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Psychological Marginality and Dual Commitment Among Black First Line Supervisors in South Africa.

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I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that I have not submitted it for the degree of Master of Arts at any other University.

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ABSTRACT

The industrial supervisor is the classical example of the 'person in the middle' or the 'marginal person'. Placed between management and the workforce, supervisors encounter conflicting expectations and demands. For the black supervisor in South African industry, these problems are exacerbated, typically having been promoted from the ranks and operating at an essentially white management - black workforce interface. Previous researchers have discussed the dysfunctional consequences faced by these people and, further, have alluded to the possible relationship between this and supervisors' dual loyalties. This research examines the marginality of black supervisors and how this relates to their possible dual commitment. Towards this end, a psychometrically sound measure of psychological marginality was constructed, following which an empirical investigation was undertaken to investigate the relationship between black supervisors' psychological marginality and their dual allegiances. Factor analytical techniques revealed that black supervisor's marginality comprises two variables; namely, management marginality and worker marginality. The relationships between both marginality variables and levels of organisational commitment, union commitment and dual commitment were not significant. This suggests that the management and worker marginality experienced among black supervisors is not related to dual commitment, unilateral commitment and alienation. Implications of these findings for theory and practice are discussed and directions for future research provided. The primary shortcoming of the study was small sample sizes as a result of the sensitive nature of the subject. However, this was mediated by the rigorous methodology adopted throughout.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER 1 - THE SUPERVISORY ROLE	1
The Supervisor's Organisational Role	1
The Black Supervisor	3
Marginality and the Black Supervisor	5
CHAPTER 2 - MARGINALITY	8
The Marginality Concept	8
Recent Marginality Research	12
Approaches to the Study of Marginality	16
Marginality and Industrial Psychology	17
Role Conflict	18
Role Ambiguity	20
Occupational Marginality	21
Marginality And The Black Supervisor	23
The Historical Transformation of the Supervisory Role	24
The Extra-organisational Marginality of Black Supervisors	26
Marginality and Dual-Commitment	31
CHAPTER 3 - DUAL-COMMITMENT	33
Organisational Commitment	34
Union Commitment	38
Dual-Commitment Research	40
Alienation	41
Recent Trends in Dual-Commitment Research	42
Dual-Commitment, Marginality and the Supervisor	45
Research Rationale	46
CHAPTER 4 - DEVELOPMENT OF A SCALE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL MARGINALITY	47
Theoretical And Methodological Considerations in the Development of a Scale of Psychological Marginality	47
Reliability	48
Validity	50
Past Approaches to the Measurement of Marginality	51
The Development of a Scale of Psychological Marginality	53

PHASE 1 - Literature Search 53
PHASE 2 - Semi-Structured Interviews 53
PHASE 3 - Pilot Test One 56
PHASE 4 - Pilot Test Two 59
PHASE 5 - Statistical Validation 61
Results 67
Discussion 72

CHAPTER 5 - MARGINALITY AND DUAL-COMMITMENT AMONG BLACK SUPERVISORS 76
Aim 76
Rationale 76
Method 79
Sample 79
Research Design 79
Procedure 79
Measuring Instruments 80
Statistical Analysis 83
Results 86
Discussion 91

REFERENCES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

TABLES AND FIGURES

		PAGE
TABLE 1 -	Affirmative Responses to Yes-No Questions, by Interviewer	57
TABLE 2 -	Summary of the demographic characteristics of the sample	63
TABLE 3 -	Kaiser's Measure of Sampling Adequacy	68
TABLE 4 -	Factor Structure of Supervisor Marginality Scale	71
TABLE 5 -	T-TESTS for union membership	86
TABLE 6 -	ANOVA'S for factory location by dependant variables	87
TABLE 7 -	Pearson Correlation Cofficients for biographical, independent and dependent variables	87
TABLE 8 -	Analysis of covariance results between dual commitment and management marginality	89
TABLE 9 -	Analysis of covariance results between dual commitment and worker marginality	90
FIGURE 1 -	Scree plot of eigenvalues	69

CHAPTER 1

THE SUPERVISORY ROLE

Social, economic and political changes in South Africa have resulted in the industrial supervisor's role becoming increasingly complex (Spence & Spence, 1986). While South African managers have shown heightened concern for sound industrial relations in the post Wiehahn decade, black workers have increasingly demonstrated awareness of their collective strength and their power to initiate change (Bluen & Fullagar, 1986; Heffer, 1983). Consequently, occupants of supervisory positions at the management-worker interface, have had to confront additional challenges to those demanded by the roles they perform (Alfred, 1984; Cunningham, 1981; Dlamini, 1985; Spence & Spence, 1986). Considering the critical influence supervisors have on the functioning of organisations (Sasser & Leonard, 1980; Piron, Human & Rajah, 1983), writers have placed an increased emphasis on the functions of supervisors in South African organisations (Piron, Human & Rajah, 1983).

The Supervisor's Organisational Role

In the workplace, first-line supervisors are referred to by a number of functional names (Child & Partridge, 1982) such as 'foreman' and 'chargehand'. However, for purposes of clarity in the present study the term 'supervisor' will be used to describe any person performing the role of a first-line supervisor. Although the term 'supervisor' alludes to any organisational member to whom other organisational members must report, this term is usually used to refer to first-line management or that level of management at the bottom of the managerial hierarchy (Bittel & Ramsey, 1982; Kabat, 1983; Muczyk, Schwartz & Smith, 1984; Piron et al., 1983; Warrick & Zawacki, 1984).

The work performed by supervisors differs from that of more senior managers (Bowen, 1977; Peters, 1976; Sartain & Baker, 1972). Supervisors are primarily

concerned with the transmission of orders to employees who are clearly not part of management (Bowen, 1977). While other managers supervise indirectly through subordinate managers, supervisors have first-hand contact with their subordinates (Bittel & Ramsey, 1982; Sartain & Baker, 1972). Further unlike their superiors who are able to delegate decision making, the supervisor's decisions have to be made personally. Finally, while higher managers plan their work objectives over short and long-term time spans, supervisors plan work on a daily basis (Peters, 1976). Therefore, supervisors constitute the link in the chain of organisational command which joins management and the employees on the shopfloor. As such, the supervisory position will involve directing the efforts of subordinates, with the intention that subordinates effectively execute the plans and policies established by senior management (Bowen, 1977). Hence, supervisors perform a task-directive and a group maintenance role (Reitz, 1981).

Supervisors perform the dual responsibilities of leadership in that they are directly responsible for 'initiating structure' and 'consideration' amongst workers (Carvell, 1970). The initiation of structure describes the exercise of authority, maintaining discipline, defining performance standards and evaluating subordinates' performance. 'Consideration' describes the inter-personal and social relationships they have with their subordinates (Carvell, 1970). Stated differently, supervisors perform in three organisational subsystems; namely, the technological or technical subsystem, the human or interpersonal subsystem and the structural or administrative subsystem (Dunn & Stephens, 1972; Goldstein & Sorcher, 1982; Warrick & Zawacki, 1984). Consequently, Bowen (1977) writes that supervisory work demands technical skills required to accomplish tasks at hand, human skills needed to work with and through people, and conceptual skills enabling supervisors to plan and organise work.

Operating as they do in numerous organisational subsystems, supervisors may frequently encounter dilemmas. From the broadest perspective, supervisors may be pressured from two directions while simultaneously assuring that production levels are maintained (Muczyk et al., 1984). As the person with direct authority over employees engaged in shopfloor or office operations, the supervisor's position is usually regarded as a managerial one. However, while supervisors are

not operating employees, neither are they policy makers (Child & Partridge, 1982; Dunn & Stephens, 1972; Strauss & Seyles, 1967). Supervisors are required to implement policies and decisions which they have no say in formulating. Further, while other members of management who may or may not be involved in formulating policies, can divorce themselves from shopfloor problems, supervisors are often the target of the workforce's grievances. That is, because supervisors are viewed as management, worker discontent over policy decisions is levelled against them, yet they have had no part in formulating these policies, nor are they in a position to change them. Further, researchers have questioned the validity of including supervisors and more senior management in the same grouping. Sarakinsky and Crankshaw (1986) suggest that supervisors may best be classified along with the workers. Others (Child & Partridge, 1982; Dunn & Stephens, 1972; Muczyk et al., 1984) view the supervisor as operating on the worker-management interface, and submit that because they are faced with their own peculiar pressures and demands, supervisors should be classed in a group of their own. Whichever way one chooses to view the supervisory position, there can be no doubt that incumbents of supervisory positions are placed between management and the workforce, having responsibility to both. Consequently, supervisors have come to be known as 'the marginal people of industry' (Child & Partridge, 1982; Fletcher, 1969; Human, 1984; Piron et al., 1983, Wray, 1949).

The Black Supervisor

The removal of statutory legislation limiting black advancement, and changes in managerial policies within organisations, have resulted in an increased tendency to promote black employees to supervisory positions in South African industry (Human, 1984). However, according to Allen (1983), all parties involved in the process of black upward organisational movement have to a certain extent been caught unprepared. Similarly, Beckett (1980) writes that as blacks ascend the organisational hierarchy, assuming positions which traditionally have been regarded as 'for whites only', both they and their subordinates are experiencing unexpected difficulties. A number of factors can be submitted to explain this.

These include the following:

i) Black supervisors are placed in task-directive roles with which they are not familiar (Dlamini, 1985). Historically, South African blacks have been under-represented in positions of authority in an industrial system which is primarily white controlled (Allen, 1983). Significantly, it is in their labour that black South Africans have made their major contribution to industry (Jones, 1984). The black supervisor, therefore, has been required to reverse roles from one who is supervised to one who supervises.

ii) Black supervisors find themselves operating in a 'white world' in which they are a minority. According to Beaty and Harari (1987), black supervisors' closer proximity to white co-workers may cause emotional problems of their own. Expectations of authority, responsibility, and possibilities of promotion created by assuming their new role, may never be realised. Resistance from their white peers, the incongruence of their expectations, and the realities of their situation, may only serve to heighten their frustrations.

iii) Black supervisors often are not entirely accepted by their white colleagues. Research has shown (Hofmeyer, 1983; Human & Pringle, 1987) that black supervisors perceive themselves as not being wanted in the 'white world'. Further, the introduction of black supervisors into a position which traditionally has been reserved for whites has effected a backlash among certain white supervisors who feel that their positions are being threatened (Mackay, 1986). Consequently, the negative attitude of whites at the lower management levels has been identified as a major problem (Watts, 1986).

iv) Black incumbents of the supervisory role may be viewed as traitors by other blacks who regard their supervisors' management affiliations as evidence of their siding with the oppressor. Black South Africans tend to view social, political and economic grievances as inseparable (De Beer, 1983). No matter how limited the powers of black supervisors are, in the eyes of their subordinates they remain the representatives of an unjust white management.

v) Ncube (1986) writes that when a black person is promoted to a supervisory position, he/she is promoted as an individual. However, Ncube (1986) continues that black South Africans usually operate on a collective basis, and that as members of the black community, black supervisors are expected to actively identify with social movements in the townships, including stay-aways. However, as members of management, black supervisors would also be expected to identify with managerial policy which may require them to defy these social movements. Consequently, black supervisors may well experience opposing loyalties, obligations, and expectations from significant others, which in all likelihood, will conflict.

vi) The problems facing black supervisors are exacerbated by their operating as non-whites in a society which encourages racial separation and segregation. As one consequence, black supervisors, who are afforded "honorary white" status during work hours, are rejected by 'the white world' after hours and have to return, along with their black subordinates, to the townships where they share the inequalities of an inferior society (Human, 1981; 1984; 1986; Piron et al., 1983). Further, it has been shown that South African blacks view the workplace as an extension of apartheid society and that they find it impossible to separate happenings inside the organisation from the domination that they perceive on the outside (Beaty & Harari, 1987). Consequently, black supervisors may find it difficult to reconcile their perceptions of white domination with their work requirements, which require them to act on behalf of white management.

Marginality and the Black Supervisor

The 'marginality' concept has been used to explain the difficult position occupied by 'higher status' black employees in South African industry (Black, 1983; Human, 1981; 1984; 1986; Piron et al., 1983; Watts, 1985). According to marginality theory, a marginal person is one who stands on the "borders or margins of two cultural worlds but is fully a member of neither" (Gordon, 1978,

p. 139). In industry, it is at the supervisory level that two different work philosophies, namely those of management and of the workforce, come into contact (Sartain & Baker, 1972). In addition, in South African industry two cultural worlds come into contact at the supervisory level; namely those of a predominantly white management and a traditionally black workforce. Because of their minority status among management and their forced dissociation from the workforce, 'higher status' black employees are made to stand on the border of each group. They are caught between black workers, their unions, and an essentially white management; all of whom have different, and often conflicting, expectations of them (Human, 1981; 1984; 1986; Piron et al., 1983). Hence, black supervisors operating in South African organisations can be said to occupy a dual-marginal role. First, as supervisors they operate on the worker-management interface (Child & Partridge, 1982; Dunn & Stephens, 1972; Fletcher, 1969; Muczyk et al., 1984). Second, they exist on the margin of two cultural or societal groups (Hofmeyer, 1983), namely, an essentially white management and a predominantly black workforce.

The individual's psychological response to such a marginal situation is referred to as psychological marginality (Dickie-Clark, 1966). Writers (Human, 1981; 1984; 1986; Piron et al., 1983) have speculated that 'higher status' black employees will experience the dysfunctional psychological responses associated with occupying a marginal position. Further, they have assumed that this marginality implies a division of loyalties (Human, 1981; 1984; 1986; Piron et al., 1983), suggesting that dual-commitment and marginality are inherently related. However, such a claim is not only based on anecdotal evidence, but also contradicts more recent theories of marginality which suggest that people placed in marginal positions remain neutral agents, showing allegiance and feeling committed to neither party (Lidell, 1973; Ziller, 1973; Ziller, Stark & Pruden, 1969). Considering the conflicting roles performed by black supervisors and the conflict they may experience between their organisational and extra-organisational roles, their marginality and possible dual-commitment may be related. Further, these may reinforce one another, in that individuals experience marginality more intensely because of feeling torn by their organisation and their union commitments. An empirical investigation of the relationship between these variables could assist

researchers in appraising these conflicting theoretical claims, and would enable human resource practitioners to better understand the problems inherent in the black supervisor's organisational role. Therefore, before such claims can be made, this relationship will need to be explored.

CHAPTER 2

MARGINALITY

The term, "marginality", has been operationalized in a variety of ways since its conception. It has been utilised in different branches of the social sciences, including Psychology, Sociology, and Criminology. Consequently, it is difficult to define as a single concept. Therefore, an extensive literature review covering the different fields is required to arrive at a comprehensive definition of marginality.

Marginality, per se, has been used to describe both social situations and the personality characteristics typically associated with the people placed in these situations. The term 'marginal person' is used to portray a person who is placed in marginal situations. The marginal person is said to stand on the border or margin of two 'worlds' in which he/she participates, yet is fully a member of neither (Buonno & Kamm, 1983; Gordon, 1978). It is generally accepted that the adverse consequences of occupying marginal positions precipitates dysfunctional psychological consequences for the marginal person (Forisha & Goldman, 1981). While the term was originally used to explain either the turmoil of the child of parents of different ancestry, or the position of the immigrant in his/her adopted country, today the term is utilised in a diverse range of contexts; including, the position of the socially deviant (Gordon, 1978), the position of the female manager (Buonno & Kamm, 1983), and the predicament of the adolescent (Newcomb, Turner & Converse, 1967). In addition, over the years writers have added new terms to the marginality literature, such as marginal culture, marginal role and marginal personality.

The Marginality Concept

The original marginality concept was conceived by Park (1928) and subsequently elaborated upon by Stonequist (1937). According to Park (1928) the marginal

person is a

> "...cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the society in which he now sought to find a place".
>
> (p. 892)

Park (1928) continued that the marginal person occupies a position on the margin of two cultures and societies which never interpenetrate and merge. Writing of the turmoil of the Jewish immigrant to the United States, Park (1928) viewed the marginal person as a product of human migration and cultural conflict. Consequently, such an individual would experience a conflict of the divided self; that is, between his/her 'old self' and 'new self'. In Park's (1928) opinion, people experiencing marginality demonstrate personalities characterised by disillusionment, inner turmoil, self-consciousness, restlessness and a sense of a moral dichotomy and conflict. Park (1928) contended that the marginal individual's period of crisis is not transitory, and that in more "sensitive minds" its effects are profound and disturbing.

Similarly, Stonequist (1937) located the origin of marginality in cultural conflicts and adopted the view of the marginal person as divided or poised in psychological uncertainty. He too believed that the marginal person demonstrates a unique personality type. Stonequist (1937) believed that the marginal personality type is a product of the movement and migration of groups which causes an amalgamation of peoples and a fusion of cultures. Stonequist (1937) wrote of the marginal person's fate as one condemned to live in two societies, and in two different and antagonistic cultures. While Stonequist (1937) recognised that a certain degree of maladjustment is inherent in marginal situations, he recognised that this is moderated by situations and/or other individual personality characteristics. Accordingly, these may be responsible for varying extremes of response ranging

from general feelings of malaise, separation and isolation, to a breakdown in one's identity. However, Stonequist (1937) contended that the 'marginal person' theory is concerned more with a social process than with a personality type. Both Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) submitted that the marginal person's mind represents a mirror of changes in, and fusions of, cultures. As such, the marginal person's mind provides a means for studying the processes of civilization and progress (Park, 1928).

Since Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937), there have been numerous criticisms and reformulations of marginality theory. However, in the opinion of Dickie-Clark (1966), it is unlikely that another similarly comprehensive treatment of the subject will be attempted. Notwithstanding this, it was their approach, combining both the personality traits and the social situation components of marginality under the single banner of 'the marginal person', that lead to much confusion among subsequent researchers as to whether being a marginal person described being placed in a marginal position, or having marginal personality traits, or both.

Goldberg (1941) was among the first writers to level criticism against Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937). Goldberg (1941) felt that they had overestimated the universality of the negative psychological impact of marginal situations on personality. He believed that not all individuals who were subject to marginal situations would manifest the detrimental psychological symptoms, ranging from malaise to more severe psychopathologies, described by Park and Stonequist. Goldberg (1941) used the concept 'marginal culture' to explain how some individuals are insulated from the effects of occupying marginal positions. He described marginal cultures as subcultures which provide meaning, continuity and normative order to the lives of individuals who do not fit into the dominant culture, the subordinate culture of one of their ancestors, or other minority cultures in the society. For Goldberg (1941) the marginal person is typified by immigrants who are too old to develop and internalise new definitions of their social situation. Thus, Goldberg (1941) recognised firstly, that people in marginal situations do not necessarily experience any of the dysfunctional consequences usually associated with marginality, and secondly, that these people may unite with other marginal people and form their own groups for self-protection and mutual support.

Developing the marginality concept further, Green (1947) specified a number of requisite conditions for the emergence of the psychological condition of marginality. Summarised by Dickie-Clark (1966) these include:

i) Major cultural and racial differences between the populations involved;
ii) Attempts by the person in the marginal situation to identify with both his/her own group and the dominant group;
iii) Efforts by the individual to move from the marginal group to the dominant population; and
iv) The process of moving is blocked by any number of social barriers.

Antonovsky (1956) included Greens' (1947) preconditions of marginality into his own definition. He describes marginality in terms of social situations characterised by two cultures/sub-cultures which are in lasting contact. One of these cultures is dominant in terms of power and reward potential; namely, the non-marginal culture. The members of this culture are in no way influenced by or attracted to the second, marginal culture. Antonovsky (1956) describes a barrier existing between these groups. Such a barrier should be sufficiently permeable for individuals to internalise the patterns of the dominant culture as well as their own. However, Antonovsky (1956) continues that these patterns are not easily harmonised in their entirety and that they tend to become hardened by discrimination from the one side, and by pressures of betrayal from the other. Yet members of the marginal culture, having acquired the goals of the non-marginal culture, are attracted to them by the promise of greater rewards.

Kerkhoff and McCormick (1955), Antonovsky (1956) and Mann's (1958) research were the first in a number of empirical studies following the conceptual formulations described previously. All three explain the relationship between a marginal situation and the development of marginal personality traits. They all emphasized the necessity to divide the 'marginal personality' construct into its sociological and psychological components; where sociological marginality describes the situation where people find themselves torn between two groups, and where psychological marginality describes the individual's mental response to being placed in such a position. In addition, they recognised that for the individual

in a marginal situation to suffer negative psychological consequences, he/she should perceive it as marginal. Kerkhoff and McCormick (1955) emphasized the psychological aspects of marginality. They isolated and identified four main elements in the study of marginality, namely, marginal status; the individual's attitudes towards his/her own group and towards the non-marginal group; the more or less permeable barrier between the groups; and marginal personality traits which may be the outcome of the interplay of the first three elements (Dickie-Clark, 1966). Kerkhoff and McCormick (1955) viewed the marginal person as "one who uses a non-membership group as a reference group", and consequently "the term 'marginal position' (should be) used to refer to any position in the social structure in which the reference group and membership group and the accompanying psychological phenomena... are likely to occur" (p. 50).

Mann (1958) examined Kerkhoff and McCormick's (1955) four factors of marginality among samples of coloured and white school children in South Africa. Mann (1958) set out to determine whether the attitudes of the coloureds (the marginal group) toward the whites (the non-marginal group), would have any effect on these two group's association. Mann (1958) found that the coloured group were in a marginal situation, because they desired the advantages of membership in the white group yet were denied entrance thereto (Dickie-Clark, 1966). Dickie-Clark (1966) believes that this approach broke from traditional bounds which have restricted marginality to cultural conflicts as it "carries the concept beyond the confines of social interaction" (p. 366).

