأ في ترك وظيفتك الحالية مؤخراً؟

نعم. —

لا. —

إن كانت إجابتك بنعم: لماذا فكرت في ترك وظيفتك الحالية؟

.....

ما هي الإجراءات التي اتخذتها بهذا الصدد؟

.....

طالما فكرت في ترك عملك الحالي، ما الذي يستبقيك فيه الآن؟

.....

١٥. كل منا يتطلع لتحسين أحوال وظروف عمله، لو أتاحت لك فرصة تحسين جانب واحد فقط من جوانب عملك المختلفة، بم تبدأ، وما هو اختيارك الثاني؟

.....

١٦. لو قدر لك ان ترث مبلغاً كبيراً من المال، بصورة تستطيع معها أن تعيش ميسور الحال دون ان

تحتاج لعمل بقية حياتك، ما الذي تفعله بشأن العمل؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):

- أ) سوف أتوقف عن العمل. _____
ب) سوف أواصل العمل. _____
ج) سوف أواصل العمل ولكن في ظروف مختلفة. _____

إذا رأيت التوقف عن العمل، فهل ذلك بسبب "أشؤ علي واحد مما يلي"

- أ. أنه لا توجد حوجة للعمل بعد الآن. _____
ب. أنك تود أن تتفرغ لشئون الأسرة. _____
ج. أنك تريد ان تستمتع بالمال والأحساس بالحرية. _____
د. أنك تود أن تتفرغ لخدمة المجتمع وعمل الخير. _____

إذا رأيت أن تواصل العمل، فلماذا؟

.....

.....

إذا رأيت أن تواصل العمل، ولكن في ظروف مختلفة، فما هي؟

.....

١٧. أ) لو قدر لك أن تبدأ حياتك العملية من جديد، فهل ستختار نفس مهنتك الحالية؟

- سوف أختار نفس المهنة الحالية. _____
سوف أختار مهنة أخرى. _____

ب) هل توصي أبناءك بأن يعملوا نفس عملك الذي تؤديه؟ ولماذا؟

.....

١٨. لو طرأت عليك مشكلة في عملك، ولم تجد لها حلاً بنهاية ساعات العمل اليومي، كم مرة تجد

نفسك وأنت تفكر فيها بعيداً عن مكان العمل؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي)

كثيراً.....

بعض الأحيان.....

نادراً.....

أبداً.....

١٩. عند توجهك إلي مكان العمل صباح كل يوم، كم مرة تجد نفسك تفكر، "لا أريد الذهاب

اليوم"؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):

كثيراً. _____

بعض الأحيان. _____

نادراً. _____

أبدأ. _____

٢٠. هل تشعر أن عملك ذا قيمة، وجزء مهم في حياتك، أم أنه شيء لا بد منه لأكل العيش؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):

عملي ذا قيمة ومهم. _____
شيء لا بد منه لأكل العيش. _____
لا أدري. _____

٢١. (أ) هل تستمتع بالوقت الذي تقضيه في العمل، أم أنك لا تجد متعة فيه؟
أستمتع بوقت العمل. _____
لا أجد متعة فيه. _____
لا أدري. _____

٢٢. عندما تجد نفسك قلقاً ، فهل يكون هذا عادةً بسبب: (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):
العمل. _____
الأسرة، الأقارب، أو ما يحدث في مجتمعك. _____
مجرد أشياء بسيطة. _____

٢٣. فكر في حياتك بشكل عام، ما هي الأشياء التي تفرحك وتشير إهتمامك في أغلب الأحيان؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):
ما أفعله في المنزل أو من أجل المجتمع. _____
كل ما أفعل. _____
العمل. _____

٢٤. (أ) ما هو معدل زيارات الأصدقاء والأقرباء لك في مكان العمل؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):
كثيراً. _____
بعض الأحيان. _____
نادراً. _____
أبدأ. _____

(ب) ماهي طبيعة هذه الزيارات؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):

للتحية والمجاملة. _____
لنقل أخبار الأسرة، القرية أو المدينة. _____
لطلب المساعدة في إيجاد عمل. _____
لطلب مساعدة مالية. _____

٢٥. كم مرة تجد نفسك وأنت تتحدث مع زملائك في العمل؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):

- _____ كثيراً جداً.
- _____ كثيراً.
- _____ من وقت لآخر.
- _____ نادراً.
- _____ أبداً.

٢٦. كيف تشعر إذا أجبرت علي ترك زملاء عملك الحاليين؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):

- _____ متأثر جداً.
- _____ متأثر.
- _____ لا أهتم.
- _____ لا أهتم إطلاقاً.

٢٧. كم من زملاء عملك، يمكنك أن تقول عنهم بأنهم أصدقاء مقربين لك؟ (أشر علي واحد مما يلي):

- _____ لا أحد.
- _____ واحد أو اثنين.
- _____ أكثر من اثنين.