Recent Marginality Research

In recent literature the marginality concept has come to be used in a far broader range of circumstances than ever before. However, Yogev and Jamshy (1983) challenged the earliest conceptualisations of marginality (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937) concerning the dilemma faced by children of parents of different descent. They examined social marginality among three groups of scholars in Israeli schools: first, children of Ashkenazi parentage (the primary population group in Israel, who are of European descent); second, children of oriental origin; and

third, children with one Ashkenazi parent and one oriental parent. The children's perceptions, attitudes and behaviours were examined in terms of their relationship with three dimensions of social marginality identified by Yogev and Jamshy (1983). Contrary to the expectation that the children of mixed origin would suffer most, children of oriental origin were found to be 'most marginal'. This suggests that the children of mixed origins' greater exposure to contemporary society through one of their parents, minimised their marginal experience. Children of two oriental parents experienced greater marginality because their primary and secondary socialisation differed so greatly. However, the methodology adopted by Yogev and Jamshy (1983) is not entirely clear. They failed to specify how they came to identify the dimensions of social marginality and how these were measured.

Park (1928) and Stonequist's (1937) contention that marginal people have wider interests and experiences, more acute intelligence and hold more detached and rational points of view has been questioned in the literature. For example, Gieryn and Hirsch (1983) inquired whether marginality can explain innovative behaviour in science. They found no evidence to support the hypothesis that marginal scientists' contributions have been exceptional. However, their work has been criticised theoretically and methodologically. Handberg (1984) questioned the validity of the criteria adopted by Gieryn and Hirsch (1983) to identify marginal scientists namely, whether a scientist received funding for his/her research. According to Handberg (1984) funding alone does not explain the ability to be innovative by either 'marginals' or 'centrals'. Rather, he believes that marginal scientists conduct research which is incongruent with that of other scientists and that this disjuncture is responsible for their innovation. Similarly, Simonton (1984) criticised Gieryn and Hirsch (1983) for being far too quick to reject their hypothesis. He believed that they had adopted a less than precise operationalisation of marginality. Thus, Handberg (1984) and Simonton (1984) highlighted the danger of failing to empirically define marginality before trying to measure it.

The contributory function of marginal people was recognised by Weiman (1982) and Collins (1986). Weiman (1982) examined the 'bridging function' assumed by

marginals in the flow of information between groups. He found that while 'centrals' are both active and efficient in disseminating information within groups, 'marginals' are active in doing so between groups. People holding part-membership in more than one group are able to disseminate information among the groups that they belong to. Focusing on an altogether different area, Collins (1986) proposed that marginal people have enhanced abilities to contribute innovative work. Focusing on the contributions of black feminist scholars to the study of sociology, she suggested that having to assimilate perspectives quite different to their own initiates a "creative tension" within female sociologists which provides them with enriched points of view. However, Collins (1986) did not provide empirical evidence to support this.

Lindquist and Hirabayashi (1979) demonstrated how the attitudes and perceptions of individuals play a crucial part in their experience of marginality. In their examination of psychological marginality among a sample of homosexual males, they reported that signs of psychological distress observed among their sample were similar to those found among other minorities. Further, they found that the degree to which this distress is experienced is directly related to the gay male's loyalty to conventional society, and his anticipation and experience of barriers to social acceptance and participation in conventional society. Lindquist and Hirabayashi (1979) corroborated the significance of the marginal person's perception of his/her marginal situation.

Haber (1982) adopted a different perspective for studying marginality. She examined the seating patterns of university students to determine whether marginal people are found in the spatial peripheries of groups. She found that 'dominants', the term she used to describe the status of individuals representative of those in power, seated themselves in the spatial centre of a group while 'marginals' seated themselves more often on the spatial peripheries. Further, third generation marginals were more centrally seated than were first or second generation marginals. This suggests first, that marginal people are personally responsible for resolving their marginality, and second, that this may be a lengthy process.

In Latin America a sociologically founded research theme developed around the marginality concept. Used quite differently here from other operationalisations of

marginality, the term has been used to describe the poor and those living on the fringes of society (Lomnitz, 1977). Stated differently, in Latin American research (Germani, 1980; Lomnitz, 1977; Peattie & Aldrete-Haas, 1981) marginality has been used to describe the position of people who have been pushed to the edge of the economic, social and political order. Marginal people in Latin America are members of those social groups or strata which have the following characteristics: low income levels and no job security; migration, typically from rural to urban areas; employment in unskilled or semi-skilled work; occupations bearing no direct relevance to industrial production; and dependence on social resources, such as kinship and neighbourly relations, for their livelihood (Lomnitz, 1977). Lomnitz (1977) writes that marginalisation may be seen as the result of the concentration of wealth, industrial organisation, and political power within a society. He continues that in capitalistic societies, marginalisation is largely dealt with through welfare, while in socialistic societies it is counteracted by full-employment policies. However, in third world countries national strategies to control marginality are yet to emerge (Lomnitz, 1977).

The Latin American approach advances a broad definition of marginality. Germani (1980) describes marginality as the "lack of participation of individuals and groups in those spheres in which... they might be expected to participate" (p. 49). Such a definition may be used to describe the exclusion of large portions of the population from the political and social machinery. Lomnitz (1977) provides a second broad definition of marginality. Drawing from the work of Adams (1974), Lomnitz (1977) describes marginalisation as a form of social entropy. That is, the organisation of society into increasingly complex social structures is achieved at the cost of marginalising certain sectors or structures of society (Lomnitz, 1977). Lomnitz (1977) views this as the process by which people, in their attempt to control their environment, paradoxically place increasingly greater sectors and elements of society outside their jurisdiction.

Thus, the marginality concept provides social scientists with a useful tool of analysis, able to explain a broad range of both macro and micro situations, and applicable across a broad range of contexts. A number of implications for all future studies of marginality should not go unnoticed. First, there is a definite

danger in choosing an imprecise definition of marginality when attempting to measure it. Second, the individual's attitudes and perceptions about his/her marginal situation will have an impact on his/her experience of it. Third, marginality may have more than one source in a society such as South Africa where concerted efforts have been made to manipulate and direct social movements, and where historically the majority of the people have been denied access to political and social machinery.

Approaches to the Study of Marginality

Having reviewed much of the literature, Cotton (1977) identified three trends or approaches to the study of marginality; namely, The Classical Approach, The Transitional Approach and the approach viewing marginality as a personality construct. The Classical Approach (Gardner & White, 1945; Roethlisberger, 1945; Wray, 1949) comprises a normative approach, which focuses on the dysfunctional consequences of being placed in marginal positions/roles (Cotton, 1977). These include stress, conflict and anxiety. Much of the work discussed thus far falls into this category. In discussing the latter two approaches Cotton (1977) focuses on their applicability in organisations and work settings.

Cotton (1977) describes the Transitional Approach in terms of organisational goal attainment. He writes that "as scholars began to examine the nature and importance of the marginal role in organisations, a greater appreciation of its importance in organisational goal attainment emerged" (p. 134). In formulating this category of organisational marginality, Cotton (1977) identifies a commonality in a long line of research which suggests that certain professions and jobs, such as foremen, organisation development consultants and labour relations officers, are marginal because of the nature of the work they are required to perform (Caplow, 1964; Ditz, 1964; Dubin, 1968; Fillmore, 1974; Gardner & Whyte, 1945; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967). Each of these roles is essential for organisational goal attainment, yet they are objectively marginal. Proponents of this view recognise that the traditionally cited drawbacks of marginality, including stress and anxiety, apply equally here (Cotton, 1977).

The third approach, founded in the work of Ziller and his colleagues (Ziller, 1973; Ziller et al., 1969), views marginality as a personality construct. They suggest that marginality will have positive consequences for individuals and negative or positive consequences for organisations. Breaking from the traditional approaches of marginality, Ziller and his colleagues (Ziller, 1973; Ziller et al., 1969) view marginality as a personality construct which, in a sense, protects incumbents of marginal positions/roles. They believed that open-mindedness, flexibility and low dogmatism are personality traits associated with a marginal person. Accordingly, a person demonstrating marginal personality traits will be more effective in fulfilling a marginal role, than a person who does not have these traits (Liddell, 1973; Ziller, 1973; Ziller, 1969). However, Ziller's (1973) contention that marginality may suggest non-commitment and/or disinterest, is incongruent with those of other writers. While Ziller (1973) contends that the marginal personality type may be best equipped to deal with the effects of marginal roles, he also suggests that these people may not be committed to organisations' goals and may even be disinterested. This implies that proponents of this approach view marginal people as not committed to organisational goal attainment.

Common to the three approaches outlined by Cotton (1977) is the acknowledgment that marginal situations only assume significance when they are perceived as marginal. That is, since marginal situations are only recognisable when individuals suffer as a consequence of them, it is suggested that the fusion of these theories is essential for furthering the theoretical implications of the term (Johnston, 1976). Consequently, recent writers (Buonno & Kamm, 1983; Human, 1981; 1984; 1986; Johnston, 1976; Piron et al., 1983) recognise that psychological marginality has its roots in sociologically marginal situations, and that socially marginal situations only assume significance when people suffer psychologically as a direct result of being placed in them. This is particularly true of marginality research conducted in organisational settings.

Marginality and Industrial Psychology

The 'marginality' concept provides industrial psychology with a valuable tool of

analysis (Buonno & Kamm, 1983) which encompasses not only the focal person, but also his/her peers and reference groups as units of analysis (Buonno & Kamm, 1983). That is, it provides academics and practitioners alike, with the opportunity to utilise a balanced strategy in confronting complex situations of the kind found in modern organisations. However, in recent years psychological marginality has received little attention among researchers in industrial/organisational psychology. Researchers have chosen rather to examine the role stressor outcomes associated with occupying marginal positions.

As can been seen in the work of Bernath (1978), the marginality concept is closely related to the concepts of role conflict and role ambiguity, an understanding of which is useful in our understanding of the types of situations to which marginal people are exposed (Human, 1981). Their link with marginality is founded in two suggestions. First, marginal people are subject to high levels of role conflict and role ambiguity (Human, 1981; Wella, 1983). Second, the psychological condition associated with role stressors is very similar to the psychological state of marginality; both situations exhibiting strong relationships with dissatisfaction, tension, anxiety and stress, among other personal and organisational consequences (Human, 1981; Piron et al., 1983). Therefore, role theory research provides an insight into the types of situations confronting marginals.

Role Conflict

According to role theory, "when the behaviours expected of an individual are inconsistent he will experience stress, become dissatisfied, and perform less effectively than if the expectations imposed on him did not conflict" (Rizzo, House & Lirtzman, 1970, p. 151). Role conflict exists when individuals performing work roles are torn by conflicting demands or by doing things against their wishes or which they do not regard as part of their work specifications (Cooper & Marshall, 1976). The most frequent manifestation of this is when a person is caught between two groups of people who demand different kinds of behaviour or who have different expectations of what the job should entail. Role conflict has been defined as "the dimensions of congruency-incongruency or compatibility-

incompatibility in the requirements of the role, where congruency or compatibility is judged relative to a set of standards or conditions which impinge upon role performance" (Rizzo et al., 1970, p. 155). In an alternative approach, Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek and Rosenthal (1964) utilised the concepts of person-role conflict, inter-role conflict, intersender conflict and intrasender conflict, to explain the role conflict phenomenon.

Research findings to date have shown that the experience of role conflict has negative consequences for organisational performance and that this relationship is mitigated by personality factors. Kahn et al. (1964) found that people suffering from role conflict experienced lower job satisfaction and higher job-related tension. Their findings also suggested that the greater the power or authority of the role-senders who convey the conflicting role messages, the greater the job dissatisfaction resulting from the role conflict. French and Caplan (1970) illustrated that role conflict was also related to physiological strain. This relationship was supported by the findings of Shirom et al. (1973) who found that this was particularly significant among white-collar as opposed to blue-collar workers. French and Caplan (1973) identified functional dependence as an important factor in the role conflict experience; that is, when a focal person experiences role conflict, the fact that he/she has other people who are dependent on him/her makes it more difficult for him/her to resolve the role conflict. Further, they found that role conflict produced greater job-related tension among introverts than among extroverts, and that flexible people showed greater job-related tension than do rigid individuals.

Role Ambiguity

The term 'role ambiguity' refers to the state in which a person has inadequate information to perform his/her role (French & Caplan, 1973; Frost, 1983; Kahn et al., 1964). Cooper and Marshall (1976) view a lack of clarity about work objectives associated with one's role, colleagues' expectations of one's work role and about the scope and responsibilities of one's job, as the root of role ambiguity. The result of this is that people are unable to make their best contribution to an organisation, partly because the channels for utilisation are unclear and ambiguous (French & Caplan, 1973).

The research findings are similar to those of role conflict whereby role ambiguity has a negative relationship with the work performance of the individual and that this is influenced by personality variables. Kahn et al. (1964) found that people who reported role ambiguity experienced lower job satisfaction, high job-related tension, greater futility, and lower self-confidence. Similarly, French and Caplan (1973) found that role ambiguity was related significantly to low job satisfaction and to feelings of job-related threats to one's mental and physical well-being. Further, Margolis et al. (1974) identified a number of significant relationships between symptoms or indicators of physical and mental ill-health and role ambiguity. Stress indicators related to role ambiguity included a depressed mood, lowered self esteem, life dissatisfaction, low motivation to work, and the intention to leave the job. Schuler (1975) identified employee ability as a variable affecting role ambiguity; i.e. the higher the individual's ability, the less likely that the person will experience role ambiguity. Finally, Beehr's (1976) findings suggest that role ambiguity will be less severely felt or experienced under certain conditions. Beehr (1976) identified autonomy in the work situation as the most consistent moderator of the relationship between role ambiguity and role strain. Further, he recognised that when superiors are supportive, role strains are less severe, and that peers, especially those in similar roles, may be the most beneficial source of psychological support (Beehr, 1976).

It is clear that role ambiguity and, more particularly, role conflict are conceptually similar to the marginality concept. However while role theorists adhere to a broad

definition, marginality theorists offer a more precise focus with definite connotations. Marginality defines the specific situation in which an individual who has membership in more than one group, the norms of which are fundamentally opposed to each other, finds it difficult to be regarded, or to regard him/herself, as a fully-fledged member of either group (Newcomb, Turner & Converse, 1967). In role theory the source of conflict usually lies in perceptions of the inconsistent expectations of others (Rizzo et al., 1970), while in marginality the individual perceives being torn between two groups in which he/she has membership (Newcomb et al., 1967). The person is unable to relinquish membership of either group, either because he/she does not wish to, or because circumstances make it impossible for him/her to do so (Newcomb et al., 1967). Consequently, significant others may project conflicting expectations onto the marginal person which are dissimilar from those referred to in role theory. A further characteristic of marginality is that "one of the groups is higher than the other in the hierarchy of privilege, power, and prestige, (and) the marginal person is often thought of by one group as disloyal because he is trying to escape, and by the other as trying to intrude where he does not belong" (Newcombe et al., 1967, p. 405). Finally, while the marginal person may be a participant in diverse social worlds, he/she does not necessarily fully identify with either (Forsyth, Bankston & Jones, 1984).

Occupational Marginality

In work-related literature, marginality has traditionally been used to discuss problems experienced by people whose occupations are considered marginal. Occupations which have been said to be marginal include sales personnel (Ditz, 1964), purchasing agents (Dubin, 1968), labour-relations officers (Goldner, 1969), organisational development consultants (Fillmore, 1974), management integrators (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967), social workers (Enoch, 1989), merchant seamen (Forsyth et al., 1984), chiropractors (Wardwell, 1952; 1955; 1978, 1980), and foremen or supervisors (Child & Partridge, 1982; Fletcher, 1969). The common factor in each of these studies is that their writers consider the incumbents of these jobs to be marginal by virtue of their occupancy of jobs which are regarded as

marginal. Professions such as chiropractors and social workers are viewed as semi-professions (Etzioni, 1969) because of the uncertain professional status associated with them (Enoch, 1989). Others, such as that of the merchant seaman (Forsyth et al., 1984), are considered marginal because the nature of the occupation prevents incumbents from ongoing participation in society, while not being able to build lasting relationships at work.

A further occupational marginality research theme focuses on the marginality of women in full-time employment. Githens and Prestage (1977; 1978) and Buonno Kamm (1983) recognised the potential for women in full-time employment to be marginal, while Scott (1986) addressed the thesis that women have been progressively marginalised from production in the capitalist industrialisation process. Githens and Prestage (1977; 1978) examined the marginality faced by female state legislators in the United States. They felt that when a woman enters electoral politics she becomes marginal by virtue of her membership of two distinct groups, namely, politicians and women. They feel that both categories represent different ways of life, with each providing an identity and strong social ties. They continued that when a woman runs for office she rejects some of the values and norms held by other women. Further, the political group with whom she wishes to affiliate is often reluctant to accept her. Consequently, she becomes isolated from both groups (Githens & Prestage, 1978). Githens and Prestage (1978) set out to measure the extent to which women state legislators were, in reality, marginal. They found women state legislators to be objectively or sociologically marginal, that is, they are placed on the fringes of two worlds. Further, they found that high levels of self motivation, family attitudes regarding their involvement in politics, and their experience of conflicting demands, impacted on their psychological marginality. Furthermore, Buonno and Kamm (1983) used marginality theory to explain why women have difficulty in gaining access to executive positions in organisations. Relating the position of the female manager to the traditional marginality scenario of entering a new culture, they write that women experience strain when they encounter uncertain acceptance by men in business. In addition, they write of the pressures facing 'career mothers' and wives and emphasize the arduous position facing a person who has to divide his/her loyalties and aspirations. However, this thesis was not tested empirically.

Miles (1980) examined a different but related concept, namely that of organisational boundary roles. According to Miles (1980), organisational boundary roles are roles occupied by people whose organisational positions link two or more organisational systems, the goals and expectations of which usually are, at least in part, conflicting. According to Miles (1980), evidence would suggest that the "boundary relevance" of an organisational role is positively related to the magnitude of role conflict experienced by its incumbents. While Miles (1980) chooses to classify this discussion under the role theory banner, similarities with occupational marginality should not go unnoticed.

Finally, as was previously described, the marginality inherent in the supervisory role has received particular attention in organisational research. The marginality experienced by black supervisors in South African organisations will now be discussed.

Marginality and the Black Supervisor

The position occupied by black supervisors operating in South African organisations has been described as the epitome of marginal positions and/or roles (Human, 1984; Piron et al., 1983) because black supervisors in South African industry occupy a dual-marginal position. Because of the historical transformation of the supervisory role, the industrial supervisor has had his/her managerial powers usurped, resulting in controversy surrounding the status of this organisational role. In addition, the dichotomous nature of South African society, founded in divisions along racial lines, serves to exacerbate the marginality of black supervisors, operating as they do at an essentially white management - black worker interface. These two marginality sources are discussed separately.

(i) The Historical Transformation of the Supervisory Role

This first argument is based on the thesis that increased psychological marginality experienced by modern supervisors, is a consequence of the historical transformation of the supervisory role (Child & Partridge, 1982). The role performed by modern supervisors is seen as very different from the role enjoyed by their equivalents a century ago (Bowey, 1973; Child & Partridge, 1982; Steinmetz & Todd, 1975). Child and Partridge (1982) write that in 19th Century Britain the supervisor was regarded as 'the person in charge'. His/her powers included hiring and firing, docking of pay, and even the use of physical force. Workshop management considered it appropriate for the supervisor to have complete authority in the workplace, without undue employer influence. During the late 19th Century, new industries and new production methods resulted in significant changes to the supervisory role. The growth in scale and complexity of major British firms encouraged employers to establish functional departments to support the greater burden of administration that resulted. Educated technical and administrative specialists were recruited, and much of the work activity previously regarded as a supervisory function was reallocated to the specialists. This marked the beginning of the decline in supervisory authority and related managerial functions.

By the 1940's, near full employment in both Britain and the United States enhanced the collective power of the workforce. Workers no longer depended upon the supervisor for retaining their employment, nor did they attach their loyalty primarily to him/her. The supervisor's ability to enforce authority became uncertain, and his/her position of leadership over his/her subordinates was being challenged by his/her subordinates' own chosen and union accredited representatives. By the late 1940's it was recognised that changes in the supervisory position had created a 'supervisory problem' (Child & Partridge, 1982). Having conducted two case studies examining the position of factory foremen, Wray (1949) recognised that the supervisor's position was undergoing change and that this highlighted his/her marginality. He wrote that with the growth of

managerial specialisation and the increasing pressures of trade unions, supervisors were subject to two sets of demands - while having to satisfy both management and the workforce they were undoubtedly the marginal people of industry.

As a result of such changes, the role of the supervisor had become increasingly stressful and yet the supervisor's capacity to achieve what management expected of him/her had diminished (Wray, 1949). The continued centralisation of organisational functions and the practice of shop stewards by-passing supervisors meant that supervisors no longer occupied positions of special importance in the managerial system. Supervisors had become mere transmitters of orders based on managerial decisions, rather than active participants in the decision making process. However, they were still held accountable as managers.

Child and Partridge (1982) continue that a second historical development, that is, technological development, has resulted in further changes to the supervisory role, serving to increase the marginality faced by incumbents of this position. 'Old style' supervisors embodied an intimate understanding of production and its technological requirements. 19th Century workplace technology was relatively rudimentary, and one needed skill plus experience to operate. Because of their having risen from the ranks usually after a number of years operating on the shopfloor, supervisors were completely knowledgeable of the operational processes. However, 20th Century supervisors who often are not involved actively on the shopfloor, or who prior to becoming supervisors performed specialised tasks on the shopfloor, may fall behind the rapidly changing technology. Steinmetz and Todd (1975) write that in todays world, rapidly changing values, increasing demands and the complexity of work has led to supervisors requiring greater knowledge and more skills than ever before in history.

While supervisors have had their powers and responsibilities shifted to experts, management often do not recognise that supervisors still have to

deal with the application of specialist activities on the shopfloor. Faulkner (1976) writes that the supervisor's role is often ill-defined and vague with respect to authority and responsibility. However, supervisors may have the task of having to rectify deficiencies in management's formal organisation, for example, poor co-ordination between those performing specialists functions. Therefore, there is a danger of incongruence between the limited formal recognition afforded to supervisors and the stressful informal requirements of performing the supervisory role (Child & Partridge, 1982). In reality, supervisors may have to compensate for shortcomings in formal procedures and systems, co-ordinating different specialist interventions and services at the point of operational application, and dealing with contingencies, so as to keep crises away from management (Child & Partridge, 1982).

The marginal position of the modern supervisor was most aptly described by Fletcher (1969) who wrote that the strains experienced by supervisors are exacerbated by the continued reduction of their power and status. The industrial supervisor has been "robbed" of the capacity to withstand the strain of the position (Fletcher, 1969). While the person of mixed racial heritage has been the prime candidate to test the hypothesis regarding marginality (Gist & Dworkin 1972), in organisational settings the supervisor provides researchers with an equally prime opportunity. The industrial supervisor faces organisational life from an interface, part member in two groups, yet a fully fledged member of neither. In essence, it is at the supervisory level where two different work philosophies, namely those of management and of the workforce, come into contact (Sartain & Baker, 1972).

(ii) The Extra-organisational Marginality of Black Supervisors

Amidst recent political changes in South Africa, black supervisors continue to perform within a society marred by the legacies of Apartheid. Consequently, the inequalities they have always confronted continue (Human, 1981; 1984; 1986; Piron et al., 1983). Human (1981)

demonstrated the validity of describing higher status black employees as marginal. She aimed to establish whether the pre-conditions of psychological marginality as described by Johnston (1976) were functional in the positions of higher status black employees. According to Johnston (1976) psychological marginality is a phenomenon typical of some members of ethnic groups that is generated by the following scenario;

> "1) ' .'e in a bi-cultural milieu arranged in a two-tier hierarchy, in which the ethnic culture is evaluated as inferior; where
> 2) the ethnic group members have achieved a certain level of assimilation; where
> 3) the assimilated individuals are rejected by the members of the host group; and where
> 4) there is uncertainty amongst the ethnic group members as to the choice between the ethnic and the dominant culture, even if membership of groups in both cultures is open."
>
> (Johnston, 1976, p. 146)

1) "Life in a bi-cultural milieu...."

South Africa is a dichotomous society. Racial segregation permeates all facets of society, including organisational life. Political, social, cultural and economic distinctions between the lives of black South Africans and those of white South Africans are easily made. In spite of the fact that, numerically, black South Africans constitute the majority population group, in essence they are a minority group in South African society (Hadebe, 1986; 1987; Human, 1981). Human (1981) writes that blacks in South Africa truly are the minority group because of the existence of a corresponding (white) group, with higher status and greater privileges, and because minority status enunciates exclusion from full participation in the life of the dominant society. Similarly, Hadebe (1986; 1987) writes of 'majority status' defined in terms of an affiliation to the group that holds

political power within a community; while 'minority status' describes the wish to hold membership in the dominant group (Moritsuguy & Sue, 1983; in Hadebe, 1987). Hadebe (1986; 1987) adds that minority group members tend to be the target of hostility (Kitano, 1980; King, 1981; Schiller, 1982); prejudice (Dion, Earn & Yee, 1978; Harrell, 1979; Pettigrew, 1971); and racial discrimination (Aoki, 1981; Chansew, 1980; Collier, 1977; Raymond, Rhoads & Raymond, 1980; Sue, Mickinney, Allen & Hall, 1974).

In South African organisations, black supervisors operate between a 'two-tier' hierarchy, founded in divisions on the basis of colour/race. Historically, a black workforce is managed by a white management. In this situation, black supervisors have minority status in that they are among a few select higher-status black employees. In applying marginality theory to South African society, Watts (1985) writes that it is evident that the white group is ranked above the non-whites in the societal hierarchy of privilege, power and status. Although blacks in South Africa are numerically in the majority, they nevertheless hold minority social and political status.

2) "The members of the ethnic group have achieved a certain degree of assimilation"

In tracing historical changes in South African labour and other legislation, Human (1981) claims that even though black South Africans still remain excluded from participating in many white spheres of life, economically they have achieved a level of assimilation more advanced than at any other point in their history. Whether out of economic necessity, or for social reasons such as affirmative action, blacks in South Africa have undoubtedly begun to ascend the organisational hierarchy. Consequently, their close proximity to their white colleagues has facilitated a greater opportunity for their interac on and possibly a degree of assimilation.

3) "The assimilated individuals are rejected by members of the host group"

While significant changes have been made recently in South African society, the legacy of Apartheid remains in the social, political and educational spheres. While higher-status black employees may interact on an equal basis with their white colleagues at work, outside of work there is no parity between them (Human, 1981). Many white supervisors/managers feel threatened by black advancement. Further, prejudices and stereotyping of black people by white South Africans permeates the workplace. Consequently, research has indicated that black supervisors perceive not being wanted in 'the white world' (Hofmeyer, 1982; Human & Pringle, 1987).

4) "There is uncertainty amongst the ethnic group members..."

Human (1981) proposes that higher-status black employees in South Africa may be uncertain as to their choice between their own culture and the white culture. She wrote that even if complete membership was open to them, most would not reject their own identity and become like white South Africans. However, for blacks to ascend the organisational hierarchy, it is assumed that they should identify with 'white work practices', that is with a western management system which may conflict with community practices.

It can further be said that, in addition to occupying a marginal role at work, black supervisors are culturally, socially and politically marginal. Cultural marginality exists when people interacting with the dominant group of a society do not share the "complex whole", which includes knowledge, beliefs, morals, customs, etc; and any other capabilities and habits acquired of the dominant society (Gist & Dworkin, 1972). This is distinguishable from 'marginal cultures', discussed previously, which describe the insulating effects of marginal people banding together to form their own groups. As stated previously, the black employee may be enjoying his/her greatest organisational advances to date, however, his/her proximity to white colleagues has only served to increase his/her psychological

distress (Beaty & Harari, 1987). Further, the 'privileged' status that they receive within their employing organisations does not extend beyond organisational boundaries.

Social marginality describes the discriminatory treatment of a group of people by members of a dominant group (Gist & Dworkin, 1972). This applies solely to inter-personal relations, involving rejection from occupational, friendship and marital groups. Enforcement of this is usually supported by informal rather than formal sanctions against violators. Social marginality is characterised by displays of prejudice, discrimination, hostility, avoidance and/or indifference (Gist & Dworkin, 1972). Political marginality is the formalisation of social marginality by way of legislation (Gist & Dworkin, 1972). This may involve restrictions of suffrage, the right to hold public office, and the right to equal representation and judgement under law (Gist & Dworkin, 1972). In South Africa the black population is subject to both formal and informal sanctions and prejudices. While a number of discriminatory laws have recently been repealed, many that have been removed (e.g. The Mixed Marriages Act) continue to be enforced by social sanctions.

Considering that many blacks view social, political and economic grievances as inseparable (DeBeer, 1983) and that many find it impossible to separate their lives on the inside of the organisation from those on the outside (Beaty & Harari, 1987), it can be suggested that black employees' marginality outside of the organisation may be carried with them when they go to work. Thus, the marginality experienced by black employees operating in supervisory roles is exacerbated by extra-organisational marginality impinging on their worklife.

The marginality of black employees in higher status organisational positions is accurately summarised by Watts (1985) who writes that in her research, which examined black managers and their work colleagues, "black managers were 'cultural hybrids' living in a no-man's land between the white controlled middle class managerial world and the black working class in their company and in the black townships" (p.435). Both served as reference groups for them, however they experienced difficulty relating consistently to either group, and were not fully

trusted by either group. The severity of their situation was compounded by frustrations generated by a status inconsistency with their racial/ethnic ranks being lower than their occupational ranks. She concluded that "In essence the black manager's marginal situation at the black - white interface highlighted a fundamental race-cum-class conflict between whites and blacks in South Africa" (Watts, 1985, p.436).

Marginality and Dual-Commitment

Black South Africans in a white/westernised society may well be considered marginal. For black supervisors the marginality inherent in the supervisory position, will be compounded by the broader marginality that they experience. Resultant outcomes of occupancy of this position will most certainly include psychological distress (Piron et al., 1983). Membership of two groups may also have the effect of creating a dual-commitment situation for black supervisors whereby their organisational aspirations, in terms of promotion, may be in direct contradiction with their broader societal goals. As so-called members of management they are required to be committed to the goals established by higher management. However, while they are not necessarily union members, they still may be committed to extra-organisational goals of trade unions. This has greater significance when considering that trade unions have traditionally represented their social and political aspirations (Biesheuvel, 1987).

Pressures and ambiguities of this kind may be exacerbated when supervisors are required to reverse roles from being one of the supervised workers to that of the supervisor. The supervisor's whole work perspective must change to accommodate the new position he/she occupies. Operating in what is traditionally regarded as a managerial role, supervisors are required to ally themselves with managerial policies and goals. However, considering their 'roots', it is possible that they may remain committed to the goals of their former colleagues and the unions that represent them. That is, supervisors may experience 'held over' commitment, attitudinally allying themselves with the workforce. These may be in direct contradiction with the policies that he/she is expected to represent. Second,

the supervisor's former colleagues often view his/her promotion as a move from 'one of us' to 'one of them' (Ncube, 1986). Having previously shared work grievances with his/her fellow workers, the supervisor is now the target at which his/her subordinates direct their grievances.

Thus, it can be said that black supervisors are marginal and that they may hold dual allegiances. Before this relationship can be explored the dual-commitment phenomenon needs to be investigated.

CHAPTER 3

DUAL-COMMITMENT

In organisational psychology, the concept of 'dual-commitment' refers to an individual worker's positive attachment to both his/her employing organisation and the trade union of which he/she is a member (Magenau, Martin & Peterson, 1988). In contrast, unilateral commitment describes a positive attachment to one of the aforementioned organisations but not both. Dual-commitment researchers primarily address the question of whether unionised employees can develop simultaneous commitments to the trade unions to which they belong and to their employing organisations, or whether such dual-membership predicaments can affect an inherent conflict of allegiance (Angle & Perry, 1984).

During the 1950's and 1960's, the concern that the accelerated growth of the American trade union movement might compete with employees' commitment to their employing organisations, stimulated much research on dual-allegiance/commitment (Gallagher, 1984). Writers were divided at the time as to whether having dual allegiance was possible. Dean (1954) and Purcell (1960), who each measured dual-commitment by separately measuring workers' commitment to their trade unions and their employing organisations and then combined these to show dual-commitment, found that workers were able to show allegiance to both bodies. However, other researchers (Borkin, 1950; England, 1960; Kornhauser, Sheppard & Mayer, 1956) argued against workers' ability to display simultaneous loyalties to both parties.

Post 1960, the issue of dual-allegiance remained unresolved, and it was only approximately two decades later that this concept was rejuvenated (Angle & Perry, 1986). During the intervening period, research developed around the concept of organisational commitment, a concept inherent to dual-commitment, and one which is central to any discussion on dual-commitment.

Organisational Commitment

In recent years researchers have paid considerable attention to the concept of organisational commitment, in particular to the antecedents, consequences and correlates of workers' commitment to their employing organisations (Allen & Meyer, 1984; Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982). Interest in organisational commitment has been demonstrated in numerous attempts to define and operationalise the concept (Alutto, Hrebiniak & Alonso, 1973; Becker, 1960; Kanter, 1968; Morrow, 1983; Porter, Steers, Mowday & Boulian, 1974), and in empirical efforts to determine the primary antecedents and outcomes of organisational commitment (Bateman & Strasser, 1984; Bruning & Snyder, 1983; Buchanan, 1974; DeCottis & Summers, 1987; Hrebiniak & Alutto, 1974; Luthans, Baack & Taylor, 1987; Mowday, Porter & Dubin, 1974; Porter et al., 1974; Steers, 1977; Williams & Hazer, 1986).

Mowday et al (1982) outlined three possible explanations as to why organisational commitment has received so much attention among managers and behavioural scientists alike. First, the theory underlying commitment indicates that worker commitment to their employing organisations should be a fairly reliable predictor of certain behaviours, especially turnover. That is, committed employees are more likely to remain with the organisation and to work toward organisational goal attainment. Second, the concept of 'organisational commitment' appeals intuitively to both managers and behavioural scientists. Consequently, from the earliest studies interest was focused on enhancing employee commitment because it was viewed as a desirable attitude that translates into positive employee behaviour. Third, Mowday et al. (1982) suggest that enhancing our understanding of commitment may assist psychologists in understanding the nature of more general psychological processes by which individuals choose to identify with objects in their environment. "It helps us to some degree to explain how people find purpose in life" (Mowday et al., 1982, p.19). Bateman and Strasser (1984) add that interest in studying organisational commitment is motivated by the fact that it has been shown to relate to a broad range of variables (described later), which in turn have been related to organisational goal attainment.

Notwithstanding the desirable effects of organisational commitment, little consensus has been reached among organisational/industrial researchers as to what commitment actually means. In the literature writers have employed a wide range of commitment definitions. Commitment has been described in terms of an attachment to and identification with an organisation (Buchanan, 1974; Ferris & Aranya, 1983); the willingness of social actors to give their energy and loyalty to a social system (Kanter, 1968); and as the binding of an individual to behavioural acts (Salancik, 1977); among numerous other definitions. However, after having examined ten distinct definitions of organisational commitment, Steers and Porter (1983) concluded that two main categories of commitment definitions can be identified; namely, attitudinal and behavioural definitions.

Researchers favouring behavioural commitment definitions (Allutto et al., 1973; Becker, 1960; Salancik, 1977; Staw, 1977) view commitment as a category of behaviour. According to these definitions, an individual is said to be committed when he/she is bound by past activities or 'sunken costs' in his/her employing organisation which are difficult, if not impossible, to retrieve. That is, commitment is viewed as an attachment, borne out of an individual's actions and corresponding beliefs, that sustains organisational activities and his/her own organisational involvement (DeCoitis & Summers, 1987). As such, commitment is viewed as the outcome of various behavioural investments made by organisational members which bind them to their employing organisation (Fullagar, 1986a). The behavioural paradigm distinguishes committed behaviour from other behaviour because of it's extraordinary level, which is beyond normal organisational expectations (DeCoitis & Summers, 1987). Becker's (1960) 'side-bet' theory best illustrates the behavioural approach. According to Becker (1960) people invest or place 'side-bets' in their employing organisations. Investments are the result of passing through organisational structures. The more 'side-bets' invested, the greater the commitment the individual will feel towards the organisation. Becker's (1960) rationale was that as a person's investments or 'side-bets' increase over time, the relative attractiveness of other organisations tends to decline. Fullagar (1986a) writes that the behavioural approach views organisational commitment "in terms of the perceived utility of participation, so that strong commitment is reflected in an unwillingness to change organisations

for moderate personal advantage" (p. 29). Becker's (1960) work led Allutto et al (1973) to write that individual-organisational transactions and the accrual of 'side-bets' are crucial to the understanding of commitment. Thus, according to proponents of behavioural definitions of commitment, committed behaviours determine subsequent attitudes, a proposal not shared by their attitudinally-based counterparts.

In contrast to the behavioural approach, a major body of current organisational commitment research (Angle & Perry, 1981; Bateman & Strasser, 1984; Mowday et al., 1979) views commitment as a multidimensional concept involving an employee's loyalty to an organisation, the degree of goal and valence congruency shared with the organisation, and a desire to maintain membership in the organisation (Mowday et al., 1982; Porter, Crampton & Smith, 1976; Porter et al., 1974; Steers & Porter, 1983). Proponents of this view define commitment as an attitude. Commitment is viewed as an attachment to one's employing organisation, borne out of the individual's identification with the organisation and its goals, and his/her wish to remain in the organisation in order to achieve these goals (Mowday et al., 1979). This approach constitutes more than a passive loyalty to an organisation (Steers & Porter, 1983). Rather, an active relationship with the organisation is implied, such that individual's are willing to give of themselves in order to contribute to the organisation's well-being. That is, behaviours demonstrating commitment are the outcome of attitudes.

In a similar categorisation of commitment definitions Allen and Meyer (1984) write that three primary definitions of commitment are identifiable; namely, affective commitment, continuance commitment and normative commitment. Affective commitment refers to the individual's emotional attachment to, involvement and identification with the organisation. This definition is conceptually similar to the definition adopted by Porter and his colleagues (Mowday et al., 1974; 1982; Porter et al., 1974; Porter et al., 1976; Steers & Porter, 1983). According to this definition, people remain with the organisation because they want to. Continuance commitment arises from employees' perceptions that they have made considerable investments in an organisation and that few alternatives are available to them. This approach is similar in concept to

the behavioural definitions of commitment (e.g. Becker, 1960; Hrebiniak & Allutto, 1972). Employees with a strong continuance commitment remain in organisations because they feel that they have to. Finally, normative commitment refers to feelings of obligation and interest in 'doing the right thing'. Accordingly, employees remain in organisations because they feel that they ought to do so. Allen and Meyer (1984) suggest that, when viewed together, the afore-outlined commitment definitions describe an employee's "commitment profile".

Therefore, commitment has been taken to mean both a behavioural and an attitudinal construct. Proponents of behavioural definitions view committed behaviours as determinants of subsequent attitudes, while proponents of attitudinal definitions believe the opposite relationship is true. However, most recent researchers have adopted the behavioural definition (Fullagar & Barling, 1987). Further, a growing body of research suggests that organisational commitment has utility as a predictor of important behavioural outcomes such as performance, absenteeism and turnover (DeCotis & Summers, 1987; Morris & Sherman, 1981).

Organisational commitment has consistently been shown to be related to a broad range of variables (Bateman & Strasser, 1984). These include:

i) Employee behaviours such as turnover, absenteeism, job search activities and, to a lesser extent, performance effectiveness (Angle & Perry, 1981; Morris & Sherman, 1981; Porter et al., 1974; Steers, 1977);

ii) Attitudinal constructs (affective and cognitive) such as job satisfaction, job involvement and job tension (Bateman & Strasser, 1984; Hall & Schneider, 1972; Hrebiniak & Allutto, 1972; Porter et al., 1974);

iii) Characteristics of the employee's job and role, including autonomy (Koch & Steers, 1978), job variety and task identity (Steers, 1977), and role conflict and role ambiguity (Morris & Sherman, 1981); and

iv) Personal characteristics of employees, including age, sex, need for achievement and job tenure (Angle & Perry, 1986; Hall & Schneider,

1972; Hrebiniak & Allutto, 1972; Steers, 1977).

Thus, commitment is a central component of organisational life (DeCotis & Summers, 1987). Organisational theorists agree that organisational effectiveness is a multidimensional concept and that determinants of organisational effectiveness vary (Angle & Perry, 1981; Steers, 1977). While theorists hold that structural factors of an organisation should fit environmental and technological demands, organisational design alone will not ensure organisational effectiveness. That is, even when all other organisational requirements have been satisfied, it is essential that organisational members behave in a manner supportive of organisational goals (Angle & Perry, 1981), where behaviour describes a person's intention not only to remain in the organisation, but also to be motivated toward dependable and spontaneous behaviour (Katz & Kahn, 1978).

Union Commitment

While literature on organisational commitment abounds, research investigating trade union commitment is far less developed (Fukami & Larson, 1984). Industrial researchers have only recently begun to explore the nature of organised labour (Bluen & Fullagar, 1986; Bluen & Barling, 1987). Fullagar and Barling (1987) outline the premise for studying union commitment. They write that democracy, defined in terms of rank and file participation, is a primary union objective. Trade unions must not only maintain a structure that is accessible to control by all members, but in addition must maintain a level of commitment that facilitates participation (Fullagar & Barling, 1987). They conclude that commitment is a crucial facet of organised labour because it may be instrumental in the effectiveness and success of union action.

The concept of union commitment has as much relevance to the study of dual-commitment as does the concept of organisational commitment. Thus far in the present research, it has been assumed that organisational commitment refers to the individual worker's attachment to his/her employing organisation. Yet, by its very nature, a union is as much an organisation as any commercial organisation/

company. According to Schein (1980) an organisation is '...the planned coordination of the activities of a number of people for the achievement of some common, explicit purpose or goal, through division of labour and function, and through a hierarchy of authority and responsibility" (p. 15). By definition, each of the aforementioned organisational constructs will be applicable to both commercially-based and labour organisations. Similarly, Fullagar (1986a) writes that the similarity between commercial and labour organisations may imply that the organisational commitment concept is generalisable across organisational types. This suggests that when examining union commitment one might expect to find many similarities to organisational commitment. However, Fullagar and Barling (1987) contend that although trade unions have much in common with commercial organisations, they retain unique properties, and consequently the extent to which their goals differ from those of their commercial counterparts will most likely affect the nature of membership commitment.

Gordon, Philpot, Burt, Thomson and Spiller (1980) were responsible for initiating union commitment research in the 1980's. Gordon et al.'s (1980) attempt to construct a measure of trade union commitment constituted the first systematic attempt to analyse union commitment (Fullagar & Barling, 1987). Drawing on more general research on organisational commitment, Gordon et al. (1980) adopted a measure of union commitment which reflects many of the components identified in organisational commitment definitions. Gordon et al.'s (1980) research was followed by three separately conducted studies which attempted to establish the concurrent and construct validity of their union commitment measure (Fullagar, 1986; Gordon, Beauvais & Ladd, 1982; Ladd, Gordon, Beauvais & Morgan, 1982). The results generated by these studies suggest that union commitment is the compound of four major constructs. These are:

1) an attitude of loyalty to the union;
2) a feeling of responsibility to the union;
3) a willingness to exert strong effort on behalf of the union; and
4) a belief in the goals of unionism.