٢٨. كيف تري علاقتك مع رؤسائك في العمل؟ هل يمكنك أن تقول بأنها :

- _____ جيدة.
- _____ حسنة.
- _____ ليست حسنة.
- _____ سيئة.

الجزء الثاني:

في خلال العشرين سنة الماضية توجهت أعداد كبيرة من السودانيين إلي المملكة العربية السعودية ودول الخليج العربي بحثاً عن العمل. في هذا الجزء من الإستبيان نود أن نعرف إن كانت لديك تجربة سابقة في الهجرة، أو إن كنت تفكر فيها، أو تخطط لها.

٢٩. هل لديك تجربة هجرة للعمل خارج السودان؟

- _____ نعم.
- _____ لا.

إن كانت إجابتك بنعم:

(أ)إلي دولة كانت ؟.....

(ب) ما هي الأسباب التي دفعتك للهجرة ؟

(ج) لماذا عدت إلي السودان ؟.....

٣. إن لم تكن لديك تجربة هجرة للعمل خارج السودان، فهل حدث في أي وقت من حياتك العملية أن فكرت فيها ؟

نعم —

لا —

إن كانت إجابتك بنعم:

(أ)هل فعلت أي شيء في هذا الصدد(كإستخراج جواز سفر،أو إجراء بعض المعاينات مثلاً) أم أنها ظلت مجرد فكرة؟

بدأت بالفعل إجراءات الهجرة. —

ظلت الهجرة مجرد فكرة. —

(ب) لو أتيحت لك الفرصة، هل تنوي الهجرة مستقبلاً؟

نعم —

لا —

لا أدري —

إن كانت إجابتك بنعم : ماذا يمكن أن توفره لك فرصة عمل خارج السودان؟

إن كنت لا تنوي الهجرة مستقبلاً، أو أنك لا تدري: هل لديك أحدّ من أقبائك أو أصدقائك يعمل الآن خارج السودان، أو ينوي الهجرة ؟.....

الجزء الثالث و الأخير:

في هذا الجزء الأخير من الإستبيان، نود أن نعرف بعض المعلومات عن شخصك وعن حياتك الإجتماعية:

٣١. كم عمرك؟.....سنة

٣٢. ما هو أعلي مستوى أكملته من التعليم الرسمي؟

الإبتدائي. _____
الأوسط أو بعض التدريب المهني. _____
الثانوي أو تدريب مهني أقل من المستوى الجامعي. _____

٣٣. ما هي حالتك الإجتماعية ؟

أ. متزوج. _____
ب. مطلق. _____
ج. أرمل. _____
د. غير متزوج _____

إن كنت متزوجاً ، كم طفلاً لديك؟.....

٣٣. أين قضيت معظم أيام طفولتك؟(أشر على واحد مما يلي):

في مدينة. _____
قرية أو شبه مدينة. _____
في البادية. _____

٣٤. (أ) ما هو معدل زياراتك لقريتك أو مدينتك، إن كنت تعمل بعيداً عنها؟(أشر على واحد مما يلي)

كثيراً جداً. _____
كثيراً. _____
من وقت لآخر. _____
نادراً. _____
أبداً. _____

(ب) متي كانت آخر مرة، زرت فيها قريتك أو مدينتك؟ (أشر على واحد مما يلي)

- ____ خلال الشهر الماضي.
- ____ خلال الثلاث أشهر الماضية.
- ____ خلال الستة أشهر الماضية.
- ____ خلال السنة الماضية.
- ____ أكثر من عام مضى.

٣٥. ما هو معدل مشاركتك في المناسبات الاجتماعية من أفراح وأتراح؟ (أشر على واحد مما يلي):

- ____ أبداً.
- ____ نادراً.
- ____ بعض الأحيان.
- ____ كثيراً.

٣٦. إن كنت تشارك في المناسبات الاجتماعية، فهل تتضمن مشاركتك مساهمة مادية؟

- ____ نعم.
- ____ لا.

إن كانت إجابتك بنعم: كم تقدر نسبة مساهماتك المادية في هذه المناسبات من راتبك كل شهر؟ هل يمكن أن تقول بأنها تشكل:

- ____ أقل من ٥٪.
- ____ أقل من ١٠٪.
- ____ أقل من ١٥٪.
- ____ أقل من ٢٠٪.
- ____ أكثر من ٢٠٪.

٣٧. هل تخصص جزء من راتبك الشهري لوالديك؟

- ____ نعم.
- ____ لا.

إن كانت إجابتك بنعم: كم تقدر نسبة ذلك من راتبك الشهري؟

٣٨. كم عدد الأشخاص اللذين تتكفل بمعيشتهم (إضافةً إلى نفسك)؟