In Gordon et al.'s (1980) research, the trade union's ability to provide benefits for

its members emerged as th single most important basis for commitment. Further, they found that union commitment is a pervasive attitude, widely distributed throughout the rank and file, regardless of job grade, tenure, race, marital status and number of children. Finally, the four union commitment constructs have been shown to be generalisable across a range of samples of workers (Fullagar & Barling, 1987). Ladd et al. (1982) and Gordon et al. (1984) demonstrated the stability and generalisability of the constructs among samples of engineers, technicians and non-professional workers holding membership in white collar unions. In addition, Fullagar (1986) demonstrated the stability and generalisability of the constructs in research conducted among a sample of blue-collar workers of differing occupational status in South Africa.

Thus, trade union commitment is as important a concept as organisational commitment. That is, for an organisation to be effective, whether it is commercial or labour based, it is essential that its members feel committed to it. However, whether an individual is able to maintain high levels of commitment to both groupings as a member of both poses an entirely different and significant research proposal.

Dual-Commitment Research

In recent years there has been a marked resurgence of research on union commitment , and its relationship with commitment to employing organisations (Angle & Perry, 1984; 1986; Fukami & Larson, 1982; 1984; Magenau, Martin & Peterson, 1988). Most of these studies support the thesis that union members generally tend to be loyal to their unions, and have challenged the accuracy of the thesis that unionised employees hold dual-loyalties. Magenau et al. (1988) write that three primary explanations have been submitted to explain the conditions under which, and reasons why, workers experience dual- versus unilateral-commitment.

1) According to Stagner (1956) and Stagner and Rosen (1965) unilateral commitment occurs when people are more deeply involved with one

particular side than the other. However, they add that dual-commitment is possible under favourable circumstances, such as positive union-management relations and high job satisfaction, especially if these conditions are attributable to both parties.

2) Angle and Perry (1986) suggest that it is difficult to feel simultaneous commitment to two organisations when they are in conflict with one another. Consequently, they suggest that dual-commitment is possible when relations between management and trade unions are positive, but intense conflict has the effect of forcing members to choose one party over the other.

3) Magenau et al. (1988) offer a third interpretation. They base their interpretation on Mowday et al.'s (1982) explanation of commitment according to exchange theory. The rationale for this approach is that if an organisation provides a vehicle for an individual to satisfy his/her needs and to utilise his/her abilities, the person will locate his/her commitment with that organisation. Where organisations fail to facilitate these, commitment will be low. Therefore, dual-commitment will be related to a combination of variables that reflect a perception of satisfying exchange relationships with both unions and employing organisations. Unilateral commitment occurs where either the union or the employing organisation accommodates a perception of a satisfying exchange relationship.

Alienation

Psychology's interest in alienation is relatively recent (Fullagar, 1986). However, the concept of alienation should form part of any discussion on commitment. The two concepts are undoubtedly linked and the consequences of work alienation are similar to those of low organisation commitment (Blauner, 1964). Seaman (1959; 1971) and Blauner (1964) outlined five states of alienation with reference to working environments, namely powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement.

1) Powerlessness describes a perceived lack of control over work systems. A person is powerless when he/she is controlled and manipulated by other people or an impersonal work system, and when he/she is unable to assert him/herself to alter this domination (Blauner, 1964). Seaman (1959; 1971) uses the effects of mechanisation to demonstrate powerlessness.

2) Meaninglessness describes the situation where, because of increasing division of labour and specialisation of work, an individual is unable to predict the product of his/her labour.

3) Normlessness describes the situation where traditional socially approved norms of behaviour are no longer appropriate for the achievement of goals.

4) Isolation and estrangement occurs as a result of normlessness.

5) Self-estrangement describes the situation where a worker is not provided with the opportunity to express his/her abilities or skills, and where jobs purely satisfy needs such as money and security.

Kanungo (1979) believes that alienation emanates from the inability of the organisation to fulfil the needs of an individual. Similarly, Seaman (1959) suggested that an organisation's inability to satisfy the needs of the individual and inadequacies in organisation structure are the major determinants of alienation. Consequently, supervisors who are estranged from their employing organisations and trade unions may become alienated from either or both. This may be the result of their unilateral commitment to one group and rejection by the other, or their rejection by both.

Recent Trends in Dual-Commitment Research

An examination of recent research into the dual-commitment phenomenon reveals two primary research themes. First, researchers have examined dual-commitment

in relation to the union-management negotiations climate. Second, they have examined attitudes toward and involvement in unions as moderators of dual-commitment.

In his research into public sector unionism in the United States, Martin (1981) concluded that protective unionism is likely to foster dual-commitment among union members, but it will cause disallegiance among non-union members. However, he added that aggressive unionism is likely to foster unilateral allegiance among both union and non-union members, but in opposite directions. That is, aggressive unionism will have the effect that union members will only be committed to their unions, while non-union members will be solely committed to their employing organisations.

Pestonjee, Singh and Singh (1981) found that pro-union workers have lower job involvement and morale, while workers with less favourable attitudes towards unions have higher morale and job involvement. In addition, they found that high morale is not accompanied by a positive attitude towards unions, and workers with lower morale tended to have a positive attitude towards unions.

Angle and Perry (1986) confirmed previous findings that the extent of dual-commitment expressed by unionised workers is related to the ambient relationship between labour and management within the organisation. The possibility of simultaneous commitment to two interacting systems such as a union and an employing organisation tends to grow where the relationship between the systems is cooperative. This supported their hypothesis that simultaneous commitment to two social systems is problematic to the extent that those systems are not cooperative and may force members to make 'either-or' decisions.

An experiment conducted by Conlon and Gallagher (1987) demonstrated that union membership affects union commitment, independent of union representation. In their research, Conlon and Gallagher (1987) examined the organisation commitment - union commitment relationship among three groups, namely, union members, non-union members and non-members who had previously been members. They expected to find that union members had the

highest union commitment, while because former members had explicitly chosen to leave their unions, they expected them to have higher levels of organisation commitment. In their research, the first of these hypothesis was found to be true. However, their second hypothesis was not shown to be true as those people who had left their unions were shown to have lower levels of organisational commitment than members of both the other groups. This would suggest that withdrawal from union membership does not necessarily mean increased commitment to an employing organisation.

In recent dual-commitment research, Magenau et al. (1988) investigated commitment patterns amongst union stewards and rank-and-file union membership. Stewards exhibited higher frequencies of both dual and unilateral union commitment. They found that positive union-management relations, high job satisfaction and effective union decision making practices were consistently related to high dual-commitment. High union involvement, positive perceptions of union decision making practices and low job satisfaction were constantly related to unilateral union commitment. Magenau et al.'s (1988) research findings partially supported Stagner and Rosens (1965) contention that individuals who are more deeply involved in a union are more unilaterally committed to it.

The dual commitment phenomenon was examined in the South African context by Christie (1988). He set out to explore the generality of the dual commitment phenomenon. Christie's (1988) research tested whether union type moderated the relationship between union commitment and organisation commitment. Towards this end, he examined the relationship between these two commitments amongst a sample from an 'aggressive' union and a sample from a 'protective' union. He found a significant positive union commitment-organisation relationship among the protective union sample, but failed to find any significant relationship among the aggressive union sample. Christie (1988) concluded that union type is a significant moderator which should be considered when examining the union commitment - organisation commitment relationship.

Dual-Commitment, Marginality and the Supervisor

Marginality research examines the problems experienced by people who hold membership in two or more fundamentally opposed groups (Newcomb et al., 1967). Similarly, dual-commitment research discusses workers' attachment to both their employing organisations and their trade unions (Magenau et al., 1988). What differentiates these two concepts is that while marginality implies an objective membership of two groups, dual-commitment implies an identification with two groups. Whether the person who belongs to two groups will identify with and be committed to the goals of both groups may not be solely dependent on their membership of these groups, a possibility not discussed by marginality researchers.

Supervisors in South Africa exist on the interface between two fundamentally opposing groups, namely, management and the workforce. However, a number of reasons can be submitted to explain why their commitment to one or both of these groups cannot be considered a foregone conclusion. First, dual-commitment researchers (Angle & Perry 1986; Magenau et al., 1988; Stagner, 1956; Stagner & Rosen, 1965) are unanimous in their view that the dual versus unilateral commitment in organisations is mediated by the nature of the relationship between union and management. Dual-commitment is possible only when an ambient relationship exists between the parties. In South Africa, the recent rise in militant trade union activity (Bluen & Fullagar, 1986) suggests that a less than ambient relationship exists between management and the workforce. Consequently, one may expect black supervisors to ally themselves attitudinally with either grouping, neither of the groups, or both. However, in each instance, they may remain marginal to one or both of the groups. Second, black supervisors' situations often are complicated by their rejection both by the workforce because of their managerial status, and by management who do not readily accept black supervisors as one of their own. Rejected by their former peers or by the unions per se, supervisors may resent the unions and worker aspirations. Similarly, unfavourable management behaviour may have a similar effect on their organisation commitment. Third, while acting on behalf of management, their alliances may rest solely with the union movement which has traditionally represented their broader socio-political goals.

The marginal black supervisor can therefore perceive his/her situation as being marginal while not necessarily holding dual-allegiances. Membership of one group, while being committed to the other, may hold unique problems for the supervisor. The characteristics of the apartheid society in which organisations operate complicates the issue, adding to the marginality of the black supervisor on the one hand and possibly influencing their commitment to both parties on the other. However, researchers have failed to look beyond the dual commitment scenario. It has been assumed that dual membership implies dual allegiance and marginality. However, this relationship has not been adequately tested in the literature for such a statement to be considered true, as such relationships have not been empirically investigated.

Research Rationale

A relationship between marginality and dual commitment is implied in much of the literature, although this has not been empirically tested. The position occupied by black supervisors in South African organisations presents a unique opportunity for examining such a relationship. Objectively marginal, black supervisors' may indicate an attachment to either their employing organisations, to the trade union movement, to both or to neither. The present research investigates whether black supervisors' perceptions of marginality are related to their possible dual commitment. In so doing, the research adds to the existing body of literature on a subject which has tended to be reported anecdotally and without empirical support. Further, the research highlights the practical difficulties associated with the occupancy of the supervisory role by South African blacks. By gaining a clearer understanding of these difficulties, techniques to mediate and overcome such problems can be developed.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT OF A SCALE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL MARGINALITY

In Chapter 2 black incumbents of supervisory positions in South African organisations were shown to be objectively marginal. That is, they were shown to be placed in positions which suggest their organisational and extra-organisational marginality. However, while one may submit that black supervisors are objectively marginal, this does not necessarily imply that they experience marginality. Further, as the literature about black supervisors has primarily been anecdotal, their experiential marginality might differ from that suggested by the literature. Since no suitable psychometrically valid scale, designed to measure the psychological marginality of black supervisors, exists, the development of such a scale has been essential for conducting the present research. In this chapter the methodology involved in the development of a scale of psychological marginality, and the rationale for the type of scale operationalised, is presented.

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations in the Development of a Scale of Psychological Marginality

Psychological theory requires that all measuring instruments embrace two essential characteristics, namely reliability and validity (Anastasi, 1982; Kerlinger, 1986). That is, for significant explanations about the nature of empirical data to be derived, the measuring instruments used must be reliable and valid (Anastasi, 1981).

Reliability can be defined in terms of the accuracy, stability, precision, dependability and consistency of a measure (Kerlinger, 1986; Nunns & Kruger, 1986; Suen & Ary, 1989). Statistically, reliability describes the measure of true variance to total variance gained for a psychological measuring tool (Kerlinger, 1986; Suen & Ary, 1989). Whereas reliability is concerned with the intrinsic psychometric qualities of a measuring instrument, validity refers to the extent to which a measuring instrument measures what it was designed to measure (Anastasi, 1982; Kerlinger, 1986; Suen & Ary, 1989). Validity is concerned with

whether a scale is able to elicit the intended information (Berdie & Anderson, 1974). That is, its ability to reflect the underlying attribute of interest (Suen & Ary, 1989). Therefore, while reliability is a precondition for good data quality (Suen & Ary, 1989), validity establishes what can be understood from test scores (Anastasi, 1982).

Thus, for a scale of psychological marginality to be considered psychometrically acceptable, it ought to be shown to be reliable and it should be subjected to a rigourous validation process (Nunns & Kruger, 1986). In the following two sub-sections these two concepts are elaborated upon separately.

Reliability

Reliability can be assessed for data obtained within a particular observation session (intrasession reliability) or across a number of observation sessions (intersession reliability) (Suen & Ary, 1989). Five primary methods for assessing the reliability of a measuring instrument are identifiable (Anastasi, 1981; Nunns & Kruger, 1986). These are, inter-item consistency, test-retest reliability, alternate-form reliability, split-half reliability and inter-rater or inter-scorer reliability. The methods employed in scale development are determined by the nature of the scale (Suen & Ary, 1989).

Inter-item consistency or internal consistency measures the extent to which items in a scale are intercorrelated and therefore measure the same trait (Ghiselli, Campbell & Zedeck, 1981). That is, it ascertains the degree of homogeneity of test items. A measure of Inter-item consistency is determined by examining the consistency of the responses to all test items, and involves a single administration of the scale (Odesnik, 1988; Thorndike, 1982). Internal reliability can be calculated by either the Kuder-Richardson 20 formula or by a derivative of this formula, Cronbach's Alpha, depending on the format of the answers operationalised (Anastasi, 1982). For dichotomous scales the Kuder-Richardson formula 20 is appropriate, while for multi-scored items Cronbach's Alpha should be utilised (Anastasi, 1982). Anastasi (1982) lists factors such as test length, similarity of items, individual and group differences of the sample and the nature of the research as determinants of a cut-off level for reliability. Mckennell (1970)

suggested that an alpha greater than .60 is acceptable for the social sciences. Notwithstanding this, Nunns and Kruger (1986) refer to reliability coefficients which are less than .80 as unsatisfactory.

Temporal reliability, otherwise referred to as test-retest reliability, describes the application of the same instrument to the same people on two discrete occasions (Nunns & Kruger, 1986). Temporal reliability demonstrates the degree to which test scores can be generalised over separate occasions, providing a criterion of stability over time (Anastasi, 1982). This method of assessing reliability is the most simple and most straightforward (Anastasi 1982); the temporal reliability coefficient being equal to the intercorrelation of the scores calculated for both administrations. When adopting this approach, one is effectively maintaining the sample of items constant (Ghiselli et al., 1981). Consequently, the opportunity for the measurement of constructs other than those designed to be measured by the scale are minimized (Ghiselli et al., 1981). Ghiselli (1981) views this method as essential when there are no comparable measures against which an instrument can be validated.

Anastasi (1982) states that it is necessary to specify the time interval between the two administrations of the instrument. However, no prescribed time interval for retesting exists (Odesnik, 1988). While maximizing the interval between administrations diminishes memory effects, the more prolonged the time interval, the greater the chance that scores will be affected by intervening variables (Ghiselli et al., 1981). Anastasi (1982) writes that while the length of time between these two administrations should not be immediate, it should also not exceed six months. Previously, developers of scales have settled on a six to seven week time period between administrations (Bluen & Barling, 1987; Odesnik, 1988).

Alternate-form reliability is comparable to test-retest reliability, except that two parallel instruments, rather than the same instrument, are employed (Nunns & Kruger, 1986). This approach avoids difficulties associated with test-retest reliability (Anastasi, 1982) as recall from previous answers is precluded (Nunns & Kruger, 1986). However, care must be taken to ensure that the two forms are truly uniform (Anastasi, 1982).

Only one administration of the scale is required for split-half reliability (Anastasi, 1982; Nunns & Kruger, 1986). Here, a single test is split into two halves which are treated as equivalent forms, thus avoiding the construction of two forms of the test (Suen & Ary, 1989). The correlation between the two halves is its split-half reliability. However, this approach only provides a reliability assessment for half of the enlistment (Nunns & Kruger, 1986).

Inter-rater reliability refers to the correlation of scores obtained by independent scorers or raters (Anastasi, 1982; Nunns & Kruger, 1986). This type of reliability is commonly used where subjectively scored instruments are utilised (Anastasi, 1982).

Validity

The process for demonstrating the validity of an instrument can involve assessing it in terms of its content validity, criterion-related validity, and construct validity (Nunns & Kruger, 1986; Suen & Ary, 1989). In addition, face validity should be established to ensure the cooperation of participants in a study (Anastasi, 1982).

The methodical analysis of the scale content, to establish whether the items are a prototypal sample of the population of elements to be measured, is referred to as Content Validation (Anastasi, 1982; Kerlinger, 1986; Thorndike, 1982). Content validity can be built into a scale (Anastasi, 1982) by including scale items which are consistent with the appropriate theoretical constructs being investigated (Nunns & Kruger, 1986). That is, items are chosen and included on the basis that they are typical of an identifiable domain (Kerlinger, 1986). This is achieved through the choice of appropriate items (Anastasi, 1982), by using subjective judgement (Ghiselli et al., 1981; Kerlinger, 1986), and by having knowledgeable judges inspect the content of the items (Kerlinger, 1986).

Criterion-related validity describes how well a set of scores obtained from a particular measuring instrument relates to a chosen criterion or alternative means for measuring the variable (Suen & Ary, 1989). This form of validity records the ability of a test to predict an individual's behaviour in stipulated settings (Anastasi, 1982).

Construct validity describes the degree to which the scale measures a theoretical construct or trait (Anastasi, 1982). Guion (1976) defines constructs as "categories that are deliberate creations chosen to organise experience into general law-like statements" (p. 788). A number of techniques, including establishing convergent and/or discriminant validity and the use of factor analytic techniques, can be applied to demonstrate construct validity.

The convergent and discriminant validity of a measuring instrument are easily established (Nunns & Kruger, 1986). Convergent validity is achieved by demonstrating that the scale being validated is positively related with conceptually related variables (Anastasi, 1982). Discriminant validity is achieved by demonstrating that the scale is not related to variables from which one would expect it to differ (Anastasi, 1982).

Factor analysis is a suitable statistical technique for establishing construct validity (Nunns & Kruger, 1986). It is a statistical technique utilised for the identification of psychological traits. Factor analysis aids in distinguishing the underlying properties or constructs of a scale (Kerlinger, 1981) and assists in identifying the measurement characteristics of the scale (Fullagar, 1986). Factor analysis is used either in an exploratory capacity to determine the minimum number of hypothetical factors that can account for observed covariation, or in a confirmatory capacity to confirm the nature of the structure which is hypothesised in advance (Kim & Mueller, 1978; Suen & Ary, 1989).

Past Approaches to the Measurement of Marginality

In the past, researchers (e.g. Dickie-Clark, 1966; Emmons & Sobal, 1981; Gist & Dworkin, 1972) have adopted objective approaches to the study of marginality. This involved researchers identifying a person or a group of people as marginal on the basis of some objective or identifiable criterion. Examples of this abound in the literature. Endeavouring to establish the marginality of coloured people in Durban, Dickie-Clark (1966) proposed that these people were marginal because they suffered an inconsistency between their cultural equality and their social inequality with whites. Emmons and Sobal (1981) tested the thesis that social marginality is a predictor of belief in paranormal phenomena by examining this

belief in terms of what they considered to be indicators of marginality, namely certain age categories, being black, being female, and being unemployed. Similarly, writers on the marginality of women professionals (Buonno & Kamm, 1983; Githens & Prestage, 1978) state that because women with families have to divide their home and career aspirations, they become marginal. That is, by virtue of belonging to certain groups writers have assumed that members of these groups are marginal. While one can not doubt the legitimacy of these and other similar arguments, by adopting this approach writers fail to recognise the experiential marginality of these people.

Qualitative techniques have previously been employed in studies of marginality. Musgrove (1977) conducted detailed semi-structured interviews with seven groups of people he believed to be marginal. He addressed a series of open-ended questions to participants which focused on their experience of marginality and its outcomes. The questions covered how their marginal situation had affected them, in what way their lives had changed since becoming marginal, what they had lost and gained, and what problems they had experienced as a result of their marginality. Other examples of qualitative marginality research include Kelly's (1986) analysis of school texts in which he examined how schools in French West Africa prepared students for a society in which they could never take part and Haber's (1982) examination of the seating patterns of marginal and non-marginal university students in lectures. While the aforementioned studies vary considerably in subject and approach, each successfully added to the existing body of marginality research.

Quantitative studies of marginality have been of two kinds. First, scales and questionnaires have been developed for administration among people in specific marginal situations. Mann (1958) developed a 14 item scale of marginality to measure the marginality experienced by coloureds in Natal. Similarly, when investigating the marginality of social workers, Enoch (1989) utilized a questionnaire directly related to the marginality of the social work profession, and Githens and Prestage (1978) made use of a 122 item questionnaire directly related to the type of problems experienced by female state legislators. In a second approach, researchers have attempted to measure marginality through the use of scales believed to measure related variables. Forsyth, Bankston and Jones's (1984) utilised Streuning and Richardson's (1965) scale of alienation to measure

the social marginality of merchant seamen. They conceptualised social marginality as a form of alienation. Similarly, Lindquist and Hirabayashi (1979) used measures of alienation, psychological distress, self-esteem and self stability to assess the marginality experienced by gay males. Studies of this nature assess marginality in terms of its outcomes rather than focusing directly on the experience itself. In contrast, scales developed for particular marginal situations acknowledge the unique experiences of individuals in specific marginal situations. No such scale could be found to measure the unique experiences of black supervisors in South African organisations. Consequently, a suitable scale had to be developed.

The Development of Scale of Psychological Marginality

In the present study, a scale of psychological marginality was designed to measure the perceived marginality of black supervisors in South African organisations. Towards this end, a rigourous methodology utilising both qualitative and quantitative research techniques was adopted. The scale was developed over five distinct phases, namely a literature survey, in-depth interviews, pilot test one, pilot test two and statistical validation testing.

PHASE 1 - Literature Search

At the outset, an extensive literature search was undertaken. In an effort to identify the constructs of marginality all available marginality literature (discussed in Chapter 2) was examined. In addition, all known questionnaires and scales of marginality as well as related variables were scrutinized.

On the basis of information gathered during this initial stage, an interview schedule was developed for use in the next stage, namely the semi-structured interviews.

PHASE 2 - Semi-Structured Interviews

During this phase, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sample of 20 black supervisors. The aim of these interviews was to determine how the objective/situational marginality of black supervisors is experienced by these individuals. The rationale for this was that a more accurate understanding of black supervisors' marginality can only be achieved through gaining a better understanding of the experiential marginality of black supervisors in South African industry. The interviews were therefore used to identify events which typified black supervisors' marginality and which could be used as items in a scale of marginality.

Sample

20 Black supervisors were interviewed. All interviews were conducted at a Witwatersrand factory specialising in the production of electronic parts. The ages of participants ranged from 26 to 53 (Mean = 38,3). All participants commuted to work from the greater Witwatersrand-Pretoria area. Of the 20, the home language of seven participants (35%) was Zulu, four participants (20%) spoke Northern Sotho, three participants (15%) spoke Tswana, two participants (10%) spoke Xhosa, two participants (10%) spoke Shangaan, and Southern Sotho (5%) and Swazi (5%) were the home languages of the remaining two participants. Participants had been employed by the firm for between three and 30 years (Mean=14,2 years), and had occupied their supervisory position for between one and 14 years (Mean = 6,7 years).

Measuring Instruments

On the basis of the literature search, an interview schedule was developed to determine whether black supervisors perceived their organisational positions as marginal, and if so, how this manifested for them. A copy of this interview schedule can be found in Appendix 1. A section was included to obtain the biographical information of the participants. A preamble to the interview schedule explained the purpose of the interview to participants, and assured them of

complete confidentiality. On the basis of the literature search, the interview schedule was divided into sections each relating to different aspects of marginality. First, general questions were asked which aimed at establishing how participants perceived their situations. These were followed by questions relating to the following: their work relationships with their white superiors, their work relationships with their black subordinates, how extra-organisational factors impinged on their jobs, how they described their organisational role, and what post-promotion problems they had experienced since becoming a supervisor. A final question asked participants to relate any similar experiences that they might have heard their colleagues talking about.

The interview schedule comprised three types of questions. Yes-no type questions were used as opening questions and to quantify the extent to which marginal situations applied to participants. Open-ended questions were included to elicit non-guided responses from participants. Follow-on questions were used to get participants to elaborate on the implications of the various situations in which they found themselves, when these were most likely to happen, the frequency of occurrence of these events, and what they believed were the reasons for this happening. This combination of questions was included so as to keep the interviews focused yet allow interviewees to describe their own first-hand experiences. A number of the questions utilised were similar to those adopted by Musgrove (1977) when he interviewed groups of 'marginals' about their experiences.

Procedure

Semi-structured interviews were conducted. The author conducted ten of these in person, and the balance were conducted by a black post-graduate Industrial Psychology student. Prior to the interviews, the second interviewer was briefed as to the purpose of the interviews and the approach he should adopt when conducting each interview. It was decided to include a black interviewer as a number of the issues were sensitive and it was possible that interviewees would fail to communicate openly and honestly with a white interviewer. Before the commencement of interviews, the preamble to the questionnaire was read to participants explaining the purpose of the interviews and assuring them complete

confidentiality. All interviews were conducted in English. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and an hour. This allowed sufficient time for a good rapport to be established between interviewer and interviewee.

All responses by participants to open-ended and the yes-no type questions were recorded.

Results

On the basis of the qualitative analysis of responses to the open-ended questions and the frequency of responses to the yes-no questions, 97 objective statements of marginal experiences were identified. Many of these were similar in meaning and in each case the better statement was retained. Those items that remained were included in the questionnaire utilised during the scale refinement stage. The responses to the yes-no type questions are presented in TABLE 1.

PHASE 3 - Pilot Test One

During this phase a draft scale was administered to the same sample who were used in Phase 2 of the study. The aim of this phase was to refine the scale into a workable measure. All the items identified from the analysis of the interview data were included in the scale. The rationale for using the same sample was to determine which items were an accurate reflection of marginal experiences and which were arbitrary responses made by respondents during the interviews.

Sample

The identical sample employed during the interviewing phase was tested.

Measuring Instrument

The scale was presented as a questionnaire. It was entitled "Work Role Questionnaire". Respondents were required to record their biographical information. A preamble titled 'Confidential' explained what was required of participants and guaranteed the confidentiality of their responses. The scale comprised 73 questions each relating to their role as supervisors and their relationship with both management and the workers. A four-point response format was utilised and participants were required to indicate to what exten. they believed each statement applied to them. The response categories ranged from 'to a great extent' to 'not at all'.

TABLE 1 - Affirmative Responses To Yes-No Questions, by Interviewer

	Question	A	B	C
1.	Would you say supervisors are placed in the middle of management and the workforce?	100%	100%	100%
2.	Do you feel 'torn' between your superior's demands and your subordinate's demands?	100%	70%	85%
3.	Do you feel conflict between your role as a supervisor performing in a white world and your role as a black in South Africa?	80%	40%	60%
4.	Do you worry about being accepted by whites at work?	40%	10%	25%
5.	Do you ever feel discrimination from your white superiors?	70%	40%	55%
6.	Do you ever find it difficult to represent management's goals or policies to your subordinates?	50%	60%	55%
7.	Do you feel that there is a bad name attached to being a supervisor?	80%	90%	85%
8.	Has it ever been suggested to you that you are a 'sellout' or 'impimpi'?	50%	100%	75%
9.	Do you worry about being accepted by black people at home/outside work hours?	20%	40%	35%

Where A = Affirmative responses recorded by black interviewer
B = Affirmative responses recorded by the writer
C = Combined affirmative responses

TABLE 1 - Continued

	Question	A	B	C
10.	Have you ever experienced problems outside of the work situation as a result of being a supervisor?	10%	20%	15%
11.	Do you feel that your job affects your community life in any way?	50%	50%	50%
12.	Do you believe that factors outside the workplace influence your job?	80%	80%	80%
13.	In performing your job do you ever have to go against:			
	a) community practices/actions?	20%	80%	50%
	b) black cultural beliefs?	20%	0%	10%
	c) your own values and beliefs?	30%	60%	45%
14.	Do you ever feel alone at work?	20%	50%	35%
15.	Are you a true/full member of:			
	a) the workers who you supervise?	10%	10%	10%
	b) the white supervisory team?	0%	20%	10%
	c) both a) and b)?	80%	50%	65%
	d) neither a) nor b)?	10%	20%	15%
16.	Since becoming a supervisor:			
	a) do you feel more isolated?	30%	60%	45%
	b) do you feel more discriminated against?	50%	70%	65%
	c) have you lost a sense of belonging?	30%	60%	45%
17.	Did you experience any problems with close work-friends, after you were promoted?	30%	80%	55%

Where A = Affirmative responses recorded by black interviewer
B = Affirmative responses recorded by the writer
C = Combined affirmative responses

Procedure

Supervisors completed the questionnaires in a training room on the the factory premises in groups of five. The supervisors were told to read the instructions carefully and to take as much time as they needed to complete the questionnaire. The confidentiality of their responses and the fact that it was not a test was

emphasized. When the respondents had completed the questionnaire each one was taken aside separately and a number of questions relating to the scale were addressed to them. They were asked whether they felt the scale was too long or too short, whether they had found any of the items particularly sensitive, whether they believed that any item should not be included, whether they had difficulty understanding any of the items, and whether they felt any items were missing. The responses to these questions were recorded and were later analysed together with the scale responses.

Results

Items from the initial scale were removed on the basis of a number of criteria, namely, they did not discriminate adequately, they were similar in meaning, participants had found them difficult to understand, and on the recommendations of a group of experts who were shown the scale. This group of experts included four University lecturers in Industrial Psychology and two Industrial Psychologists in private practice who are registered with the South African Medical And Dental Council. No items were removed because respondents had found them sensitive. Negatively worded items were changed to read positively as a number of supervisors had difficulty understanding them. On the advice of the experts consulted, the response format was changed to a three point scale where respondents indicated whether each statement did or did not apply to them or if they did not know.

PHASE 4 - Pilot Test Two

A second pilot run was conducted to establish the generalisability of the scale across organisations and to determine whether any revisions were needed before the main implementation. Attention was given to participant's ability to understand the instructions and individual items, and the ease of completion of the scale.

Sample

The questionnaire was administered to a group of 15 black supervisors at a furniture manufacturing factory in the Northern Transvaal. The ages of participants ranged from 28 to 46 (Mean = 34,9). The home language spoken by seven participants (46,67%) was Tswana, three participants (20%) spoke Shangaan, three participants (20%) spoke Ndebele, one participant (6,67%) spoke Northern Sotho, and one participant did not specify his home language. Participants had been employed by the firm for between four and 21 years (Mean = 10 years), and they had occupied their supervisory position for between one and 14 years (Mean = 4,87 years).

Measuring Instrument

The 51 item scale, refined during the first pilot run, was administered to the sample. This second draft scale was accompanied by a letter of introduction on a University letterhead. The letter explained the purpose of the study, assured participants complete confidentiality and thanked them for their involvement. Respondents were required to complete a biographical blank specifying their age, home language, experience with the company, experience in the supervisory position, and whether they belonged to a trade union or not. Instructions were provided for how the respondents should complete the scale. A three point response format was utilised on which respondents indicated whether each statement did or did not apply to them or if they did not know.

Procedure

Groups of five supervisors completed the questionnaires in an office on the factory's premises. The supervisors were told to read the instructions carefully and to take as much time as they needed to complete the questionnaire. The confidentiality of their responses and the fact that it was not a test was emphasized. While completing the scale respondents were carefully observed to determine whether they found any items particularly difficult. In addition, a thorough qualitative analysis was conducted of the completed questionnaires. Two items

were discarded because it was felt that they were not being fully understood. Thus, a 49 item scale was arrived at for statistical validation.

PHASE 5 - Statistical Validation

Sample

The sample included 139 black first-line supervisors. First-line supervisors were defined as that level of management at the bottom of the managerial hierarchy. Participants needed to be able to read and write English. The sample was obtained from six different organisations. In all, eight factory locations were utilised. A breakdown of the biographical details of each factory sub-sample and their composite is presented in TABLE 2.

Procedure

The questionnaire comprising both the marginality and role conflict scales was distributed to management representatives of the six organisations from which the sample was obtained. They were requested to distribute the questionnaires to black supervisors on the shopfloor. While a preferred approach would have been to follow the group testing procedure used in the previous phases, organisations participating were not prepared to allow large groups to be tested in this way. The questionnaires were distributed along with envelopes in which participants could place their completed questionnaires. Participants were asked to complete the questionnaire in their own time. In addition, they were told that once this was finished they were to place the questionnaire into the unmarked envelopes, to seal them and then to return them to the designated person. Respondents were given up to four weeks to return the questionnaires at which point they were collected from the respective organisations for analysis. Of the 220 questionnaires distributed 139 were returned, comprising a 63 % response rate. To test for temporal reliability the procedure was repeated on a sub-sample of 13 supervisors following a six week time interval.

Measuring Instruments

An introductory letter explained the purpose of the study to participants and assured them of the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. A biographical blank was included to elicit information pertaining to participants' age, sex, level of education, home language, experience at their employing company, experience in the supervisory position, and whether or not they belonged to a union. Two scales were included in the questionnaire. First, the scale of marginality undergoing statistical validation. Second, Rizzo, House and Lirtzman's (1970) role conflict scale was included as a validation criterion to test for convergent validity.

The scale of psychological marginality was preceded by a brief preamble explaining how the scale should be completed. The scale consisted of 49 items. A three point response format was used. Respondents were required to indicate 'Yes', 'No' or 'Don't Know' to each statement. Example responses were provided for respondents to ensure that they were completing the scale correctly. The scale was not translated into any of the black languages as participants in the pilot studies had no difficulty in completing it. Further, the sample included people from 11 different first language groups making translation a difficult if not impossible task.

TABLE 2 - Summary of the demographic characteristics of the sample

Variable		Number	Percentage
Factory Location:	One	6	4
	Two	16	12
	Three	22	16
	Four	9	7
	Five	33	24
	Six	16	12
	Seven	11	8
	Eight	25	18
Home Language	North Sotho	27	20
	Ndebele	7	5
	South Sotho	13	9
	Zulu	18	13
	English	2	1
	Tswana	50	36
	Xhosa	4	3
	Setswana	6	4
	Shangaan	4	3
	Pedi	2	1
	Swazi	3	2
	Tsonga	2	1
Education:	1 - 5 years	4	3
	6 - 9 years	23	17
	10 - 11 years	66	46
	12 years +	45	34
Length of service:	1 - 5 year	22	16
	6 - 10 years	49	36
	11 - 15 year	39	28
	16 - 20 years	18	13
	21 years +	9	7
Supervisory experience:	1 - 3 years	64	47
	4 - 6 years	36	27
	7 - 9 years	19	14
	10 - 15 years	14	10
	16 years +	2	1
Union status:	Hold membership	64	46
	Not members	74	54

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	Shangaan	4	3
	Pedi	2	1
	Swazi	3	2
	Tsonga	2	1
Education:	1 - 5 years	4	3
	6 - 9 years	23	17
	10 - 11 years	66	46
	12 years +	45	34
Length of service:	1 - 5 year	22	16
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	4 - 6 years	36	27
	7 - 9 years	19	14
	10 - 15 years	14	10
	16 years +	2	1
Union status:	Hold membership	64	46
	Not members	74	54

Role conflict was measured using an eight item Role conflict scale (Rizzo et al., 1970) which has been widely used in research studies (Cook et al., 1981). It has been subjected to extensive validation (Schuler, Aldag and Brief, 1977) and has on numerous occasions been implemented because of its psychometric qualities (House, Schuler & Levanoni, 1983). The internal reliability of the scale has been shown to be acceptable (Cook et al., 1981). Szilagyi, Sims and Keller (1976) report internal reliability coefficients of 0.90 and 0.94 among samples of hospital employees and manufacturing managers respectively. Aldag and Brief (1977) reported alpha coefficients of between 0.56 and 0.82 among six different samples. Generally, alpha coefficients have been in excess of 0.75 (Abdel-Halim, 1981; Kemery, Massholder & Bedeian, 1987; Leigh, Lucas & Woodman, 1988; and Schuler, 1977). Similarly, temporal reliabilities of the scale have been more than adequate (Cook et al., 1981). Further, the scale has previously been used in South Africa (Bernath, 1976; Bluen & Barling, 1987).

A copy of the questionnaire including both measuring instruments utilised can be found in Appendix 2.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis of the scale of psychological marginality initially involved conducting an item analysis to assess the appropriateness of items for inclusion in the scale. Following this, factor analytic techniques were utilised to distinguish the scale's underlying properties or constructs and the scale was tested for reliability and validity.

Items were excluded from the scale on the basis of four criteria. First, item response frequencies were scrutinized. Items were excluded when less than 25% or more than 75% of the sample indicated that an item applied to them (Bluen & Barling, 1987). Where less than 25% of the sample endorsed an item, the item was deemed to be adding very little to the variance of the scale, and when more than 75% of the sample endorsed an item, this suggested that the item was not discriminating adequately (Bluen & Barling, 1987). Second, items were excluded when conceptually similar items produced a shared variance greater than 30% (Bluen & Odesnik, 1988). To avoid item redundancy only the item judged most

appropriate was retained (Bluen & Odesnik, 1988). Third, items which recorded measures of sampling adequacy less than 0.5 during the factor analysis were excluded (Fullagar, 1986a). Fourth, items which did not correlate significantly with the measure of role conflict were excluded.

The internal consistency of the scale was evaluated by means of Cronbach's alpha technique. Since the format of responses in the present research allowed for three possible responses this technique was deemed most suitable. This technique is a derivative of the Kuder-Richardson formula 20 which represents the mean of all split-half coefficients resulting from different splittings of the test (Anastasi, 1982). Cronbach's alpha is appropriate for single administrations of a test and where test items are not dichotomously measured. A cut off level of .80 was considered an acceptable level of reliability (Nunns & Kruger, 1986).

Temporal consistency was assessed by way of the Pearson Product Moment Coefficient. This involved correlating the scores obtained during the initial testing with scores obtained during the post test administered to a sub-sample (Anastasi, 1982). Ghiselli, Campbell and Zedeck (1981) view this method as essential when there are no comparable measures against which an instrument can be validated. Temporal reliability was demonstrated to assist in establishing the generalisability of the scale over time.

Following an extensive literature search and consultation with experts in the area content validity was built into the scale by including scale items which are consistent with the appropriate theoretical constructs being investigated (Anastasi, 1982; Nunns & Kruger, 1986).

In the present study construct validity was tested by correlating the scale under development with a scale designed to measure role conflict (Rizzo et al., 1970). The concepts of psychological marginality and role conflict were shown previously to be conceptually related. Construct validity was also established through the use of factor analytic techniques. According to Nunnaly (1978) factor analysis can be used to predict all three validities, however it is most effective when predicting construct validity as internal and external structures or relationships can be examined (Suen & Ary, 1989).

Factor analysis is a collection of procedures which examines the patterns of correlation between a larg number of variables, and then extracts the main underlying dimensions or factors (Cureton & D'Agostino, 1983). It is based on the assumption that some underlying factors, which are smaller in number than the number of observed variables, are responsible for the covariation among observed variables, where a factor is taken to be a concept with two or more underlying variables (Kim & Mueller, 1978). A factor represents an area of generalisation which is qualitatively different from that represented by other factors (Gorsuch, 1974) and which has a low correlation with or is uncorrelated with all other variables in the test battery (Cureton & D'Agostino, 1983).

The purpose of factor analysis is primarily exploratory or confirmatory (Kim & Mueller, 1978; Suen & Ary, 1989). Exploratory factor analysis attempts to reduce a set of variables into two or three underling factors (Kim & Mueller, 1978; Suen & Ary, 1989). Confirmatory factor analysis is used to determine whether postulated underlying characteristics are actually true (Kim & Mueller, 1978; 1981; Suen & Ary, 1989). In the present study, factor analytic techniques were used in an exploratory capacity as this was the first attempt at identifying the underlying scale factors. Psychologists use factor analysis to determine how people perceive different stimuli and to categorise them into different response sets (Kim & Mueller, 1978). Factor analysis is capable of reducing large numbers of lar ely uncorrelated characteristics into character traits or other psychological concepts (Stopher & Meyburg, 1979).

Factor analysis may be calculated by means of numerous techniques. However, a series of steps are common to all of these techniques. These include selecting the variables, computing the matrix of correlation among the variables, extracting the unrotated factors, rotating the factors, and interpreting the rotated factor matrix (Comrey, 1973; Kim & Mueller, 1978; Suen & Ary, 1989). Intercorrelations are conducted among all items. An initial factor is extracted as it accounts for the most variance in the measure (Suen & Ary, 1989). Thereafter a second factor is created to account for most of the remaining variance. This process is continued until all variances are accounted for (Suen & Ary, 1989). In the present reasearch, Kaiser's (1970) Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) was used to determine whether the common factor model was appropriate (Fullagar, 1986). The factors were then rotated (Comrey, 1973; Kim & Mueller, 1978; Suen & Ary,

1989). Since the first factor accounts for the most variance, rendering the other factors nonsensical, the factors are rotated to distribute the variance more evenly among the second and subsequent factors (Suen & Ary, 1989). Varimax rotation, which is an orthogonal rotation technique, was used as the subconstructs were theoretically independent of each other (Suen & Ary, 1989). After rotation a final set of factors was extracted. Only those factors with eigenvalues of greater than one and which had recorded communalities of greater than .20 were included (Fullagar, 1986a).

Results

Item Analysis

On the basis of the item analysis, 28 items were eliminated. First, six items were eliminated because they were experienced by more than 75% of the sample and were therefore deemed not to be discriminating adequately. Second, one item was eliminated because it was experienced by more than 75% of the sample and because it's measure of sampling adequacy was less than 0.5. An additional three items were eliminated because their respective measures of sampling adequacy were less than 0.5. 15 items were eliminated because they did not correlate significantly with role conflict, while another item was excluded because it correlated negatively with role conflict. Finally, two items were eliminated because they did not correlate with the two factors identified. Therefore, 28 items were eliminated and 21 items were retained.

Factor Analysis

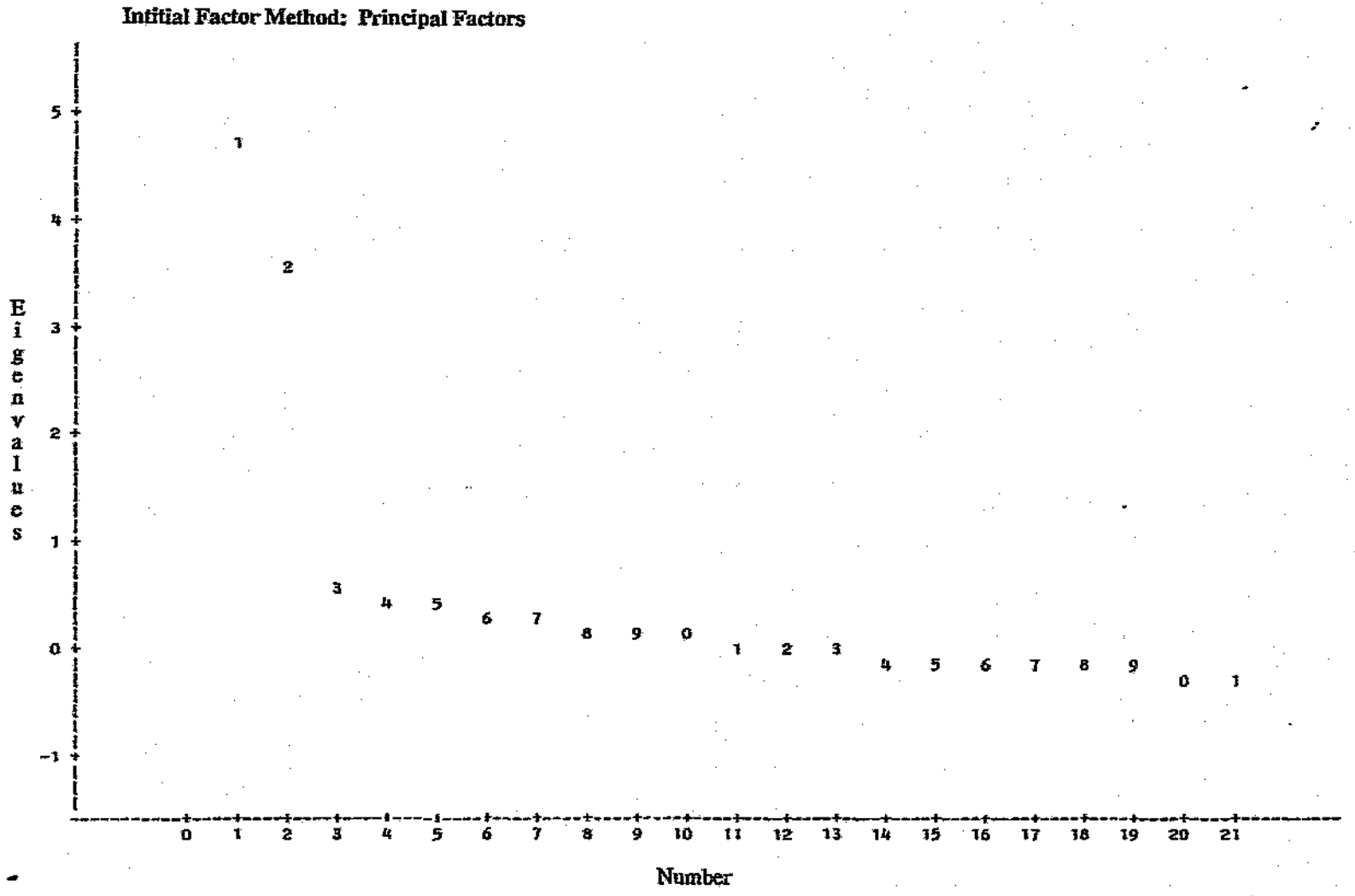
The data from marginality scale was assessed using Kaiser's (1970) Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) to determine whether the common factor model was appropriate (Fullagar, 1986a). According to Fullagar (1986), MSA values of 0.8 or 0.9 are regarded to be good, while MSA's below 0.5 are not acceptable. Among the 21 items which remained, the MSA's of only three items fell below 0.8, the lowest value being 0.74 (TABLE 3). An overall MSA of 0.84 was recorded. Therefore, the data satisfied the requirements for factor analysis.

TABLE 3 - Kaiser's Measure of Sampling Adequacy

ITEM	MSA	ITEM	MSA	ITEM	MSA
1	0.86	8	0.79	15	0.88
2	0.84	9	0.75	16	0.89
3	0.88	10	0.90	17	0.83
4	0.83	11	0.74	18	0.87
5	0.86	12	0.89	19	0.86
6	0.82	13	0.84	20	0.81
7	0.81	14	0.83	21	0.82

The minimum eigenvalue and Scree tests were used to extract the factors (Fullagar, 1986a). Only factors extracted with eigenvalues of greater than one were retained. Close examination of the Scree plot of eigenvalues (Figure 1) displays that the characteristic roots begin to level off shaping a straight horizontal line after two factors (Cattell, 1965; Fullagar, 1986a).

FIGURE 1 - Scree Plot of Eigenvalues



Varimax rotation revealed two factors (TABLE 4). Only those factors with eigenvalues greater than one were included. Factor one comprises 11 items, each of which pertain to supervisors' relationship with their subordinates. Factor two comprises ten items each of which relate to supervisors relationship with management. Final communality estimates among all 21 items, were greater than 0.20 and were therefore acceptable (TABLE 4) (Fullagar, 1986a). A Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient calculated between the two factors was not significant ($r = 0.16, p < 0.07$), thereby demonstrating the mutual exclusivity of the factors.

Reliability

Internal and temporal reliability were calculated for the scale of marginality. A Cronbach Coefficient Alpha score of 0.86 was calculated for factor 1, namely worker marginality. Similarly, a Cronbach Coefficient Alpha score of 0.86 was calculated for factor 2, namely management marginality. Therefore, both scales satisfy internal reliability requirements.

Temporal reliability was calculated over a six week interval. Satisfactory Pearson Correlation Coefficients were calculated for both management marginality ($r = 0.65$, $p < 0.05$, $n = 11$) and union marginality ($r = 0.75$, $p < 0.01$, $n = 11$).

Validity

To determine the scale of psychological marginality's construct validity, scores obtained on this test were correlated with those obtained on Rizzo, House and Lirtzman's (1970) scale measuring role conflict. Significant correlations were calculated between role conflict and management marginality and worker marginality. A Pearson Correlation Coefficient of 0.53 ($p < 0.0001$) was computed for management marginality, and a coefficient of 0.40 ($p < 0.0001$) was computed for worker marginality. 'Known group differences' were not tested for as the sample did not allow for this.

TABLE 4 - Factor Structure of Supervisor Marginality Scale

	MARGINALITY ITEMS	FACTOR LOADINGS F1	F2
40)	Since becoming a supervisor, I feel that the workers discriminate against me.	.77	-.06
31)	Since becoming a supervisor, I feel that I've lost the support of my former co-workers.	.75	.00
36)	Many workers are jealous of me, because I'm a supervisor.	.73	-.14
46)	Most of the workers reject me.	.63	.08
48)	Since becoming a supervisor, my only true friends at work can be other black supervisors.	.63	.17
30)	The workers accuse me of telling their secrets to management.	.58	.01
4)	Since becoming a supervisor, some of my former friends have had trouble accepting me.	.57	.03
47)	The unions won't listen to supervisors as we are seen as 'impimpi'.	.54	.08
23)	I'm seen as working with the white establishment against the workers.	.53	.10
43)	The workers will accept an instruction from a White supervisor more easily than from me.	.48	.12
19)	Even if it creates problems/difficulties for me at work, I'm afraid of reprisals from the black community if I don't go along with them during strikes and stayaways.	.42	.16
12)	White managers ignore me.	.05	.79
22)	Higher management do not listen to black supervisors.	-.03	.73
14)	My superiors only accept me when they need me to carry out work for them.	.15	.70
8)	White management overlook my on-the-job work experience and ignore my suggestions.	.06	.70
2)	Management provides me with enough backing/help.*	-.08	.60
10)	I can never be a fully accepted member of management because they are white and I am black.	.14	.61
41)	Higher management allow me to use my discretion/choice.*	.12	.58
1)	Management give me enough authority to discipline my workers.*	.06	.52
11)	White managers often treat me in the same way as they treat other blacks on the shopfloor.	.01	.50
26)	My superiors can override/contradict instructions I give to my workers.	.10	.49

* Items were reverse scored

Discussion

The present study investigated the dimensionality of psychological marginality experienced by a sample of black supervisors. Two mutually exclusive constructs were identified. The first relates directly to the relationship between supervisors and their subordinates. The second relates directly to the relationship of black supervisors and their white superiors, and includes items which suggest both racial and positional difficulties. The two were shown to be mutually exclusive and unrelated. In literature discussing the position occupied by supervisors (Child & Partridge, 1982; Fletcher, 1969; Human, 1983), the difficulties supervisors experience when dealing with both management and worker groups, are recognised. It is not coincidental that in the present study the two factors identified relate to supervisors' relationships with each of these two groups and serves to confirm these assumptions.

The results obtained in the present study indicate that the Psychological Marginality scale and each of its mutually exclusive constructs are psychometrically sound, demonstrating acceptable levels of both reliability and validity. Internal and test-retest reliability were satisfactory. The scale and each of its constructs were also shown to possess adequate construct validity. Further, they correlated significantly, and in the predicted direction with the conceptually related measure of role conflict. Therefore, the scales measuring both management marginality and worker marginality render useful and psychometrically sound measuring instruments for use among black supervisors in South Africa.

A correlation of 0.53 ($p < 0.05$) was computed between management marginality and the role conflict scale and a 0.40 ($p < 0.05$) correlation was computed between worker marginality and role conflict. While this does not confirm that these are different constructs, this ratified their inherent conceptual similarities. In addition, these relationships verified that respondents understood the scale and negated the possibility that responses were random.

Although both scales of psychological marginality were shown to be psychometrically adequate, certain factors may limit these qualities. First, several of the items are sensitive in nature. A number of the questions dealt with issues

which participants may have found difficult to answer objectively. For example, statements relating to race and loyalty may have been difficult to respond to. While confidentiality of responses was assured, respondents may have had reservations about this and rather than placing their careers at risk they may have provided responses which they believed management would have wanted them to make. However, throughout all the stages of scale development participation was voluntary and responses were entirely confidential. This ensured that the supervisors gave accurate responses as they felt confident that they would not be prejudiced as a consequence of their honest responses. Further, the primary strength of the present study lies in the rigorous methodology adopted. The five phases of the scale development ensure that items were representative of how black supervisors perceived their positions and that it was sufficiently understandable for use among this group.

A second and important limitation was that the sizes of the samples were not always adequate and control over distribution was minimal. Exploratory Factor Analysis requires that for every question in the scale an additional ten subjects be included. Therefore in the present study a sample in excess of 400 would have been suitable. Further, the size of the retest sample was also smaller than would have been desirable. However, securing access into organisations proved extremely difficult and most of those approached were reluctant to participate in the study. A number of company representatives suggested that they were reluctant to conduct what they considered was a particularly sensitive study, in their companies. Further, in a number of organisations where access was gained not all the questionnaires were returned suggesting that some supervisors were not willing to participate. Control over the response rate could not be monitored as company representatives were responsible for distribution and collection. Distribution was conducted in this manner because company officials feared that the testing process would disrupt operations and consequently supervisors were asked to complete the questionnaires in their own time.

A third limitation was that the samples were not randomly selected. The research was conducted in companies which were willing to participate and responses were obtained from supervisors who volunteered their participation. These could have implications for the reliability of the scale (Anastasi, 1982) as volunteers may well be more positive in their outlook and thus may be more agreeable about their

participation. Although this situation was not ideal, field research of such a sensitive nature rarely uses a random sample. Also, no attempt was made to systematically bias the sample in any way. An additional factor to consider here is that completing the questionnaire requires a certain level of literacy which suggests that the sample may only be representative of literate supervisors.

The process of in-depth interviewing (qualitative approach) was crucial in achieving the objective of a representative set of items. From this initial phase the marginality of the supervisors became evident. Careful scrutiny of responses showed definite discrepancies in the responses obtained by the author and those obtained by the black interviewer. For instance, when interviewed by the black interviewer respondents tended to identify management-related problems. However, when interviewed by the author union-related and subordinate related problems were highlighted by interviewees. This may be the result of one of two phenomena or both. First, when addressing a white interviewer the supervisors may have felt the need to discredit their subordinates and the unions, while censoring their answers relating to management. When faced with a black interviewer, respondents may have felt the converse need of downplaying subordinate and union-related problems, while highlighting those problems relating to white management. Second, the possibility exists that interviewer bias came into play, where interviewers were leading the responses of participants.

The problem inherent in identifying the truly representative items was overcome through the inclusion of all the statements made to both interviewers in the initial questionnaire. By allowing the identical sample to complete this questionnaire anonymously, participants were given the opportunity to answer autonomously and interviewer bias was negated. Through this approach members of the sample were able to confidentially identify those items which represent their personal experience. Further, any items which were not characteristic of the supervisors' experiential marginality were detectable as those experienced by less than 25 % of the sample were excluded.

As the sample was selected from the workforce of six organisations, the locations of which are spread all over the Transvaal, the results obtained in the study could be generalised to the experience of first line supervisors in South African

organisations. The results are in no way indicative of any one organisation's culture. Rather they reflect the experiences of black supervisors in the Transvaal.

The present research yields both theoretical and practical implications. From a theoretical perspective, marginality, as it occurs among black first line supervisors in South African organisations, was shown to comprise two dimensions. Past assumptions about the difficulties experienced by supervisors when dealing with both management and workers were shown to be empirically accurate. Further, role conflict and psychological marginality were shown to be different but related variables. From a practical perspective, psychological marginality was shown to be a measurable construct. Further, the marginality experienced by the supervisors was shown to be directly related to the unique situation of black first line supervisors operating in South African organisations. Therefore, if an attempt is made to accurately measure a marginal persons experiential marginality, the measuring instrument utilised should be designed for the particular marginal circumstance that the person is confronted with.

CHAPTER 5

MARGINALITY AND DUAL-COMMITMENT AMONG BLACK SUPERVISORS

Aim

The present research aims to add to the existing research on the psychological correlates of marginality. Towards this end, the dual marginal predicament facing black supervisors in South African industry is explored. The research aims to examine the previously untested relationship between the psychological experience of marginality and the conceptually related concept of dual commitment. Consequently, black supervisors' management and worker marginalities are examined in relation to one of the following: their commitment to their employing organisations, to the trade union movement, to both and to neither.

Rationale

Black supervisors in South Africa occupy unique positions. Placed on the fringes of two ideologically opposing groups, they are the vital link between those who manage and those who are managed. Role conflict and role overload are characteristic of their jobs (Muczyk et al. 1984). Consequently, Piron et al. (1983) describe black supervisors in South African industry as people "torn apart by opposing forces" (p. 11).

Piron et al. (1983) identify a number of opposing forces which are brought to bear on black supervisors. They portray black supervisors as being torn between black workers and white colleagues, the work-place environment and their social and political environment, more senior management and shop stewards and/or committee people, and production tasks and productivity and good industrial relations (Piron et al., 1983). In essence, they are identifying three key difficulties associated with black supervisors' organisational positions. First, the supervisory role is inherently marginal (Child & Partridge, 1982; Dunn & Stephens, 1972;

Fletcher, 1969; Muczyk et al., 1984). Second, higher status black employees function in a society in which both the industrial and political machinery are white controlled. The numerous consequences of this result in a second, socio-psychological level of marginality (Allen, 1983; Beaty & Harari, 1987; Dlamini, 1985; Hofmeyer, 1982; Human, 1981, 1984; Human & Pringle, 1987; Mackay, 1986; Ncube, 1986; Watts, 1986). Third, it is assumed that black supervisors' loyalties are divided by virtue of their commitment to conflicting organisational and extra-organisational goals (Piron et al., 1983). Whereas researchers have written extensively about the former two difficulties, the third merely has been alluded to in the literature and has lacked empirical backing. A further contention surrounding black supervisors' positions is that their psychological marginality and dual commitment are inherently related, with the source of both being their arduous organisational positions. However, this argument also lacks empirical support.

The relationship between marginality and dual allegiance has been blurred in the literature. For the most part, researchers have assumed a positive relationship between the subjective experience of marginality and dual commitment (Piron et al., 1983). This suggests that individuals who hold dual allegiances suffer the effects of marginality. However, a second school of thought (Ziller, 1973) suggests that marginal individuals are not committed to the groups to which they belong and that marginality may imply alienation and even disinterest. The sources of these two arguments are contradictory. The former submitting that marginality is positively related to dual allegiances and the latter that allegiance and marginality are negatively related.

The views reflected by these two schools of thought can be related to the position of the black supervisor. Proponents of the first view (Piron et al., 1983) would suggest that black supervisors are marginal by virtue of their dual-commitment, first, to their employing organisations and their superiors, and second, to their subordinates and the aspirations of the black community. Consequently, they suffer the ill effects of marginality. Proponents of the second (Ziller, 1973) view would suggest that marginalised black supervisors hold allegiances to neither group. They would argue that black supervisors' marginality has the effect of alienating them. However, empirical support for both schools of thought is lacking.

Thus writers would suggest marginality is related to supervisors' dual commitment or their alienation. However, this fails to recognise that supervisors may be unilaterally committed to either their employing organisations or the company union. It is possible that black supervisors will be committed to one or the other. Where black supervisors have been promoted from the rank and file and have not truly been accepted by white colleagues, black supervisors may retain their union commitment and not be committed to organisational goals. However, by virtue of the positions they occupy, they are required to act on behalf of management and consequently they may suffer the ill-effects of marginality. Alternatively, black supervisors may be committed to their employing organisations and not to the union movement, but be marginalised where they are not accepted by their white colleagues and/or where their organisational loyalties conflict with their extra-organisational aspirations.

Consequently, four union commitment-organisation commitment combinations or levels of dual commitment are identifiable. First, they may be alienated from both the trade union and their employing organisations. Second, they may be unilaterally committed to the trade union movement. Third, they may be unilaterally committed to their employing organisation. Fourth, black supervisors may hold dual allegiances. Each of these alternatives may be related to varying degrees of marginality experienced by black supervisors.

In the previous chapter, black supervisors' marginality was shown to comprise two separate variables; namely, management marginality and worker marginality. Consequently, a supervisor may experience one form of marginality and not the other which in turn may be related to the nature of their dual commitment. In this chapter, the relationships between the two marginality variables and the different levels of dual commitment are empirically tested. The theoretical rationale for conducting this research was to determine the exact nature of this relationship and to dispel any incorrect assumptions. Practically, having a greater understanding of the pressures facing black supervisors in South African industry would assist in developing intervention strategies to overcome these.

Method

Sample

The sample included the 139 black supervisors from the greater Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area who were used in the development of the scale. Six companies participated in the study and eight factory sites were used. Biographical details of the sample may be found in TABLE 2 in the previous chapter in the subsection titled 'statistical validation'.

Research Design

The present research applied a cross-sectional field design (Kerlinger, 1981). The research was not aimed at determining causality, and therefore a longitudinal study was not necessary. Four varying degrees of dual commitment were the independent variables in the study. These included low organisational commitment-low union commitment, low organisational commitment-high union commitment, high organisational commitment-low union commitment and high organisational commitment-high union commitment. The two black supervisor marginality variables, namely, management marginality and worker marginality, were the dependent variables.

Procedure

The questionnaire comprising the marginality and union and organisation commitment scales was distributed to management representatives of the six organisations from which the sample was obtained. They were requested to distribute the questionnaires to black supervisors available on the shopfloor. The questionnaires were distributed along with envelopes in which participants could seal their completed questionnaires. Participants were asked to complete the questionnaire in their own time and to place completed questionnaires into unmarked envelopes, to seal these and then to return them to the designated person. Respondents were given up to four weeks to return the questionnaires at which point they were collected from the respective organisations for analysis.

Measuring Instruments

Assessment was executed by means of a questionnaire. The questionnaire included an introductory letter which explained the purpose of the study to participants and assured them of the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. A biographical blank was included to elicit information pertaining to participant's age, sex, level of education, home language, years of experience at their employing companies, years of experience in the supervisory position, and union membership status. Three scales were included in the questionnaire. First, the scale of marginality described in the previous chapter. As no suitable measure of dual-commitment could be found, separate scales of management commitment and union commitment were included. This facilitated the measurement of unilateral commitment as well as dual commitment when the individual scores on the scales were combined. A copy of the questionnaire is presented in Appendix 1. It was not deemed necessary to translate the questionnaire into one or more of the black languages. During the development of the scales of marginality the samples of supervisors did not show difficulty in completing the English scales. Further, translating the questionnaire into the first language of all the supervisors in the sample would have proved difficult as ten language groups were represented in the sample. A similar approach was adopted previously by Bluen and Barling (1987). In developing the Industrial Relations Events Scale they distributed questionnaires to shop stewards and rank-and -file members of unions who were proficient in reading and writing English (Bluen & Barling, 1987).

The scale of psychological marginality was preceded by a brief preamble explaining how the scale should be completed. The scale consisted of 21 items. A three point response format was used. Respondents were required to indicate whether each item applied to them or not, or whether they did not know. Example responses were provided for respondents to be sure that they were completing the scale correctly. The scale and its two factors were shown in the previous chapter to be both reliable and valid. A Cronbach Coefficient Alpha of 0.86 was obtained for both management marginality and worker marginality. Temporal reliability, calculated over a six week period, was satisfactory for both management marginality ($r = 0.65$; $p < 0.05$) and worker marginality ($r = 0.75$; $p < 0.01$). Convergent validity was demonstrated by significant correlations of 0.53 and 0.40 between the conceptually-related variable of role conflict and the managment and worker marginality variables respectively.

Porter and Smith's (1970) Organisational Commitment Questionnaire was used to measure supervisors' commitment to their employing organisations. While Porter and Smith (1970) view organisation commitment as an attitude they feel that this implies more than a passive loyalty to the organisation. The Organisation Commitment Questionnaire consists of 15 items, of which six are negatively phrased. In the present research all negatively worded items were changed semantically to read positively. The reason for this was that earlier studies which were conducted in order to develop the scale of psychological marginality indicated that the subjects experienced difficulty in understanding the negatively worded items. Originally a seven point response format was utilised. However, in the present study a three point response format was utilised as supervisors experienced difficulty when completing scales with more varied response formats during the scale development stages. A three point response format for the Organisational Commitment Questionnaire has previously been utilised and found to be adequate among a sample of black, non-managerial staff in South Africa (Bluen & van Zwam, 1983).

The Organisational Commitment Questionnaire has previously demonstrated psychometric qualities of reliability and validity (Cook et al., 1981) as reported in numerous studies (Conlon & Gallagher, 1987; Dubin, Champoux & Porter, 1975; Mowday, Porter & Dubin, 1974; Mowday, Steers and Porter, 1979; Porter, Crampon & Smith, 1976; Porter, Steers, Mowday & Boulian, 1974; Steers, 1977, Steers & Spencer, 1977). Mowday et al. (1979) reviewed a number of studies utilising this scale. They found that alpha coefficients, demonstrating internal reliability, have generally been high, ranging from 0.82 to 0.93, with a median of 0.90 (Mowday et al., 1979). Temporal reliability coefficients of 0.72 have been demonstrated over a two month time span, while a 0.62 coefficient has been recorded over a three month period (Mowday et al., 1979). In addition, Mowday et al. (1979) found convergent and discriminant validity of the Organisation Commitment scale to be satisfactory. Further, Bluen & van Zwam (1983) successfully utilised this scale among unionised and non-unionised South African samples from all racial groups.

To measure union commitment the fourth factor of Gordon et al. (1980) Union Commitment Scale, which assesses respondents' belief in unionism, was utilised. This factor describes members' attachment to their unions because of their belief

in organised labour (Gordon et al., 1984). That is, it describes members' attachment to unions founded upon ideology (Gordon et al., 1984). This scale has been shown to be psychometrically sound in both white collar (Gordon et al., 1980; 1984; Ladd et al., 1982) and blue collar environments (Fullagar 1986a; 1986b; Thacker, Fields & Tetrick, 1989). Most recently it has also been validated in Canada and the United States (Thacker, Tetrick, Fields & Rempel, 1991). The number of response alternatives in the original scale (Gordon et al, 1980) was reduced from five to three (Fullagar, 1986a; 1986). It was decided to use this particular construct and not the entire scale as not all the supervisors were union members and as such only their attitudes towards unions were measurable. This factor includes five questions out of Gordon et al.'s (1980) original scale. It was felt that non-union members should not be excluded from the sample as an ideological alignment with unions is not necessarily related to membership or non-membership. The other factors in the scale measure union loyalty, responsibility to the union, organisation/work loyalty and union instrumentality. Each of these, by definition, assumes union membership. The belief in unionism factor, utilised in the present study, describes a mental alliance with union objectives, which does not require union membership.

Fullagar (1986a; 1986b) conducted a factor analytic study of Gordon et al.'s (1980) scale in South Africa. This process revealed the same five factors, the fourth factor of which Fullagar (1986a; 1986b) described as a belief in the worth of the union. On all five factors internal reliability was satisfactory, with alpha scores ranging from 0.70 to 0.86 (Fullagar, 1986b). Test-retest reliability for the five factors ranged from 0.65 to 0.88 over a six week period (Fullagar, 1986b). The validity of the Union Commitment scale was demonstrated by correlating the factor and overall commitment scores with informal and formal measures of behavioural involvement in union activities and with length of union membership.

Each of the measuring instruments was tested for internal reliability in the present study. A Cronbach Coefficient Alpha of 0.82 was recorded for the organisation commitment scale demonstrating internal reliability of the scale. Similarly, a Cronbach Coefficient Alpha of 0.77 was recorded for the union commitment scale. For the scale of psychological marginality Cronbach Coefficient Alphas of 0.86 were calculated for each of the factors.

Statistical Analysis

The aim of the present study was to empirically examine the relationships between black supervisors' management and worker marginalities and their dual commitment to their employing organisations and the trade union movement. Since no single measure of dual commitment could be found, supervisors' scores on the union commitment and management commitment scales were divided by median splits. Consequently, four categories of dual commitment were derived. These included groups exhibiting:

1) low organisation commitment and low union commitment.
2) low organisation commitment and high union commitment.
3) high organisation commitment and low union commitment.
4) high organisation commitment and high union commitment.

This approach was previously utilised by Christie (1988) and Barling and Fullagar (1991). Christie (1988) wrote that subjects should be classed into four groups as the investigation of different patterns of commitment has greater conceptual value than approaches which study only dual commitment. This approach allows one to examine different permutations of commitment. Barling and Fullagar (1991) wrote that previous research on dual commitment has ignored the full range of different patterns of loyalty. They state that dividing the measures into four patterns of loyalty provides a more comprehensive assessment of simultaneous commitment to both organisations. Consequently, in the present research management and worker marginality could be examined in terms of their relationship with patterns of dual commitment, unilateral commitment to either party and lack of commitment.

The research design utilised in the study necessitated testing the relationship among six variables. Consequently, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was deemed a suitable technique for testing the relationship between the two marginality variables and the four levels of dual commitment. ANOVA is a statistical technique which facilitates assessing significant differences among three or more means (Runyon & Haber, 1984; Welkowitz, Ewen & Cohen, 1976). That is, ANOVA is able to determine the probability that the means of more than two groups of scores digress from one another because of sampling error (McCall, 1970). Simply, ANOVA is calculated statistically by dividing between group

variance, which reflects the magnitude of the difference among group means, by within-group variance, which reflects the dispersion of scores within the various treatment groups (Iversen & Norpoth, 1976; McCall, 1970 ; Runyon & Haber, 1984; Welkowitz et al., 1976). The larger the between-group variance is in comparison to the within-group variance, the greater the probability that the samples do not come from populations with equal means (Welkowitz et al., 1976).

Prior to using ANOVA, the relationship between the independent variables and extraneous variables needs to be assessed. Where extraneous or concomitant variables affect the relationship under scrutiny, Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA), a derivative of ANOVA is utilised (Stoodley, Lewis & Stainton, 1986). ANCOVA facilitates the adjustment of treatment means so that comparisons among dependent variables relate to covariates or adjusted values (Conlon & Gallagher, 1987; Lee, 1975). ANCOVA can be seen as a combination of or an extension of regression analysis and ANOVA (Wildt & Ahtola, 1978). The four principle uses of ANCOVA's are:

1) to heighten accuracy in randomised experiments;
2) to eliminate bias which may occur when test units cannot be ascribed randomly to experimental conditions;
3) to eliminate the consequences of disrupting variables in observational studies; and
4) to accommodate regressions in the context of multiple regressions. (Wildt & Ahtola, 1978).

ANOVA/ANCOVA are founded on three assumptions:

1) Homogeneity of variance assumes that groups drawn from the population are equal in variance (McCall, 1970). This ensures that the final differences in group scores are due to experimental conditions and not due to differences existing before the application of the treatment. This is achieved through a process of random sampling.

2) Orthogonality of factors describes the situation where factors involved in a study are independent of one another (McCall, 1970). This is a basic assumption of experimentation since without it the effects of the independent

variable on the dependent variable would be confounded. In psychology, human factors are not always discernible. Consequently, the interaction effects between factors cannot always be known, let alone controlled for.

3) Normality of distribution assumes that variables in a population from which a sample is drawn can be represented graphically by a normal curve.

ANOVA is only used when a fourth assumption is tested for. It is necessary to determine whether the relationship between the variables under examination are confounded. That is, whether extraneous variables are affecting the variance. Where this is found to be true, ANCOVA is used. In the present study, it was therefore necessary to determine whether the management/worker marginality - dual commitment relationships were in any way confounded by extraneous variables. Three investigations were conducted. First, to determine whether union membership status was an extraneous variable T-tests were conducted among the management marginality, worker marginality, union commitment and organisation commitment variables. Union membership status is a categorical variable with two levels, and T-tests are therefore appropriate. Second, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to determine whether company was an extraneous variable. ANOVA's were calculated for the management marginality, worker marginality, union commitment and organisation commitment variables. Company is a categorical variable with eight levels, therefore ANOVA was the suitable technique to use. Third, Pearson Correlation Coefficients were calculated between biographical details of the sample, including age, education, years of service, years as a supervisor and their management and worker marginality scores and union and organisation commitment scores.

Results

ANOVA/ANCOVA Assumptions

Homogeneity of variance is achieved through a process of random sampling. While the methods adopted in gathering data were not entirely random, every effort was made to ensure randomisation.

The results of the three investigations into whether the psychological marginality - dual commitment relationship was confounded by extraneous variables revealed several confounding variables. Union membership status (TABLE 5) and the factory location used in the sample (TABLE 6) were shown to be confounding variables, as were age, length of service and years of education (TABLE 7). Consequently Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was deemed a suitable technique for analysing the psychological marginality - dual commitment relationship.

TABLE 5 - T-Tests for union membership

	N	M	SD	T
Organisational Commitment				
Member	71	37.93	5.17	
Non-Member	52	36.60	4.87	1.44
Union Commitment				
Member	72	10.22	2.93	
Non-Member	53	8.47	3.65	3.24*
Management Marginality				
Member	71	18.06	5.91	
Non-Member	59	21.22	5.94	-3.03*
Union Marginality				
Member	73	21.52	6.81	
Non-Member	64	22.70	5.57	-1.[illegible]

* $p < 0.05$

TABLE 6 - ANOVAS for factory location by dependent variables

VARIABLE	F	df
Organisational Commitment	3.33*	7/129
Union Commitment	1.24	7/129
anagement Marginality	1.85	7/122
Union Marginality	5.50*	7/124

*p < 0.01

TABLE 7 - Pearson correlation coefficients for biographical independent and dependent variables

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1) Age	36.99	7.37	1.00							
2) Education	10.41	1.64	-0.44	1.00						
3) Years of Service	11.33	6.17	0.64	-0.41	1.00					
4) Years as Supervisor	4.98	4.20	0.45	0.09	0.42	1.00				
5) Management Marginality	21.47	5.55	0.12	-0.01	0.05	0.14	1.00			
6) Worker Marginality	22.07	6.27	0.01	-0.14	0.11	-0.15	0.17	1.00		
7) Organisation Commitment	37.37	5.07	0.23*	0.13	0.22*	0.10	-0.30*	-0.08	1.00	
8) Union Commitment	9.48	3.09	0.22*	-0.31*	0.27*	0.16	-0.31*	0.26*	-0.22	1.00

WHERE * p < 0.05
** p < 0.01
*** p < 0.001

It was assumed that the covariates influence the dependent variable in a linear fashion, separately of management marginality and worker marginality which were the independent variables in the study (Wildt & Ahtola, 1978). Union membership status, company of origin, age, length of service and years of education were included in the study as covariates, in so doing removing the extraneous variation from the dependent variables (Wildt & Ahtola, 1978). Consequently, the dependent variables were adjusted for differences in the covariates, and the relationship between the two marginality variables and the adjusted values of dual commitment were tested for (Wildt & Ahtola, 1978). Thus, the precision of the analysis was increased.

ANCOVA Findings

Data were analysed to assess whether or not there were significant differences between the four groups of dual commitment on the two marginality measures. ANCOVA's for both management marginality and worker marginality failed to yield significant results.

A non-significant ANCOVA model was obtained for management marginality ($F(3,117) = 2.32$, $p = 0.08$). The complete results of this analysis are presented in TABLE 5.

TABLE 8 - Analysis of covariance results between dual commitment and management marginality

	F	MEAN
COVARIATES		-
Company 1	0.97	-
Company 2	1.32	-
Company 3	3.52	-
Company 4	2.98	-
Company 5	3.40	-
Company 6	6.40*	-
Company 7	7.93**	-
Company 8	-	-
Union Membership Status (a)	1.13	-
Age (Yrs)	0.64	-
Years of Education	1.99	-
Length of Service (Yrs)	1.19	-
Dual Commitment 1 (b)	2.32	22.46
Dual Commitment 2		20.11
Dual Commitment 3		19.04
Dual Commitment 4		17.15

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

a) Union membership status is a categorical variable with two levels.

b) Dual Commitment is a categorical variable with four categories:
Dual Commitment 1 = Low organisation commitment, low union commitment
Dual Commitment 2 = Low organisation commitment, high union commitment
Dual Commitment 3 = High organisation commitment, low union commitment
Dual Commitment 4 = High organisation commitment, high union commitment

A non-significant ANCOVA model was obtained for worker marginality ($F(3,124) = 0.58$, $p = 0.63$). The complete results of this assessment are presented in TABLE 9.

TABLE 9 - Analysis of covariance results between dual commitment and worker marginality

	F	MEAN
COVARIATES		
Company 1	2.66	-
Company 2	0.06	-
Company 3	0.02	-
Company 4	1.21	-
Company 5	3.28	-
Company 6	1.81	-
Company 7	0.06	-
Company 8	-	-
Union Membership Status (a)	0.99	-
Age (Years)	0.46	-
Yrs of Education	4.24*	-
Length of Service (Years)	3.68	-
Dual Commitment 1 (b)	0.58	22.67
Dual Commitment 2		22.34
Dual Commitment 3		22.11
Dual Commitment 4		19.90

*$p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$

a) Union Membership status is a categorical variable with two levels.

b) Dual Commitment is a categorical variable with four categories:
Dual Commitment 1 = Low organisation commitment, low union commitment
Dual Commitment 2 = Low organisation commitment, high union commitment
Dual Commitment 3 = High organisation commitment, low union commitment
Dual Commitment 4 = High organisation commitment, high union commitment

Discussion

From the outset it was noted that the term marginality has been utilised so freely and frequently that its meaning has been confused and often misinterpreted. The present study has assisted in clarifying the meaning of the term marginality and related concepts. In general, the term 'marginality' is a sociological concept describing the position of a person who exists on the border of two groups which conflict. This sociological marginality is often referred to as 'objective' marginality since one can objectively state that a person is marginal by virtue of their membership of two conflicting groups or by identifying their position on the fringes of two such groups. However, it is true to say that this sociological marginality only assumes significance when it is experienced by the individual as marginal (Dickie-Clarke, 1966). This refers to the experiential or psychological marginality of that person. Psychological marginality, therefore, refers to the "objective experience of the individual who finds him/herself in an objectively marginal position. The term 'marginal culture' refers to instances where individuals are isolated from from the effects of occupying marginal positions by virtue of their grouping together with people in similar positions (Goldberg, 1941). Finally, the term 'marginal personality' describes individuals who view themselves outside the boundaries of two groups which they are part members of, and consequently are "neutral" people (Cotton, 1977). Therefore, marginality should be viewed as a multi-faceted term, which has a broad range of applications, but which has definite and precise meanings.

The antecedents of psychological marginality can therefore be said to be the occupancy of a marginal position and the perception of it as such. Consequently, in the present study the supervisors' marginality was the consequence of their occupancy of supervisory positions and their perceptions that they were marginal with regard to their superiors and to their subordinates.

However, supervisors and other objectively marginal groups have often been said to be marginal because of their commitment to two or more conflicting groups. In the black supervisor's case to this would refer to his/her employing organisation and the trade union movement. It has been assumed that the mere occupancy of the supervisory position implies that they are committed to the organisation's goals. Further, it has been assumed that supervisors who have risen from the

rank and file will retain commitment to the unions which represented them prior to their promotion to the supervisory position, and in some instances continue to represent them. This school of thought therefore suggests that dual commitment is an antecedent of experiential marginality. However, in the present study no significant differences were found in marginality scores between groups exhibiting the different patterns of commitment.

Eight possible relationships were anticipated between the four categories of dual commitment and the two supervisory marginality variables. Towards this end two ANCOVA models were investigated. First, an ANCOVA model was used to measure the relationship between dual commitment and management marginality. This process was repeated in a second ANCOVA model, where worker marginality was the dependent variable. In both instances no significant differences were recorded as both models failed to yield significant results when biographical details were included as covariates. In addition, dual commitment did not significantly add to the total variance of either of the models. Consequently, in the present study dual commitment and marginality were shown to be unrelated.

A number of reasons can be submitted to explain the non-significant outcome of the present study. First, marginality and dual commitment may not be related concepts. This suggests that previous anecdotal arguments supporting this relationship are unfounded and incorrect. This would suggest that a relationship between these two concepts would be purely coincidental. A marginal person placed on the borders of or part members of two groups, need not hold dual allegiances to both these groups nor would the one be contingent upon the other. Experiential marginality is therefore restricted to the individual's perceptions of being placed between two groups and the consequent stress associated with this. Closely associated with role conflict, experiential marginality describes the feeling of being torn between the demands of two groups brought about by the objective situation. This does not necessarily imply identifying with the goals of either or both groups. Identifying with the goals of a group describes an emotional attachment to the group or an ideological affinity with the goals that the group represents. Marginality may involve an emotional attachment to a group but this is not a prerequisite for experiencing its dysfunctional consequences. Consequently, objectively marginal black supervisors in South African industry

may be unilaterally or dually committed to their employing organisations and/or trade unions but this is not systematically related to the experiential marginality borne out of their organisational positions.

Dual commitment describes having dual allegiances to two groups; that is, identifying with both groups. This does not necessarily imply that people feel divided as a result of this. On the contrary, being committed to both groups may ease the difficulties of being placed between more than one group. A marginal supervisor may feel more comfortable with his/her marginal predicament when he/she is able to identify with the goals of both managers and workers and understand the symbiotic relationship that exists between them.

A second possible explanation for failure to find a significant relationship between supervisors' marginality and their dual commitment lies in the complexities of the position occupied by black supervisors in South African industry (Piron et al, 1983). The basis for their allegiances may be more complex than being related to the occupancy of a marginal position. Black supervisors face numerous pressures from both inside their employing organisations and from external sources which may impact on their perceptions of marginality and/or to whom they hold allegiances. Political, career and other aspirations may mediate this relationship. Mediation describes the situation where an antecedent is expected to affect a consequence only through a third, mediator variable (James & Brett, 1984). This means that the antecedent and consequence are only related in the presence of the mediator variable. Supervisors marginality to management and workers and their dual allegiances may be mediated by one of many possible intervening variables. Experiences both inside and outside supervisors' employing organisations can impact on this relationship. Both job and life satisfaction as well as general life events may have a mediating effect. For example, where a supervisor is selected for a supervisory position on his/her technical ability yet dislikes managing people, his/her perception of the organisation and the position he/she occupies may alter. Similarly, their life events and experiences in South Africa's townships and in white-controlled organisations may impact on the way they feel about their positions and with whom their loyalties lie.

A third possible explanation for the non-signifi n. research findings is that the relationship between union commitment and .ganisation commitment is mediated

by numerous variables confounding research conducted in this area. While this relationship was not the focus of the present research, it may have confounded their relationship with the two marginality variables. For instance, the relationship between union commitment and organisational commitment has been shown to be mediated by the relationship between the unions and management (Angle & Perry, 1986; Christie, 1988; Magenau et al., 1988; Stagner, 1956; Stagner & Rosen, 1965), by union membership status (Conlon & Gallagher, 1987; Bluen and Van Zwam 1983) and by job satisfaction and individual's perceptions about union decision making practices (Magenau et al., 1988). Each of these mediators could have impacted on relationships assessed in the present research.

A number of dual commitment researchers (Angle & Perry, 1986; Magenau et al., 1988; Stagner, 1956; Stagner & Rosen, 1965) have submitted that dual versus unilateral commitment in organisations is mediated by the nature of the relationship between union and management. According to this view, dual-commitment is only possible where an ambient relationship exists between the parties. Bluen and Fullagar (1986) discuss a rise in trade union activity in recent years, suggesting a confrontational relationship between South African management and their subordinates. The complexities of the South African socio-political scenario may further complicate the management-workforce relationship, since white managers are often perceived to represent the "ruling establishment", it is conceivable that a less than favourable relationship exists between these two groups. Consequently, if those researchers (Angle & Perry, 1986; Magenau et al., 1988; Stagner, 1956; Stagner & Rosen, 1965) proposing that dual versus unilateral commitment is mediated by the relationship between management and trade unions are correct, black supervisors' dual commitment may not be possible in what can be described as an arduous environment (Angle & Perry, 1986; Christie, 1988; Magenau et al., 1988; Stagner, 1956; Stagner & Rosen, 1965).

Christie's (1988) investigation of the generality of the dual-commitment phenomenon revealed a significant relationship between organisation and union commitment where the union was perceived to be protective. However, he found no relationship between these two commitments where the union was perceived to be aggressive (Christie, 1988). Bluen and Fullagar's (1986) contention that trade union activity has risen significantly over the past few years indicates an active union movement. If this is deemed to be aggression, then in accordance with

Christie's (1988) findings one may not expect supervisors to have dual commitments and this would surely cloud the relationship of these two commitments with the supervisor's marginality. However, this does not explain the failure to achieve significant results for unilateral commitment.

Union membership has been shown to affect union commitment independent of the effects of union representation (Conlon & Gallagher, 1987). Bluen and Van Zwam (1983) found that unionised employees in South African organisations are more committed to their employing organisations than non-unionised employees suggesting that dual commitment is moderated by union membership. In the present research roughly half (46%) of the sample were union members. Since union membership was shown to be systematically related to management marginality and union commitment, ANCOVA was used to control for this covariate. Hence, the effect of union membership was controlled for statistically thereby removing its effect on the marginality dual commitment relationships.

Magenau et al.'s (1988) investigation of commitment patterns among union stewards and union members demonstrated that the former group have a higher frequency of both dual and unilateral union commitment. They found that while positive union-management relations, high job satisfaction, and positive union decision making practices were usually related to high dual commitment, high union involvement, positive perceptions of union decision making practices, and low job satisfaction were usually related to unilateral union commitment. This and the previously outlined research evidence demonstrate the volatility of the union commitment - organisation commitment relationship. Consequently, in the present study any one of the extraneous variables discussed may have influenced the research findings.

However the supervisory position is undoubtedly a marginal one, when viewed objectively or subjectively. In the discussions with the black supervisors, in the preliminary stages of the research, 100% felt that they were placed between management and the workers. The vast majority of the sample were able to give specific examples of how this effects their daily operations as supervisors. In addition, mean scores of 22 were calculated for both the factors of marginality out of a possible maximum score of 33 for worker marginality and 30 for

management marginality. This demonstrates the extent of black supervisors' experiential marginality.

The findings of this study do not support the argument submitted by Ziller and his colleagues (Ziller, 1973; Ziller et al., 1969) who suggest that marginality implies non-commitment and neutrality. Ziller and his colleagues (Ziller, 1973; Ziller et al., 1969) describe marginality as an antecedent of neutrality. In the present research, the low union commitment - low organisation commitment representated the neutrality proposed by Ziller and his colleagues (Ziller, 1973; Ziller et al., 1969). In the study, no relationship was found between this group and psychological marginality.

However, the study did not test directly for alienation among supervisors. Testing for the alienation of the supervisors, by means of including it as a variable in the study, may have reflected this relationship more accurately. In marginality research, alienation may be as important a concept as dual commitment. The states of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self estrangement described by Blauner (1964) and Seaman (1959; 1971) are similar to, and in some instances a duplication of, those described by writers on marginality. These, however, differ from low commitment which may relate to alienation but not be one and the same. Therefore, before any relationship between marginality and alienation can be ruled out, the relationship between them will have to be tested empirically.

Limitations of the Present Study

Certain methodological factors may have influenced the absence of significant findings. First, several of the items in the marginality scale are sensitive in nature. A number of the questions dealt with issues which participants may have found difficult to answer honestly. While confidentiality of responses was assured, respondents may have had reservations about questions relating to race and loyalty and rather than placing their careers at risk they may have provided responses which they believed management would have wanted them to make. This however was mitigated by the rigorous methodology followed throughout the

study which provided complete confidentiality of responses and which encouraged open, honest responses.

A second and important limitation was that the sizes of the samples were not always adequate in terms of the statistical techniques applied. Securing access into organisations proved extremely difficult and most of those approached were reluctant to participate in the study. This may have been the result of what their representatives felt was a particularly sensitive study in a somewhat volatile environment. Further, it is difficult to find large numbers of literate black supervisors who could read and write English to participate in the study. Etzel & Walker (1974) note that it is difficult to obtain representative samples in survey research. This was more pronounced in the present study where the subject matter was considered extremely sensitive amongst companies and supervisors. A number of company representatives suggested that they were reluctant to conduct such a study, in their companies. Further, in a number of organisations where access was gained not all the questionnaires were returned, suggesting that some supervisors were not willing to participate. In addition, organisational representatives wanted to retain control over the administration process. Therefore control over questionnaire distribution was minimal. Consequently, the response rate could not be monitored as company representatives were responsible for distribution and collection of questionnaires. Unfortunately, although this procedure for data collection was not ideal, it was the only way to collect the necessary data to conduct the study. However, an advantage of the present study, was the inclusion of a broad sample covering six organisations located in different regions of the Transvaal. The generalisability of the research findings was strengthened accordingly.

A third limitation was that the samples were not randomly selected. The research was conducted in companies which were willing to participate and responses were obtained from supervisors who had no objection to participating. Volunteers have a tendency to be more positive and feel that they have nothing to hide. The reliability of the scale may therefore be questionable (Anastasi, 1982). However, while it may be preferable that in future studies samples are selected randomly, this is often difficult to achieve, especially in field studies and in instances were the subject matter is considered sensitive as it was in the present research. Ethically, individuals should retain the right to be able to withdraw their

participation from research with which they are not entirely comfortable. Accordingly, in the present study participation was voluntary and responses were entirely confidential.

Another limitation of this and previous dual-commitment research (e.g. Christie, 1988) is that it is cross sectional in design (Fullagar & Barling, 1987). This precludes the possibility of establishing causal relationships between the variables. However, in the present research this assumes less significance as direction or causality was not the stated objective of the research. Rather, the research undertook the examination of the relationship between management and worker marginality variables and the four dual commitment variables.

Theoretical Implications of the Research

The present research demonstrates the complexities of both the black supervisor's position and the concept of marginality. Much has been written about the position of higher status black employees in South African industry but very little has been tested empirically. This research demonstrates that conclusions based on anecdotal evidence may well be unfounded. The proposed relationship between black supervisors' marginality and their dual allegiances was not shown in the present study, despite much reference to it in the literature on higher status black employees. Similarly, references in marginality literature have proposed the link between these two variables without providing supporting empirical evidence. One may therefore submit that writers may have been too hasty to demonstrate the difficulties associated with these roles and as a consequence have failed to explore the concept sufficiently.

The two factor structure uncovered in the present research clearly supports previous literature which implies that marginality occurs as a result of falling between two groups (eg. Piron et al., 1983). In the South African example, supervisors were found to be marginal to both subordinate workers and their superiors. The differences experienced in relation to both of these groups warrants that they be considered as separate variables as uncovered through the process of factor analysis. This is indicative of the possibility that a black supervisor may be marginal to one group and not the other. The implication of

this is that while this marginality arises as a result of being placed between workers and management, experiential marginality may be restricted to one group and not the other.

Marginality was shown to be situation-specific in the present research. The nature of the experiences of black supervisors in South African organisations is particular to the unique situation in which they are placed. It should be recognised that marginality can only be assessed by means of a measure which relates back to the particular situation in which marginal people find themselves. Consequently, writers must not write about marginality and role conflict theory interchangeably. While these concepts are related, the former is situation specific and the latter not necessarily so.

Marginality terminology should be applied uniformly in the literature to ensure a common understanding of marginality and related concepts. Further, the strong link existing between the sociological and psychological disciplines should continue to be recognised as they cannot be mutually exclusive. Placement in a marginal situation, a sociological condition, only assumes significance when it is perceived as such therefore research needs to assess both.

Practical Implications of the Research

The present research highlights the difficulties associated with the role occupied by black supervisors in South African industry. It therefore demonstrates the need for intervention strategies to help occupants of these positions overcome these difficulties. The supervisory role can be said to have both a technical or functional component and an interpersonal component. As the leader of a group of subordinates, supervisors must be technically proficient in the processes over which they supervise. Rapidly changing workplace technology has been shown to leave supervisors, who often are no longer actively involved in the work processes, behind (Child & Partridge, 1982). Therefore, they may become unable to effectively oversee the processes entrusted to them. Further, supervisors are expected to act as go-betweens between management and workers. To be able to perform this role effectively supervisors should be equipped with interpersonal and negotiating skills. All too often, a supervisor is promoted into a position

because of his/her technical abilities or proficiencies in his/her previous position without having the skills to meet the interpersonal demands of a leadership position. In addition, their promotions bring them closer to the realms of management where they are expected to act differently and where they sometimes have to deal with the hostilities of white colleagues and superiors. Consequently, both black supervisors and their white colleagues should attend interpersonal training courses aimed at overcoming inter-racial and interpersonal difficulties (Spence & Spence, 1986). Other training interventions should include achievement motivation training, leadership training and career planning training aimed at instilling a sense of purpose, challenge and satisfaction in supervisors (Fone, 1989). In terms of organisation structures care should be taken not to spread supervisors' ranks too thin. Supervisors should be able to have easy contact with other supervisors with whom they can share their experiences. Finally, supervisor to worker ratios should not over-burden supervisors who, by very nature of the awkward position they occupy, are susceptible to role overload.

Implications for Future Research

The present study clearly demonstrates the marginality of black supervisors in South African industry. However, no relationship was found between either management or worker marginality and dual commitment. A number of reasons have been submitted to explain this. However, future research on the subject could benefit from the findings of the present research.

Marginality and alienation were shown to have common antecedents, yet the present research approach did not directly examine the relationship between them. Similarly, union commitment and management commitment were also not directly related with the marginality variables. Considering that writers have suggested that the relationship between these two commitments may easily be confounded by extraneous variables, such as aggressive versus protective unionism, it may prove worthwhile to examine their relationship with the two marginality variables separately.

Summary and Conclusion

The aim of the present research was to examine empirically the relationship between black supervisors' experiential marginality and their dual commitment. Towards this end, a psychometrically sound scale of marginality was developed. Factor analytic techniques revealed that black supervisors' marginality is divisible into two distinct variables. First, marginality related to management. Second, marginality related to subordinate workers. This has important theoretical implications which are contrary to previous assumptions, as the marginality experienced by supervisors can be restricted to only one group.

Black supervisors in South African industry were shown to be objectively and subjectively marginal. This indicates that they may be suffering the dysfunctional consequences of their positions and that strategies to alleviate stresses they experienced need to be developed.

The expected relationship between the marginality experienced by black supervisors and their dual commitment was not empirically verified. Rather, no significant relationships were established between black supervisors' psychological marginality and dual commitment when biographical variables were controlled statistically. This suggests that dual-commitment and psychological marginality are unrelated concepts in this context. This contradicts previous anecdotal literature which assumed a relationship between these variables. The present research has assisted in excluding this assumption from future discussions on the subject and thus achieved its primary objective of contributing to the understanding of the subject.

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APPENDIX A

CONFIDENTIAL

The role of a supervisor is an important one in any organisation. However, it can also be a very difficult job, especially because supervisors are placed in positions between managers and workers.

The questions that I am now going to ask you relate to experiences that you have had while performing your job. Since this is not a test there are no right or wrong answers. However, by providing me with as much information as possible, you will be helping me understand the problems that you experience in performing your job.

As you will see, at no point will I ask you for your full name. Your answers will be combined with those of other people who have participated in this survey, and will be presented as those of supervisors, not individuals. So you don't have to worry about giving me open honest answers.

Biographical Information

1. Name of organisation:

   _____

2. Full job-title: _____

3. Age: _____

4. Experience (in years/months)

   (i) in this organisation _____

   (ii) in the present job _____

5. Region of origin : _____

6. Home language: _____

8. Where do you live? :_____

   _____

Introduction

1a) Supervisors are placed in the middle of management and the workforce. Would you say that this reflects your position?

Yes	No

b) What implications does being placed in this position have for you?

_____

_____

2a) Do you ever feel 'torn' between your superiors' demands and your subordinates demands?

Yes	No

b) When does this happen (i.e. examples)?

_____

_____

c) How often does this happen?

_____

d) Why do you think this happens?

_____

_____

3a) Do you ever feel conflict between your role as a supervisor performing in a white supervisory world and your role as a black in South Africa?

Yes	No

b) When does this happen (/ e. example)?

c) How often does this happen?

d) Why do you think this happens?

Working with White Managers

4. What would you say are the good points about working close to your white superiors?

5. What problems do you experience as a result of working close to white superiors?

6a) Do you worry about being accepted by whites at work?

Yes	No

b) Why do you say this?

_____

_____

7a) Do you ever experience discrimination from your white superiors?

Yes	No

b) Would you substantiate/elaborate upon this?

_____

_____

8a) Do you ever find it difficult to represent management's goals or policies to your subordinates?

Yes	No

b) If yes, when does this happen (i.e. examples)?

_____

_____

c) Why do you think this happens?

d) If no, why do you think this is so?

Working with Black Subordinates

9. What would you say are the good points about working close to black workers?

10. What problems do you experience as a result of working close to black workers?

11a) Would you say that your black subordinates respect you or are they angry towards you?

b) Why do you say this?

c) How does this make you feel?

12a) How do other black people view you?

b) Do you feel that there is a bad name attached to being a supervisor?

Yes	No

c) Has it ever been suggested to you that you are a 'sellout' or 'impimpi'?

Yes	No

d) If yes, when has this been said/suggested?

e) How often has this happened?

f) Would you describe how this made you feel.

Extra-Organizational Factors

13a) Do you worry about being accepted by black people at home/outside work hours?

Yes	No

b) Why do you say this?

_____

_____

_____

14a) Have you ever experienced problems outside of the work situation as a result of being a supervisor (e.g. in the bar, hostel, town, etc)?

Yes	No

b) If yes, would you describe these occurrences to me?

_____

_____

_____

15a) Do you feel that your job affects your community life in any way?

Yes	No

b) If yes, how?

_____

_____

_____

16a) Do you believe that factors outside the workplace influence your job (e.g. political, social, economic)?

Yes	No

b) If yes, what factors?

_____

_____

_____

c) How do you feel these affect you?

_____

_____

_____

Self

17a) In performing your job do you ever have to go against:-

		Yes	No
(i)	community practices/actions		
(ii)	black cultural beliefs		
(iii)	your own values and beliefs		

b) If yes, would you give examples of instances of each of the above/aforementioned?

_____

_____

_____

c) How does this make you feel?

_____

_____

_____

18a) Do you ever feel alone at work?

Yes	No

b) If yes, when (i.e. examples)?

_____

_____

_____

c) Why do you think this happens?

_____

_____

19a) If you ever had a work-related problem, who would you approach to talk about it?

_____

b) Why would you approach this person and not .....?

_____

_____

20a) Would you say that most of your friends are supervisors OR workers on the shopfloor OR non-work people (specify)?

_____

b) Why do you think this is so?

_____

_____

21a) As a supervisor you are p rt of the supervisory team. Would you say that you belong to, or are a true/full member of, the (white) supervisory team?

Yes	No

b) Why do you say this?

_____

_____

22a) Would you say that you are a true/full member of the black workers over whom you supervise?

Yes	No

b) Why do you say this?

_____

_____

Post-Promotion Problems

23a) In what way(s) did your life change when you were promoted to your present position?

_____

_____

b) What do you feel you lost when you were promoted?

_____

_____

c) What do you think you have gained since being promoted?

_____

_____

d) Do you now feel more isolated/apart from things?

Yes	No

e) Do you feel more discriminated against?

Yes	No

24a) Have you lost a sense of belonging since being promoted?

Yes	No

b) If yes, to whom/which group?

_____

c) Why do you feel this happened?

_____

_____

25a) Did you experience any problems with close work-friends , after you were promoted?

Yes	No

b) If yes, would you describe these problems.

_____

_____

General

26. When you have spoken to other supervisors, what complaints or problems have you heard from them that are similar to the problems we have discussed during this interview?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

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P O WITS
2050, SOUTH AFRICA

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Date:

Dear Sir/Madam,

This questionnaire forms part of an independent research project which I am conducting under the supervision of the Division of Industrial Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. As this is an independent research project, the confidentiality of all your answers is ensured. No persons within the organisation in which you work will have access to your individual answers. You will also see that at no time will you be required to write your name on the answer sheet, so you don't have to worry about being completely honest when giving an answer.

Remember, since this is not a test there are no right or wrong answers. Please give me honest, open answers to the questions. Please remember to answer all of the questions.

When you have completed your questionnaire, please place it in the envelope which has been provided to you, close the envelope, and return it to the person responsible for it's collection.

If you have any queries about the questionnaire please contact me on (011) 6404316.

I thank you for your co-operation. Your help is greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully

RBergman

Rodney Bergman

The University of the Witwatersrand rejects racism and racial segregation. It is committed to non-discrimination particularly in the constitution of its student body, in the selection and promotion of its staff, and in its administration.

WORK ROLE QUESTIONNAIRE

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1) Name of Company _____

2) Age _____years

3) Are you male or female?

MALE		FEMALE	

Place an "X" in the correct box.

4) Highest Education (eg. standard 8) _____

5) Home Language _____

6) How long have you worked in this company?

_____years

7) How long have you been in a supervisory position?

_____years

8) Do you belong to a union?

YES		NO	

Place an "X" in the correct box.

SECTION ONE

It has been shown that supervisors feel they are placed in positions between managers and workers. On the next few pages are a series of statements describing how some supervisors feel at work. Please read each of these statements and indicate which ones you feel apply to you in your job. Please mark the relevant block/box with an "X", an "X" in the block marked 'Yes' indicates that you feel that this statement describes how you feel. A 'No' indicates that you feel that this statement does not apply to you. A 'Don't Know' indicates that you are not sure whether the statement applies to you.

For example;

	YES	DON'T KNOW	NO
I feel that supervisors have enough authority.	X		
I feel that the work is too hard for me.		X	

	YES	DON'T KNOW	NO
1) Management give me enough authority to discipline my workers.			
2) Management provides me with enough backing/help.			
3) My superiors are interested in what is happening on the shopfloor.			
4) Since becoming a supervisor, some of my former friends among the workers have had trouble accepting me.			
5) Management understand that some of the messages that they expect me to deliver to the workers are sensitive and are therefore difficult for me to deliver.			

	YES	DON'T KNOW	NO
6) Because I'm a supervisor the workers threaten "to get me" in the township.			
7) Even if I disagree with management's goals/policies I still have to implement them.			
8) White management overlook my on-the-job work experience and ignore my suggestions.			
9) As a supervisor I'm not sure whether I should attend work during times of community action.			
10) I can never be a fully accepted member of management because they are white and I am black.			
11) White managers often treat me in the same way as they treat other blacks on the shopfloor.			
12) White manage[illegible]			
13) The worke[illegible]bout black supervisors.			
14) My superi[illegible]ly accept me when they need me to carry out work fr[illegible] them.			
15) White management treat me as one of them.			
16) The workers think supervisors are management's puppets.			
17) The workers expect me to defend them from management.			
18) Although I'm a supervisor, I still share similar problems with the workers.			
19) Even if it creates problems/difficulties for me at work, I'm afraid of reprisals from the black community if I <u>don't</u> go along with them during strikes and stayaways.			
20) It's my job to introduce unpopular changes on the shopfloor.			
21) If I become too friendly with the workers they try to take advantage of me and become lazy.			
22) Higher management do not listen to black supervisors.			

	YES	DON'T KNOW	NO
23) I'm seen as working with the white establishment against the workers.			
24) The people in the township don't want to have anything to do with black supervisors.			
25) The workers call black supervisors informers.			
26) My superiors can override/contradict instructions I give to my workers.			
27) The workers trust supervisors.			
28) Some of my workers are scared of me.			
29) Management realise that the supervisors' position is difficult because we live and travel to work with the workers whom we supervise.			
30) The workers accuse me of telling their secrets to management.			
31) Since becoming a supervisor, I feel that I've lost the support of my former co-workers.			
32) Black supervisors are called 'impimpi' when we have to take a matter to higher management.			
33) I talk more easily with the workers, than with management.			
34) At worker/union meetings, supervisors are called 'impimpi'.			
35) Management are concerned about supervisors' safety in the townships.			
36) Many workers are jealous of me, because I'm a supervisor.			
37) It is unfair that I get the blame, if a worker loses his job.			
38) When explaining things to the workers, I have to be careful that no trouble results, or else I get called 'impimpi'.			

	YES	DON'T KNOW	NO
39) Sometimes I'm afraid of telling my workers when I'm not happy with the work that they are doing.			
40) Since becoming a supervisor, I feel that the workers discriminate against me.			
41) Higher management allow me to use my discretion/choice.			
42) I have to communicate management's viewpoint to the workers, even though I may not support it.			
43) The workers will accept an instruction from a white supervisor more easily than from me.			
44) I'm viewed as a sellout when I <u>don't</u> co-operate with the workers.			
45) Even though it may be difficult for me to do so, I would like to come to work during the stayaways.			
46) Most of the workers reject me.			
47) The unions won't listen to supervisors as we are seen as 'impimpi'.			
48) Since becoming a supervisor; my only true friends at work can be other black supervisors.			
49) I'm not sure whether I should join the workers during strikes.			

SECTION TWO A

Please read the following statements about the organisation in which you work. Show whether you agree or disagree with each statement by placing an "X" in the appropriate box/block. Choose an answer which you think yourself and not what you believe your superiors may want you to think.

	AGREE	NOT SURE	DISAGREE
1) I am willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected to help this organisation be successful.			
2) I tell my friends that this is a great organisation to work for.			
3) I feel very little loyalty to this organisation.			
4) I would accept almost any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this organisation.			
5) I find that my values and the organisation's values are very similar.			
6) I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organisation.			
7) I could just as well be working for a dif rant organisation as long as the type of work as similar			
8) I am prepared to work very hard for this organisation.			
9) It would take very little change in my present circumstances to cause me to leave this organisation.			
10) I am extremely glad that I chose this organisation to work for, over others that I was considering at the time I joined.			
11) There's not too much to be gained by sticking with this organisation for a long time.			
12) Often, I find it difficult to agree with this organisation's policies on important matters relating to its employees.			
13) I really care about the future of this organisation.			
14) For me this is the best of all possible organisations for which to work.			
15) Deciding to work for this organisation was a definite mistake on my behalf.			

SECTION TWO B

Please read the following statements about unions. Show whether you agree or disagree with each statement by placing an "X" in the appropriate block/box. Choose an answer which you think yourself and not one which someone else may want you to choose.

	AGREE	NOT SURE	DISAGREE
1) The record of the union is a good example of what dedicated people can get done.			
2) I could just as well work in a nonunion company as long as the type of work was similar.			
3) I intend to improve my relations with management by NOT being active in the union.			
4) I have little trust in most officers of the union.			
5) The union journal is not worth reading.			

SECTION THREE

Please read the following statements and indicate whether you feel each one is true or false about your work.

For Example.

I find my work rewarding.

FALSE	DON'T KNOW	~~TRUE~~

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1) I have to do things that I think should be done differently.

FALSE	DON'T KNOW	TRUE

2) I receive an assignment/job without the manpower to complete it.

FALSE	DON'T KNOW	TRUE

3) I sometimes have to break a work rule in order to carry out an assignment.

FALSE	DON'T KNOW	TRUE

4) I work with two or more groups who do things quite differently.



5) I receive conflicting requests from two or more people.



6) I do things that likely to be accepted by one person and not accepted by others.



7) I receive a job/task without enough resources (such as people and equipment) and materials to execute it.



8) I work on unnecessary things.



Author: Bergman Rodney Nathan.
Name of thesis: Psychological Marginality And Dual Commitment Among Black First Line Supervisors In South Africa.

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